THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN PIBROCH AND GAELIC SONG: ITS IMPLICATIONS ON THE PERFORMANCE STYLE OF THE PIBROCH URLAR.

SUBMISSION FOR THE DEGREE OF MLitt. EDINBURGH UNIVERSITY
1995

INDEX.

CASE STUDIES.

1. Glas
2. Cholla
3. Iseabail
4. Bodaich
5. Alba
6. McIntosh
7. Morag
8. Coire
9. Breadal
10. March
11. Rathad
12. Bràithrean.

ABBREVIATIONS USED

Other abbreviations are specified within each case study.

AnG.	An Gàidheal, periodical.
CC	Campbell Canntaireachd. {Nether Lorn Canntaireachd}
CG.	Carmina Gadelica Vols 1-6 Alexander Carmichael.
Ch.	Chapter.
CMg.	Celtic Magazine October 1875-1888.
CMo.	Celtic Monthly.October 1892-1917.
CS.	Case Study.
CW.Ms.	Carmichael Watson Ms collection
Ed.	Edited.
EUL.	Edinburgh University Library.
FFSU.	Folksongs and Folklore of South Uist
GnaB.	Guth na Bliadhna.
GUL.	Glasgow University Library.
HebFS. HF	Hebridean Folksongs.
Mclg.	The Maclagan collection.
NLS.	National Library of Scotland.
PS.	Piobaireachd Society.
PT.	Piping Times, periodical. (1948-)
SSS.	School of Scottish Studies.
SGTS.	Scottish Gaelic Texts Society.
SH.	Scottish Highlander, newspaper.
SO.	Sàr Obair nam Bàrd Gaelach see MacKenzie, John.
TGSI.	Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness. 1872-
Unpub.	Unpublished.
n. p.	No place.
n. d.	No date.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.

Thanks to the John MacFadyen Trust for funding and making this research possible. Thanks also to The Scottish Arts Council, The Highland Fund, Skye and Lochalsh District Council for additional funding. To my supervisors, Peter Cooke and Morag MacLeod; to Frans Buisman for reading drafts and for comments and criticism; to Roderick Cannon for information and to Annette Kempf for checking final draft.

Finally, to Angela and Kate MacEachen for help and patience.

'I cannot caricature the warlike music of my country by publishing this specimen. If bagpipe music is reduced to this, let it die, and leave us to cherish its memory as an unmatched warlike national instrument.'

Lieut. Campbell (1862) on contemporary performance of 'Cill-a-Chrìosd.'

ABSTRACT

The pibroch tradition evolved in Gaelic society in close association with the Gaelic song tradition and because of this, the ideal performance style of pibroch should be based on a knowledge of traditional Gaelic song and the language rhythms therein. A number of pibrochs exist which have Gaelic song poetry associated with them and on the basis of this, the salient features which link the two idioms are identified, discussed and analysed.

The study is broadly broken down into four sections. The first three chapters form the Introduction and consist of, firstly, a discussion of historical context and previous scholarship. The second chapter looks at the pibroch-song relationship. The third chapter concentrates on the music sources and specific features of ther notation. Finally, twelve case studies compare specific pibrochs with their song versions. Each case study has its own conclusion the whole of which is followed by an overall conclusion at the end of the thesis. An audio tape accompanies the case studies and is referred to at specific points in the course of the text.

The style which is recommended in this study is representative of a style of playing which is more identifiable with mid eighteenth century Gaelic Society and culture than the present day, predominantly English speaking, one. The audio-recordings which accompany the texts are based both on the evidence from the song rhythms and the earliest notated pibroch sources. This thesis vindicates previous research which suggests that playing styles have changed over the last two hundred or so years but goes much further and shows that, in many instances, the performance style has changed dramatically.

ANALYTICAL METHOD:

The method which has been adopted is as follows. Notated setting(s) of pibrochs are compared with transcriptions made from audio recordings of their Gaelic song version(s).

The relationships which exist between the two idioms are easier to observe by setting out the pibroch version, as originally notated, above the transcribed version of the song performance. Where the pibroch version is also available in the Campbell Canntaireachd, this is also displayed underneath the pipe version for comparison. Where more than one pibroch or song version assists in explaining particular features, these are all included.

In some cases, the pibroch has been notated for other instruments like such as fiddle and piano and where these versions have particular characteristics which are relevant to the pibroch-song relationship, they are also used.

An outline transcription made by the author is used to exemplify the salient features of the style of playing. An audio tape will accompany the thesis for each case study. These recordings will appear as follows:

Present day performance of the pibroch.

Related song version(s),

Author's own performance.

Where a recording of the present day pibroch style is not available, then a recording is made in what is perceived, by the author, to be the accepted style of today.

The case studies vary in length from the longer case studies 1-4 to relatvely shorter studies. These later studies identify the essential features without having to reiterate features which are discussed in the introduction and are found to be common to many of the tunes. Each case study has its own conclusion which is followed by an overall conclusion at the end of the thesis.

THESIS

The Scottish pibroch tradition has been dependent on the competition system for its preservation, ever since the first competition held by the Highland Society of London in 1781[1].

The effects of the continued patronage of the Highland Societies of London and Scotland, with their attempts to standardise pibroch by awarding cash prizes to those who could notate the music 'scientifically' (Cooke 1987, MacInnes 1989), as well as the influences of other competition patrons has, over time, resulted in a standardised style of pibroch playing with little variation in melodic or rhythmic style. Such variation is the hallmark of a healthy musical tradition.

This study attempts to show that present day pibroch style, which is generally believed to represent the culmination of an authoritative and dependable aural transmission through specific 'schools' of piping has changed quite dramatically.[2] Each generation of pupils is said to have identified with a particular 'master' from whom, it is assumed, the genuine style has been retained. When attempts are made to define the styles, they frequently depend on pedantic assumptions or beliefs which have been created within the competitive environment and which, in the view of the writer, have no major musical relevance.[3]

The argument that the style has changed is not a new one. Cooke, (1972) in his seminal article on Maol Donn, quotes from a variety of writers who,

---

1 The first was held in Falkirk in 1781, but in 1783 and thereafter, it was held in Edinburgh where it was patronised by the Highland Society of Scotland. This continued annually until 1826 and then triennially until 1844. (Campbell 1948, MacInnes 1989) The Highland Society of London may have been formed in response to the setting up of the Gaelic Society of London in 1777. (CMg. 1877 vol 2 p. 362.) But see MacInnes (1989) for further detailed information.

2 See Cannon 1988: 81

3 For instance one or two features which separate the 'Cameron school' from the 'John MacDonald school' concern the introductory Es of pibrochs. It is said that the Camerons had a particular rule that, when the E goes on to a themal low A it is played long, but when played onto a low G it is played short. (Information from Mr. Andrew MacNeill, Isle of Colonsay) There are many other examples of one particular school holding a particular note in a phrase where the other cut but the overall effect on the musical performance style is small.

in the early years of this century, were complaining about contemporary playing style. In the same article, he suggests that the modern ways of playing pibroch differ from an earlier style of playing which was rhythmically and melodically closely associated with Gaelic song. This thesis will demonstrate that this is indeed the case. It will also vindicate the statement that

> 'pibroch as it was played then presented fewer problems of rhythm and phrasing than it does today and was more easily understood'. (Cooke 1972: 41)

This was because the method of oral/aural transmission of this idiom was set in the context of the pipers' own language and culture and free from the patronage of an unfamiliar, non Gaelic, English speaking culture. This method of transmission was subsequently undermined by pibroch publications notated in a standard European format. This was a useful mnemonic for the piper who was now able to refer to one or more melodic settings, provided one ignored the deceptive notated rhythm. The difficulties of interpretation, which the present day musicologist might perceive in the manuscript and published sources, are derived as much from his or her separation from the socio-cultural setting in which the music developed as from the shortcomings of transcription techniques. This separation can be closely associated with the cultural upheaval which occurred in the Gaelic speaking Highlands in the post-Culloden years. Pibroch was transplanted from Gaelic culture where it had a more functional role rather than the more contrived Lowland setting of stage performance in competition. The evidence is amplified by the existence of a range of variant styles and versions implied in the different pibroch collections. But, despite this evidence of a rich and complex web of melodies and variants, pibroch notation and, by implication, pibroch style, has become exceedingly standardised. Cannon (1980: 49) states:

> 'Thus we can now see in the variant readings the kind of latitude which the great pipers of the past were prepared to allow themselves in forming their own personal styles. At present all players are agreed as to settings, and every last grace note is held sacred.'

Buisman, in a series of detailed analyses, (see bibliography), has also implied that the styles of playing have altered.

The evidence of scholarly research shows that pibroch performance style has changed quite dramatically over the last two hundred years. However, analysis and comparison of historical transcriptions alone are not enough to inform us of the nature of pibroch performance unless the notation is set in the context of song and language rhythms. This observation is made with the understanding that however exactly one attempts to notate music, it can never be more than an approximation. (Brailoiu 1984: xv)

This thesis rests on the assumption that if one is to find the genuine style for a piece of instrumental music in a nation's traditional musical idiom, it is necessary to consult and compare the song sources where they exist. For example, Petrie(1855: x) in his introduction makes an interesting comment on the versions of airs played by harpers and instrumentalists:

> 'Except in the case of tunes of a purely instrumental character, I have found such authorities usually the least to be trusted, and that it was only from the chanting of vocalists, who combined words with the airs, that settings could be made which would have any stamp of authenticity.'

Other musicians and writers stress the importance of the links between song and language in music which have the same implications as the above statement.(See Ch.1.3).In a society such as Gaelic Scotland instrumental music was probably quite isolated from European musical influences.[4] In this respect, one would expect that the rhythms of instrumental music would be closely associated with the language. It was probably not until the Scottish regiments began to use the pipes in a professional sense, which led to the development of regularly timed marches and other categories, that the repertoire, for the most part, became a purely instrumental one. A study of the earlier 'light music' collections such as Angus MacKay's Piper's Assistant shows that a great number of tunes had Gaelic words to them which are still known at the present day, and it is also likely that just as many words to tunes have been lost in transmission. It would be wrong to state that all pibroch melodies or

---

4 Joan Rimmer in her Cramb Lecture, Glasgow Unversity, 3.05.90 showed how such tunes as The King's Taxes and Lament from the Earl of Antrim are metrically similar to some of Arbeau's dance tunes of 1588 (Langres, Dijon, France) which were there called 'Branles d'Escosse'. The implication is that the pibrochs were performed much more rapidly than the present day style and may have represented some form of dance tune in the Scottish Highlands.

tunes in 'light music' were based on particular Gaelic songs. For example I consider that tunes such as The Unjust Incarceration and Flame of Wrath for Squinting Patrick were probably purely instrumental in origin. What is important to realise, however, is that the rhythms which would be used in purely instrumental compositions would, for the most part, be ones with which the composers were familiar. These familiar rhythms would exist in the Gaelic language and as will be seen in this study, the basic conventions and embellishments which, in many cases, later became more technically complex, are also to be found in the rhythms of the language.

There are, therefore, some pertinent questions to be considered with regard to the present style of pibroch performance. Why is it that, although pibroch emerged and developed in a Gaelic speaking society in Scotland, where the majority of pibrochs are recognisable by their Gaelic folk titles, this music, today, has little rhythmic affinity with the Gaelic song tradition? The rich rhythmic textures which are to be found throughout Gaelic song are not to be found in present day pibroch performance.[5] Why is it that a great many of the pibroch tunes which have been notated and are published at present, are rarely heard except when they are chosen as set, test pieces for competition? Could it be that the functional music of a previous culture is no longer appealing to twentieth century society, or could it be that the written scores are too detailed and prescriptive or just too open to misinterpretation? (This is a fundamental problem throughout music.)

A recent article by a prominent prize winner which gave advice on learning pibrochs stated:

> 'Memorisation at this stage takes days or weeks. But within a year or two the technique becomes more automatic and the tunes start to make a bit of sense'.[6]

I suggest that something has gone wrong with the pibroch tradition when it takes a year or two for a piece of music to appear to make sense? Is it

---

5 For example, Cooke (1972: 54) writes of the 'delicate interrelationship of language, rhythm and melody in Gaelic song' while describing the singing style of Kate MacDonald of South Uist.

6 See the Canadian Journal 'Piper and Drummer' May 1994 Vol 11 issue 3, 'Piobaireachd: What's in it for You?' by Jim McGillivray, Clasp winner.

possible that a highly selective oral tradition would retain and transmit music which is now so difficult to learn and perform in this century? It is a truism to state that tunes must have been memorable for them to have survived. One might suspect that the modern pibroch player has lost the ability to learn and retain this music as we assume many of our forebears were able to do. This thesis, however, will help to demonstrate how one can learn a pibroch *ùrlar* in a relatively much shorter time than at the present day because of the identification of and greater empathy between rhythm, melody and tempo. It is argued here that present day performance, at least as it is heard in competition, is memorable more for its lack of rhythm and melody than for inspirational musical qualities.

So what has gone wrong with the tradition?

I suggest that pibroch's divorce from the rhythms of the Gaelic language and its adaptation to a predominantly English speaking rhythm, with a subsequent greater dependence on the written scores (see also Cooke 1987) has left the modern pibroch player unable to interpret pibroch in the way in which it was originally intended to be performed. Its patronage and 'preservation' through a competitive system has meant that many alternative settings and styles have been 'ironed out' in order to set a standard for judging.

Standardisation has resulted in a predictable performance style which can be summed up by referring to one anonymous correspondent to the Oban Times who stated:

> 'The majority of the musicians are, I am afraid, conventional and convention in art is the end of all things is it not?'('Early Celtic Music' 14/9/1895)

CHAPTER 1

Ch.1.1 HISTORICAL: USE AND STYLE.[7]

PIBROCH IN GAELIC SOCIETY.

Gaelic society laid great stress on its poetic and musical sophistication and organisation[8] and it was in this environment that pibroch developed, reaching its high point probably in the early years of the eighteenth century. The two idioms of poetry and music, which were at that time probably more distinguishable by their performance medium (eg. pipes, fiddle, etc.) than by their style, were patronised by the Highland aristocracy until around the beginning of the eighteenth century.[9] Pennant (1772 vol. 2 p.301) Burt (1754: letter 21:143) and Kirkwood (see Campbell 1975:49) testify to the relatively high status of piping in the pre-1745 Society. The failure of the Rising in 1745 and subsequent social repression was probably the greatest threat to the pibroch tradition. (Cooke: 1987: 400 ; Cannon 1988: 73) Joseph MacDonald would seem to have feared the possibility of the tradition being lost when he described in his manuscript (ed. Cannon 1994: 25) that it contained:

'all the Terms of Art in which this Instrument was originally taught by its first Masters and Composers in the Islands of Sky and Mull'.

and that it was all

> 'Carefully collected and preservd in its Antient Style and Form, without Alteration or Amendment' (ibid)

Although as Cannon (1994: 7) states, 'Joseph tells us little about the functional purpose of pipe music', and that:

> 'a piece can be a gathering, a lament, a march etc. 'according to the occasion'.

---

7 The distinction which Merriam (1964: 210) made between use and function is acknowledged. 'Use' is concerned with how music is used in certain activities, frequently becoming part of the activity. These particular uses may or may not have a deeper function.

8 J. MacKenzie (Ed. 1840) Introduction to SO.

9 The last chief who had a bard and piper was Iain Breac MacLeod who died in 1693. (W.Matheson, 1970: 131)

the pipes clearly had a number of functions which were, to some extent, recognisable in the character of the music. Some of these characteristics, which are modal, as well as rhythmical, are discussed by Joseph MacDonald. (ibid. 67-73)

The term of convenience ,'pibroch', used in this study and also called *'ceòl mór'* by Gaelic speakers, does not appear anywhere in his manuscript. He uses terms which differentiate between different styles of tunes. Although the reader is not made aware of the extent to which the Gaelic society of his time used the same terms, he refers to marches, laments, gatherings and other categories throughout his manuscript.(see Cannon 1994 for details) He also uses terms such as 'martial', 'rhapsody', 'siciliana' and other Italian musical terms like 'adagio' and 'allegro' in an attempt to describe the character of the music and by implication, the style of performance. Although these terms by themselves, do not tell us much about the tempo and style of the performances per se, they do at least inform us that there was a range of rhythms and tempos, possibly as varied as the differentiation which is present in, (and using the term of convenience), *'ceòl beag'* or light music. The twentieth century pibroch player who uses the generic term 'pibroch' and plays each type of pibroch eg. lament, salute, march in a fairly homogenous style, is witness to the standardisation which has occured in the pibroch idiom. One would find it very difficult to differentiate between types of tunes played on the present day pibroch competition platform except, possibly, some of the gathering tunes which are easily recognisable by their repetitive short melodic motifs. The non-pibroch repertoire remains very specific however, with a clear distinction between, for example, marches, strathspeys and reels .

Although the distinctions between the different types of pibroch are more subtle than in the case of light music categories, they nevertheless existed and were probably closely related to function. The demise of the traditional patronage by the chief to his retinue in the post-1745 era, and the increasing anglicisation of the chief may have slightly blurred the association of style and function by the time Joseph MacDonald wrote about it. An increasing lack of precision in Gaelic poetic terminology was seemingly also occurring.(see Matheson 1970). Joseph MacDonald's comments in the opening page of his manuscript that the tunes were:

'Carefully collected and preserved in its Antient Style and Form, without Alteration or Amendment'

suggests that the tradition was in decline by that stage. This decline may partly explain the rather simplistic distinction which he made between the marches, laments and gatherings on account of the construction of the tune, i.e. the number of 'fingers'[10] in each. This he called the 'Rule of Thumb' (ed.1994: 64) which the eighteenth century pipers used as a guide for composition. It seems a rather rigid theoretical system that differentiates the kinds of pibroch according to the number of 'fingers' in a piece. There are a lot of pibrochs which do not fit his categorisation according to this 'number of fingers'. A familiarity with the song idiom may have given rise to a fairly common procedure which appears to have resulted in songs of four phrases developing into, most commonly, eight-phrased pibrochs. This may have become a fairly spontaneous procedure also for the piper /composers and may have been an extempore process in some compositions. This extempore composition might be more credible with some of the gathering tunes, not necessarily song-based, but a number of pibrochs could have been created in this manner by one who was at ease with the melodic and rhythmic idiom.

It is well documented that the pipes were used for lamentation, warning or gathering the clansmen, as an incitement to battle and for praise or welcome, as well as for a number of other events or features of entertainment which the titles of the tunes themselves often suggest. That the pipes were used for an even wider variety of functions in Scotland is confirmed by a number of early writers, some of whom had travelled throughout the Highlands. The observations of those writers show that the piper, as a musician, often formed part of the company involved in the work process. In respect of this, one can only conclude that the tunes must have represented the rhythms which were chosen to accompany the specific processes, just as the waulking song does in the song tradition. One cannot be sure that the tunes used were pibroch tunes. However, the evidence presented in this thesis strongly suggests that there were some pibrochs which approximated measured time.

---

10 These were units of construction which were approximately equivalent to one bar of music. See also Lorimer(1962: 5.).

As early as the 16th century, it was customary for pipers to play to shearers in Renfrewshire, in the Lowlands of Scotland. (MacFarlane 1908: 261)[11] The custom was apparently continued up until the end of the eighteenth century. Logan(1831: 275) also states that the piper was frequently engaged during harvest time:

> 'to animate the reapers and he generally keeps behind the slowest worker'

Knox, who made a tour through the Highlands and Islands in 1786 (Dalyell 1849: 39) found that in Skye, while the people were building their roads, each party had a piper. Burt (vol ii: 129-130) observed that:

> 'Sometimes they were incited to their work by the sound of the bagpipe. Also they used the same tone, or a piper, when they thickened the new proven plaiding.'

This is clear evidence that the piper took part in the waulking as well and it is quite conceivable that certain pibrochs could be used for other work processes. A couple of examples of tunes which may have been used in the more regular rhythmic work process such as reaping and rowing are Grain in hides and Corn in Sacks (Gràn an seacannan siol am pocannan [reaping]) and Weighing from Land (Togail bho thìr [rowing])[12] I have also made an extensive study of this relationship but as there is only one phrase with which to compare with an orally recorded version of this century,which differs greatly from a more contemporary version recorded in Patrick MacDonald's collection - the result cannot be too conclusive. Rhythmically, it is also a fairly uncomplicated tune. The pipes may well

---

11 The original source of this is a mid eighteenth century publication called the 'Paisley Repository' where there is an epitaph to Habbie Simpson, a famous piper from Kilbarchan, who lived in the 16th century. The editor of the Repository made notes for the readership on a stanza which begins: 'Or quha will caus our scheirers schier; Quha will bang up the brags of weir' the first line which refers to the shearers and the second with the 'brags of weir' translated by the editor as "or Pibrochs played at wapon schawings."

12 See also reference to Buisman's research in Chapter 1:2. Togail bho thìr is called Dead's Lament in the Campbell Cannaireachd (Vol 2, no.56) and probably represented one of songs sung as the rowers transported the coffins by sea to particular islands such as Iona for burial. Grain in hides and corn is sacks is called Cha'm nun Kersavag ([We?] went over to Kersavag) in the CC: Vol 2 no. 35.) It could originally have been a rowing song according to this title though.

have been used on the *bìrlinn* or galley for the oarsmen to keep time to and there is a reference to this in the song to the pibroch Fàilte Dhuntròin (Duntroon's Salute)[13] which runs:

> 'Piobaireachd air clàr na luinge 'S dlùth ort cunnart a Dhùntròin
>
> (Piping on the deck of the ship and close to you the danger from Duntroon.)

and later in the same song:

> 'Piobaireachd air long fo sheòl
> (Piping on a ship under sail)

The piper would seem to have been a natural extension of the musical environment in which workers operated.

Thomas Newte(1791: 274)[14] was impressed by the role which music had in the daily activities:

> 'Throughout the whole of the Highlands there are, at this day, various songs sung by the women to suitable airs, or played on musical instruments not only on occasions of merriment and diversion, but also during almost every kind of work which employs more than one person, such as milking cows, watching the folds, fulling of cloth, grinding of grain with the quern or hand mill, hay-making and reaping of corn. These songs and tunes reanimate for a time the drooping labourer, and make him work with redoubled ardour. In travelling through the Highlands, in the season of Autumn, the sounds of little bands of music on every side, joined to a most romantic scenery, has a very pleasing effect on the mind of a stranger.' [15]

---

13 This is more commonly known as Fuaim na Tuinne ri Duntreòin (The Sound of the Waves against the Castle of Duntroon.) (PS 6:176) The song appears in CMo. Vol V p.8.

14 Interestingly, Thomas Newte's observations and accounts of his travels were used as source material for several subsequent publications. For example, in Patrick MacDonald's (1784) collection, the introductory essay quotes almost verbatim on the uses of the bagpipes. {This essay may have been written by Ramsay of Ochtertyre.} Sir John Carr (1809) also used him as a source.

15 Thomson(1974: 57) cites Tolmie (1911: 235), stating that every kind of outdoor work was accompanied by song in Skye around the early part of the nineteenth century. He also cites the Rev. Norman MacDonald

Although he does not specify the types of musical instruments, there is no reason to exclude the pipes from this scenario. He later differentiates between the large bagpipe :

> 'for war, marriage, funeral processions, and other great occasions' (p 275)

and refers to:

> 'a smaller kind, on which dancing tunes are played'.

and this is confirmed by Joseph MacDonald (1760).

But Newte stresses the importance of pibroch in the tradition when he states:

> 'A certain species of this wind music, called *pibrachs* rouses the native Highlander in the same way that the sound of the trumpet does the war horse'

This statement is important as it shows that by 1791 the generic term was being used by people outside the tradition who set pibroch apart from the other types of music. There are eighteenth century references to pibroch spelled in various ways in the Dictionary of the Scottish Tongue and the impression is clearly that the style of music meant by this genre was lively.[16] One has to be careful on the use of the term as it was probably used in a fairly general context but it points to a style which did not differ from light music as much as it does at the present day, having characteristics of a 'martial' type. References made during the eighteenth

---

recalling the men and women 'singing lustily, in the fields as they went about their work' around the time of the first World War.(original source: Gairm vol 15, 20)

16 Patrick MacDonald's use of the word 'pibrach' may not be the earliest to differentiate between it and other kinds of pipe music. The Dictionary, under 'Pibroch' has a number of references, the eighteenth century ones of which are: 1719 Quhyle, play and Pibrochs, Minstralls meit Afore him stately strade [Ramsay Ever Green 2, 256]; 1757: Donald, ye may gang and entertain her with a pibroch of Macreemon's composition'. [Smollett Reprisal 1 ii] 1761: 'He breaks your rest with a jigg, and rushes on you with all the martial strains of a peebruch'.[Magopico 39] Note that in the introductory essay to Rev. Patrick MacDonald's (1784) collection entitled 'On the influence of poetry and music upon the Highlanders', the word 'pibrach' is also used in the context of 'pibrach or cruineachadh' (gathering) (p.13)

century then, suggest that Pibroch, as a specific genre, had a special importance in so far as it was effective in animating the listener. Pibroch would seem to have had at least as much a role to play as 'light music' during the eighteenth century although there would appear to have been a rich light music tradition also as the early sources such as Donald MacDonald's (1828) collection and Angus MacKay's(1849-1859) Ms. of light music alone demonstrates. (see also MacInnes 1988) There is further evidence to show that the demarcation between the pibroch *ùrlar* and light music was not as clear as at the present day. Pibrochs such as Gabhaidh sinne Rathad mor (CS 11) and Carles with the Breeks (CS2), are good examples of tunes which, if played in eighteenth century style, would likely be classed as 'light music' by a present day listener.

The descriptions of the early pibroch competitions at the end of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, provide useful images of the pipers' composure when performing and therefore of the style of the music itself. For instance, at the first piping competitions held in Edinburgh in 1783 the traveller Faujas de Saint Fond described the nature of the competition where:

> 'the air he played was a kind of sonata, divided into three parts.' [Adam] Smith begged me to give it my whole attention, and to tell him...the impression it made on me. But I confess that at first I could distinguish neither air nor design. I only saw the piper marching always with rapidity and with the same warlike countenance. A second musician .....wearing the same martial look and walking to and fro with the same haughty air.' (p.248)

Saint Fond's ignorance of 'air or design,' may have been a misunderstanding of the irregular, unmeasured time which one would expect to sense in both Gaelic song and pibroch. This is discussed in the next section.

Although one has to be fairly guarded when attempting to draw useful evidence of musical performance style from observers' descriptions, in total they may be useful in suggesting the style of performance as one would not expect a very slow tune to be played in a fashion which is described as 'strutting'. Sir John Carr (1809) who attended the Edinburgh competitions in 1807[17] had similar observations to Saint Fond:

---

17 He states that the first prize went to the piper to the laird of McNab and Breadalbane(p179) who won in 1807 (MacKay 1838: 17)

> 'He strutted up and down with the most stately march, and occasionally enraptured his audience, who expressed the influence of his instrument by loud and reiterated plaudits.'(p176)

This suggests that the style of performance was more animated than present day style imparts.

Although Joseph MacDonald in his Treatise (ed. 1994:80) states that

> 'As Slow Pipe Musick (viz the marches) is always performed walking, it gives the Performer a better Opportunity of discovering a gracefulness of carryage in Feature and Attitude;'[18]

one may be mistaken in inferring from the early descriptions of visual performance style in competitions that the tempo was faster. Apart from considering that they were more rhythmical in style, there is other evidence to suggest that the tempos were faster.

Campbell (1953) deduces, albeit guardedly, from his examination of the records of competitions in Angus MacKay's (1838) collection:

> 'I am inclined to deduce from the time tables of the competitions that piobaireachds in those days were played distinctly faster than you hear them at present-day competitions. I am not sure however.'

Campbell also suggests that the repetition of the *ùrlar* after the Taorluath and Crunluath doublings, which was a regular feature of the early performances, was evidence that the pibroch was played faster than it is now. (1953 prt.2: 6)

---

18 Collinson(1975: 182) adequately explains the confusion which exists over the use of the term 'march' in pibroch. Joseph MacDonald (see Cannon 1994: 61, 80) calls it 'the slowest species of pipe music' which from internal evidence is a piece to be performed in unmeasured time. The subsequent adoption of this term, by the pipers in the military, to denote a regular tempo or measured time, has no bearing on the pibroch style. This is an unfortunate translation from Gaelic of the word *'spaisdearachd'* or *'spaidsearachd'* which is a characteristic type of walking. MacEachan (1862) has 'walking backward and forward'. *'Spaidsearachd a'phìobaire'* has connotations of a 'haughty and proud' expression in performance. This would seem to accord with the derisive description given by Carr(1809) previously referred to. There is a Gaelic proverb which refers to 'spaidsearachd a phìobaire'.

Dalyell (1849:105) on the early competition at Falkirk in 1781 also wrote that the 'duration of piobrachs .....was by no means abridged as at present' suggesting that the competitons were the cause of the pipers discontinuing the habit of playing the ùrlar after every variation such as is shown in the case study of A' Ghlas Mheur (CS 4) This particular case study shows that Campbell's deductions were well founded. In addition, an animated rhythmical style is a feature which would have been common to many of those pibroch tunes.

For some listeners in the early nineteenth century, this animated feature was no longer recognisable, for McCulloch, on his visit to the Western Isles in 1824 stated

> 'The vocal melodies of the Highlands are pleasing with their regular rhythm' but that the pibroch had 'neither time, rhythm, melody, cadence nor accent.' (in I. McLennan1907: 7)

find macculloch's original reference

McCulloch (see Dalyell 1849: 85-6) also described pibroch as having:

> 'an extremely irregular character, scarcely containing a determined melody.'

It may be that these remarks had as much to do with the problems McCulloch had in appreciating pibroch's phrase structure. However, there is a suggestion in these comments that, already by the 1820s, the mainstream pibroch players were beginning to play more slowly than in the pre-competition days of before 1781. The internal evidence from the Donald MacDonald scores seems to support this.

We do not know how much of a musician McCulloch was. Neither is it known to what extent Dalyell (1849) was a musician, although he probably judged at the Edinburgh competitions. He wrote about pibrochs',

> 'frequent deficiency of air, which can admit of no dispute, may be sought in the antiquity of the theme.'

But he suggests the quality of the performer has a lot to account for people's attitudes to the music, a suggestion which is no less relevant today.

Prof. Colin Brown, in contrast, was a respected musician who stated towards the end of the nineteenth century:

> 'The pibroch is played in a very irregular manner, and without reference to melodic form.'(McLennan 1907: 7)

which is similar to the question from a Gael of the same period in a letter to the Oban Times (8/8/1893) :

> 'how is it that 'Pìobaireachd' is the only species of the music of the Gael that has neither time, tune, melody or rhythm in it?'

MacFarlane,(GnB Vol V. p.357) had similar ideas when he stated:

> 'Vocal sets of pibrochs have form and rhythm, and can be appreciated for their beauty and feeling; but that much can hardly be said of the pipe sets. I cannot listen to, or look at a piece of pibroch music, without wanting to get at the underlying air that is being mutilated by the piper's method of rendering it.'

These comments give some idea of the problems which the pibroch tradition has had for some time, possibly since as far back as the closing years of the eighteenth century. More certainly, it would seem that the style of playing at the beginning of this present century did not differ greatly from the current style. MacFarlane's observations are borne out by recordings of the late John MacDonald of Inverness[19] where the differences in style between his and that of the present day, are small and unimportant. That is, the small points of expression which differentiate one pibroch performance from another in present day competitions are similar in kind to those apparent in John MacDonald's style. There is no appreciable rhythmical difference although his phrasing, in some cases, is more obvious.

As will become apparent in this study, the characteristics which separate the Gaelic song idiom and pibroch are more structural than melodic. In rhythmical and melodic terms, the distinction is a matter of terminological convenience.

What is important to realise is that the function and uses of pibroch changed. Therefore, it is expected that the nature of the music should have changed also. Pibroch was transplanted from the villages and communities around Gaelic speaking Scotland into the function halls of

---

19 78 speed recordings in School of Scottish Studies Archives.

urban society where the pipers were judged by their social, not musical, superiors. The philosopher Adam Smith who took Saint Fond to the Edinburgh (1783) competition in 'a spacious concert room, plainly but neatly decorated and full of people'. He told his guest:

> 'These there are the judges of the competition which is about to take place among the musicians. Almost all of them are landlords living in the Isles or Highlands of Scotland; they are thus the natural judges of the contest'(Saint Fond p.247)

On the other hand, Collinson(1975:180) points out

'The panel of nearly thirty judges apparently contained few, if any competent pipers; it consisted of:

> 'peers, baronets, lairds, retired army officers, and Edinburgh professional men.'(Campbell 1948: 8, MacInnes 1989:49)

As has been mentioned above and dealt with in detail by MacInnes (1989) and other researchers such as Cooke (1987) and Cannon(1988) the Highland Societies had a large part to play in the preservation of pibroch. However, in order to preserve it in the context of a competition system, it was necessary and logical, given that the judges were not necessarily musicians, to standardise the music by writing it 'scientifically'.

The Highland Regiments of the Army also had a role to play in the preservation of pibroch. Murray (1975: 7) identifies 1757 as the date at which the Highland regiments were first created and MacInnes (1989) notes that the seven years' war post 1756 was first the main impetus to piping in the army. The influence on pipe music was ultimately very great, with pipers being enlisted for the purpose of playing music. In two sources which approximate 1770 and 1778 as the relevant dates[20], a list of tunes which were played by the Argyll or Western Fencibles and the 72nd Highanders is given. Some of those apparently played were MacRae's March, Tulloch Ard, The Battle of Strome, Fingerlock, Bodaich nam Briogais. Murray (1975: 9) doubts that these tunes could have been used,

---

20 The first date, 1770, refers to the Argyll or Western Fencibles' but no further information is given on the source for this material.(Murray 1975:11)The 1778 dated refers to an order book for the 72nd Highlanders containing a list of tunes played on regimental duty. Apparently this information came from an historian who had access to the book. However, it seems to have vanished. See also Cannon (1988:121)

and treats the source material with 'a certain amount of reserve' (p11) because, as he states:.

> 'nobody was going to stand there like this while a man hammered through the ground of a piobaireachd. They weren't going to wait that long.'(p.9)

His scepticism arises on account of the discrepancy in tempos between the pibroch and others tunes which involved marching. He considers pibroch to have been too slow for the more ordered manouvres of the army, some of which were, he states, at 72 paces to the minute. It is quite conceivable that those tunes named above, which appear to be very improbable, were adapted by the military order, to be played in a fairly regular time for the purpose of marching. This thesis examines two of the above, The Fingerlock and Bodaich nam Briogais demonstrating that they were indeed played more rapidly and with a rhythmic regularity which is closer to what the modern piper would regard as '*ceol beag* or light music. '

The uses to which these tunes were put in the army, seems to represent an adaptation for the day to day operations of the army. It is not inconceivable that the particular tunes which were used in this way had also been associated with particular events in Highland society as well, and were easily adapted to suit events in the army.

The association of a piper with a military regiment, rather than with a specific Highland clan is documented in 1642 as a 'piper to a company of regiment'.(Dalyell 1849: 23)[21] We, unfortunately, have no knowledge of the type of music which was played, but it was probably quite animated.

The very animated style suggested by the uses to which these tunes were put in the army has been replaced by a slow, standard style throughout the pibroch repertoire. As Rimmer in her Cramb Lecture (1990) stated:

---

21 Dalyell also refers to the Argyle Highlanders entering Dundee and Perth, with each company having its own piper, playing the following named tunes: 'The Campbells are coming oho oho; Wilt thou play me fair play Highland ladie; Stay and take the breiks with thee. The first one does not seem to be associated with the pibroch idiom. The second may be the same 'Highland Laddie' known in light music which has the Gaelic title: *Càit an robh thu 'n diugh 's an dé?* [Where were you today and yesterday?] (see MacKay 1843 ed.1872 p.9) The third title is not known to the writer. Dalyell adds 'All these three tunes were in derision of the Highlanders.'(p. 23)

> ' .....a well known phenomenon - that if music is slowed down to a point where its structural impulse is virtually dissipated, it turns into something else'.

The competition system undoubtedly had a great part to play in this development, to the extent that the whole of the pibroch repertoire has been standardised so that no appreciable distinctions exist in present day performance style. In competitions, the pipers generally know what the judges are looking for, and set out to play what will win a prize for them. Some are more able than others to adapt to different judges' tastes.[22]The differences between different performances in competition are frequently narrowed down to factors which are more technical (eg. 'mistakes' in notation; tone of instrument.) Points of criticism are frequently pedantic referring to the choice of particular gracings for example, the relative values given to particular motifs and a concern with 'consistency', where each motif or phrase should be played the same way throughout the *ùrlar* . As Cannon (1980:49) states:

> 'At present all players are agreed as to settings, and every last grace note is held sacred'.

For music which has been handed down, for the most part, in an oral tradition, this artificial stereotyping is anathema to the Gael who is sensitive to traditional musical culture.

CHAPTER 1.2

SCHOLARSHIP AND RESEARCH.

Apart from the discussion on the rather vague subjective statements in the previous section which tend to suggest pibroch is an enigma, this is

---

22 Robert Nicol, SA/1977/164/A13 talks about pipers in previous generations who changed style to suit the occasion.

further confounded by a dearth of literature on the subject of pibroch performance style. This shortcoming is equally true with Western musical analysis in general which has scarcely dealt with the subject of musical performance, (Kerman 1985:197).Apart from the published texts of notated pibroch, and editors' notes which have occasionally appeared with these,[23] there has been little research in this area until within the last twenty years.

The translations of the Campbell or Nether Lorn syllabic notation, (misleadingly called the Campbell or Nether Lorn Canntaireachd,[24]) earlier this century, although discovering a rich repertoire of music, did nothing in practice to reveal an older style of performance. Unfortunately, the Campbell notation was edited to endorse a particular style and 'translated' alongside the published Piobaireachd Society texts with the purpose, presumably, of making the edited version more authentic. Present day style evolved, despite the editors being careful to state that pibroch notations should represent little more than aides-memoires {Campbell (1948) and Cannon,(1980: 50)} While this is understood by present day pipers, the reality is that the written texts have more influence on the pibroch player today than ever before and pipers are left to gauge ideas of performance practice from the prescriptive notations of the Piobaireachd Society assisted by quasi-traditional lines of interpretation.

In general, previous scholarship and editing has been most concerned with analysis of metre and structure. This includes the works of Thomason (1900) and G.F.Ross (1926 and 1929). Thomason laid the foundations for the approach to text editing which has been adopted throughout this century by the Pìobaireachd Society (Second series, 1925 -1990) and the Kilberry Collection. (1948) For recent scholarship in this area of structure and metre see Lorimer (1962, 1964)[25] .

---

23 eg. Pìobaireachd Society Series, Kilberry Collection(Campbell 1948) and Sidelights on Kilberry.(Campbell 1984)

24 The reason this term is misleading is because the syllables employed by Campbell could not have represented an orally transmitted system because many of the sounds are alien to the Gaelic language/ music tradition. See Buisman (April 1987.)

25 Lorimer's analyses are very detailed and thorough. In the first instance (1962) he sets out to vindicate Joseph MacDonald's 'antient rule' that pibroch metre was in four quarters and concludes that the manner in

One series of publications, Binneas is Borreraig (Ross: 1959) broke with tradition and notated the tunes in phrases rather than metrical barring going some way towards recognising the problem of measured time in pibroch. Nevertheless, the specific features which have been responsible for setting pibroch apart from the Gaelic idiom, and which will shortly be discussed, are in this series. Ross's interpretations, however, are less rhythmically restrictive than the Pìobaireachd Society publications.

Much of the research on pibroch form has been very useful in revealing its construction, demonstrating the frequent reoccurence of melodic figures, and therefore making pibroch easier to understand and memorise. However, the prevailing preoccupation with analysis according to the number of bars is obviously founded on the assumption that this music could be notated in accordance with a European system of notation, without adapting it to suit the pibroch tradition. (Cooke 1987). It still tells us little about performance style and is based on the somewhat arbitrary setting of bar lines by the earliest notators.

The shortcomings of regular metrical barring of a notation which implied strictly measured time, was a constraint which the notators realised even though no other system of notation was devised to attempt to describe the style more exactly. For example, Campbell(1953: 6) as well as others, [26] was wary of the use of bars of music and regarded them merely as a

---

which 4,6,4,1 metre tunes have been presented as such, 'not only obscures but falsifies their true musical form'. In the second he deals with tertiary metre in relation to Joseph MacDonald's rule and places the compositions in a chronological context according to their metrical and melodic characteristics. The problem remains, that melodic features of a pibroch are probably as much defined by the nature of the song melody on which many were based as the compositional features which developed it. This would tend to upset any chronological scheme set up which allowed one to date a tune as the song and pibroch traditions would both have been in a constant state of change. This is a complex area in which, at this stage, it is difficult to come to any definite conclusions and further research is clearly required. Some, less scholarly, analysis has been presented by Haddow (1982) who deals with the historical background of pibroch tunes and discusses the metre of uneven lined pibroch. He also groups some of the pibroch repertory according to structure. Much more research, however, is required in this direction.

26 A number of pibroch players have expressed dissatisfaction with the use of barred music. See Cannon (1980:50); Robert Meldrum's 'Reminiscences' PT.Vol 3 no.6.

convenience in identifying phrases of sentences of pibroch. Just as the structure of orally transmitted sung poetry, in most languages remains: 'at least an ever debatable point' (Brailiou: 1984: 23), so will the structure of pibroch, especially if any analysis is to be based on the number of bars in a tune, rather than the number of phrases. So, treatment of metre in this thesis will extend only as far as the song melody and form can be identified in the pibroch.

MacKenzie (1981: 354) has suggested a similarity between pibroch and skaldic verse, both in metrical form (eg. four and eight phrase construction) and in the manner of optional stressing, but more research is required in this area before conclusions can be drawn.

A number of pibroch publications have been more controversial such as MacLennan, (1907 and 1925) In his correspondence with the newspapers. for example, The Oban Times, he criticised his peers not only on matters concerning the form of pibroch, but also for the apparent lack of rhythm in pibroch. So he set out to recreate the original style: 'as performed in the Highlands till about the year 1808'. The significance of this year is not clear, but it coincides with the period in which the Highland Societies were awarding prizes to pipers for notating pibroch on the stave. MacKay's 1838 collection cites 1808 as the year in which a prize was awarded for this to John MacDonald, son of Donald MacDonald who had received an award two years previous to this, (ed. 1972: 17). MacLennan would seem to be suggesting that it was from this period, circa. 1808, that the deficiencies in performance style had their provenance.

His publications are interesting in that they show that by the early part of this century some people were emerging who were incensed by what they saw as a changing style of performance. MacLennan's criticism would seem to be that the rhythm and tempo changed from what was a fairly obvious rhythm and a faster tempo to something akin to present day performance. Unfortunately, he chose to use the regular barred notation without qualification and I suspect the style he suggests was more strictly measured than what would have been found in pibroch performance of the early nineteenth century.

Simon Fraser (ed. Orme 1979) was another compiler, earlier this century, who produced a great number of manuscript tunes, purporting to be in a more original form and style than had previously appeared . His playing

of the cadences is in agreement with what this thesis recommends. However, as Cannon (1980: 48) states:

> 'Fraser was wont to surround his disclosures of authentic material with various and extravagant claims'.

Collinson (1966: 64) was the first to visually show, by means of notated examples, the melodic link between a pibroch and a Gaelic song. In his comparison of the song, Tog orm mo phìob and the pibroch version MacLeod of MacLeod's Lament, he concluded that Angus MacKay's (1838) notated version is closer to the Gaelic rhythm than that of the, unnamed, singer who was clearly very stylised.[27] However, it was clear that a more extensive analysis of the pibroch song relationship was required. His 1975 publication, which is a broad historical analysis of the bagpipe, has a useful section on pibroch, and touches on pibroch/song origins,(p146-164). He suggests two explanations for the titles of pibrochs seemingly not being contemporaneous with the period which the titles of some of the tunes imply.

The first explanation is that a pipe tune was composed around the time of the event, in 'pre-pìobaireachd form' which was later made into a pibroch with the addition of variations.

The second is that the pibroch was composed at a much later date than the event it was commemorating when the pibroch form was understood. Another possibility was suggested by MacFarlane (GnaB Vol 5:369) who stated that

> 'a tune may be older than the event, and, after having been associated with the event, be known afterwards by its later name'.

None of these ideas should be discounted as they are supported by the existence of several titles for one tune: namely Clan Donail Raoich, Là na Maoile Ruaidh and Iseabail NicAoidh . The first two titles may or may not be contemporaneous with the same event but the third, Iseabail NicAoidh is most probably a much later title, (CS 8).

---

27 This was probably the late Angus MacLeod, Scalpay as learned for the National Gaelic Mod.

MacFarlane, like Collinson, suggests that pipers adapted already existing tunes and made them into pibrochs. This, one might expect in any musical tradition - whether done wittingly or unwittingly.

A third explanation, which is put forward in this thesis, is a development of this last point and argues that the songs which were contemporary with the particular events were adapted for the pipes at a later stage and made into the pibroch form.

It was not until 1972 that a scholarly analysis of pibroch and its relationship with Gaelic song appeared. Cooke, (1972: 41-57) in his analysis of the song and pibroch versions of Maol Donn is concerned with the problems of transmission and the shortcomings of the system of notation which the pibroch tradition has adopted. He criticises the lack of rhythmic pulse in modern performance style and partly ascribes this to the method of notating which emphasises introductory E's both at the beginning and throughout the tune. His analysis also shows how a correspondence exists between the verbal accents in the song and the prominent or accented notes in the pibroch performance

More recently, Buisman (Jan. 1991) has compared a pibroch, Paidh Bodaich Nail' ach Ruairi (Nether Lorn title) with a rowing song Iomair thusa Choinnich Chridhe suggesting that the provenance of the pibroch melody was in one of the song versions. As shown in this thesis, this is a feature which is found to be quite common.

In another song-pibroch analysis, but which concentrated on song text only, one of the song versions for Cumha Mhic Cruimein (P..Soc: MacLeod of MacLeod's Lament) was shown to be bogus. (Blankenhorn: 1978: 45-64)

Bruford (1983) addressed the social status of the piper and how the pibroch repertoire fitted into the society of the eighteenth century and earlier. He concluded that pibrochs were generally played much faster than today and furthermore, a great many of these were in 6/8 rhythm.

CHAPTER 1.3

THE PIBROCH AND SONG RELATIONSHIP: HISTORICAL LINKS.

The pibroch tradition has been the subject of, at times, fairly caustic debate on the different styles of performance. It is not beneficial to attempt to cite much of the correspondence or the details of these. It should suffice to make a more generalised statement on the nature of the correspondence and to refer to one or two correspondents in particular.

In consideration of the nature of the subject - music and its performance style- one is immediately disadvantaged in that, just as music from an oral tradition can never be properly notated[28] neither can words be used to describe musical performance sufficiently.

There was extensive correspondence during the last twenty years of the nineteenth century concerning the preservation of pibroch, in newspapers such as the Scottish Highlander, The Oban Times and select Highland periodicals such as An Gàidheal (1871-1877) and Celtic Monthly (1893-1917).

Much of the correspondence in the newspapers this century, in The Oban Times for example, deals with internal details of the tunes, but it is vague and it is therefore difficult to ascertain what style of performance was meant.

One correspondent was Malcolm MacInnes[29], one of a family of pipers in Skye[30],who argued vehemently against others engaged in the debate. For instance in his criticism of Simon Fraser's claims to having the original styles of playing tunes, he states that:

> 'It is surely no system at all that could represent by "Hierierie" as is done in both of Mr.Fraser's "old versions", the double echo on the E (the same which makes the first two beats of "Glencoe"). I chant this as "Haybay umbay"

---

28 Gilbert Rouget's preface to Brailiou's Essays pub. 1984 p.xv. Original statement by Béla Bartók. The full statement appears as ' Strictly speaking, a perfect transcription will only be realised on the day we can entrust the whole thing to the mechanic'.

29 Malcolm MacInnes M.A. Ll.B. was from Drumfearn, towards the South end of the Island of Skye and was brought up in a household which laid great value on its tradition of Gaelic music and song. MacInnes was a piper musician and as well as publishing a collection of pipe tunes (1939) which was heavily influenced by his Skye upbringing, also wrote some operas. See also Cannon (1980: 246.)

30 Information from his grand nephew John MacInnes, Edinburgh.

> and I think I am chanting as I have heard. No piper would reduce these sounds to three syllables'.

An attempt to draw any firm conclusions from this kind of debate is futile as the canntaireachd in the written form is too ambiguous. One would therefore have to hear the correspondent singing both these examples of *canntaireachd* above. One could infer from this though that he meant something like:

Ex. 1.

Ex. 2.

Some of the correspondents sent texts of some versions of specific Gaelic songs which were associated with pibroch in the oral tradition. However, the correspondence does little more than this. Henry Whyte, who used the pen name 'Fionn' was one who contributed much material in this manner as a series of articles in the Celtic Monthly. Another, Malcolm MacFarlane, was a regular contributor to Gaelic periodicals from 1891 until after the First World War on the subject of Gaelic music and song,[31] also made frequent references to the pibroch tradition. Although MacFarlane (1915:76) states that:

'The bagpipe has had practically no influence on Gaelic song music, and Gaelic song music has had very little influence on it.'

he follows this with the comment that:

> 'Piobaireachd is the only bagpipe music which, I think, derives its style from genuine Gaelic music.'

---

31 Malcolm MacFarlane in TGSI (1924-25: 251) Some of his numerous other articles related to Gaelic song are TGSI XXVII (1915:.47) 'Studies in Gaelic Music.', and a series of articles in Guth na Bliadhna V and VI. He had a regular series in CMo starting in Vol. 1 in 1891 until after the first war.

He also observes that:

'some pibrochs are founded on airs not originally made on the pipe' (CMo Vol 10: 123).

He gives examples of these in another article, (GnB vol V p.368) where he identifies 'S leam féin an gleann' (The Glen is mine) in Petrie's collection of Irish airs (ed. Stanford 1902) and makes a link between the song 'Tha Sior Chaoineadh 'm Beinn a'Cheo' and the pibroch 'Fhuair mi pòg o làimh mo Rìgh' (I got a kiss of the King's hand).

The overall impression one gains, from the nature of the correspondence and articles over the period discussed above, is that the Gaelic song tradition, which had previously been so close to the pibroch idiom, was by this time, in the manner of performance style, independent of the pibroch tradition.

There is strong evidence then, to suggest that some changes have taken place in the pibroch tradition, or else there would not have been so much acrimonious debate in the past. Cannon (1988: 89) identifies several 'dissident players' for example, Finlay MacLeod (1783-1835) who at the beginning of the nineteenth century complained of the 'modernisation of pibroch playing'. John Johnston of Coll was very vociferous but unspecific. An examination of his correspondence with Seton Gordon[32] proved inconclusive. There were a few other writer/performers, later this century, who were quite vociferous in their criticism of pibroch performance such as A.K. Cameron[33] and D. Main.[34] Unfortunately, the

---

32 NLS.Acc.7451/1 In one letter 18/4/1917 he writes: 'As to the piobrochs, I think I told you that I was completely out of any knowledge of "Notation" in that class of music, as such was totally ignored by the old pipers from whom I learned what I have. They simply would have nothing to do with it, knowing from what they experienced of it, of its uselessness and misleading effects, but this arose from its not being perfectly known to those who used it, only partially and hence hte mistakes and the misleadings which it led to only for want of the expert knowledgerequisite, where that was found it would take down piobrochs correctly to the unit but where that was wanting and only common knowledge existing it could not do it and hence the going afield of most of modern books, they simply made a mash of it'.

33 See Pearson (1969)

34 His Mss are in the School of Scottish Studies.

style of playing which they both recommended as being more genuine was never adequately described for it to be of any use.

Apart from the more scholarly articles identified in the last section, there have been few comparisons made between the two idioms of song and pibroch which allows one to draw any information on pibroch performance style.

An early reference which links the idiom of song with that of pibroch, is in an essay in Patrick MacDonald's 1784 collection.[35] Here it is stated that:

> 'a very peculiar species of martial music was in the highest request with the Highlanders. It was sometimes sung, accompanied with words, but more frequently performed on the bagpipe'.

This suggests a common repertoire of song and pibroch. It may have represented something like a Brosnachadh Catha (incitement to battle) which may have been sung as well as played on the pipes. Only one brosnachadh can be identified, which is said to have been composed by Lachlan Mór MacMhuirich at the Battle of Harlaw, the rhythm of which may possibly be related to the pibroch idiom. (see Purser 1992: 74) Alternatively, there may have been many more songs which were closely related to the pibroch idiom with a series of rhythmical variations, such as Sound of the Waves on the Castle of Duntroon[36] which may have been imitating or imitated by the pipes. The period in which MacDonald was making these observations probably represented the tail end of what had been a rich web of pibroch and song. It wasn't until Angus MacKay's collection was published in 1838, however, that a relevant relationship between Gaelic song and pibroch was acknowledged. Others such as Dalyell (1849) suspected that the pibroch idea was not such an independent tradition as some may have considered:

> 'Possibly the theme, or ground or urlar as it is called may be derived from an earlier date, though renovated with later embellishments.'

---

35 John Ramsay of Ochtertyre is believed to have been the writer of the essay 'Of the influence of poetry and music upon the Highlanders' at the beginning of this collection. (Collinson 1966: 244. Info attributed to Rev. William Matheson.)

36 This has not been analysed in this study.

A similar viewpoint was put forward recently by Bruford (1983) that:

> 'the song represents the earlier form of the ground which has been distorted by the tendency to lengthen long notes and shorten short ones'.

The belief by musicians/compilers, that the relationship between pibroch and Gaelic song was of more relevance than was generally accepted, was never tested in a scholarly sense.

Campbell(1953) recognised a problem of melodic identification when, in his reference to the development of pibroch, he suggested the possibility that on the basis of the pre-existing song, a MacCrimmon:

> 'threw it into pìobaireachd form, and 'disguised it to a greater or lesser extent with double echoes, cadences and other conventional pìobaireachd embellishments'(p.6).

He cites 'Cha till mi tuille' (ie. MacCrimmon will never return) as a possible example of one which arose out of a song air by Donald Bàn MacCrimmon, but qualifies this to some extent by stating that it is:

> 'not esteemed much by pipers nowadays, and we class it a rather third-rate piobaireachd.'

This may partly explain why Gabhaidh sinne Rathad Mór was never taken from Angus MacKay's Ms. and published this century because it was possibly too common a tune throughout Gaelic and Lowland Society. It leads one to wonder why tunes such as Struan Robertson's Salute, or its variant[37] which have the characterisitcs of a simple and attractive melody, managed to remain so disguised, despite its relative sparsity of cadences or why Gaelic speaking pipers did not realise what it was. However, there are socio-cultural reasons which have some bearing on this also and concern Gaelic society's lack of cultural confidence.

---

37 This tune is not analysed in this study. It is clearly a melodic and structural variant of Sir James MacDonald of the Isles Salute. This is probably the tune which was said to have been composed by Wm. MacDonald of Vallay called Cumha na Coise.(Lament for the foot) on the occasion of Sir James MacDonald of the Isles' recovery following a shooting accident. Donald MacDonald Jr. called it 'Cumha na Coshag' but this is the diminutive of *'coise'*. (See PS 14: 468) and MacDonald (1894: 143)

There are other tunes, such as Maol Donn which have very few of these cadences and which therefore represent a version of the undisguised melody. One expects someone brought up in Gaelic culture to be able to understand the rhythmic subtleties of this tune, which are common throughout Gaelic song. The main problem was that the majority of Gaelic speaking pibroch players in Campbell's time, earlier this century, were performing tunes which had been wrested out of their cultural setting, leaving only a disguised melody line with which the person brought up in a Gaelic culture could identify It is one thing to learn a melodic line which is apparently Gaelic in flavour but quite another to appreciate the music where familiar rhythmic features no longer exist. The existence of common melodic motifs in different cultures around the world is shown by Brailoiu (1984 edn.)[38], but one of the main features which makes a country's music distinctive, must be the rhythmic setting in which these motifs appear, and the manner in which they are introduced throughout the tune.

Campbell (1953: 6)continues with the admission:

> 'Some of the piobaireachds which we play nowadays have words attached to them. Angus MacKay gives some in his book. It is not easy to fit the words exactly to the notes of the piobaireachd ground. Perhaps that suggests the manipulation of a pre-existing song air to suit the piobaireachd convention. Perhaps it means that we do not play the piobaireachd grounds right. To give an opinion would be mere guessing.'

These remarks were unfortunately not taken up by anyone at the time he made them, to prove how correct he was, but most of the case study material in this thesis supports his suspicions.

General Thomason, at the end of last century, in the introduction to his Ceòl Mór (1900 and 1905) was also concerned with the relationship between song poetry and pibroch, and also seemed to have been constantly reassessing his attempts to record the music satisfactorily in staff notation. A letter to him (1900: iv), for which he appears to have been very grateful, discusses the time of the ground:

---

38 Chapter 1.'Musical Folklore.'

> 'I can gather from your list that there is one terrible error that you are about to perpetuate - the *time* of the ground. 'Unhappily, no pipers hitherto appear to have had sufficient musical knowledge to notice that the ground of a pìobaireachd has no rhythm known to European music. It has a *prose* rhythm - a recitational rhythm - which *cannot* be expressed by any "time" mark. I am corroborated in this by the highest musical authorities, to whom I have played. If you can find a really scientific musician, play over to him the ground of the tune, "You're drunk and had better sleep", and ask him to write it down. He will tell you that it is impossible to write it so that a musician would know how to play it.'.....

The unknown writer of the letter above, however, was stressing rhythm not metre and it seems Thomason was missing the crucial point regarding performance style. The common feature of prose and poetry is, naturally, language. The rhythm of the language remains fairly constant between the two genres of prose and poetry except that the poetry is more metrically and therefore more rhythmically ordered. The writer's analogy, in which the important element is language rhythm, is effective. What Thomason showed, which is relevant to this study, is that, if it is accepted that two bars of music approximates one musical phrase, the greatest majority of his tunes consist of eight musical phrases. This is equivalent to eight lines of poetry. Although only a very small number of songs have been identified which, both melodically and metrically, can be shown to be equivalent to a pibroch, the eight-line poetic form is very common in Gaelic song. In many cases, it can be argued that those eight poetic lines should be, more correctly, divided into four lines, to match four melodic phrases.[39] It is not surprising then, that most of the melodies to the songs which are identified in pibroch, are found in the first four phrases of the pibroch ground, where the song phrases are commonly equivalent to two bars of pibroch with four stresses. The four phrases which follow thereafter, seem to represent a thematic development of the four phrases of the song, some of which are less effectively developed than others.[40]

---

39 This is a subject which has received scant attention from compilers of Gaelic poetry in that the poetic metre does not seem to take account of the melodic form of the tune.

40 Sometimes the scansion and rhythm change which occurs is dramatic and unsuited. For example, the Brother's Lament in CC Vol 2 tune 41. (See PS 13: 403) has the characteristics of a Gaelic song, but that

Thomason admits to having modified his views on this analogy with prose as he writes: 'I confess to having once held it myself'. His change of opinion was founded on the realisation that:

> 'the whole language of the Gael is acknowledgd to be essentially poetic, and, such being the case, it would be anomalous indeed if his music were that of prose.' (1900: ix)

This anomaly was underlined by the difficulties of studying pibroch, which Thomason considered was mainly because of :

> 'the excessively inconvenient form in which they have hitherto been presented to the public' (1900: v)

This refers to the pages of music in the earlier collections which, because of their size and layout, seem to suggest a lack of appreciation of the importance of metrical structure and are more difficult to memorise.

It was this common metrical characteristic which exists between poetry and pibroch that allowed Thomason to:

> 'condense the notation of piobaireachd to such an extent that it was possible to lay out a whole tune on a single page, and to arrange the bar lines in such a way as to bring out the metrical structure of the tune.'(Cannon 1980:45)

and for the first time, pibroch was presented in such a manner, as poetry, which allowed it to be easily learned by heart. (Thomason 1900:v)

The extent of his conviction of the similarity of pibroch to poetry is emphasised by his statement:

> 'I have not now the shadow of a doubt as to every piobaireachd being the music of a poem.'(1900: viii)

but unfortunately the closeness of this relationship was not verified by comparing the pibrochs with their song versions.

Haddow (1982) in addition to his structural analysis, melodically and rhythmically compared some pibrochs and Gaelic song.[41] Although his

---

characteristic disappears at the fifth phrase and the tunes becomes quite different..

41 For example, he compares The Sister's Lament with the words which relate to the murder of Keppoch in 1663 beginning *'Dh'éirich mise moch Di-domhnaich'*. However, he finds that the song does not fit the tune. On

comparisons are not very fruitful, from the point of view of providing an insight into their implications on pibroch performance style, he assessed the role of the cadences in pibroch. These he implied were accessions, rather than requirements of the melodic line as perceived by the transcriber. This is demonstrated in his method of dispensing with the cadences when attempting to reconcile the melodic and rhythmic lines of pibroch and Gaelic song.

George Moss,[42] who disliked the way the tradition was moving, is one who contributed much to the debate on alternative pibroch styles. His research represents a scholarly approach to the analysis of pibroch performance which involved applying the rhythms of the Gaelic song version on the music to show that the style of some of the tunes handed down to him had been traditionally taught. What his recommended style represents, is what the writer considers to be a stage in the evolution of the modern style. In this way, the changes recommended are not so dramatic as this thesis recommends. Some details of Moss's contribution will be considered in other parts of this study.

The phrase 'get the song out of the tune' is one piece of advice which has been handed down from teacher to pupil in the course of pibroch transmision and is a statement which is common throughout music. Those particular features of song in instrumental melody were, in the writer's own experience, never adequately defined or described. The problem was that the 'song', as far as it was possible to identify in the pibroch performance style passed down, was too fragmented by the conventions of pibroch notation and performance style. The impression given to the writer was that the comment had been handed down from teacher to pupil through one or two generations of pipers but, by the 1970s,

---

checking, I have found this to be the case. Haddow then compares the song words only, with the pibroch, The Daughter's Lament , and finds that the words 'fit exactly' with the ùrlar if the cadences are removed. The reader is not told what pibroch text was compared or what he considers to be a cadence. I have not found the words and the ùrlar to be very compatible, even if a number of different approaches are used. Unfortunately, the musical 'taste' of the melodic scansion of the tune does not seem to have been considered and it seems too divorced from what one would expect in the tradition, for the type of song it is. The rhythmical characteristics are also too different to be of any relevance.

42 See Scottish Tradition Cassette series published by the School of Scottish Studies 1982.

had limited relevance to the pibroch tradition. It is true that this comment is common throughout all instrumental traditions and not just specific to the pibroch tradition. The style of performance implied by this comment however, must concern the identification of phrases - the corollary of which in turn must be the preservation of rhythm in the tune. Like the remnants of an older style of playing, such as what the piper today calls the 'Donald Mór run down', this piece of advice has been passed down from a time when the song and the pibroch idiom were closer. The existence of what James Ross classified as 'Pibroch Songs'(1957) is sufficient evidence of the interchangable characteristics of the two idioms.

involve an
performance

Expand on James Ross's classification?

CHAPTER 2

Ch. 2.1 GAELIC SONG AND PIBROCH: FROM ORAL TO WRITTEN.

One has to attempt to understand the attitudes which prevailed towards the end of the nineteenth century, and possibly the greater part of this century, to appreciate how the performance styles were continually being standardised into what they represent today. In this context, it is important to realise that the Gaelic language had been denied the opportunity of a place in the Scottish classroom in the 1872 Education Act. This was a severe blow to a culture which had already suffered a policy of ethnocide in the post-Culloden years. An understanding of the socio-psychological effects of language suppression and its separation from an idiom, with which it is historically inextricably linked, is required before one can explain the distancing of probably most of the Gaelic speaking pipers from their own song and musical tradition this century . One also has to understand the social and organisational influences which lie behind this ongoing complex. This, however, is outwith the remit of this thesis. The most difficult aspect to appreciate, when surveying the ongoing debates on words and melodies which have been recorded since the late nineteenth century, is that no one compared the song rhythms with pibroch until recently,(Cooke: 1972). Many songs and versions have undoubtedly been lost. For example Alexander Carmichael (EUL Mss no.187) at the end of the last century had this to say:

> 'The words of many pipe tunes died with an old man at Eirsiridh, Barra. He sang the words of many of the tunes in ordinary singing and port a bial singing and in both ways pleasingly. Like the airs to which they were sung, the words of many of the tunes were old and archaic and difficult to understand. No one took an interest in these old words and these old tunes of this old man except his old neighbours of the congested rocks and bogs around him and these also have died leaving no folklore, no musical successors. This the same throughout the Isles and the same throughout the mainland of Scotland. This all very sad and very regrettable and all being irretrievably lost - gone for ever.'

Despite this great loss, there is more than sufficient evidence extant to demonstrate the main changes which have occurred.

The bard was a musician/ poet who accompanied his songs with the clàrsach. As Ramsay stated in his essay in Patrick MacDonald's collection (1784: 11)

> 'In the first ages of society, the poet and musician were commonly one and the same'

but that:

> 'no sooner did arts and letters make considerable progress in any country, than poetry and music became two separate professions.'

This is an important point which is manifest in the Gaelic language's use of the verb 'seinn' to describe playing the pipes by: 'a seinn air a phìob'[43] which is now interpreted as 'sing' in Gaelic.

As has been discussed earlier, the music played by the piper represented a range of rhythmical and melodic characteristics which were to some extent associated with the different uses to which the pipes were put. But one cannot consider one particular tradition in isolation, because there were other influences from the different art forms within Gaelic society, such as clarsach and fiddle.

What is common to both pibroch and song is that they flourished in an oral-aural tradition. As Thomson points out (1953:1) it was not entirely so in music and literature, and this would seem to have been the situation in the pibroch tradition as well. For instance, I. MacLennan (1921) states that William Ross the poet had a manuscript belonging to Ross's uncle, Angus MacKay of Gairloch, who gave it to J MacLennan's father. We are not informed, though, whether it was in notated or canntaireachd form. There was possibly a number of canntaireachd manuscripts extant when the different schools of piping were flourishing, which were handed down through the generations. There is evidence of at least one lost canntaireachd source:

> 'A Donald MacDonald who was piper to one of the MacKenzie's had a manuscript of canntaireachd which was

---

43 Although this has given way in the present day to 'a cluich air a phìob' but it is still used by some.

destroyed by his own daughter when he died.(C.W. Mss 170)[44]

The oral tradition in song and music represents a complex web of melody and it is of no great concern to a serious musicologist to attempt to find out the original version of a tune because, for the most part, it is a futile exercise and subject to many variables. As Gérold argued (Brailoiu 1984: 8) provenance is of little concern and in this study there is little to be gained by attempting to evaluate which of the two idioms first carried the melody, the pibroch or the song. Davenson (Brailoiu 1984: 8) stated that it is not what the original version was but what it has become which is important. In the reality of a thriving instrumental and song tradition, existing side by side, a melody or its variants, or motifs of the melody, would be found in both and adapted to the characteristics of each particular idiom.

There are problems involved for the researcher in attempting to assess how well the notated scores reflect the Gaelic idiom. A method of assessment which entails the traditionally raised musician qualitatively surveying the score, rather than quantitatively measuring the note values, obviously has its complications as it suggests a certain amount of subjectivity. That qualitative element entails, in a sense, standing back from the written score. Moreover, the difference between one musician's interpretation of a score and another's is based on a complex of past experience, cultural background and intuition. This study is, in a sense, attempting to address the problems of reconciling the more objective elements of language with the more subjective nature of the music which carries it. The melody in song is the more fluid of the two idioms of language and music. When this music is transferred to an instrument, that fluidity obviously depends on the capabilities and characteristics of the instrument itself. Of the two mediums, voice and pipe, the former is the most melodically and rhythmically adaptable and the pipes are therefore relatively limited, to the extent that one cannot produce an exact representation of the song as sung. This thesis is not attempting to create an exact representation.

---

44 The date is not given but it was probably in the early part of the nineteenth century.

In one sense, this study is a commentary on the hiatus which exists between the point where the idiomatic features of song end and where those of pibroch begin. Or, stated in another way, it might represent an attempt to measure how far - as one writer summed up the problem - 'the art of the musician has become dissociated from that of the composer of verses'.[45] In this respect, it is to be assumed that certain changes have occurred in the nature of the song airs when these have been adapted for pipes and it is the nature of these changes which is being addressed here. The disassociation of a particular song with its instrumental version has already been commented on by O'Canainn (1978: 8), who tells us that the transmission of an air between a singer and an instrumentalist will lead to changes in the character of the tune. Some stylistic changes are to be expected in the process of that transfer. Unfortunately, since pibrochs were first notated the hiatus has continually become wider, to the point where the two idioms cease to have anything more than melodic features in common. The matter of concern here is the extent to which rhythmical distortions can occur in any culture's musical idiom before the melody itself becomes unrepresentative of the language society from which it sprang. For example, there are numerous examples of melodic motifs which are similar in different countries around the world. But, because these are couched in the language rhythms of their particular region or host country, they are difficult to recognise. (see Brailiou 1940: Ch1.)

There are numerous examples throughout the case studies which highlight some of these distortions and one only has to consider the commonly occuring introductory figure of E to low A birl which is taken to represent the *hiharin* in the Campbell Canntaireachd. (See also chapter 3. 2) These do not exist either rhythmically or melodically ~~in the same rhythm~~, in Gaelic song[46] and have emerged in the pibroch tradition.

---

45 Stewart, (1928: 293.)

46 There are some songs which have an E-A motif at the beginning such as 'Sud mar chaidh an càl a dholaidh' , a pipe variant which can be found in Malcolm MacInnes's (1939) pipe book called 'This is how the ladies dance. Also the song Thug mi pòg do làmh an Rìgh(I got a kiss of the King's hand) which starts on the E. This is not an anacrusis because *fhuair* stresses on the E. It is possible, although unlikely, that there has been some influence from the pibroch tradition here which led the singers to

For any society's traditional music to be properly appreciated by its people, it is surely an elementary condition that the music contains similar rhythmic features which are present in the language of that society. A parallel exists in the closely related musical tradition in Ireland and O'Baoill (1976) states

> 'a proper appreciation of Irish music is impossible without a knowledge of the language'

The performers of pibroch, just as in Gaelic song, cannot avoid considering the characteristics of language rhythm if the music is to be presented faithfully in its cultural context. It is no surprise then that when a song air is separated from its language it changes and adapts to the culture in which it is communicated, as has happened with pibroch. For instance, when a Gaelic speaker compares the Gaelic words to a song with the music score, there is an immediate empathy with the word rhythm so that the musical score becomes secondary, functioning merely as a melodic guide. Because I am working from within the tradition, I am less likely to literally read the score, than a person outside Gaelic tradition might be. The same conditions apply even after a song has been adapted to the requirements of instrumental music in the form of pibroch, even though there is a greater hiatus here between language and musical rhythm. It is the subtle rhythmical relationships between these which are misunderstood today which are important to this study.

Because of this, there may be a contradiction implicit in this study in that I might be more prepared than a person without a Gaelic language background to accept, with less criticism, the attempts at notation being frequently at odds with what I identify as the most natural rhythm of the tune. Once one is aware of what the idiom is, - and this concerns a feeling for what the rhythmic parameters of language in melody are,- the exactness of the notation is of lesser concern to the person brought up in the Gaelic language tradition. These parameters are, to some extent, subjective, but they concern a range of different choices of interpretation which a piper playing a pibroch or Gaelic song melody can make which nevertheless retain the rhythmic characteristics of the tradition. For instance, if one considers one of the common conventional figures of pibroch, what pipers today call the 'double echo' (see section 3.4.1) it is

---

start on the equivalent of E. See also Ishbel MacDonald (1995) for another, melodically different, song version.

possible to suggest the rhythm of language through a range of alternative styles. For example, in contrast with the standardised style of modern performance, one could play

Ex.3. 

or 

or 

or 

which are ~~only~~ some of the rhythmic possibilities of this three note figure, each of which could be represented in Gaelic song[47]. The choice of one particular rhythmic figure rather than another is of no great importance in the pibroch tradition providing it fits into the rhythmic scheme of the whole tune, without distortion, and is not unfamiliar to the broader rhythmic scheme of the song and musical tradition. What is more important in performance, is how the melodic and rhythmic figures interrelate in the context of the phrase as a whole.

The writer's lesser concern with the exact details of notation ~~that might~~ seem inexact to the ethnomusicologist, may go some way to explaining why, as Cooke (1972) pointed out, the earlier notators of pipe music were less apologetic about the limitations of their notation than later ones. They were notating at a time when pibroch was being transmitted through the medium of Gaelic in a predominantly Gaelic speaking society. This was when pibroch depended on aural and oral transmission and most

---

47 See also General Thomason's introduction in 'Ceol Mor' (1895) for a range of different ways of playing the echoes.

pipers could not read music[48]. For those who could read the notation, it could only ever have been considered as an *aide memoire*. This has been pointed out by Kilberry 1948. Present day pipers' reinterpretation of the cadence runs of the Donald MacDonald collection and earlier notators does not mean that these early notators were attempting merely to notate in an approximate manner. These early manuscript and published sources of pibroch are, I consider, fairly well notated given the limitations of measured time. Why should the early notators write a three demisemiquaver ornament when they really mean to represent a full crotchet on the melody line, as some present day pipers argue? (The actual performance of these E's, however, is closer to a minim.) Despite the shortcomings of the notated scores, they were probably sufficiently informative for them and compensated for by the situation that pipers were relating to music from within the same cultural idiom, which had clearly recognisable rhythmic schemes. What is problematic for the present day pibroch player when faced with these scores is that they are unable, for the most part, to reconcile the early styles of notation with the modern style of playing. The major concern therefore lies with the problems of interpreting pibroch in the context in which it was notated and not with the technical details of pibroch conventions. This may go some way to explain why the earlier notators and pipers were less likely to complain about the shortcomings of the scores than the piper of the twentieth century who has been raised in a very different cultural and linguistic environment.

One has to remember also that the changes which occured spanned a few generations and did not represent a sudden dramatic change of style[49].It is clear that, from at least the late eighteeenth century onwards, Gaelic culture was being increasingly patronised (see MacInnes 1989) and its social and economic structure disrupted. Little wonder therefore, that

---

48 From unpublished research undertaken by Geoff Hore, Auckland, New Zealand. He has pointed out that from the evidence of the list of subscribers to Angus MacKay's 1838 edition, the greatest majority were not pipers and that the price of the book was well beyond the means of most of the pipers of the time. Only 19 out of 245 named on the list could be identified as pipers.

49 The nature of the reactions to the recommended performance styles in this study may be a good gauge of the complaints which would have ensued if the old pipers of Joseph MacDonald's time and before had suddenly heard the same tunes performed in twentieth century style.

there were so few complaints about changes which were occuring in their musical idioms.

A survey of the changes which took place in the titles of many of the tunes in the *'ceòl beag'* repertoire, where pipers renamed tunes which had interesting Gaelic titles to the names of prominent people in Scottish society, gives some idea of the extent to which pipers had become subservient to outside patronage and influences[50]. Their greater dependence on non- Gaelic society would have left them more likely to accept the changes in their musical culture without much public opposition.

A parallel of this is that which occured in the Gaelic singing tradition at the end of the nineteenth century with the establishment of An Comunn Gàidhealach and the creation of the National Mòd and its associated competition system. There does not seem to have been any public outcry on the alien styles which were being created by them, although they were referred to by at least one musicologist, Amy Murray (see Ch.2.3).

The influences on singing style were such that by the mid 1900's the traditional style was considered to be alien. A traditional singer, Kitty MacLeod was possibly the first person to sing in front of an urban audience in the traditional manner, in unmeasured time and without the characteristics of the professionally trained voice. One reaction to it was a letter to the press, from a Gaelic speaker, complaining about her style of singing Oran Mór MhicLeòid,[51].(See also Exs. 4 and 5). What was evident about this reaction was that the Gael's traditional style, with its closer relationship with language rhythm, was now considered inferior to the style which was being adopted by the National Mòd from outside Gaelic culture.

The question arises whether or not it is necessary for the pibroch player to speak the Gaelic language in order to effectively transfer the song rhythms onto pipes, either in the form of a version of the song air itself in the

---

50 For example: Gun dh'ith na coin na ceannaichean called Sir J.M.MacKenzie's Reel; [Angus MacKay's Piper's Assistant p.15] The Ale wife and her barrel called Lord Lovat in MacLachlan's 1854 coll.p.21. (Also called The Kames Lasses in Wm. Ross's coll.1869.) Ross was in the habit of renaming old traditional tunes to those of titled people.

51 Information from conversation with Kitty MacLeod.

genre of what pipers would call *ceòl beag* , or as a pibroch *ùrlar*. The most important element is to have a familiarity with the rhythms and how these are expressed, which can be gained without speaking the language itself. Just as the pibroch learner has to follow the accepted style and conventions of modern pibroch performance, so the person who wishes to perform in a style which places it back in the context of its vehicle of expression should be able to identify the particular features. The manner in which the rhythms of song can be used in instrumental music should not only concern the pibroch player but pipers who play *ceòl beag*. This is because there is no appreciable distinction in performance style between the two genres of, in the first place Gaelic song played as it might be sung traditionally and pibroch played in the style of its song version. The Irish musical tradition would seem to be much more adept at preserving the ornamental and rhythmical characteristics of the more traditional performers in song and instrumentation. Pibroch however is not a tradition which can be compared because it has not been free to develop since it was notated and the music is therefore artificial. The irony is that the system which destroyed the people who played pibroch in the first place rekindled pibroch in its new restrictive competitive environment. (See Donaldson)

It is important to understand the distinctions which exist between the fairly unmeasured time of the song with the more measured song air played as a slow march. The idiom of song on pipes would seem to be misunderstood by a number of people and for the pibroch idiom to be placed in its musical context once again, the general features which set Gaelic songs apart from their instrumental versions, have to be understood. Such Gaelic songs as have been adapted for the pipes have, historically, been played as slow marches, ie. in regular time. The main influence for this has probably been a military one. other influences such as daily radio programmes

When certain features of the tradition are adapted and changed to different social contexts while retaining the 'traditional' label, as happened to the piping in the army, one may be excused for becoming a strong adherent to the latter style, especially since the musical style might be more identifiable with the language and culture of its new 'tradition'. However, as Thomson (1953) states,

> 'The danger of any tradition is that it may become rigid instead of dynamic, and that its upholders may become bigoted.'

The writer was criticised in the following manner by one who seems not to have understood the distinction:

> 'Behind all that frantic fingerwork was a tune struggling to get out, and it took some time before we were able to recognise it as MacLeod's Oran Mor'.(1989: 19)

What the critic was hearing approximated:

Ex. 4. Example 4

rather than what he recommended as:

Ex. 5.

Therefore, similar examples of misleading notation, which implies regular time, exist in *ceòl beag*. This measured time should only be a guide and is not the manner in which a piper would play the song air as it might be sung and appreciated in a genuine Gaelic musical tradition.

The same critic commented in his review of a commercial pipe music album that the performance style of a Gaelic air was too close to the style of the Gaelic song.[52] This contrasts well with O'Riada's (1982: 45) comment on the Irish musical tradition that:

> 'The tradition of playing slow airs is unfortunately in decline at present. One reason is that many pipers neither speak nor understand Irish, so that they are unacquainted with the *sean-nós* style of singing which should, of course, be the basis of the chanter style in slow airs.'

Henebry (1928: 54) who, as he stated himself

---

52 See PT. July 1983: p. 25. The record concerned is called 'Controversy of Pipers' (Temple Records) and the full quote is as follows: 'The record is interesting because it shows a trend in piping away from piping. The rendering of the Fair Maid of Barra is very close to what the traditional singers do, but this takes it outside of the bagpipe idiom'.

> 'was reared amidst the last broken shreds of vocal and instrumental Irish musical tradition, (and) found the opinion on all hands that the office of the intsrument was to imitate vocal music, its success in that article being the only measure of its excellence. That was an unbroken Keltic human tradition which subsists in some little degree even yet, and, without doubt, reaches downward from untold ages past.'

The close association of song and instrumental music appears to have been publicised more frequently in Ireland than in Scotland but was ~~probably~~ no less a consideration amongst instrumentalists in Gaelic Scotland. The different social history of the two countries has to be considered. In Scotland, the piping tradition for the most part, was wrenched into an alien social environment of quasi-sophisticated urbanised society and the military, and the values which remain to a greater extent in the Irish musical tradition of today were not publicly aired by Gaelic speaking instrumentalists.

It would seem that one sector of the piping tradition in Scotland has formed the opinion that the more this music is divorced from its original song source by the adoption of a standard piping convention and rhythm, the more musically acceptable the style should be to the present day piper. The assumption must be that the song airs have to be changed and performed in fairly regularly stressed metre, before they can be understood and appreciated on the pipes. This opinion is at odds with a comment the same writer made, which suggested that the more inexact the musical score is in pibroch, the more effective it might be in preserving the oral tradition of pibroch which, presumably, would continue to be passed on by those who would consider themselves to be representatives of an oral tradition. (MacNeill 1968:31) The implication of this is that the notation of pibroch may best be left to the least competent. The first criticism, ie. of Oran Mór MhicLeòid is effectively dismissive of the oral/aural traditional style which embodies the very principles of unmeasured time which, from MacNeill's second comment, is presumably the main feature of pibroch which he wishes to preserve. The general problem is that these rhythms are now misunderstood outside the obvious context of Gaelic song. The musical scores have become more and more deceptive as the ability to interpret them, according to their musical idiom, has diminished.

The presence of Gaelic language rhythms in song airs is not the only other area where language rhythms can be perceived. Although the song airs are the most obvious, more so because of the slower tempo, the subtleties of linguistic expression in music are to be found throughout the piping tradition in strathspeys and reels. One only has to compare the modern styles of *ceòl beag* with some of the early sources such as Angus MacKay's Piper's Assistant (1843) to realise that similar, fairly dramatic, changes in performance style have occured in the piping strathspey and reel especially. Just as 'Irish traditional instrumental music is closely related to Irish vocal music, *sean-nós* singing' (O'Riada 1982:67; O'Baoill 1976: 19) much of Scottish traditional music found its provenance in the rhythms of Gaelic song. This feature has also been partly addressed by Shaw (1992-93)[53] on the fiddle tradition in Cape Breton, and requires much more research.

A preserved in cape Breton partly on account of the survival of the dance which went with it / accomp anied it / protected it / gave it mutual support. Indeed the genre of reel + strathspey arose with this Gaelic speaking culture

53 See Scottish Language. Number 11/12

CHAPTER 2.2

GAELIC SONG AND PIBROCH NOTATION: COMMON PROBLEMS

Attempts to notate Gaelic song have been fraught with similar difficulties as those which notators of pibroch have found, the overriding one being the incompatability of strict measured time with the song vernacular. Because the two idioms of Gaelic song and pibroch share the same language base, the special features which characterise one idiom ought to be evident in the other.

One of the features characterising Gaelic song is the interdependence of melody and verbal text as J.L.Campbell observes:[54],

> 'It is certain that in Scottish Gaelic tradition poetry and music are inextricably fused.'

This is supported by Nettl(1964: 281) where he states that 'tunes and texts are sometimes inseparable concepts.' Brailoiu (1984: 18) the Rumanian musicologist refers to

> 'that indissoluble union of music and poetry....two arts that are intertwined as closely as ivy on an old wall.'

When one compares early pibroch and Gaelic song notations, the common problems which beset the earliest notators in both genres can be understood. The realisation that each had evident rhythmical features seemed to have been sufficient to convince most of them that measured time notation was the best course.[55] The method adopted was the standard European style of notation, although most notators and collectors were probably aware that it could only, at best, be an approximation. However, the longer term complication of this is that once the tradition is in demise there is, naturally, a greater dependence on the written score. There would, therefore, seem to be an inherent assumption in this style of notation that only a person who knows the musical tradition can translate the notated score into a performance style

---

54 Eigse' (1956) viii part ii p. 87 . Article in response to James Ross's earlier series of articles 'The subliterary tradition in Gaelic Song' in vols vii (1954) and viii of Eigse.

55 Joseph MacDonald's style of notation for some tunes, broadly discussed in Patrick MacDonald's 1784 coll. ,was probably an exception.

which represents the idiom. If modern pibroch performance style is compared with the early pibroch notation and also with the unaccompanied singing style of a past generation, one is forced to conclude that pibroch and song belong to two very different societies, speaking different languages. The differences between them are mainly rhythmic in nature. The nature of the disparities which exist between modern pibroch style and its earliest notation in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century, suggests that the present style cannot be said to have much historical credibility beyond the latter part of the nineteenth century.

There is no shortage of examples of the hiatus which is evident between the song air and its notated version for other instruments. A number of problems which have ensued in attempting to notate songs for instruments will be considered and compared with the problems of pibroch transmission.

Matheson (1954) discusses some of the shortcomings of the earliest Gaelic song collections and identifies the salient features of Gaelic song which appear to have created the greatest problems for the notators. Because of the close association between Gaelic song and pibroch, the points made by Matheson will be placed in the context of the pibroch tradition and discussed. Many of these points are featured in the case studies which follow and so the reader can refer to these where appropriate.

He pays particular attention to the following collections: Patrick MacDonald (1784); Simon Fraser (1816); Alexander Campbell (1816 and 1818); and Finlay Dun (c1848);

The first publication, Patrick MacDonald's (1784) collection, is the earliest attempt to represent the Gaelic musical idiom. This collection would seem to have been gathered from a wide range of performers - both singers and instrumentalists, including pipers. His preface gives a valuable insight into the tradition and the problems he experienced while preparing the book for publication. He states that the music for the first section called 'North Highland Airs' notated by his brother Joseph, has been adhered to. However, with regard to the *'slow, plaintive tunes'* he states:

> 'These are sung by the natives, in a wild, artless, and irregular manner....they dwell upon the long and pathetic notes, while

> they hurry over the inferior and connecting notes,in such a manner as to render it exceedingly difficult for a hearer to trace the measure of them. They, themselves, while singing them, seem to have little or no impression of measure. It would appear, that Joseph, in his notation of these airs, in place of reducing them to regular time, had attempted, as nearly as he could, to copy and express the wild irregular manner, in which they are sung: and, without regarding the equality of the bars, had written the notes, according to the proportions of time, that came nearest to those, that were used in singing. It was judged improper, to lay them before the public, in that form. They could not indeed have been understood, but by those who had an opportunity of hearing them sung or played by the natives'.[56]

The rare opportunity of reading a song score which had been notated by someone who knew the language and who was also, it is presumed, professionally trained to notate accurately, was lost. It was not until the twentieth century, that a method of notating Gaelic songs in unmeasured time was adopted by the School of Scottish Studies. MacDonald (1784) does not state in his preface, whether or not the song words were placed below the notation. It may be that the music alone was notated without the song words as a guide - in which case, there would be some disadvantage in a detailed transcription. The twentieth century reader, however, is not afforded the opportunity to assess what the style of singing was like. It is difficult to assess what was meant in the eighteenth century by the terms 'wild artless and irregular' but one can be fairly sure that it meant that the music did not conform to mainstream European musical theory. The description given might not be unlike the style which is heard in the present day *Sean Nós* singing of County Clare in Ireland which, like the Gaelic psalm singing tradition, is highly decorated and unmeasured in time. This highly ornate Gaelic psalm singing style which survives, for the most part, in the Outer Hebrides may be the remnant of similar influences which have been retained in the *Sean Nós* tradition in Ireland. Apart from the psalm singing tradition, there does not seem to be a style in Gaelic Scotland today which may be what the eighteenth century commentator may have termed 'wild, artless and irregular'. On the contrary, most of it is fairly measured in comparison with *Sean Nós* singing in Ireland today. The least measured style which exists in the Scottish Gaelic, secular, song tradition today, is probably closer to what the

---

56 A Collection of Highland Vocal Airs.(1784) Preface p.2.

the Irish *Sean Nós* tradition would consider as fairly measured. There is a level of ornamentation in particular singing styles of the Irish *Sean Nós* tradition, similar to the Gaelic psalms where, for the person who is unused to the style, the melodic line of the song is difficult to ascertain.[57]

When some of the tunes which were 'standardised' from Joseph's original notation are examined, one is able to ascertain to some extent the manner in which they may have been sung in the aforementioned 'irregular' style. From the melodic scansion and the language rhythm of the title alone it is possible to intuitively ascertain how the rhythm of the song might proceed. Obviously, a knowledge of the words is crucial in assessing the veracity of the transcription. One of the songs which was altered in MacDonald's 1784 collection, is no.10 'Sud air m'aigne fo ghruaim' which is to be found in the present day oral tradition and on comparing it with the notated text, it is, ~~in my consideration~~ , a fairly good representation of the song words - despite the limitations of notating in measured time.

As Patrick MacDonald in the preface to this collection states (p.3.)

> 'In the present state of musical notation, little more, than what may be called the elements or ground-work of an air, can be conveyed by it. '

He then makes important statements which are common to all musical performance, such as that

> 'A strict observance of measure is incompatible with strong emotion, or passion'

This is especially so in tunes such as MacIntosh's Lament, Children's Lament and others which have probably arisen from the funeral ritual (See CS1) This feature is just as applicable to all pibroch performance, none of which has strictly measured time.

Patrick MacDonald also states that

---

57 The importance of ornamentation in the sean-nós tradition in Ireland is emphasised by O'Riada (1982 ch1) and O Canainn (1978). O Riada witnesses the demise of particular skills in the singing tradition which he refers to as the 'variation principle' He distinguishes between three distinct types of variation or ornamentation: Rhythmic, Intervallic and Melismatic. (Ch.1:.31)

> 'A general ouline of measure is observed; but this is carioulsy shaded and filled up, in the different parts. It has now become the practice of the most polished and improved musicians, in excecuting a pathetic air, to use freedom with the measure, for the sake of expression and effect. It is professedly an object of attention and discipline with them, occasionally to disguise the measure.'

These comments, it must be understood, were about the musical idiom which prevailed in the Gaelic speaking Highlands and were probably just as relevant to the North West Highlands as they were to Southern Perthshire. The writer is addressing the pibroch as well as the song tradition but these were not the only traditions which were changing. Similar changes were occuring in the performance style of harp music. The music of the harp, with its 'graces and variations'[58] had already suffered from standardisation and degeneration and to bring the old harp tunes 'nearer to their original form' would have entailed making them 'more regular, especially in their measure.' (MacDonald 1784:.3) In

---

58 A quote of the extract is worth reproducing to suggest that the pibroch form may have been originally developed on the harp. The manner in which the harpers developed their musical pieces may provide a clue to the development of the pibroch variations; what happened thereafter may provide a useful parallel with what has happened to the pibroch tradition. 'In Ireland, the harpers, the original composers, and the chief depositaries of that music, have, until lately, been uniformly cherished and supported by the nobility and gentry. They endeavoured to outdo one another in playing the airs, that were most esteemed, with correctness, and with their proper expression. Such of them, as were men of abilities, attempted to adorn them, with graces and variations, or to produce what were called good sets of them. These were communicated to their successors, and by them transmitted with additions. By this means, the pieces were preserved: and so long as they continued in the hands of the native harpers, we may suppose, that they were gradually improved, as whatever graces and variations they added to them, were consistent with, and tending to heighten and display the genuine spirit and expression of the music. The taste for that style of performance, seems now however to be declining. The native harpers are not much encouraged. A number of their airs have come into the hands of foreign musicians, who have attempted to fashion them according to the model of the modern music: and these new sets are considered in the country as capital improvements. The Lady in the desart (sic), as played by an old harper, and as played according to the sets now in fashion, can hardly be known to be the same tune. It is now abundantly regular in its structure; but its native character and expression, its wildness and melancholy, are gone'. (PMcD 1784 p3)

addition, harp music was probably being transferred to other instruments, such as the pipes, which required different techniques.

Patrick discusses the particular styles of performance which are represented by the notation:

> 'A few appogiaturas[59], or grace notes, are occasionally added, in order to give some idea of the style and manner in which the airs are performed'.

This does seem to imply that the choice of whether or not to decorate was of no great importance as far as formal recording of these was concerned. It seems to imply that the performer was the one to choose whether to ornament or not. He states that he has been 'sparing' in his use of these ornamentations because he felt that he did not have the authority to 'alter, or improve the pieces, according to his own ideas.' Once again, there is a parallel here with the appearance of numerous cadence runs in the earliest pibroch sources such as MacArthur and MacDonald which are discussed elsewhere. As will be seen, it unfortunately became customary to regard these cadences as essential features of the pibroch melody, adopted in accordance with a prescriptive notational style. Cadences have therefore been liberally applied to pibroch scores as a matter of convention since MacArthur's time, frequently at the expense of the melodic line of the tune. I believe that there are probably too many cadences in Donald MacDonald's collection, for example, and even if these are performed in the manner shown there, as demisemiquavers, there are still too many which hide the melodic line.

There are two seemingly distinct types of graces described in PMcD's preface. One type, common in singing, is where the appogiaturas are taken from the preceding note. This is logically explained as 'to enable the voice to pass, with more ease and certainty, to that which follows'.

---

59 Shortly after, he is more specific when he states: 'The notes, which are used as appogiaturas, are not only the next in degree, above or below the principal note; but are frequently two, three, or more degrees distant from it. These last are, for the most part, below the principal note, and ascend to it; they are often however above it and descend. The former are used in modern music; the latter are perhaps peculiar to this kind of music, and, in some degree, characteristical of it'.

The characteristic features of these graces, which have their equivalent in the pibroch cadences are such that:

> 'when singing, these grace-notes are, for the most part, executed rapidly, so that, though their effect is felt, they are but obscurely perceived. It is difficult to express them well upon an instrument.'

That they were indeed played on an instrument is implied here or the comment would be of little relevance. Interestingly, Joseph uses a similar kind of reservation when he is describing the manner in which to perform the introductions in pibroch, which:

> 'seem to a Stranger wild and rude, but will appear otherwise, when known, being well applied to the Style.'

It seems from both the comments in PMcD's preface and JMcD's Compleat Theory that the cadence runs were a feature of Highland instrumental music which they both considered quite unique but which they were apologetic about.[60]

The problem which a transcriber of this kind of music has is further highlighted when he states that:

> 'in some of the airs, notes are taken into the measure, which, perhaps, might have been more properly written as grace-notes.'

This is discussed more fully in the chapter on cadences and is also a feature which is considered in the case study Alba Bheadarrach. It is one which notators of traditional singing have to wrestle with in trying to decide which features of the singing are to be notated above the line - as if they were merely decorative - and which features are to be notated as part of what is considered to be the melodic theme of the song.

The greatest shortcoming of Patrick MacDonald's collection, as far as it represents a collection of airs, is that there are no song texts with which to

---

60 Patrick MacDonald's 'Advertisement' at the beginning of the collection is a fine example of the lack of confidence which prevailed regarding Gaelic culture at the end of the eighteenth century. He seems concerned with what the 'stranger' might think of some of the airs in the collection which he considers more inferior to the rest and accordingly apologises. A study of the list of subscribers reveals that his audience is culturally disparate.

compare. As a result, it is only with some in depth research that one can ascertain the true rhythms of the tunes by means of identifying the words of songs from other sources[61]. He probably makes the most revealing comments of any transcriber of pibroch after his transcriptions of four pibrochs[62] which he heard from the playing of 'an eminent performer upon that instrument' in Lochaber.(MacDonald 1784: 7)

He begins by advising his readers on the limitations of the notated scores:

> 'Whoever has attempted to execute such a task, and has had experience of the difficulty of it, will readily excuse any imperfections that may be found in the notation of those pieces.'

He appeared to be quite confident that the 'imperfections' were of no major concern for the reader and expands on these:

> 'In performing these upon the bagpipe, it is usual to introduce certain graces and flourishes, which are peculiar to that species of music; and which can hardly be expressed in notes , or executed, at least, with the same effect, upon another instrument. The publisher, however, has made as near an approach, as he could, to the notes, that were expressed by the performer. These pieces are printed merely as specimens of that kind of music.'

The notes he recorded are what he considered to be the most prominent features of the melodic line of the tune. Some of the notes are decorated, but overall they are quite sparse. These are the cadences he is describing here. In all but A'Ghlas Mheur (The Fingerlock) which has runs of three note cadences, the rest of his notated pibrochs only have two note cadences. There is no reason not to believe that these are probably quite

---

61 See Wm.Matheson papers in NLS for identification of a number of these.

62 These are: 'Cumha Mhic a h-Arasaig (MacIntosh's Lament) Coma leam, coma leam cogadh no síth, (War or Peace) A Ghlas Mheur (The Fingerlock) and Cha till mi tuille (MacLeod of MacLeod's Lament. One of these, (The Fingerlock) is notated one note up from the pipe version, with scordatura tuning, for fiddle only. Another, (MacIntosh's Lament) has, in addition to the pipe version, a different, fiddle version. These are analysed or discussed in more detail in this the sources and case studies.

exact recordings of the pibroch style of the Lochaber piper, ~~in terms of decorations to the melody notes~~. This is discussed more fully in CS 4.

The first attempt at notating Gaelic songs with their melodies and words together, was by Alexander Campbell in his two volumes of Albyn's Anthology (1816, 1818).[63] Although he notated in measured time, the values given to the notes which correspond to the words of the song are fairly good. Anyone with a knowledge of Gaelic language rhythm would be able to adapt the small discrepancies which occur.

Matheson (1954:72) however, states that

> 'Unfortunately, it has not been sufficiently realised that Campbell's versions of the airs often depart substantially from his folk- song originals.'

The changes which had been made by Campbell may have changed the modalities and melodic line but rhythmically, the existence of words under the text makes the note values ~~relatively unimportant to~~ the Gaelic reader. Only the notation which has no word text or which has badly positioned words, creates a problem for the Gaelic speaking reader of songs.

The Fraser (1816) and Dun (c1848) collections have been described as 'spoiled music' by MacFarlane (1924-25).[64] This conclusion, ~~regarding~~ the former, is supported by a contemporary musician of Fraser's, John Thomson of Edinburgh who, in a letter to Fraser, described them as:

> 'too florid for national melodies, and in many cases they are not at all characteristic, ie. they have not the peculiar Highland accent which would stamp them as real national Highland airs.' (CMg.4, 181-3)

---

63 He did promise another volume in his second publication but it never appeared. He also has two pibrochs notated which he copied and 'translated' from Gesto's Mss. (taken form Iain Dubh MacCrimmon). These were Pibroch of Donuil Dubh and MacGregor's Gathering. He included a third tune, Cha till mi Tuille, all of which had words written by Walter Scott. As Cannon (1980; 21) points out, the settings are not very revealing for the pibroch player.

64 TGSI (XXXII 1924-25 p. 251)by Malcolm MacFarlane. 'Vocal Gaelic Music')

A good example of this is his notation of Mairi nighean Dheòrsa (1816: 2)[65] which is a variant of the melody for the song Moladh air pìob mhór MhicCruimein with which March for a beginner is compared in this study. This floridity is evident at one point where Fraser has a decorative run of eight notes.

As Matheson has already pointed out, the early collectors of Gaelic song, apart from Patrick MacDonald, had similar failings and most of those who followed were 'systemisers and improvers'. (1954: 75)

Given the close association of Gaelic song characterisics with pibroch, the particular salient features which have been identified by Matheson (1954) will be applied to those which exist in the pibroch tradition.

Matheson firstly brings attention to the extensive range of different versions of particular songs, to the extent that each singer could be said to have their own version, equally stylistically and melodically valid, and within the parameters of the tradition.

The continuous creation of variant melodic settings is probably at the heart of the oral song tradition. The techniques of ad-lib variance on each verse of song is obviously a valuable asset to a performer, especially where numerous verses exist. Although the technique has received little attention in Gaelic Scotland, it was probably just as recognised by earlier generations as it is in the Irish song tradition. Sean O'Riada (1982:24) describes its importance:

> 'Probably the most important aspect of sean-nós singing is what I call the "Variation Principle." It is not permissible for a *sean-nós* singer to sing any two verses of a song in the same way. There must be a variation of the actual notes in each verse, as well as a variation of rhythm. What makes one *sean-nós* singer better than another, more than anything else, is his ability to do this better. The variations must not interfere with the basic structure of the song. They must occur where they would give most point and effect.'

This point is just as relevant to the pibroch tradition of the eighteenth century and before, where there was a much greater range of tune versions played. The number of variant forms which appear in the pibroch texts,

---

65 He has the English title "Grant of Sheuglie's contest betwixt his violin, Pipe and Harp."

albeit with different titles, bears this out. Some examples appear in this study thesis. However, in the piping tradition these variant settings are sufficient to distinguish the tunes and may have more to do with geographical separation than localised versions. It may be that the variations on one melody, which existed between pipers in one particular locality, may have been predominant because of the different ways in which the apparent themal notes were decorated by cadences although, even if this were the case, different themal notes would tend to arise from the different styles of decoration, although the presence of a song version(s) would keep them in check. The existence of the numerous notated variants with different titles eg. The Battle of Sheriffmuir and Carles with the Breeks is as if a camera shot has been taken of the tunes at the time of transcription and the photos preserved for posterity. The melodic lines for the most part have remained the same, especially since Angus MacKay's 1838 publication. The main problem is that the ability to interpret the score has changed. At the present day, pipers adhere strictly to an accepted style of performance which is recommended by their peers as a traditional interpretation of the music score. The reality is that certain features of the pibroch interpretation of these scores have become exaggerated to the extent that this writer believes not even Angus MacKay could endorse. In contrast with the changeability of the oral tradition, this preservation of a fairly standardised melodic line is typical of what happens when the music is notated. Bartók (1951:19) differentiates between what he calls Art music and Folk music accordingly, stating that

> 'some believe that the essential difference between art music and folk music is the continuous variability of folk music as against the rigid stability of art music.

Bartók (ibid) agrees with those who held this view, but with the qualification that:

> 'the difference is not one of contrast, but one of degree- that is, the performance of folk music shows an almost absolute variability, while art music is a far lesser, sometimes in only an infinitesimal degree.' (p20)

This is in accordance with the criticisms the writer made earlier in the introduction, on the attention paid to relatively unimportant details of performance such as particular gracenotes and the extent to which one

might prolong the time value of particular notes. These fixations with minutae occur at the expense of the identification of the phrasal rhythm and its melodic clarity.

Although it may be considered a truism that performance of art music may vary each time it is performed by the same person, Bartók (1951: 20) shows that the features which are likely to change are those which embellish the melodic line[66]. He defines the crucial difference between art music and folk music where:

> 'the NOTES of art music - because of their fixation by notation - must never be changed, whereas in folk music even notes are subject to change.'

This has a parallel in pibroch. Many of the discussions on settings of tunes concern, for example, the matter of whether or not to play cadences at particular points of the tune. One only has to examine the Pìobaireachd Society Series notes on tunes to find these finite details.

Each variant of a tune, where that can be perceived, represents a stage in its development where each one represents what Bartok (Essays 1976) calls

> 'one of the most characteristic, integral peculiarities of folk melodies (p.10)

Brailoui (1984) in his identification of the essential feature of Folk music transmitted entirely by oral means states:

> 'it does not merely circulate in set form but multiplies, that is, in its travels it undergoes many transformations, the signs of its 'folk' character.'(p3)

These characteristics were observed in the oral musical tradition in Ireland last century. Petrie (1855: xv) the collector of traditional airs states:

> 'I rarely , if ever, obtained two settings of an *unpublished* air that were strictly the same; though, in some instances, I have gotten as many as fifty notations of the one melody. In many instances, indeed, I have found the differences between one version of an air and another to have been so great, that it was only by a careful analysis of their structure , aided

---

66 Interestingly, J. J. Galbraith in TGSI XXXV p.315 suggests that the gracenotes of Gaelic psalmology 'became themselves a theme and were interpolated into the music.' He suggests that this is the origin of the graces and the variations of Gaelic psalmology.' Insert this footnote at p. 63

> perhaps by a knowledge of their history and progress of their mutations, that they could be recognised as being essentially the one air.'

This characteristic is clearly evident in the Gaelic song tradition in Scotland and one only has to refer to Campbell and Collinson's series of Hebridean Folksongs(1-3) to see that each version collected had variant forms even between verses. Gaelic songs are frequently based on pre-existing melodies which were often adapted and changed to make a 'new' composition. There are therefore numerous examples of songs with close variants such as Mo chailin dìleas donn and Mo Mhàili bheag òg.

Brailoiu (1984: 8) observes that Bartók sought in variation the 'key to the great mystery of folk creation' and quotes Bartók as having identified certain conditions which facilitate the creation of new melodies:

> 'Among those whom identical conditions such as language, occupation, temperament, close daily contact, and more or less complete isolation from the outside world bring together into a compact whole, the instinct for variation operates in an unconcious manner and by a slow process of unification of the musical elements at their disposal, gives birth to groups of homogeneous melodies'

These conditions are evident in the Gaelic song tradition and ~~there are similar reasons to believe~~ that it occurred in the pibroch tradition before the tunes were notated and patronage in piping competitions began. Campbell and Collinson (1980) found that:

> 'even in the space of fifty years, a subsequent generation sang variant words to the original text recorded. Melodically, different variations of the same tune which were recorded from different persons were found, in some cases to be now incompatible with the words originally taken down.'

Earlier collectors and notators of Gaelic song than those mentioned above, have made similar observations and links between different melodies both within this country and internationally. [67]

It is no surprise therefore to find, as was found in ~~the~~ case study on Pàigh na Bodaich Màl ach Ruairi that the melodies were so different even

67 See Tolmie (1911) for comments by herself, Amy Murray and Lucy Broadwood on variant forms.

as well as Duntroon's match

though they were sung to the same word text; or that Sound of the Waves on the Castle of Duntroon ~~could~~ accommodates the same song text as Young Neil's Salute; or that the song Iseabail NicAoidh can be sung to the melody of its similarly titled pibroch and to a version of The Prince's Salute. many more examples of this could be given.

There is a number of examples of 'groups of homogeneous melodies' in the pibroch tradition. These are often easily identified because they have melodic motifs in common, although ~~they may~~ sometimes ~~be~~ arranged in a different rhythmic fashion. The homogeny of tunes which can be identified with the song words beginning *'A Chlanna nan con'* and *'S fhada mar so'* is one particularly obvious example for which the writer has identified several variant tunes with various titles. [68]

The reality is that so many obvious relationships between tunes are undetected because in their metamorphosis they often adopt different rhythmical and/or melodic features. These differences may also be related to function. For example the melody for the song version of Iseabail NicAoidh (CS 8) has ~~a~~ similar ~~melodic line~~ opening phrases to A Cholla mo Rùn (CS 5). ~~It is highly unlikely that the present day art performance style of Iseabail NicAoidh was represented in the eighteenth century genre.~~ The similarity between the two melodies is disguised in present day performances of Isabel MacKay because of the art style adopted. Similarly, both the song + pibroch versions of Isabel MacKay have taken on the 'staged art style'.....

---

68 This is the tune which is called End of the Little Bridge in CC. Vol. 2 no 85. {edited in the PS series Bk. 8: 239.} A number of its variant forms are to be found in:
CM. 32 [Thomason,1900] ,
CC Vol. 2 no 78 called Cameron's Gathering.{edited in PSoc.Bk.15 p503 }
CC Vol 2 no. 79. 'Blar Vuster.'
CC Vol 2 no 83 'Cameron's March.' Edited in PS 14 p.495.
CC Vol 2 no 80 'MacDonald's Gathering'.
CC Vol 2 no 81 'Sad mar sho tha shinn' {ie.'S fhada mar so tha sinn.' }
{This is not the same one edited in PS 7: 210 as "Too Long in this condition.' The PS 'Too Long" is CC no.77, there called MacFarlan's Gathering} The CC 'Sad mar so has, at the beginnning of the tune, the rhythmic motifs like End of the Little Bridge, Cameron's etc. ie.three lowA's followed by C or B} and not as in modern settings with Taorludhs. These CC hindaendo 's are interchangeable with taorludhs throughout suggesting that today's taorludhs are a subsequent development.
ClanRanald's Gathering.found in Donald MacDonald Coll p68.

The concept of variant is a fairly difficult one.
There is bound to be a stage where one has to distinguish between a variant and another tune. Bartók (1951: 17)) defines variants as:

> 'melodies in which the pitch relation of the various principal tones to each other show a certain similarity; or, in other words, in which the contour line is entirely or partly similar.'

However, Bartók identifies the problem of dealing with:

> 'a long chain of melodies, in which each of two neighbouring melodies can be considered beyond any doubt and at first sight as a variant of the other, and the first one in the row is so entirely different from the last one that it should not be called a variant, one has to break up these melodies into two or more separate groups.'

This writer had a similar situation in the case study of MacIntosh's Lament where a number of orally recorded variant song versions existed, all of which differed from each other. But when presented in what the writer saw as a logical order with slight change at each step melodic / rhythmic the final example Carles with the Breeks was so different from MacIntosh's Lament as to be acknowledged as a separate tune. The problem lies in deciding at which variant version it ceases to be one tune and becomes another. As Bartók (ibid p.17)) states:

> 'subjective decisions will have to guide us in the solutions of all these questions.'

The beauty of the tradition is that it gives rise to the possibility of an infinite number of melodies. The importance of these characteristics in determining performance style is that when one identifies homogeneous melodies, it is possible to apply the same rhythmic parameters to those which do not have Gaelic song words with which to compare, as to those which do. One case study (CS 3) example is Alba Bheadarrach [Battle of Sheriffmuir] which has title words alone but is clearly a melodic variant of Carles with the Breeks.

Once again, it seems that the parameters which one considers, in order to demonstrate the characteristics of orally transmitted traditional music, are wide, in whichever country's musical tradition one is analysing. Therefore, when one is attempting to find out the nature of a particular melody or song air and, ultimately, its performance style, the forms, where they can be identified, are a valuable source of guidance. These techniques were used by Bartók (1951:10) in his study of Parry's collection of songs,

and he states further with regard to the setting of bars and choice of note values that:

> 'If there are no such variants for comparison, we may find some guidance through comparison with instrumental variants, or with other instrumental (or vocal) melodies of the same type, or through examination of the structure of the melody itself. In extreme cases, however, the position of the bars and the determination of the structure will remain matters of guesswork.'

Matheson (1954:76) cites tonality and rhythm as the most problematic areas which faced the early transcribers of Gaelic song. The first point is outwith the scope of this study, as far as pibroch performance and notation is concerned, and will not be considered here.[69] The rhythmical features are, however, all important.

With regard to rhythm, he states:

> 'The broad general principle is that the rhythm in which a song is sung is determined by the rhythm in which it would be spoken, though we must remember that in fact it was never spoken.'

MacInnes (1986: 140) identifies the special characteristics of Gaelic verse - including song poetry- when he states:

> 'a feel for complexity of rhythm -for the freedom of speech-rhythm for instance, pitted against the demands for strict form - is one of the most special and sensitive graces of Gaelic verse in general.'

These characteristics are cited by the poet Sorley MacLean, when writing about the anonymous songs of the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries:

> 'Technically they are simple but adequate, their metrical basis being the old syllabic structure modified by speech stress.'(ibid)

---

69 It is, however, one which requires a separate and detailed study and is important with regard to the changes which have occured in the modal character of Gaelic song melody. It is also relevant to the pibroch repertoire in as much as many of the modal tunes which concentrate on the notes GBD have become unfashionable.

Matheson addressed the rhythmical features of Gaelic song in a lecture called 'The words and music complex in Gaelic song'[70] and broadly categorised song into three areas, according to their rhythmical characteristics. These are,

Songs in measured time.

Songs in unmeasured time; where there is a variable number of musical accents or beats in each songline.

Songs in free rhythm; where the number of musical accents is difficult to ascertain because " one cannot be sure whether a given note is accented or not."

The songs which were adapted to the pibroch form fall into each of these three categories.

In the first category Gabhaidh Sinne Rathad Mór (CS 11) could be included. The infrequency of cadences in the score allows the tune to be played almost identically to the song version. In some other examples, such as Carles with the Breeks (CS 2) and The Fingerlock (CS 4), if the performer attempts to adhere to the conventions of the pibroch scores, the presence of cadences means that the tunes cannot be performed in as measured a time as the song versions. The pibrochs are therefore to be played in free rhythm to allow for the inclusion of cadences. This has a parallel in the second category of song rhythms outlined by Matheson above.

More specifically, in consideration of the variable number of stresses, the number of beats per phrase in pibroch is generally constant once the rhythm has been identified in the first phrase of the tune. In a number of pibrochs, like for example, Lament for Captain MacDougall, although it has not been identified with a Gaelic song, the final phrase of the *ùrlar* has an extra stress which has often bewildered publishers. The problem has arisen because of what appears to be the existence of extra notes in the penultimate bar of the tune. An 'extra' note appears to have been created because of the method of notation, where the E of the *hiharin* is included on the melodic line. In addition, because analysis has been based on the number of bars in the ùrlar and the number of beats per bar, rather than the identification of melodic and rhythmic phrases, the performance of

---

70 SA/1975/1

this has given rise to spurious debate.(See PS Series Book 6:164) When analysed in terms of the number of stresses per phrase the style of performance becomes clearer and the number of stresses per phrase are found to be no different from the rest of the ùrlar[71].

The writer considers that almost all pibrochs, whether or not they are found to have words associated with them, fall into Matheson's second category of song rhythms, which mean that they are performed in unmeasured time. However, it may be too simplistic to place MacIntosh's Lament into one particular category because of how it may have been adapted for different social functions. The reality is that a range of different rhythmical characteristics may co-exist in the one song. This is manifest, for example, in waulking songs, where the function dictates the rhythm (see Campbell and Collinson 1-3) and yet different time signatures sometimes have to be employed within the same song to faithfully represent the subtle complexities of rhythm.

In the comparisons given in the case studies, the nature of the song stresses is fairly straightforward. However, when a particular song's rhythms are superimposed, as it were, on its pibroch version, the corresponding musical accents in the pibroch frequently remain difficult to identify and may be ambiguous. This is because there are, often, more notes in the pibroch version in addition to the cadences. The Gaelic language, being stress based language, is important as a guide for stressing, and a note can usually be found in the pibroch version which corresponds to the stress position of the song. The points of stress in pibrochs for which word texts only have been found, or even where no word text exists, can also be identified in an informed and intuitive way. One of those which has been considered in this manner is Brother's Lament (See Case Study 12) with which a text has been compared. The Brother's Lament represents one of a number of examples where the style of singing probably represents shared characteristics of (a) the more chant-like style of singing with fairly isorhythmic syllabic stressing and (b)

---

71 That is, the *hiharin* , without the introductory E, is treated as one stressed figure and, for the sake of notational convention, the bar can be moved back to include a two quaver motif to give two bars of four stresses each.

a more measured style with clear points of stress, most frequently on words containing accented vowels. The first category (a) is associated with songs in unmeasured time such as the *dàn /laoidh* which encompass the heroic ballads, the basic technique of which, as Matheson (1975) stated, is that the durations given to the words governs the musical accent in the song. The second class (b) represents the *amhran* class of songs (commonly called *òran* in today's vernacular) This style dominates modern Gaelic singing. They are also the most common examples in this study. The *amhran* normally consists of a four-line-stanza form usually having four poetic and melodic stresses per line. (Watson 1959 ed. p.liv) In some songs however, (eg. Oran Mór Mhic Leòid) there may be five poetic and melodic stresses in a line or six poetic stresses and only four melodic stresses such as in William Ross's, Oran an t-Samhraidh.

The idiom of traditional singing, remnants of which survive today, would seem to have been very adept at preserving language rhythm even with the superimposition of a fairly measured melodic line as in the waulking song tradition. In this genre, speech stress and melodic stress have been differentiated by shifting the stress points in the language so that the melodic accent falls on a normally unaccented syllable in a word. The Gaelic traditional singers of past generations did not necessarily recognise the distinctions between melody and words, apart from these subtle adaptations or 'wrenched accents' in waulking song, because the rhythms of language were paramount and the music was carried along on it. As the poet MacLean stated (1985: 114) with regard to the old Gaelic songs; they represented 'the supreme hermaphrodite of words and music.'

Although one recognises that speech stress and melodic stress are two different things, which always need to be reconciled in performance, the distinctions do not arise until the concept of measured time is introduced. Only then does the reconciliation between the two become important. The 'Art song' style of James Campbell of Kintail with MacIntosh's Lament, (See Case study 1) concentrates on the melodic features where the language rhythm is secondary. There is, however, a great need to reconcile the two if one wants to sing the song in its traditional idiom. The good traditional singer is able to integrate the melody and the words such that no tension exists between them and the differentiation between melody and speech stress becomes invalid.

When the rhythms of the song versions are overlaid on the pibroch form, in some of the case studies considered, for example, Coir an Easa and Brother's Lament (CS 7 and 12) the areas of musical accentuation and stress are more difficult to identify within the phrases In these circumstances, pausing at phrase ends becomes the most effective means of relating the tunes to the idiom of Gaelic song, where each phrase of pibroch is equivalent to one poetic line of song, Although the *dàn* is irregularly stressed, that is, where the positions of stresses vary throughout a song, it tends to be more isorhythmic in nature. The *dàn* frequently has more equal note value lengths than one might find in the Art song. For instance, one might have a series of quavers followed by a dotted crotchet in the *dàn* but a series of quavers followed by a dotted minim in the Art song. The frequent relatively long pauses which one finds in modern pibroch performance is similar to the Art song style. The more evenly distributed rhythm such as one finds in the Gaelic *dàn* song type and which is probably best describes the rhythmic style of Coir an Easa and Brother's Lament is more difficult to appreciate on an instrument such as the pipes. The writer's own experience in attempting to perform such pieces where stress points are ambiguous is that, because of present day Gaelic society's relative unfamiliarity with the song tradition on which much of pibroch would have been based, there is a tendency to attempt to identify and ~~sometimes~~ create particular positions on the melodic line which can be used as rhythmic anchors, as it were. These stress positions identify a more familiar rhythmic structure which is influenced by the more measured twentieth century styles of Gaelic singing rather than the less measured, irregularly stressed singing styles which are very likely to have been more common when pibroch was at its zenith.

The desire for a rhythmic framework when words were no longer present as a guideline may go some way to explaining why many pibrochs have extra notes and cadences inserted as 'anchors' so that the rhythms can be made more identifiable, familiar and predictable. These points frequently appear following the bar ~~so that the~~ implying suggestion ~~is that~~ they carry the musical stress. The demise or absence of the older singing styles in modern Gaelic society and the influences of the more measured modern song rhythm is probably the main reason why the writer found he was looking for more obvious musical accentuation within the phrases. It may partly explain why the songs in *amhran* metre with their regular

stress positions, coincident for the most part with the position of the accented vowels, became so popular with instrumentalists and are now so popular today. It has been suggested by Matheson (1975) that instrumentalists were greatly responsible for the spread of the *amhran* or song type throughout Europe.

There are numerous notated pibrochs without an identifiable related song But, just as in Gaelic song where:

> 'good phrasing depends on determining the relative importance and weight of the words which make up the phrase; particularly with regard to free rhythm'.(Matheson 1975)

so in pibroch, the appropriate phrasing strikes a balance between its constituent elements in rubato form. And just as in songs sung in free rhythm, where:

> 'there are so many degrees of accentuation to the extent that the two classes of accented and unaccented don't have a clear dividing line'. (ibid)

pibroch phrasing should represent a much greater degree of freedom to decide on the range of relative stresses of its constituent notes than modern pibroch performance style represents. The most important point is that the rhythmic characteristics of pibroch phrases should be similar to the ones which are set by the words in Gaelic song.

Spoken language rhythm is never consistently in measured time. This truism which is just as relevant to language in song is, however, a characteristic which is increasingly being ignored by present day Gaelic singers and pibroch players alike[72]. In the study of Breadalbane's Lament(CS 10), the characteristic language rhythm of the song is especially

---

72 The writer listened to a Gold Medal piping competition in Inverness in 1993 and found that all but one pibroch player performed in a regularly timed manner, with little identification of phrasal characteristics. It is understandable how these features should be prominent in the exceedingly slow tempo which one generally finds in modern pibroch performance, given that most of what one hears in the music of modern society is in measured time. This regularity in Gaelic singing can, to a great extent, be attributed to the same influences and also to the influence of instrumentalists who find that accompanying songs and playing music in measured time is easier than in unmeasured time.

marked, but is not verified by the musical notation from the Killin coll.(1884). However, the shortcomings of the measured time notation become unimportant when the words are correspondingly placed underneath the notation. Then, the rhythm of the melody in relation to the song words is clear. Although the melody of the pibroch version of Breadalbane's Lament appears to be a variant, there is no difficulty in ascertaining the rhythm at which it was performed, by overlaying the words on the pibroch notation - already having resolved the styles in which the conventional music characters of pibroch are played. Even where, as is so often the case in the earlier song/music publications, the words are not placed in the context of the music:

> 'This conflict between words and music could often be eliminated by intelligent editing of the airs'. (Matheson 1954: 78)

Matheson here identifies the assignation of wrong time values to notes as a particular problem in the earlier as well as the later Gaelic song collections. The Killin (1884) and Gesto (1895) colls. are examples of these later ones. He expands on this subject in greater detail at a later period (1975)[73], where he points out that some of the reasons for the time values being wrongly placed relate to the occurence of irregular stressing; a particular feature of some Gaelic songs where a normally unstressed word in the song may be stressed.

Characteristically, it has also been observed by Murray (1936: 103) who identifies the potential pitfalls when assigning note values to words by commenting that:

> 'You cannot make Gaelic go with the stick without doing violence to the quantities of Gaelic speech, and these are fixed. Long must be long, whether it be sung or spoken; short must be short.'

What she ~~seems to be~~ implying here is that the conversational rhythm is to be preserved, as far as possible, in the song performance. Although vowel length in language and musical length or accent can be regarded as independent features they can

---

73 For a detailed discourse on note values in relation to syllabic stress and musical accent in relation to speech stress refer to the School of Scottish Studies Archives for a recording of Rev. W. Matheson's lecture 'The words and music complex in Gaelic Song.'(1975)

also be indistinguishable depending on the manner in which language and music interrelate. The two features become more independent when the melodic rhythm tends towards regular stressing. It is at this stage that a tension is set up between the rhythm of the melodic line and the rhythm of the song words which have to adapt to the melodic regularity. In contrast, where the words dictate the (the) rhythm, the melodic accent can be indistinguishable from the verbal one.

Murray (1836) appreciates, as Matheson, Campbell and Collinson do, that the preservation of the accentual metre of Gaelic speech in song is not a hard and fast rule in *Orain Luadhaidh* or *Port a Beul.* She states:

> 'The liberties of English balladry are sometimes taken; but even in these, or in crooning a child, the natural stress of the words does not always fall in with the thump on the board or the floor, or with the swinging of the mother's body - does not keep step, as it were, though both go along at the same gait, though on the ear they fall combined'.(p103)

There are no specific examples in the case studies of normally unstressed syllables being stressed. But what the existence of these musically accented unstressed syllables implies is that when reinterpreting pibroch performance in the absence of song words, the sequence of musical stressing can be so variable that there are a great number of ways in which one can distribute different note values within a phrase without losing the idiomatic features of Gaelic language rhythms. Obviously, when one is performing a pibroch without the song rhythms to refer to, then the scope for different interpretation would appear to be wider and potentially more controversial, than where words do exist.

However, this should still not detract from the underlying characteristic of instrumental music which has been developed from the song idiom where "speech stress governs musical accent" and, therefore, both "speech stress and musical accent are never confused." (Matheson 1975) The melody lines of the songs which have been adapted for instrumental performance alone should therefore retain similar stress patterns if one is to regard the instrumental style as an honest representation of its community's idiom. This is not a simple matter, however, because of the complexities of the language rhythm which carries the melody as it were. The instrumentalist piper has therefore adapted the rhythm and melody

to suit the instrument and in the process created a new genre based on the song tradition.

The rhythmic guidelines were so well recognised in the Gaelic song tradition - even in the vocables alone - just as they would have been in the canntaireachd tradition before it was recorded without accentuation on the vowels. For as Campbell remarks, (HF vol.3: 318) referring to his colleague Collinson's statements (HF vol 1.1969 pp227-37) :

> 'If the refrain syllables of a waulking song are correctly set down in writing or print with the long vowels correctly indicated by the customary accents used in writing Gaelic, it is often possible to read more or less correctly the rhythm of a waulking song from the refrain syllables alone without the need of musical notation'.

Matheson (1954) looks for a characteristic rhythmic ratio and questions the commonly used dotted crotchet and quaver motif in a number of song collections. For example the Killin coll.(1884) has this ratio throughout many of its song transcriptions including Breadalbane's Lament (CS 10) Matheson (ibid) finds that a crotchet and quaver relationship is nearer to what is sung. This is borne out by Collinson (1969:226) who showed that much of Gaelic song has a rhythm which sits between the crotchet and quaver motif of regular 6/8 time, [♩♪♩♪] and the common time motif, [𝅗𝅥𝅮 𝅗𝅥𝅮], frequently sitting between or alternating between the two values. These features are also evident in some of the case studies.

These rhythmic complexities of Gaelic song, which place the music outwith the European scheme of notation, must also have created problems for the early pibroch notators. This is evident in a number of the case study examples, eg. Carles with the Breeks (CS 2) As has already been observed by Cannon (1988:88):

> 'A very general tendency seems to have been for tunes in 6/8 rhythm to be changed to common time.'

There are other reasons, though, for the widespread alteration from 6/8 to common time, found in both the Gaelic song and pibroch traditions. As Matheson pointed out, one of the consequences of notating Gaelic songs with instrumentation in mind was that

> 'they made a practice of introducing passing-notes and other embellishments such as would have no place in a vocal

> version.'[74] 'The result is that when the words of an air are found, the number of notes is often greatly in excess of the number of syllables. This raises the question, after the true tempo and time -signature have been restored, of what notes to delete. A musician with the requisite historical and technical knowledge could no doubt solve this problem with fair confidence.'

This to a great extent sums up what has occured in the development of the pibroch tradition from Gaelic song. Numerous examples of an overabundance of stressed notes to song words exist throughout the pibroch tradition and one only has to consider Angus MacKay's inclusion of the cadence Es in the melodic line as an obvious example of this. It also makes the identification of song airs in pibroch more difficult for the researcher. There are, however, two particularly good examples in the case studies, of tunes which have been treated in this way: Coire an Easa (CS 7) for which the words and melodic line have been identified beyond any doubt, and Brother's Lament.(CS 12), for which a set of words has been identified but the melodic line of which has not been corroborated by an alternative melodic source. In this case, acting on the evidence which exists for other tunes, the writer has used his own intuition to 'contextualise'[75] the melody of the song on which the pibroch may have been based. The result of this is an *ùrlar* in a rhythmic style which is not unlike that found in the heroic ballad style, where irregular stress positioning coexists with the more predictable stresses on accented vowels to give a complex and ever changing rhythmic scansion.

---

74 He points out also that 'the same treatment is to be found in Lowland Scots collections of the eighteenth century such as Thomson's Orpheus Caledonius.'

75 In his 'Musicology' (1985: 200) Kerman applauds Richard Taruskin's use of the term 're-creation' rather than reconstruction in Taruskin's 'The Musicologist and the Performer' (1980) from 'Musicology in the 1980's', ed. D. Kern Holoman and Claude V. Palisca., (1982: 145-60). Kerman's reasoning is that 'a historical performance style cannot be an objectively antiquarian construct. It is a unique, difficult blend of old and new, a play of the contemporary creative sensibility upon the past.' He echoes Taruskin's claim that 'intuition is essential for the re-creation of a historical performance style.' On the same issue, Kerman prefers the use of the word 'contextual' when refering to the re-construction of music which is preferred here.

CHAPTER 2.3

LATER SONG COLLECTORS.

In an article in TGSI (1924: 251) Malcolm MacFarlane, identifies the pioneer collectors of Gaelic song according to whether they notated the airs on the stave or in sol-fa. The latter method, although the most appropriate for the fluent Gaelic speaker when presented in conjunction with the words, is not being considered here.[76] Following the period of those collectors which have been cited, it would seem that there were none with sufficient insight or understanding to notate traditional singing until Frances Tolmie and Amy Murray notated some songs at the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth.

Frances Tolmie (1840-1927) contributed 105 songs which she had learned in her community in Skye to the Journal of the Folk Song Society 1911[77] and was the first Gael who attempted to faithfully record the songs which were being sung in her own community on the Island of Skye, during the second half of the nineteenth century. Thomson (1954) described it as 'the first fully significant collection of Gaelic song.' She represents an important stage in the recording of Gaelic song in that, for the first time, the words and the music appear together without having been edited or 'improved' as earlier and subsequent collectors were so prepared to do. Not only did she transcribe the songs - where her note values are closer to the natural language rhythms than any previous notator - but she sang them as well. In this respect, they represent an honest and accurate representation of the songs' melodic line. (see Bassin 1977)

---

76 See Celic Monthly Vol 10 (1901- 02) to see how some of Finlay Dun's tunes have been transformed by MacFarlane.
Sol-fa collectors:
1. John and Henry Whyte.
2 John MacIntyre
3 Archie Ferguson
4 John MacCallum
5 Neil Orr
6 Alexander MacDonald
7 Roderick MacLeod.
8 Malcolm Macfarlane
9 Angus Morrison (Orain nam Beann)

77 Journal of the Folk-song Society no. 16. (Representing the third part of vol. 4.)

It still has shortcomings because of its notation in measured time. However, this is relatively unimportant because each note of music corresponds with each word syllable where possible. This method, which has been adopted by the most descriptive notators such as Collinson and subsequent analysts has also been used in this thesis.

As Bassin points out (1977: 127), Keith Norman MacDonald who published the Gesto Collection (1895) and Puirt a Beul (1901) and Marjory Kennedy Fraser who became famous through her 'improved' publications of Hebridean songs [78] were all indebted to Frances Tolmie for source material. As an example of how folk songs were altered, Bassin (1977: 135) demonstrates how Marjory Kennedy Fraser 'gave rather free rein to her fantasy' in her transformation of the song Ailean Duinn in which Kennedy-Fraser introduced a seagull into the text, renaming the song 'The Seagull of the Land-under-Waves.' Bassin (1977: 136) also shows how Kennedy-Fraser

> 'by slowing down the value of the notes, while retaining the intervals, has lost the original vital rhythm of the tune. The song, with its fine pentatonic-scale intervals, has become a vehicle for vocal display.'

This is similar to what happened in pibroch and to the songs which imitated the pibroch style such as MacIntosh's Lament, as sung, eg. by James Campbell.

Marjory Kennedy-Fraser (1929) clearly had problems when trying to collect Gaelic songs from the communities in which they were sung and she quotes the Dean of Lismore (p125) as stating that the 'tyranny of rhythm' helps the 'folksongs of a race to preserve its language.' She found that the rhythms of Gaelic,

> 'indulge in strange combinations such as may be found in a milking song, which is in seven- beat time, and in a waulking song which balances fives with threes.'

---

78 These publications are as follows: Songs of the Hebrides Vols 1, 2 and 3 1909, 1917 and 1921 respectively. Sea Tangle. Some more Songs of the Hebrides 1913. From the Hebrides. Further Gleanings of Tale and Song 1925. More Songs of the Hebrides V post 1927.

Although she had patient assistance from some of the people from the areas she collected from, it was not until Kennedy-Fraser collaborated with Kenneth MacLeod from 1908 onwards (Bassin:1977: 132) that she was able to begin to address the problems of notating from Gaelic. Her own daughter, Patuffa, who was being formally trained in music tried notating some of the songs and stated:

> '...I tried my hand at taking down, and my word it was difficult, as the time and scale are both so different from modern music.'(Kennedy-Fraser 1929: 127)

Kennedy-Fraser made her task easier by creating a composite song version, taken from a number of variant forms of one song. This methodology is similar to the one adopted by editors of the twentieth century Piobaireachd Society publications. Under these circumstances, what is notated by her was not sung by anyone, just as much of what was recommended by the transcriptions of the Piobaireachd Society was not played by anyone until subsequent to the publications. Kennedy-Fraser makes no apologies for her methodology and uses the idiosyncracies of the tradition to legitimise it:

> 'Needless to say, there are many variants of airs, of the favourite ancient airs, and one has to use one's judgement in selecting or collating from these a final version for publication. Father Allan did not approve of the graceless versions of many tunes as they appear in print. The old traditional singer , if an artist at all, was ever at liberty (indeed was expected) to use ornament to any extent and to improvise on the ancient theme much as the Hindus' authenticated singer is expected to do with the ancient Hindu 'rags'.'

She also states:

> 'That the folk are only free, alike in the treatment of the melodic outline, the form, and the ornament of their songs, but that they are rhythmically strong enough to use freedom with the metrical accents, is evidenced by their happy use of syncopation.'(p129-30)

In a similar way, the editors of the Piobaireachd Society second series intended that the settings given with footnote information would allow 'pipers of higher intelligence to choose for themselves the settings which they consider correct.' (PS 1: 1925) The differences between the printed

version and the alternative choices of settings relate, for the most part, to a small number of alternative notes or gracings which have a minor bearing on the overall performance style of the tune. The graceless singing styles implied by the methods of song notation adopted clearly did not appeal to the folklorist and collector, Fr.Allan MacDonald, and demonstrated once again how, as in the pibroch tradition, the ornamented style was being replaced by a more conservative style of performance. The extent and the immediacy with which the song notation affected the singing style is not easy to ascertain but it would seem that, ultimately, as in pibroch, its effects would be felt. This changing style was also witnessed by another song collector and musicologist, Amy Murray who, like Marjory Kennedy-Fraser, collected from the same Island of Eriskay shortly before her.(Murray, 1936) The difference between the two collectors was that Murray was more discerning and faithful to the styles of performance in her notation. She makes similar observations to Kennedy-Fraser on performance style and supports them with notated examples.

In Example 1, following, is her notated version of 'Mo run geal dìleas' (1936: 91) as sung in Eriskay, below which is an example of how one would have expected to hear it sung at the National Gaelic *Mòd* and how it was soon accepted as a genuine style. (see below)

Ex.1.

As can be seen from the example, the Mòd version has 'ironed out' the ornamentation on each *-eas* of *dìleas*; in the first place by having two equal quavers; and in the second and third by leaving out the subtle decorations altogether. This is similar to what occured when the ornamentations of Donald MacDonald and earlier notators were dispensed with in Angus MacKay's (1838) collection. This would eventually be considered as an 'improved' style, witnessed by its subsequent acceptance as a standard text by the competition system and

publishers. Angus MacArthur's Lament for Donald Duaghal MacKay is a good example of one where a series of two note cadences give a similar effect to the song example above.

The reasons Murray gives for this version having become so popular with the local people was because of the influences of girls from other parts of Gaeldom - some of whom were *Mòd* singers.[79] She observes that "At the *Mòd* each must sing like the other, and all by the book," and uses the following examples to show how the *Mòd* style has affected the traditional singing idiom. [80]

Murray's reference to some of the girls having been *Mòd* singers is important to her as she sees the *Mòd* and its associated choirs as the source of much of the 'smoothing out' of the melodic lines of the songs at the expense of ornamentation. She refers to the beginning of the Gaelic choirs in Lowland Scotland, which,

> 'use collections noted both on the staff and in Tonic Sol-Fa, with of course the twists and turns cut out."(1936: 90)

This is reminiscent of the attitude of some pipers to the emulation of the natural song rhythms described earlier and also of the cadence decorations of Joseph MacDonald.

Another song, Hi o ro na ho ro eile [81] (1936: 92) is given as an example to demonstrate how the changes not only dispensed with much of the ornamentation[82] but also changed the modality. In pibroch, a similar situation occurs when echo beats are played with long low Gs,(Nether Lorn: *hihorodo*) as in modern performance, even when no low G occurs in the tune.

---

79 They met at the annual fish curing in Shetland (Murray 1936:.92).

80 Crescendo and decrescendo signs which appear in her examples have been dispensed with here.

81 This is the same tune to which Burns wrote the words 'Ae fond kiss.'

82 On Murray enquiring on whether or not a hymn she heard had its provenance in Gregorian chant Fr. Allan said 'But they have spoiled it - do you hear how *plain* it is?' He then expanded on this by stating that "there isn't a woman on the island, so far as I know, who has the old way."(p89)

The problem of rhythmic identification and of where to place bar lines when notating songs was also commented on by Murray.(1936:102) She makes the following observations:

> 'One comes in time to make a good shot at the pitch and intervals- bearing always in mind that the tone is rather that of speech than of song. The puzzle is - where to be putting in your bars.

Bartók (1951:7) addresses the criticisms which some scholars have made regarding the use of bars in *parlando-rubato* melodies. This term is an appropriate one to describe the poetic and melodic relationship which exists in Gaelic songs sung in unmeasured time, where precedence is given to the language rhythm in the song melody. That is, where the melody is made subject to the word rhythm rather than vice-versa. Bartók summarises scholars' reservations:

> 'No regularity of rhythm can be observed and (that) therefore the periods must not be divided into measures, since measures refer to certain regularities of rhythm'.

However, he considers the original meaning of the bar as 'an articulating accent on the value following the bar' and finds it useful for that purpose as well as giving a clear articulation of the melody according to the metrical structure of the text line in songs. It is this common point of articulation between text line of song and pibroch which is so important for the pibroch player.

In Murray's discussion of rhythm 1936: 104) she has the following remarks:

> 'To return to our rhythms: the Islesman has been singing ragtime all his life, as the *Bourgeois Gentil-homme* was speaking prose, not knowing he was "doing it *that* way." In noting it, then, why not leave the bars all out, as the 16th Century madrigalists did?'

She then gives a notated example of the problem (p.105) - notating a fragment as best she could in one way:

Ex. 7

and then in another more standardised form, all in 4/4 time which gives a false impression of its performance style:

Ex. 8

She obviously recognised the problem of using measured time to notate the songs she was hearing although she did continue to use the accepted style.

The differences between the notated style of the first example and the second has a parallel in the differences in rhythm between the performance style which is being recommended by this study and the mainstream pibroch performance of the present day. The first is also closer to normal speech rhythm than the second.

A similar trend towards rhythmic simplicity has occured in the pibroch tradition over the two hundred years since Joseph MacDonald's early attempts to notate pibroch in 1760. The trend towards a standard timing in 4/4 or common time, has occured in pibroch notation as has already been pointed out. Although the advice given by the pibroch notators may be that the notation only represents an approximate notation or pipers' jargon(Kilberry 1948: 17), the longer term effects on playing style, through succeeding generations of pipers divorced from the tradition and culture from which it emerged, are obvious.

Amy Murray's style of transcription is very easy for a Gaelic speaker to understand and probably fairly straightforward for a person with little acquaintance of Gaelic. In the same way, Tolmie's style is very informative, not least because she has included the words with the music. It is clear that the most communicative transcriptions of Gaelic song are those which have the words underneath the notation. Had this method of notation been adopted by the earliest pibroch notators, those tunes

which have a song source or have words associated with them would have been better understood rhythmically. As is shown in this study, (See CS2) the insertion of words underneath some of the tunes in Angus MacKay's (1838) collection does not relate to the rhythms implied by the notation and is therefore of little use to the person who is unfamiliar with the language and its implications in a musical context.

The method of notation which is best suited to Gaelic song is obviously one which imparts the most information in the simplest manner. There are diminishing returns on the facility to perform the music when notated over a particular level of detailed musical notation. That certain amount is not exactly definable, [83] However, the language itself, which should always be laid out underneath the music, should act as the main rhythmic guideline and because of the small inherent rhythmic changes in diction which occur from verse to verse, details of notation will alter from stanza to stanza.

The use of conventional European notation is clearly inappropriate because it cannot represent the subtle rhythms of Gaelic prosody in song. The changes in traditional singing style which have been witnessed over the last fifty years, for instance, cannot be accounted for to any great extent on the existence of notated texts of Gaelic song as the traditional singers have generally only referred to word texts as source material. What is undeniable however, is that the emphasis has moved from a performance style where the words carried the melody along, as it were, to one where the melody carried the words. As Ross (1954)[84] observed, although

> 'vestiges of the bardic form can be seen in many of the Scottish Gaelic stressed metres of the modern period'

the features of which he identifies as:

> 'conciousness of language, a preoccupation with, one might say 'word music', and the development of the subject by means of a detailed analysis'.

---

83 Bartok (1951:5) proposes that the limit at which the human mind can perceive differences of rhythm is about the value of 1/64th at 120 beats per minute.

84 James Ross. 'Sub-literary tradition in Scottish Gaelic Song -Poetry ',Part1 Eigse vol vii part iv p. 217-239.

his statement does not refer to the style of performance of these particular metres. I suggest that this perception of 'word music' is what sets the traditional singer apart from the more pedestrian performers who have subjugated the rhythms of language in music - what Ross(ibid) calls 'the ironing out of the discrepancy of musical and poetic stress' to a measured melodic metre.

Ross (ibid: 239) attributes some of these developments to musicians as well as to literary influences where they

> 'have tended towards the reduction of the complexity of song rhythms by the introduction of less subtle poetic rhythms'.

The parallels with the pibroch tradition are apparent; where pipers have become more dependent on the edited scores, the rhythmic subtleties are lost in the more measured style of modern performance.

Ross (1954: 239) continues:

> 'There is a dictation to the air implicit in the very use of a stressed metre. Beginning over three centuries ago, the poetic stress has continually increased this dictation to the air and for nearly two centuries, the composers, and undoubtedly most of the singers of popular Gaelic song, have lost any notion of that distinction. The result has been a great deterioration in melodic complexity and quality, and we are witnessing the extinction of traditional Gaelic song'.

The situation at present is that almost all that one hears in traditional singing is fairly measured in style and the extinction of 'traditional Gaelic song', although gravely misunderstood, has not yet occured. The ability to sing in stressed metre without being forced into the measured rhythm of its air, as shown in instrumental notation, would seem to be the most misunderstood feature of traditional singing today. The development of regular stress in measured time in the singing tradition is strongly influenced by the prevalence of instrumentally backed recordings this century. The same influences of measured time could also have affected the pibroch tradition over and above its encouragement by notation in the same style.

The overall problem of musical transcription has been summed up in an article published by List (1963: 193) who remarks:

> 'No method of transcription yet devised, whether accomplished by means of the human ear or by electronic analysis, mirrors the musical event with exactitude. The value of a transcription lies not in its complete reproduction of all aspects of a musical event but in the fact that it facilitates the comparison of a number of individual and separable elements or aspects of the musical event.....'

The shortcomings of notation are also conceded at an earlier period by Bartók (1951: 3)

> 'An absolutely true notation of music (as well as of spoken words) is impossible because of the lack of adequate signs in our current systems of notation. This applies even more to the notation of folk music[85]. The only really true notations are the sound -tracks on the record itself'.

Therefore, when the pibroch tradition is examined in light of this, the problems are no different. Problems of transcription have already been addressed by Cooke (1972) who states that 'all who have tried readily admit the difficulty of the task'.

---

85 The use of the term 'folk-music' here is one which has been the subject of some debate but see Brailoiu (1984 ed.Ch.1) for a further discussion of this. The term may be appropriate here because the *ùrlars* of the pibroch tradition could be regarded as a representation of what Bartók saw as the key to folk music as *'par excellence,* an art of variation'. (Brailoiu p.8)

CHAPTER 3

3.1.1 PIPE MUSIC: PROBLEMS OF NOTATION

SOURCES

The manuscript and published sources of pibroch which are considered are as follows and the bracketed abbreviations are used for reference:

Sources.	Date(s)	Abbreviations.
Campbell Canntaireachd	c1800	[CC]
Joseph MacDonald Ms.	c1760	[JMcD]
Angus MacArthur Ms	c.1820	[AMcA]
Peter Reid Ms.	c1825-6	[PR]
Donald MacDonald Coll.	1820	[DMcD Coll.]
Donald MacDonald Ms.	c1806-1826	[DMcD Ms.]
Angus MacKay Coll.	1838	[AMcK Coll.]
Angus MacKay Ms.	Vols 1 and 2 c1826-1840	[AMcK Ms.]
Gen. Thomason Coll.	1895	[T]
Music of Clan MacLean	1900	[McL]
Piobaireachd Society Series	1925-1990	[PS]

CH 3.1.2. NOTATION: SALIENT FEATURES

The aspects of notation most relevant to this study are:

The introductory E complex - called by pipers 'E cadences', but referred to originally as 'introductions' by JMcD.[86]

The Echo Beats which were referred to by JMcD as *Crahinins*[87] or 'shakes.' These 'echo beats' apply to all the notes of the scale which have this flourish such as the following which are described according to the CC. The terms and all of the motifs follow a short introductory E complex represented by *hi* . This *hi* would have to have been played very short for the musical figure to be closely identified with the song tradition. It would seem that the *hiharin* figure on low A is an instrumental development from what was probably three low A's alone as shown in Joseph MacDonald's *crahinins*. In the audio examples of reinterpreted pibroch pieces which accompany this thesis, the writer has in many instances preferred the three low As without the introductory E *(hi)*, a scheme which more closely accords with the song rhythms. Although the *hiharin* vocable has three syllables which suggests a rhythmic figure of three pulses on the one beat, the first syllable represents the E where the following two would seem to represent a more highly embellished development of these in the form of a birl. (see Ex. 1)[88]:

hiharin - for three low As' This is shown as notated by JMcD's below left which was reduced to the CC form on the right.

Ex. 1

86 There were more notes used as 'introductions' by JMcD such as high Gs so that the Es are only part of a wider scheme.

87 *Na crahinin* is a plural noun for what is a singular form of *crathadh*. Another singular and plural form is *crath* and *crathan*. The verbal form is *'a crathadh'*.

88 This information on chronology was conveyed to me by Frans Buisman.

hihorodo,- three Bs

hihodro - three Cs (not used in present day pibroch idiom.) Only the contracted form on the right is used:

Ex. 2

hiharara- three Ds. The earlier CC form is *hihara* which confirms JMcD's shortened form which he was so fond of, but to which the CC added the introductory cadence E. (Buisman)

cherede- three Es.

herere three Fs.

hiriri three high Gs.

Identification of phrases.

The identification of phrases, rather than bars, is more revealing to the researcher looking for the song idiom in pibroch because the song lines, as phrases, are easier to identify in the pibroch form. The identification of musical rhythm is also easier when one considers the pibroch score in the context of speech-accented phrases. By their very nature, these cannot be represented by regularly stressed barred music.

Balance of tempo and rhythm.

The tempo is, to some extent, related to what the function of the tune may have been. The rhythmical features, however, are most important and will often give the impression that the tempo is faster than it actually is. The method of notation used, when compared with its song version(s), is a guide to what the parameters of the tempo might be. For example, if as in modern performance a tune is heavily laden with cadences, which are given equal time values to the succeeding themal note, then the tempo of the tune is slower in comparison with one which has few or no cadences, or cadences played as runs. It may also be that there were various tempos

at which a particular tune may have been played to represent a different function. However, it is one of the most problematic areas to define especially when no specifications are given on tempo in the earliest sources apart from the ill- defined use of Italian terminology by JMcD. (see Cannon 1994:16).[89].

The manner in which particular features have been notated in different collections of pipe music as well as other music collections, will be considered in an approximate chronological order. The reason for presenting them in this chronological fashion is to demonstrate that, as far as the mainstream pibroch tradition is concerned, the changes which occured did so in a process which took many years. There are particular stages in this process of change which are probably related to the more influential collections such as DMcD's AMcK's and PS. Because of the method of patronage through the competition system, the 'mainstream' style will be assumed to be that which is represented by those particular notational features of the pibroch texts about to be discussed - unless otherwise stated.

It is important to appreciate that similar analyses on the changes which have occured in the playing of cadences, echo beats, tempo and rhythm have already been carried out by Cooke (1972, 1978, 1987) and Cannon (1988). Cooke (1975-76) also tabled the different cadences of AMcA, JMcD, DMcD, and AMcK. The relevance of these changes is crucial to this study and the particular features have to be identified in the context of it.

89 See also Cannon (1988) PT (41 no. 2). and Buisman PT(41: 6) where they show how the tune Duncan MacRae of Kintail's Lament is similar to the lively Irish tune 'March of the King of Laoise.' (See LP. of Irish folk group The Chieftains (3, side 1 band 5) MacDonald's March in Kilberry coll.(1948) is also a similar tune. There is also an old German folk song *'An der schonen blanen Donau'* (the beautiful blue Donau) which has a similar melodic line.

CH 3. 2 CAMPBELL SYLLABIC NOTATION

The CC is in two volumes and contains a total of 168 tunes[90]. The most noticeable contrast with other sources transcribed on the stave is its lack of cadences. Although this chapter is headed 'Campbell Syllabic Notation' the shortened reference to it [CC] is because it is more widely known by pipers as The Campbell Canntaireachd. Buisman, however, (PT 1987: 39:7) shows how it was

> 'no longer canntaireachd in the strict sense, i.e. an oral substitute of pìobaireachd, but it was moulded into an ingenious system of representing pìobaireachd graphically'.

Although it was a very useful development of the canntaireachd tradition in that it allowed some elements of its character to be transmitted over time without relying on direct contact with the transmitter, it is an artificial system where the relationship between sound and meaning has been sacrificed for literary clarity. At least one Gaelic speaking piper from Drumfearn in Sleat, Skye, was unimpressed by Campbell's system. In a letter to the Oban Times,(3/1/27) Malcolm MacInnes wrote:

> "Mr Cameron uses the syllables of Gesto and Lorn as if they were the same thing, though they differ almost totally. Gesto is canntaireachd- a system of beautiful chanting. - Lorn is a mere monster- an attempt to use English alphabet to do the work of the symbols of music, and dispense with chanting. "Chaelalho" could not with safety be pronounced, not to speak of chanting it. It makes one feel bad even to look at it. It suggests the sucking clicks in the tongue of the Kaffirs."

What is useful, however, in the CC is the grouping of syllables into vocables or musical words. This helps greatly to appreciate the rhythmic nature of the tunes even if no signs accompany them to indicate note values. They also assist in identifying recurring motifs. Once the rhythmic nature of the vocable is identified by comparing it with Gaelic song, it is possible to perceive the rhythms of unfamiliar motifs which are

---

90 There was an earlier version of the same compilation which has not been found. (Buisman) 104 have been found in other collections. (PS 1:1925.)

a development of the common four phrase pibroch/song relationship. Intuition, arising from a familiarity with the idiom, allows one to be more confident in assessing the rhythms. Sometimes the identification of phrases is frustrated by Campbell's arrangement into 'lines' of music, in that a phrase may sometimes run from one line to another instead of finishing on the one line. Similar criticism of the CC's metrical ordering has already been made by Buisman.[91]

Despite what may be a somewhat artificial transformation of some of the techniques of canntaireachd, reference to the case studies will reveal that the CC as a source more closely corresponds with the song rhythms than any of the pibroch scores. In light of this, it is intuitively possible for one familiar with Gaelic rhythms to ascertain the pibroch rhythms quite extensively without reference to song words as a guide. The other canntaireachd systems such as MacCrimmon's (Gesto canntaireachd) have not been used extensively in this study (although less artificial). There are, however, additional problems regarding the grouping of vocables in Gesto which Cannon(unpub.) has attempted to resolve.. The cadences are not represented in the Gaelic singing examples which have been used in the pibroch song examples, although they exist to some extent in some of the traditional singers' styles today as anacruses - more especially in singers from the Island of Lewis. I suggest that the cadence figure which exists in pibroch was more prevalent in the singing which JMcD witnessed and probably tried to notate.(See Ch.2.2) The melodic lines have been disguised in so many cases, more so by AMcK than anyone else, although it is still possible to observe where he placed his Es and other melodic intrusions, especially in eg.Cumha nam Bràthairean (sic) Reference to the CC makes this clear.

One area which initially seems confusing concerns the use of the cadence vocable *hi* in *hiharin*. When it occurs in *hihorodo* it is played as an E followed by three notes each represented by a syllable of language eg. hi-ho-ro-do. The shortening of the movements in *hiharin* from JMcD's three note motif after the E *(hi)* shown in the example above, which would properly be represented by four syllables, means that the close rhythmical and melodic link with the frequently occuring motif of three notes in Gaelic (See case study 2) is not so clear. Even though the *hiharin*

91 Forthcoming article in PT.

represents a reduction, the I still have tend to hear it as a short E followed by a three-pulse figure on one beat or musical accent. It seems that two rhythmical interpretations were extant. I find MacCrimmon's *hiererin* more representative of the pibroch-song relationship than Campbell's *hiharin*. MacCrimmmon also had an alternative *hierin* .[92]

It could be the case, however, that a similar vocable *hiririn* represented three low As only without an E preceding. J.F. Campbell in his pamphlet 'Canntaireachd Articulate Music' (1880: 11) cites a piper describing the use of the vocable *hiririn* where he

> 'played three notes deftly with his little finger by striking a note on the chanter once. Two were open notes; one closed.'.

It would seem from this description that he was playing a birl as in the present day fashion rather than three clear pulses on one stress, which I suggest was the earliest fashion. The open notes might be considered as the opening and closing low A where the closed refers to the middle section which goes to low G. This might explain Campbell's later statement (p.15) that 'the middle *i* when played is a different note'. this *i* being part of the first *ri* of *hiririn*

What is important is that the rhythmical features of the canntaireachd do not depart much from the notational rhythms. The main problems with the CC relate more to its phonemic nature rather to its lack of correspondence of syllables to notes.

---

92 Information from Frans Buisman.

Ch. 3. 3 JOSEPH MACDONALD

Overview.

The JMcD's Ms. 'A Compleat theory of the Scots Highland Bagpipe' (1760), which was originally published in 1803 with unfortunate alterations, was republished and thoroughly edited by Cannon in 1994. Further discussion on this source will therefore refer to the pages in the 1994 edition.

As Cannon points out (p.1), the Ms. probably represents the earliest attempt to notate pipe music on the stave. Although Joseph wrote it as a theory and not as a source book for pipe tunes, he successfully details many of the features of what was probably an accepted style of playing in his own short time and possibly a generation or two before him. He therefore specifies in the preface that he is dealing

> 'with all the Terms of Art in which this Instrument was originally taught by its first Masters and Composers in the Islands of Sky & Mull.' (1994:25)

The style he is referring to is probably one as played by the MacCrimmons and MacArthurs of Skye and the Rankin pipers of Mull.(1994:2) and although there may have been a wider range of notational styles, there is no reason to believe that substantial stylistic differences in rhythm would have existed between them. Although there were other piping families such as the MacGregor pipers of Perthshire, *'Clann an Sgeulaiche'*,[93] it is just as unlikely that the latter would have had a performance style, in terms of rhythm, which differed substantially from the former, other than in the idiosyncracies which set one performer apart from another. This possibility is supported by Gaelic oral tradition which relates that pupils of one piping school often finished off their tuition at another one.[94]

---

93 See Archibald Campbell's PT (1959 Vol 12) 'The MacGregor pipers of the Clann an Sgeulaiche'.

94 See InvernessTransactions of the Gaelic Society (XXXVII)for an article on the Rankin pipers 'Piobairean Chloinn Ghill-Eathain' by Neil Rankin Morrison.(9th Feb 1934: 59-79. There was an obvious There is futher documentary evidence of the tradition having been passed on between different piping families. Charles MacArthur, piper to MacDonald of Sleat taught Donald MacCrimmon, probably Donald Ruadh MacCrimmon, one of the last of the piping dynasty. See Lord MacDonald papers in Armadale, Skye: GD.221 /4250.

However, these stylistic differences would have to be properly defined and weighted to be of much use in a study of this nature. An important feature which has to be borne in mind is that Gaelic culture was predominant in Perthshire as well as in the Western Highlands well into the nineteenth century.[95] Therefore, the rhythmical characteristics of particular tunes would not have differed substantially unless the occasion for which the tune was played altered. eg. from lament to lullaby

In addition to the detailed observations Joseph makes of the technical features of bagpipe playing, it is possible to recognise many of the fragments of tunes which he uses to demonstrate the different examples of style and form. Most of these have been identified by Cannon in the 1994 edition and are very useful in determining the style(s) of performance of the whole *ùrlar*. Their particular features, that is, sparsity of cadences and intrusive notes, support the argument that the style in which pibroch was played in the 18th century was close to the rhythms which exist in the Gaelic language. For example, he has a full pibroch at the end of the Ms called 'March for a Beginner' without the gracings. This is a variant of a Gaelic song melody and appears as a case study in this thesis.

---

95 For example see Duncan Campbell(1886, 1888 and 1910)

Ch 3. 4. 1

CADENCES

There are a number of features of Joseph's notation style, the manner of performance of which become clearer as a result of the comparisons between song and pibroch.

In his section headed 'Introductions, Graces, Cadencies,[96] etc. Transitions' the manner in which he describes introductions, gives a fairly standoff but nevertheless pragmatic and informative view of performance style:

> 'The Introductions which frequently occurr,(being noted down before each Passage) seem to a stranger wild and rude but will appear otherwise when known, being well applied to the style.'(1994: 78)

This description is less vague and provides a stark contrast when it is compared with the manner in which one would hear them at the present day, which as Cannon (1994:14) states 'consist essentially of the note E held out long like an appoggiatura.' and could hardly be described as 'wild and rude'. The E is frequently held as long as a minim and not as a crotchet as notated in the PS series.(see CS 2) The modern cadences therefore are, in performance, perceived as part of the main melody line of the pibroch. For reasons of continuity and uniformity in pibroch competition, they are given the same time value throughout the whole of a tune in contrast with how they were probably played in JMcD's time as adaptable ornamentations to the melody. (see Cannon 1994:16) One could therefore describe modern performance style of playing cadences as measured and predictable.

JMcD's comment on the introductions as being 'wild and rude' is similar to the comments made by his brother Patrick in the latter's preface to his 1784 collection of Highland vocal airs, previously discussed. These were, apparently, eighteenth century 'buzzwords' which described musical styles which did not fit into the European mainstream characteristics[97]The 'wild and rude' style was obviously a feature of both pibroch and Gaelic song

---

96 This does not mean what pipers regard today as 'cadences' in pibroch. Cannon (1994: 78) has suggested that the context in which JMcD usees the word cadence is as an adaptation of the classical term 'cadenza'. Despite its ambiguities, it has been adopted as a term of convenience in the piping tradition for what JMcD calls introductions. .

97 Information from pibroch scholar Frans Buisman.

performance style. In the closely related pibroch tradition, the cadence ornamentations in the form of demisemiquaver runs became less of a decorative flourish than part of the melodic theme of the tune, following the influence of Angus MacKay's 1838 publication. What appears to have been a continuing trend will be seen shortly in the comparisons of cadences from different sources.

In his explanation of a notated exercise, JMcD brings attention to the obvious subtleties in the use of these cadence runs:

> 'This exercise ....must be all introduced in the manner you see the little notes set down, and the learner must be always used with these introductions until he can introduce them properly of his own acord, if he has any taste or genius, without which no kind of music can be well taught him'.(1994: 14)

Although Joseph does not go into any further details on the nature of the cadence runs, the implications of his remarks are that the theme or melodic line of the tune must be preserved. The corollary of his implications is that the rhythm of the tune must be such that the cadence runs never at any time receive a musical stress and become as prominent as, or more prominent than, the following themal note which they grace. The style of notation adopted by JMcD should make this quite clear to the accomplished musician.

Cannon comments (1994:14) that there will always be doubt as to how the cadences of the earliest notators should be played. Similarly, Woodward (1976) suggests that the present day style of playing cadences is quite similar to JMcD's. However, there is more certainty than doubt; (a doubt which frequently verges on the pedantic) as to the manner of performance, for the following reasons.

The reasons are, firstly, that there is clear evidence from JMcD's notated score of semiquaver cadence runs to the melody note and the slightly more contrasted DMcD demisemiquaver runs.[98] Analysis of the different

---

98 Buisman, in conversation, points out that the style of notation is related to the fact that at the time it was not common to indicate differentiation of time beyond a certain point, mainly because such presentations were not thought of in staff notation in general. Therefore, all one can conclude is that when any of the smaller notes took more time than another, it did not take as much time as the modern 'cadence' E.

interpretations of the notation of these, lies at the limit of exact comprehension of musical notation, as far as the pibroch player is concerned has to be perceived in the broader context of the musical phrase. The different perceptions of constituent notes in the cadences are easier to analyse and write about than to reproduce and contrast exactly in actual performance. This statement probably becomes easier to appreciate when it is considered that the less controversial notes which sit on the stave such as the crotchet Es of the modern *hiharin* are played much longer than the crotchet value given, at the present day.

It seems quite unusual that so much pain is taken by the 'pibrochologists' of the present day to prove that what the early notators wrote was not what they meant, in order to vindicate the modern Art style. One area which has received attention is the use of the *'appogiatura'* as a means of explaining how the Es in cadences should be played long rather than short. The subject of *appogiaturas* in the pibroch tradition has already been discussed by Cooke (1989) where he shows how the use of the term has been misunderstood by pipers. Its use by DMcD at the beginning of his published book (ed.1974:4) bears no indication of its having specific note values other than that it represents a decoratory note which was not formally included in the rhythmical metre of the tune. Because it naturally borrowed some time, however, it was called an *appogiatura*. It would seem that the problem with this term is that it is wrongly understood as an arithmetically definable note. One is therefore mistaken attempt to reconcile the limitations of notating music in strictly measured time with the comparatively less strict ornamentation where *legato* and *rubato* effects are introduced into the phrases. The natural inconsistancy of these effects means that the contributory process which creates them, the *appogiatura*, is just as variable. It seems strange that PMcD and DMcD should have made the assumption that pipers and amateur musicians would know the meaning of this term without further explanation and it seems that, from their lack of explanation it merely represented a convenient label with a wider meaning than some would attempt to assert.[99]

---

99 It is worth referring to some of the references which have been made in the past to the appogiatura. For example, Dr. Callcott in Musical Grammar 2nd ed. (London 1809) states: 'Appogiatura is a small note placed before a large one of longer duration, from which it generally borrows half the value and always occurs on the strong part of the

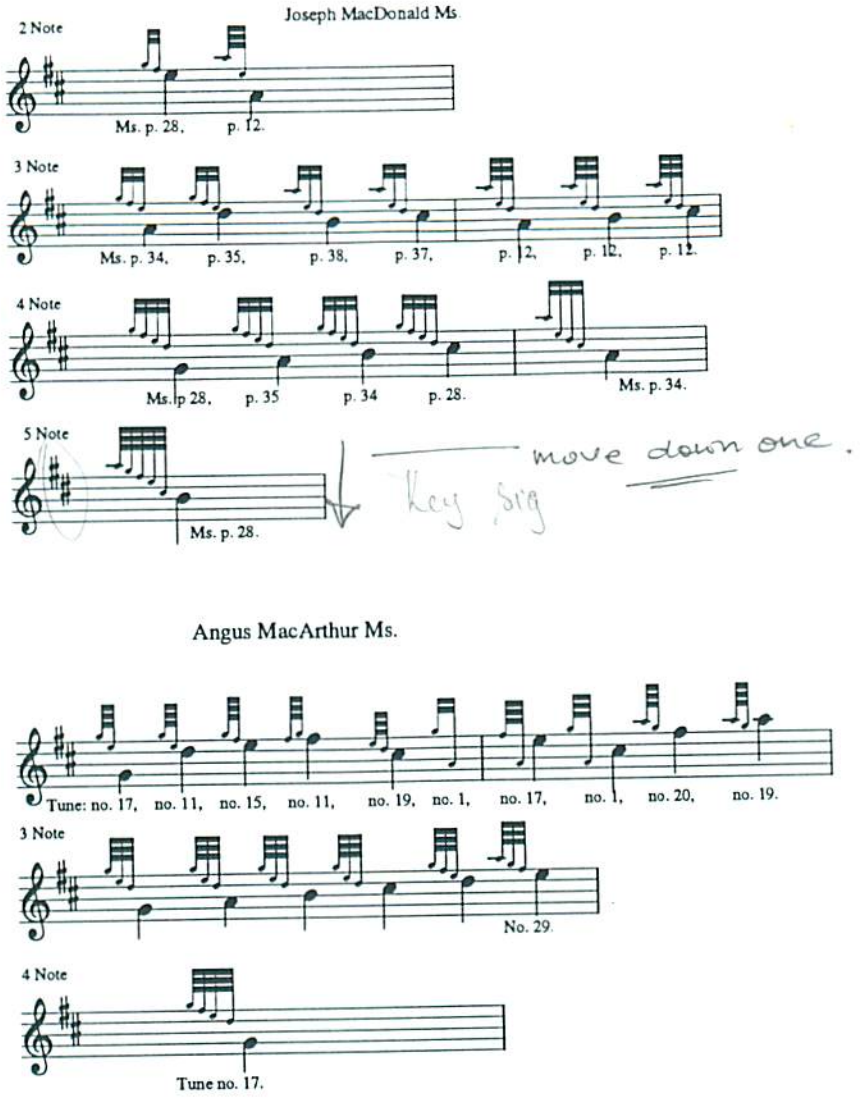
The second reason for believing that the cadences are played as relatively quick ornamentatins to the themal notes - that is, relative to today's style of playing long Es which appear in the middle note of three note cadences- is because, otherwise, the melodic line of the song or tune is too obscured.

The manner in which the cadences were notated by different collectors and how they changed over time is shown in Ex. 3 overleaf.

---

measure. Sometimes however, the Appogiatura is only one quarter of the note it precedes. In the Fontana Musical Manual. (1848: 24) there is the following: 'What is the true value of the Appogiatura? Answer: Rigorously speaking, it has no fixed value by itself. But it approximates to itself sometimes the whole of the note that follows, sometimes the half, now one fourth, now one eighth, according to the note that represents it. Taylor, in his AB Guide to Music (**Date** p.95) has: 'Until the end of the 18th century the Appogiatura was most commonly written as a small note, with or without a slur connecting it to its resolution. Notice that the rhythm values of the small-size notes is ignored; the full-size notes add up to a complete bar without them'. See also Donnington (1974), Emery (1953). It is clear from all the evidence that, historically, the term has undergone a series of reinterpretations.

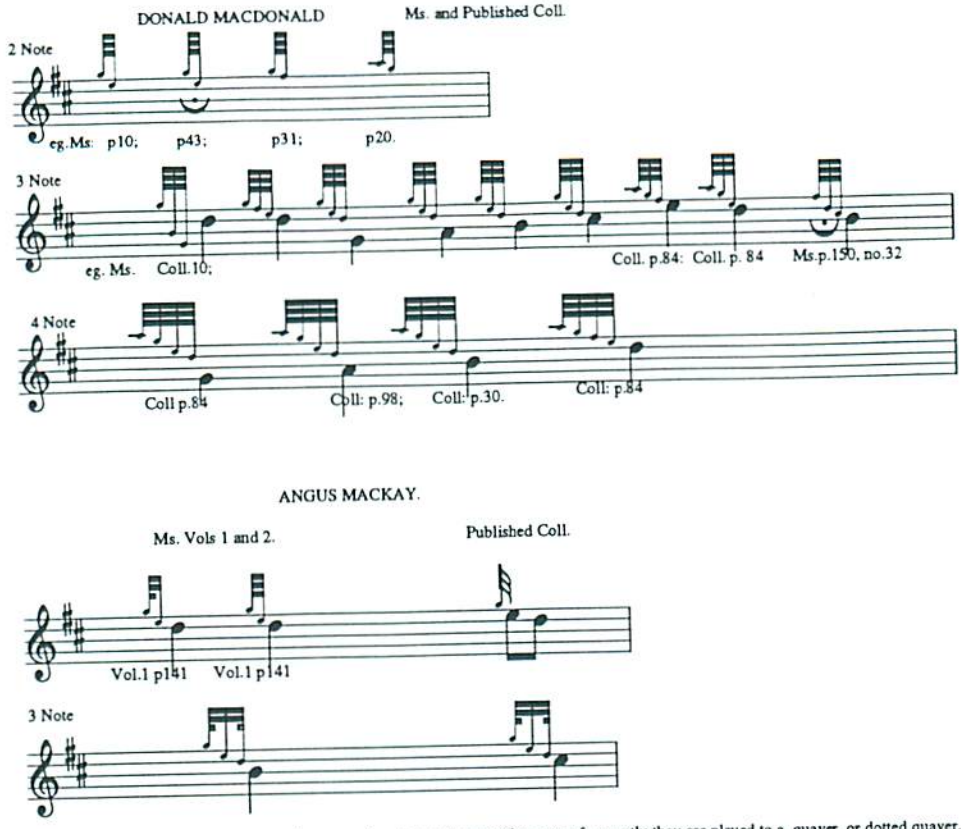
EX. 3



Where particular cadences occur very frequently, these are not specifically identified with text.

The most noticeable feature of all these changes is the trend towards greater simplicity in and increasing standardisation of the embellishments. JMcD and AMcA have a much greater range of decorations than the later sources and these are represented as short runs to the melody notes. Only in DMcD (Ex. 4) do we see signs of elongation of the Es occuring which AMcK adopted and which eventually gave us the long E cadence of the present day. These four and five note runs of JMcD and DMcD would of course have to be played rapidly in order to retain the rhythm of the piece. They are suggestive of the *arpeggio* techniques of the clàrsach player and there may have been some influences on pibroch from this instrument. Indeed, one should find the situation very strange if there has not been an influence on pibroch from the clàrsach tradition, in view of their common social context.

Ex. 4



Although the movements are shown as played down to a crotchet, more frequently they are played to a quaver or dotted quaver. Where the movements are uncommon, the page number of the Ms. or Coll. in which they appear is given.

Ch. 3. 4. 2 CADENCES: CHRONOLOGICAL CHANGE.

The cadences have been set out according to source, with the same number of notes of each cadence grouped together for simplicity. Some of the cadences appear frequently and adorn different themal notes. Although both DMcD's and AMcK's Ms and published sources are used as source material here, differences in cadence styles which occur between the Ms. and the published source of each collector are only found in DMcD. In his published collection only, there are some of the earlier runs of more than three notes which appear in JMcDs Ms. and AMcA's Ms. The DMcD Ms contains cadences of only three demisemiquaver runs throughout. It is suggested by Cooke (1975) that DMcD's published collection rather than his Ms is more representative of his own style of playing. However, his book contains a number of very ornamentated styles not present in his Ms. which are like the decorations found in JMcD and AMcA. It may be that for the sake of simplicity he notated them in a standardised style for the manuscript, which was meant to be book two[100], but was probably aware that the piper would use his own discretion as to the length, content and positioning of the cadence run. The Highland Society of London's patronage was probably an important influence also.

It is clear that the Highland Societies' patronage was intent on standardising styles and settings, not least because it provided a benchmark on which to adjudicate performances.[101] Therefore, by removing features of performance which the Highland Societies would probably have considered 'wild'- such as these four and five note cadence runs, and replacing them with standard three note runs, an ordered system was being set up. Just as it might be difficult for the modern performer to understand the nature of the cadence runs of more than three notes, so it was probably quite difficult for DMcD to dispense with them no matter what the requirements for standardisation may have been. However, the longer cadences occur in only two tunes in his collection[102]

---

100 This second book of Donald MacDonald's, although never published by himself, was eventually incorporated into Thomason's Ceòl Mór at the end of the century. The original Ms. is missing.

101 See I MacInnes unpublished MLitt. thesis 1989.

102 Cumha Pharic More Mhic Cruimen and Cumha Dubh Shomhairle.

On a comparison of the cadence styles of the different collectors, the most obvious features of the changes which have occured are that the cadences have become simplified and more standardised over time. The runs of more than three demisemiquavers in the earliest sources, JMcD and AMcA, were being replaced in DMcD's time by a standard three demisemiquaver cadence on C and B and two on A and G. The brisk demisemiquaver to the themal note was also beginning to be eroded in DMcD's time as, in one tune in his Ms[103], some of his cadences have a dotted middle note E demisemiquaver. This dotted E is the first sign of a gradually changing style which was later to be exacerbated by AMcK when he simplifyied the cadences further by bringing the middle E down onto the melodic line. As shown in Ex.2, which is based on Cooke's chart (1987), the cadences were to some extent thought to be interchangeable or were confused with the themal notes of the tune. This is more evident in AMcK's Ms. and Coll. However, it is not surprising that this ambiguity should have existed.

In Serbo- Croatian folksongs (195:17) Bartók discusses the use of Ornaments (grace notes) in vocal melody and heads his section just as underlined . He defines it as follows:

> 'Two or more notes of different pitch sung to one syllable constitute ornaments in vocal melodies. Usually one of the notes in an ornament can be regarded as the principal one. and the rest as supplementary ornamental notes. It is rather difficult of course to find the principal tone in a heavy ornament group.'

This observation on the vocal style could just as well be applied to pibroch cadences as they were recorded by JMcD, AMcA and DMcD's published collection. Not only does it apply to the pibroch tradition but to many musical genres. The writer has frequently appreciated the problem of separating the melodic line from the decorative one when listening to whistle players emulating the Sean Nós singing style in the Irish tradition and the impression is that each decoration becomes an integral part of the tune according to the whim of the performer - each performance being a unique and different event because of the variable nature of the ornamentation.

---

103 This is the tune known today as MacLeod's Salute which in his Ms.(no.32: 150) is mistakenly typed 'MacLeod's Rowing Piobaireachd (Salute)' which is a wrong translation of 'Iomarbhadh'.

Despite the melodic ambiguity which exists between cadence notes and themal notes in performance, there should be no doubt as to which notes are the ones which receive the stresses because, just like the song, the cadences should act like anacruses. As Cooke (1985:6). has observed in his analysis of the Eliza Ross Ms.:

> 'Like many compilers of 'ceol mor' she sometimes confuses introductory Es (more commonly though less suitably known as "E cadences") with E melody notes and sometimes vice versa. This is useful however, for on those occasions where she writes an introductory E as a melody note this gives us an idea of how long John MacKay made them in that context.'

Buisman has also shown[104] how the Campbell Canntaireachd has substituted the vocable *cheen* for *hin*. In addition, A.MacArthur has a full note E instead of two or three note cadences.

Although at the introductions of some tunes E.Ross showed a long E introduction (eg. Salute to Sir James MacDonald of the Isles) these Es were in an unstressed position, before the bar, as Cooke (1987) has already shown. From an examination of all the earliest texts it is clear that none of the cadence Es were anywhere as long as in the present day style. Although some of the present day players might play a minim where a crotchet is written, (MacIntosh's Lament, CS 1) this does not validate the comment which is frequently heard from pipers (eg. MacNeill 1993 Piob Soc Conference) that although the early notators wrote demisemiquavers, what they actually meant was something else. The overall effect was that post AMcK and especially throughout the twentieth century, the melodic line was becoming increasingly disguised by the cadences, which were no longer acting as ornaments to the melodic line, and the tune was being slowed down[105].

There is sufficient evidence in the style of notation adopted by AMcK and subsequent collectors that this ambiguity of cadence and themal note substantially changed the nature of the melody and the rhythm of tunes.

---

104 In conversation with the writer.

105 See also Cooke (1987) who compared a modern recording of Lament for Donald of Laggan with the notated fragment in Joseph MacDonald's Compleat Theory (See 1994:70) to demonstrate how the rhythmic character of the tune had suffered.

One only has to examine the CC, to see how the sparseness of intrusive cadences reveals the melodic line. One good example of this, although not identified with Gaelic song, is the tune known today as The Blind Piper's Obstinacy[106]

One cannot expect the cadences, any more than the themal line of the tune, to be played exactly in accordance with the notation and it would be expected that each was adapted to each given situation reasserting Joseph MacDonald's (Ms.1760: 42) statement 'when known, being well applied to the style'.

Some of the remnants of the cadence runs being included in the melodic line appear in other guises in twentieth century pibroch performance. Tunes which are traditionally associated with Donald Mór MacCrimmon have now what is termed the 'Donald Mór run down'. This is a good example of the ambiguous nature of the cadence as part of the melodic line of the tune. The three note cadences, which in PS publications have a lengthened E in the form of a quaver are now indistinguishable from the main or themal notes of the tune, when played. This is notated and explained as follows in the pibroch MacLeod's Salute(PS 11:372):

Ex. 5

The song words in most of the case studies analysed, eg. in A Ghlas Mheur, have no place in the cadence decorations in either the pipe, fiddle

---

106 CC Vol 2 no.76 called 'Cor beg MicLeain'. (PS 3:96). In the Canntaireachd, the melodic line begins at lowA proceeding *hinadin hodindro* whereas in modern performance the melodic line begins with E at each subphrase -if each bar is considered as a phrase- giving *hien* at the beginning of each bar. This changes the character of the tune substantially, especially if performed in twentieth century style rather than as AMcK has it notated. PS 3:96 refers to AMcK's statement that it was composed by Ian Dall MacKay. Another tune which has very similar characteristics and also said to have been composed by Ian Dall is the 'Hen's march to the midden' (PS 13:441). It also appears in AMcK's Ms. (no.2:18) with the Gaelic title also 'Gogallaich na'n Cearc'(sic) Once again, if the Es are removed one is able to appreciate the original melodic line.

or canntaireachd versions. This contrasts with some song versions of other pibrochs where the pipe setting suggests that there was some problem in deciding which elements of the music were decorative to the themal line of the tune as cadences, as opposed to being themal notes themselves. One example of this is Alba Bheadarrach (CS 3). Often, a study of the variations will reveal the leading notes.

One pibroch collection which focuses on how the cadences have become part of the melody line with the Es predominant is General Thomason's 'Ceol Mor (1900) He makes the following statement:

> 'The emphasis that the piper lays on the E, is, as far as I know, quite unlike anything of the kind in ordinary music.'(1900: x)

and he shows some concern about the style of performing these when he states:

> 'If this peculiarity of pipe music be not recognised and the E be treated as a full note the time of many a bar will be thrown out.'(1900: x)

However, in his 1905 edition (p.4) he makes a stronger statement on the performance of these cadences:

> 'The rendering of these grace note cadences chiefly as full notes is answerable for most of the faulty time in our Piobaireachd recorded music up to date. They seem to be peculiar to Ceol Mor, and their management requires a good deal of study from the playing of our best players, giving, as they do, great scope for the exhibition of taste.'

His comments are like echoes of Joseph MacDonald's on the same features, over a hundred years before.

Later (1900: 2) he gives the Gaelic terminology for the cadence in brackets as *'Tuiteam.'* This in English means a fall. The reader is not made aware of whether these are translations which Thomason sought from Gaelic speakers or whether they were terms in use by Gaelic speaking pipers of his time. He may even have translated from the root Latin 'cadere' to fall. Whatever the case, the use of the word *tuiteam* is too descriptive of the manner of performing the cadence as a 'falling' and would not be descriptive of the manner of playing cadences with a long E as played at the present day. The same word might be described as 'tumbling' because this is the style of playing cadences which was described to the piper and

adjudicator Seton Gordon. This was described to him by a rural, island piper, John Johnson of Coll, who was very critical of the contemporary playing style of pibroch around the end of last century (c.1900). In one of his letters to Seton Gordon[107] he explains his own attitude and that of his peers to notated pibroch:

> 'As to the piobrochs, I think I told you that I was completely out of any knowledge of "notation" in that class of music, as such was totally ignored by the old pipers from whom I learned what I have. They simply would have nothing to do with it, knowing from what they experienced of it, of its uselessness and misleading effects, but this arose from its not being perfectly known to those who used it, only partially and hence the mistakes and the misleadings which it led to only for want of the expert knowledge requisite.....and hence the going afield of most of modern books'

Glen, in his publication of pibroch 'The Music of Clan MacLean'(1900), acknowledges Johnson as his source for his changed style of notating cadences[108]. For example, below the setting of the tune MacLean of Coll putting his foot on the neck of his enemy (Cas air amhich, a Thighearna Chola) in the Maclean collection, are examples showing the differences between Johnson's style and the contemporary notated style. It states there:

---

107 NLS Acc. folder 7451. Aug 18th 1917

108 James Campbell in a seminar in Ardvasar, Skye in March,1988 (College of Piping recording) discussed the manner in which David Glen's Ancient Piobaireachd (1880) adopted a different style of notation of the cadences from previous publications. These cadences were shortened to single Es of gracenote value. Cannon (1980:38) states that the reorganisation occured between 1895 and 1897 and that subsequent publications of a further five parts may have been influenced by Colin Cameron. However Campbell, at the seminar, argued that the musicologist, Dr. Bannatyne, had some influence on Glen shortening the cadences. It may be that Johnson influenced both Bannatyne and Glen. Johnston's involvement with Glen's publication The Music of Clan MacLean is borne out by a letter from Johnston to Seton Gordon on 18/4/1917. He wrote: 'But the late Mr. Glen of Edinburgh published the MacLean "Piobrochs" before he died and these are put down correctly as they were originally and can be had from his 'firm' yet several of them are taken down from me at the instance of the McLean association in Glasgow you will find some of my piobrochs put down there, particularly those appertaining to the Coll family and the MacLean chaps of Duart.....'

> 'This tune was written down by the Compiler from the playing of Mr. John Johnston of Coll, who played the "G E D" cadence as given in Example 1st. The usual method of playing this Cadence is given in Example 2nd.'

One can see from the facsimile below that these cadences are very similar to the ones which appear in JMcD's 1760 Theory. This would appear to have influenced Glen greatly in his subsequent tutor

Ex. 6

That this style survived in the more remote areas away from the mainstream influences is remarkable considering that the mainstream pipers, it would seem, had already become fairly entrenched in their views - judging from the tones of the newspaper correspondence referred to earlier. This other style did however survive in other pockets such as in South Uist. For instance, Calum Beaton of South Uist, (SA/1970/2) related how the older pipers played the cadences in a much shorter manner until the arrival of John MacDonald of Inverness in the first half of this century [109] and another South Uist piper, Donald Allan MacQueen, remembered and played the cadences as 'runs' which approxmiated the notation of Donald MacDonald and earlier sources.

This style of playing the cadences is still remembered by one person the writer met from John Johnston's neighbouring island of Tiree who, on hearing the cadences played as a 'tumble' down to the melody note, immediately said ,without having been questioned, "that is how they used to play them here".[110]

The reality is probably that there was a range of values given to the length of the cadences but that, in general, they were played much shorter than at the present day and were optional embellishments.This is confirmed by Moss (1982: 6) and is borne out by this research.

---

109 SA/1970/133.

110 Conversation with Mr. Sinclair, Tiree, on 10/2/92.

A manuscript from early this century was given to the writer which had been discovered in New Zealand. The manuscript was signed by a D.A.Cameron and the tune is called The Cameron's Gathering. This is a variant of the End of the Little Bridge (K.1948 no.32). A fragment is shown below:

Ex. 7

The interesting feature is that the cadences are not shown in the form of a group of notes of three demisemiquavers; they appear as three single demisemiquaver gracenotes; the usual style of light music notation. Their meaning is obvious and they clearly represent what was played. However, they probably represent an even shorter style of playing cadences which is more in keeping with the style of the tune which identifies it with its title and function, an animated robust gathering tune with short repetitive motifs. One might find that cadence runs which are in the nature of JMcD's style of notation are slightly out of context. However, the discussion is in danger of becoming a relatively unproductive preamble at this level of detail especially considering the differences are in the magnitude of ornamentation motifs which distinguish between the different effects of a demisemiquaver run in contrast with a semiquaver one. Ultimately, the relevance is a contextual one which relates to the rhythm of the phrase and the most effective way to preserve the melodic line in a succession of phrases within this rhythmic scheme.

The evidence from the written sources in manuscript and published form, from oral tradition and finally from the song tradition, is sufficient to show that the cadences as played today are a development from an earlier style of ornamentation which did not detract from the melodic line of the tune. Whether they are to be played as runs of semiquavers of demisemiquavers or as quavers or as a combination of these is of no major musical significance. In the context of the phrase however, they represent a subtle musical balance between ornamentation and the melodic line of the tune.

In Patrick MacDonald's pipe setting of MacIntosh's Lament there are two-note semiquaver figures which go up to the following note rather than down as in cadences. This demonstrates even further, the extensive range of ornamentation which the early performers used in comparison to what is heard at the present day. These ornamentations are not represented in subsequent pibroch notation. This does not mean, however, that they were never part of the pipers' repertoire as they are effective decorations.

Ch. 3.5

NA CRAHININ

In his republished Treatise (ed. Cannon 1994) Joseph MacDonald states :

> 'The first Species of Shakes dividing the note into three distinct parts is Called in our language *Na Crahinin.*'[111]

These all appear on the notes low G to high A. However, the low G shake is different from the others; consisting of a GDE gracing on the low G and corresponds to what is represented by *himbabem* in other rhythmic contexts in the CC. The fourth one shown in Example 7 below, which is on the D, is also slightly different from the other shakes in that the second D is diagramatically represented by JMcD underneath the notation as a gracenote (see Cannon 1994: 27) rather than as a full melody note as shown.

Ex. 8

The effect is more satisfying to a player and probably explains why Joseph finds it 'the nicest and finest beat of the whole'. This may be better represented as:

Ex.9

This embellishment would seem to have been more technically demanding than the other *crahinins* and with the changes which occurred in the playing of the *crahinins* in general, it may partly explain the appearance of a throw on D as in the modern crathadh or echo-beat. This is notated as follows in the PS series:

Ex. 10

111 This term is still common in Scottish Gaelic today; *a' crathadh* meaning to shake.

It is not necessary to produce examples of all the echoes because they all have the same rhythmic form as set out by JMcD, and all have the potential of a range of internal rhythms as will shortly be seen. This rhythm is as follows:

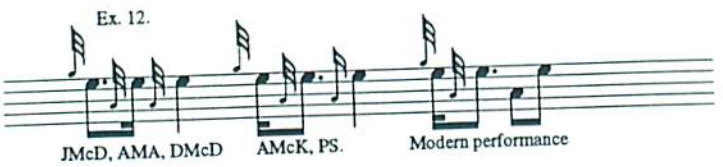
Ex.11.

JMcD does not differentiate between the lengths of the graces between the notes as in modern performance but shows that the whole of the technique is 'properly a Beat and not a Shake' He clearly explains the technique of performance:

> 'The touching of these little Introductory Notes must be so quick and light that they cannot be said to be sounded, but only beat upon, as they are properly the Cutting or Division of the Notes;' (1994:27-28)

As Cannon has already pointed out(1988:83), present day performance of the echo beat has the second gracenote played so long that one is as well to consider it as part of the melody line. For example, JMcD's echo on E, shown on the left is the same as AMcA's and DMcD's which, later, in AMcK had an elongated second gracenote. This may have led to the style of present day competition players, one version of which has been suggested by Cannon on the right hand side below.

Ex.12.



Based on Cannon (1988:83)

The modern performance might be fairly conservative as it is just as likely that one might hear something like:

Ex.13

It may be suspected that AMcK started the trend towards an unambigous two beat figure rather than what the writer perceives as a three pulse figure on one beat or stress. This might be a little unfair, however, for if his echoes are played as he wrote them, the whole motif still remains a single stressed one with three clear pulses, which is a common rhythmic feature of Gaelic song. What has changed is the manner of interpretation. One popular modern song which begins in this way on the E, is the one beginning *('A)Ghruagach òg an fhuilt bhàin'* where the first two words have a rhythm which, in practice, lies on a rhythmic scale between MacDonald's notation and MacKay's. The figures can only at best be an approximation of a three pulse one stress figure where in this example the musical stress occurs on the second word *òg*.

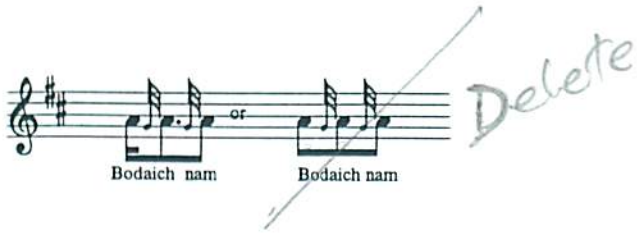
As Cannon has pointed out, JMcD's *hiharins* are generally notated with a dotted quaver first note A, but sometimes a more even figure without pointing. The *hiharins* are notated in three different ways in DMcD's book and Ms. For example he has:

Ex.14

All of the *hiharins* in the first edition of DMcD's collection are as the first one ie. with the dotted first A. One instance of a shortened first A exists in his version of End of the Great Bridge. In the Ms. there are examples of all three. For example, Bodaich na Sligachan has two successive *hiharins* which are contrasted by having the first one undotted and the second with

a dotted first A. Whether one plays one of these in preference to another is of no great importance. The sensitive musician will contrast consecutive ones, as is evident in DMcD's score and in practice there was probably a range of different ways of playing this, according to the nature of the tune. The evidence from the song rhythms suggests that the *hiharin* would have a range of different styles. For example, if the piper were mindful of the introductory words of the song Bodaich nam Briogais then that person might begin the tune with a motif approximating:

Ex. 15



or if the words begin with the opening words of 'Mhàthan a'Ghlinne seo:

Ex. 16

in contrast, the tune might be Cholla mo Rùn in which case the figure might be:

Ex.17

or even closer to what is notated in DMcD' Ms.(p.98) as:

Ex.18

which is coincident with the final exclamation *'tha mise laimh'*(See CS 5) The above rhythmic motif is more appropriate for the opening words *'Cholla mo Rùn'* but provides an example of how the parameters of the rhythmic nature of the tune, once its features are recognised in the opening phrase by the song words, can be identified throughout the whole tune.

What is more important about the earliest notations of *'crahinins'* is that the three pulse rhythm on one stress is preserved. This contrasts starkly with the two stressed *hiharin* of the present day consisting of the E, of what was once a cadence, taking one stress and the birl on A taking the next stress. The chronological changes of these have already been analysed in detail by Cooke (1978) and cited by Cannon (1988:85) To appreciate the rhythmic contrast of this one only has to consider the modern notated style of the *hiharin* which in modern performance frequently has a much longer E introduction than is actually notated. (see case study 2)

Ex.19

Although Cannon (1994:13) states that 'Joseph's instruction for the beat on low A is a perfect description of the present day birl', the actual performance of this in Joseph's time probably distinguished each pulse of the motif more clearly and represented a less technically developed figure. A listener today would probably not appreciate the three pulses within the modern birl. One would expect that if it was indeed played like the modern birl, Joseph would have notated it accordingly, as he notated the more highly embellished crunludhs etc.

CHAPTER 4

FIDDLE AND OTHER SOURCES FOR PIBROCH.

As Johnson(1984:119) has shown, the earliest known records of bagpipe music are to be found in the fiddle texts of the eighteenth century

> 'Pieces proper to the bagpipes have been transferred on to the fiddle since at least the beginning of the 18th century.'

and they:

> 'experimented with ceòl mór from about 1710 until the end of the century, in the Lowlands as well as in the Highlands.' (ibid. 124)

He also observes that:

> 'Most pipe transcriptions in the early part of the century were taken over on to the fiddle with minimum alterations.'(ibid. 119)

involving little more than transposition to other keys to suit the fiddle. This would seem to be the case as the melody lines have not altered in any appreciable manner.

However, as he remarks again:

> 'fiddlers were adventurous, and did not stop at merely transcribing the pipe repertory; they also wrote new tunes in pipe style.'(ibid.)

Johnson gives a number of these in his book and one of the examples found in the case studies is A' Ghlas Mheur. (CS 4)

His reservations about this adventurous style is that:

> 'it is not always clear which ones are genuine pipe tunes and which are fiddlers' imitations.' [112]

---

112 MacFarlane's (1740) Ms. gives a number of tunes such as Fàilte Dhòmhnuill Ghuirm (p.162 no.199) which is clearly in pibroch form, the first four phrases of which has a song scansion. However, it has a greater compass than the pipe scale. Another tune is Fàilte na Miosg (Salute to

Sometimes, however, the melodic and rhythmic figures in the fiddlers' imitative tunes provide sufficient evidence to set them apart from the nature of the melodic motifs and the conventional ornamentations which appear throughout the pibroch tradition. eg. see 'Pibroch' p.128.

Although this evidence by itself may not be conclusive, there is sufficient evidence to suggest that there was at least an approximate imitation of the melodic and rhythmic style, with particular notes being decorated, a series of stylised variations and the whole tune, sometimes but not necessarily, within the compass of the bagpipe scale. Some of the fiddle sets which have been identified by Johnson as being related to pibroch, suggest the kinds of sets which are historically associated with the Irish Harper O'Carolan, such as the tune which appears in MacFarlane's Ms.(1740)[113]

A most important feature of the notation of some fiddle texts which is also relevant to song and pipe performance style, concerns the note values given to the ornamentations where pipers might play cadences in the tunes. In the fiddle collections, these cadences appear as short one note quavers, sparsely distributed and sometimes non-existent within the tunes.[114] It is likely that the fiddlers simplified the cadences by notating the perceived pitch of the pipe ornamentation. Just as fiddlers may have shortened the three note run cadence to one short ornament so the pipers

---

drunkeness) MacFarlane (1740: 80 no.108) which has a similarity to the melody to which 'My Heart's in the Highlands' is sung. A variant form appears in the Campbell Canntaireachd (vol.2 no.22) with the title 'Failt na Misk' Another tune called Fàilte MhicGilleoin,(MacLean's Salute) (MacFarlane, 1740: 250) which has not survived in the piping tradition and which has the four canntaireachd *hiharin* motifs introduced by a short F rather than a short E, probably because the tune contains F's throughout.

113 They are mostly adapted to the fiddle. MacFarlane Ms. vol ii no.162 (see Johnson p.128) It has similar motifs to a tune played by the folk group The Chieftains (NAME) The Lament for the Bishop of Argyle is one which appears in the same Ms.vol.iii no.34. and which has been published in PS series bk.15. However, it does not have the characteristics of a pibroch composed for pipes and as Johnson states (p141) it was probably composed originally for harp.

114 These sources were: Oswald's Caledonian Pocket Companionc1747-69; Robert Riddell's A collection of Scotch, Galwegian and Border tunes.(1794) Daniel Dow's A collection of ancient Scots music. (1776)

have acted similarly but, in contrast, have lengthened the E of the cadence run disproportionately.

Daniel Dow's (1776) notated version of Carles with the Breeks has a number of these short cadences which appear in similar positions in the pibroch scores.

Ex. 1

Daniel Dow's (1776) coll. Boddich na mbrigis; First two phrases.

The evidence shows that, where a pibroch setting exists for a tune found in a fiddle source, such as Carles with the Breeks,(CS 2) the fiddlers have many one note semiquaver ornamentations coincident with the pibroch cadences. Where a pibroch version of the tune does not appear to exist, the tunes written in the pibroch form by the fiddlers do not have such a profusion of ornaments like the pipe cadences. The coincidence of decorations to the themal notes, in the fiddle and pipe setting, suggests that the notator has been emulating the pipes.

One important manuscript which dates from the beginning of the nineteenth century is the Eliza Ross Ms. which contains pibrochs based on the playing style of Angus MacKay's father, John. This has been examined by Cooke(1985 Piob Soc. Conference) and the method of notating cadences which Ross generally adopted, shows that the Es were short when played to the following notes. These are represented sometimes by single quavers, or two semiquavers or three semiquaver runs.

For example, in her version of MacIntosh's Lament where the pipe cadence would be expected to occur, she has an ornament consisting of quavers and semiquavers before the themal note. At the end of the first phrase for example, is:

Ex. 2

Elizabeth Ross Ms. MacIntosh's Lament.

and in her notation of Failt' Shir Seumas MachDhonuil(sic) she has the same short cadences:

Ex 3

The more complex conventions of piping have been recognised by a tr. above the relevant notes although in a number of cases these may be the fiddlers' own ornamentations.

Patrick MacDonald's collection of 1784, which has four pibrochs notated [115] gives more details on the nature of the cadence runs and notates them as demisemiquaver and semiquaver runs as well as quaver graces as in the other fiddle collections, leaving little doubt as to their duration in comparison with the following themal notes. These are discussed in the respective case studies. Although he only notates two of the tunes specifically for fiddle, the performances are as performed on the pipes as specified in a previous discussion on this source.

As Peter Cooke pointed out (1985)[116] the pibrochs in Eliza Ross's Ms.

'can almost certainly be viewed as being derived from the piping of John MacKay senior.'

the father of Angus MacKay. In this way her manuscript, like the fiddlers' Mss. give some insight into the contemporary style of playing.

Clearly there has been quite a cross-fertilisation between the pibroch idiom and the fiddling tradition. Fiddlers are unlikely to have had little effect on the technical aspects of pibroch playing on the pipes such as the *clarsach* may have had, but the fiddle would seem to have represented a vehicle for its transmission which should not be undervalued in an oral tradition. For example, the tune played today called 'Togail nam Bó' or MacFarlane's Gathering is said to have been notated by John MacDougall Gillies from a

---

115 The modern titles of these are MacIntosh's Lament, The Fingerlock, War or Peace and MacCrimmon will never return.

116 Piobaireachd Society Conference report, College of Piping, Glasgow.

fiddler in the Glendaruel area.[117] The other tunes in MacFarlane's collection, already mentioned, are witness to the interplay which was occuring between the two instumental traditions.

---

117 PT vol. 8 no. 2 Nov. 1955. This was stated in a letter from a George MacDonald, Dunoon. The fiddler was called Leitch.

CASE STUDY 1

CUMHA MHIC AN TOISICH
(MACINTOSH"S LAMENT)

SOURCES and TITLES

Pibroch

Donald MacDonald Ms {DMcD} Ms.	c 1806 -1826.	p.76
'MacIntosh's Lament Cumha Mhic a'h Arasaig'.		
Peter Reid Ms [PR] Ms.	c1825- 26	no.1.
Cumha Mhic a'h Arasaig'		
Pìobaireachd Society Series [PS]	1939	p. 225.
'MacKintosh's Lament' Cumha Mhic an Tòisich'.		
Neil MacLeod, Gesto. [NMcL]	1828.	
Simon Fraser Ms. [SF]	c1900[Ed.1979]	p. 100
'Cumha Mhic Righ Aro Lament for the son of the King of Aro'.		

Song Texts.

Carmina Gadelica [CG]	ed. 1958	Vol V p. 346-353
Carmina Gadelica [CG]	ed. 1958	Vol V p. 354ff.
Gillies coll. [G]	1786.	p. 204-5.
Maclagan Mss. [Mclg.]	c1750-1800.	c1770 (matheson)
Urquhart, Benjamin. Ms [UQ]	1823	

Audio Recordings

Pibroch

Donald MacPherson.	1976 Polydor 2384087

transcribe

Song

James C.M.Campbell. (JCM1)	SA/1952/88
(JCM2)	SA/1957/103
Nan MacLeod.	SA/1957/12
Annie Arnott.	SA/1950/180

Fiddle

Mcfarlane, Walter. Mss.[McF]	1740	Vol 3 no.284.
Oswald, James. [JO]	c1747-69	Vol 10 p.18.
Riddell, Robert. [RR]	1794 `	p.32.

General Music Text

Fraser, Angus. Ms.[AF]	c1855
Keith N. MacDonald [KMcD](Gesto)	1895

Further references to the above sources will be to the abbreviated titles.

The pibroch will be referred to both as McIntosh and MacIntosh's Lament.

The earliest manuscript bagpipe sources for this tune are those of Donald MacDonald (DMcD) Ms. and Peter Reid (PR) Ms. In DMcD, the *ùrlar* is set in 3/4 time, with thirty six bars representing eighteen phrases. There are therfore two bars per phrase. This normally implies six crotchet beats per phrase. The standard pibroch form is eight or in some longer tunes, sixteen phrases, so McIntosh is unusual in form with its eighteen . These phrases can be grouped into four sections of 4, 5, 4, 5 phrases. The first two sections can be compared to a standard *ùrlar* with an extra phrase. This structure is then repeated, but with high A's replacing F's throughout. The result is very like an *ùrlar* followed by its thumb variation.

Peter Reid's pipe setting omits both time signatures and bar lines. One cannot come to any conclusions on the relevance of this. One could surmise, however, that he was aware of the implications of notating the

tune in one specific metre and may have decided that a standard time signature would be inappropriate.

SONG VERSIONS:

J. C. M. Campbell of Dornie in Kintail sang two quite different versions of McIntosh. His first version, JCM 1, is close to the pibroch one; indeed it is very similar both in metre and melody to the first section of DMcD's pibroch ùrlar. His second version of McIntosh is sung to the tune of another pibroch, Bodaich nam Briogais. (Carles with the Breeks) The versions Campbell sang will be compared to the earliest word texts recorded for this song.

FIRST SONG VERSION.

JCM1, consists of 4 quatrains, each corresponding to four phrases of pibroch. The first verse of the song is set out underneath DMcD's notation of the *ùrlar* below. The first couplet shows JCM1's stresses occuring on the first and third stresses of the pibroch setting. I quote from the second half of the *ùrlar* because of the closer melodic fit, where a high A replaces an F in the first half.

Although DMcD's *ùrlar* notation has been used for comparison throughout the whole of the quatrain, the first two phrases of variation 1 are also added underneath my transcription of JCM1's performance. It shows that the second couplet of the song is a much closer fit with the second half of the first variation than any part of the *ùrlar*. The number of stresses per phrase, however, remains the same as in the *ùrlar*, that is, there are four stresses per phrase.

These first four phrases of the pibroch correspond to the song quatrain.

Ex.1 JCM quatrain one, (q1), with the second half of the DMcD ùrlar. Below the song version is the DMcD variation.

Ex 1

See overleaf.

Cair am bheil 'score' de chuideigin 'ga chluich air a' phìob an-diugh? Transcribe DMcP. 1976

Ex. 1

As can be seen from example one, the pibroch melody diverges from the song in the third phrase. The third phrase of the pibroch consists of the repetition of a melodic motif, DABD. The repetitive melodic motif is more common in pibroch than in Gaelic song. When it does occur in the song tradition, it is often associated with the pibroch idiom. In pibroch, this repetition is more often seen to occur in the fifth phrase[1] rather than

---

1 This is an important stage in the procedure of the *ùrlar* in many pibrochs and it is worth making some observations at this stage, although it is a procedural issue and does not have any direct bearing on performance style *per se*. – Ed.

A useful parallel is to be found in the sonata principle. Károlyi (1979:107) states that the sonata form has arisen from the vocal Franco-Flemish 'chanson,' which resulted in the development of a succession of movements or variations. A single movement having three divisions of exposition, development and recapitulation describes its structure. These terms are used by Károlyi on a larger scale where, for instance, the development describes a part of the sonata which works up to a climax and where the recapitulation is the concluding section involving some 'technical and emotional modifications.' However, no less effectively, Cooke (1972: 50) uses these European 'classical' terms in his description of the *ùrlar* of Maol Donn.

What is very common in pibroch procedure is a feature which Cooke (ibid) calls 'a development of the rhythmic motif which unifies the exposition.'

in the third as here. The positions of the song stresses remain the same in the third phrase, occurring on the Ds, and the stressed syllables are underlined.

The words of the first quatrain(q1) are :

Och nan Och, leag iad thu,
Och nan creach 'n leag iad thu,
Och nan Och gun leag iad thu,
Am bealach cùl a ghàraidh.

(Och nan Och they knocked you down/Och how terrible/At the pass behind the enclosure)

The last line 'Am bealach cùl a ghàraidh' has only three stresses in normal speech, but James Campbell has 'stretched' *ghàraidh* to give four stresses just as in the other lines of the quatrain.

However, in the next quatrain of the song:

q2 Moch thràth an diugh bha mi nam' òigh,
Thàinig tra-neòin 's bha mi ris pòsd',
Ach mu'n d'chlaon a'ghrian 's na neòil,
Am bhanntraich bhrònach bha mi.

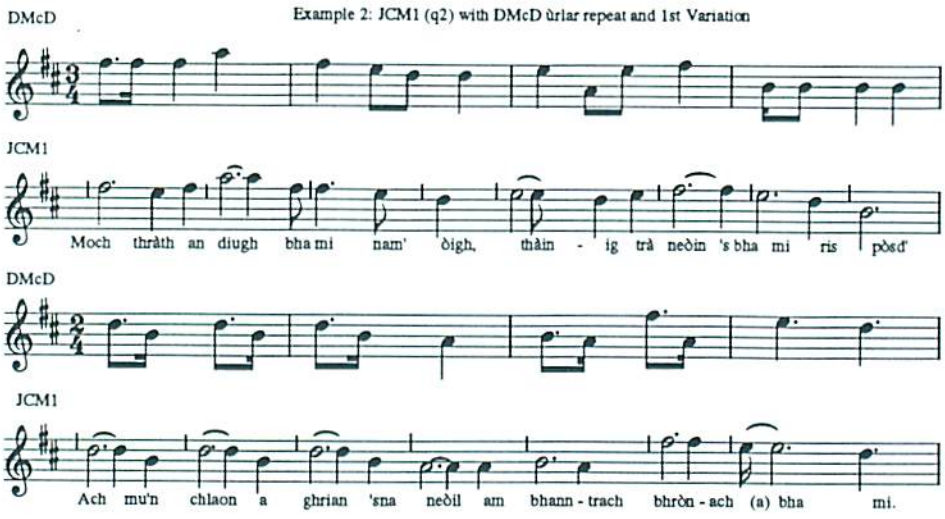
{At daybreak today I was a virgin/Noon came and I was married to him/But before nightfall/I was a sad widow.}

the number of stresses per line of song corresponds to four stresses per phrase of pibroch as one would hear it played today. The vocal stresses, however, in the second couplet of this quatrain, as in (q1), beginning '*Ach mu'n* , fit the pibroch variation closer than the *ùrlar*. This is easier to understand if we consider the poetic line in terms of syllabic metre rather than accentual metre. The first couplet therefore has eight syllables per line, corresponding with the eight themal notes in the pibroch phrase.

Károlyi identifies this occuring similarly as a 'transition between two groups' by a 'modulating "bridge" passage of varying length, usually based on the thematic material of the first subject.' In pibroch terms this would refer to those phrases which have characteristics of previous ones such as Cooke identifies. Cooke identifies sixteen phrases in Maol Donn with the 'bridge' occuring at the ninth and tenth phrases. If one regards this as an eight phrase tune, then this occurs at the same position at the fifth phrase.

The second couplet has seven syllables corresponding with the seven notes of the pibroch. This can be demonstrated clearly by comparing the transcriptions of JCM1(q2) with DMcD ùrlar and first variation as shown here:

Ex2.



Although there is a variable number of syllables in this and the two subsequent quatrains, the number of stresses remains the same. What does change in this version of the song is the rhythm, on account of the change of stress-positioning in the language. For instance, in the first couplet, the melodic and language stresses fall on the 1st, 4th, 6th, and 8th syllables, whereas in the second couplet, they fall on the 1st, 3rd, 5th and 7th syllables[2] in the third line and at the 2nd, 4th, 6th and 7th in the last line. These positions coincide with the positions of the 'half barlines' in the notated examples.

Although normal speech would favour stressing on the first word of *bha mi* in line one, the singer has shifted the language stress to *mi* which breaks the predictable nature of the melodic rhythm. If we represent (-) as a long and (v) as a short duration, this change of stress can be shown thus:

\- v v - - v v -

2 The third syllable *d'chlaon* is short for *do chlaon.*

[Moch thràth an diugh bha mi nam' òigh] changing to:

- v v - v - v -

Thàinig tra-neòin 's bha mi ris pòsd',

The *bha* now occupies a space on the upbeat midway between what was previously the melodically stressed *diugh* and *bha*. The melodic stress now comes down on *mi*. [3] If the normal speech stress had been preserved, this would mean that each syllable of *bha mi nam'òigh* would fit closer to DMcD's setting of the ùrlar as follows:

Ex.3.

Ex 3. DMcD 1st phrase

In the following two quatrains, because of the syllabic coincidence with the notes of the tune, the third quatrain (q3) can be more closely identified with the second half of the ùrlar as in Ex.2. The fourth quatrain (q4) is allocated between the two rhythms of ùrlar and variation in the same way as (q1).

q3:

Leag an t-each guanach thu,
Bhreab an t-each luaineach thu,
Mharbh an t-each guanach thu,
'Am bealach cùl a ghàraidh.

{The giddy horse felled you/The volatile horse kicked you/The giddy horse killed you/On the hillock behind the enclosure}

q4

'S mise tha tùrsail ag ionndrainn mo rùn,
Tha iad a' càradh a nis anns an ùir,
Gus an sìnear mi 'san ùaigh,

---

3 This effect, called 'demotion' is not unusual in Gaelic song.

Gum bi mi tùrsach cràiteach.

{I am melancholy missing my love/They are now interring in the soil, Until I lie in the grave/I will be sad and tormented.}

The coincidence in the number of notes in the pipe setting with the poetic syllables in James Campbell's song version is remarkable throughout, ~~considering that music and poetry are two different idioms.~~ Where the melodic line and rhythm changes within the song quatrain, these changes follow the pibroch notation and stress positions closely.

~~I suggest that~~ This particular performance, however, has a quasi- operatic flavour which is alien to the Gaelic tradition, One expects that, even without the changes which have taken place in pibroch performance style, the respective idioms of song and pibroch should diverge from each other in one way or another- melodically or rhythmically. The song words and therefore the melodic rhythm is probably less likely to change than the melody unless an obvious change of function is involved as for instance from waulking to lullaby or vice-versa. A change of song text on the same melody will also change the rhythm dramatically.

This observation emphasises the importance attached to a knowledge of one's sources and of the individual performer. In this particular case, it is no surprise to learn that the late James C.M. Campbell's father was a piper.[4] He probably knew the pibroch well and this setting probably represents a carefully thought out setting that reflected the main melodic sentences of the accepted pibroch style of his time.

But, although his song version imitates a modern performance style of the tune, in its positioning of melodic stress, it does not accord with the manner of DMcD's transcription, and as we have seen, it fits better with the variation of the tune in certain lines of the song. Why did DMcD not notate the *ùrlar* in common time if there were only four stresses per phrase, rather than choosing to notate in 3/4 which gives six stresses? There is no difficulty in fitting the words of the song to DMcD's score, if it is assumed, for the moment, that six stresses per phrase is what he intended.

---

4 See Scottish Tradition Series no.8. 'James Campbell of Kintail', [re-release by Greentrax Recordings, Edinburgh 1994 CTRAX 9008 (MC Only]

The song version JCM1 seems to be the only poetic version which is rhythmically and melodically close to the pibroch setting. The one published source of the words of this version is in the Celtic Monthly (Vol 14: 229) Whatever its provenance, it still does not help to explain the problem of incompatability with the DMcD score. There are, as was mentioned earlier, a number of song versions for this pibroch and James Campbell sings another to an apparently very different pibroch melody.

CUMHA MHIC AN TOISICH - SONG VERSION (JCM2.)

The variant form of the song text and melody by JCM Campbell JCM2 has three quatrains. The first two quatrains are transcribed and shown below.(Ex 4) This differs from JCM1 to the extent that it can be recognised as melodically related to another pibroch known as Bodaich nam Briogais, (The Carles with the Breeks.) In Gaelic song it is better known as Mhnàthan a' Ghlinne seo. Although the scale is the same as MacIntosh's Lament ie. it comprises the notes AB-DEFhighA, what is probably more noticeable is that the song rhythm has changed from four stresses per phrase, common time, to two stresses per phrase, excepting the last phrase which gives almost equal values to the two last syllables.

Ex. 4.

The words he sings are:

(Q1)

Och nan och leagadh tu,
Och nan och leagadh tu,
Och nan och leagadh tu,
'N eabar a' ghàraidh.

(Och nan och you were knocked down/In the mire of the enclosure.)

(q2)

Truagh nach robh mise sin
Truagh nach robh mise sin
Truagh nach robh mise sin

Dheanainn do chàradh.

(Pity I was not there/I would put you in order.)

(q3) Bhreab an t-each uallach thu,
Mharbh an t-each uallach thu,
Bhreab an t-each uallach thu,
An eabar a'Ghàraidh.

(The charge horse kicked you/The charge horse killed you/The charge horse kicked you/In the mire of the enclosure.)

This version, apart from the refrain, has a different procedure of poetic lines from the first version JCM1. JCM1 is in ABCD form, whereas the above is in AAAB form. What is important to try and resolve, in light of the fact that these lines represent different rhythms, is the nature of the words which were sung to the pibroch.~~melody~~ urlar of the

It would be misleading to assign time signatures to these song performances as some rubato is perceived in each of them. However, JCM1 could be associated with a 2/4 rhythm, and JCM2 with a 6/8 rhythm. Neither of these suggests triple time as in DMcD. ~~If they did there would be more evenly distributed time values given to each syllable of the song, which would make it more chant-like in style.~~

It is clear that the words of what is recognised as MacIntosh's Lament have been traditionally sung to two distinct pibroch melodies. The first is sung and performed on the pipes today with four music stresses per phrase. The other melody, recognised as Bodaich nam Briogais, is sung with two stresses per phrase. Its pibroch setting has, however, four stresses per phrase. (cf. CS 2). Furthermore, there is a range of poetic, melodic and rhythmic versions of this song which fall between these two apparently distinct pibrochs. when set out on paper with a gradual melodic + rhythmic changes — the relationship bet, [ ]: MacIntosh + Carles can be seen (see_)
The most complete version of the song text is in [CG]. It has twenty one verses. Six of the verses, at the end of the text, are in AAAB form.[5] Only the verses in this AAAB stanzaic form appear in the earlier collections of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The later nineteenth

5 This raises questions regarding the nature of the song sources and the collectors' methods

century texts appear to be composite settings with a much greater number of verses in a different ABCD stanzaic form. The verses of these composite settings vary in their number of language stresses per line, equivalent to one melodic phrase. Some fit the present day pibroch performance style of four stresses per phrase, others fit the two stresses of the related melody, Carles with the Breeks. The last six verses in CG. which differ from the rest in their stanzaic form, are added on to the end of the more extended text. The MacDonald Collection (1911) has them dispersed amongst the other ABCD form verses as if they were an integral part of the same song. The editors were aware of the significance of this, as they stated in their introduction that:

> 'two compositions originally distinct, but bearing a resemblance to one another, have been amalgamated and now form one song.' (p.lvii)

What is important in the context of this study is that pibroch rhythm in particular as it is played today does not fit well with the verses which appear in these later nineteenth century collections. Under these circumstances, it is necessary to have a look at the earliest song texts in order to find out how these might fit the earliest pibroch sources.

EARLY SONG TEXTS AND THEIR IMPLICATIONS FOR LATER VERSIONS.

The earliest sources without music are McLagan [Mclg] and Gillies [G.] [6] As they both have essentially the same verses, only the earlier source, Mclg., will be considered. It is named Bealach a'Ghàraidh.

(q1) Ochoin a laoigh leag iad thu
Leag iad thu laoigh leag iad thu
Ochoin a laoigh leag iad thu
'M bealach a'ghàraidh

---

6 Thomson (1953) stated that the Gillies collection ' is largely if not almost entirely, the work of Maclagan.' See also The Songs of John MacCodrum ed. Rev. Wm. Matheson (1938) p xi (G)

(Ochoin pet they knocked you down/They knocked you down pet they knocked you down/Ochoin pet they knocked you down/At the pass of the enclosure)

(q2)

'S truagh nach robh mis' ann sin (three times)
As ceathr' air gach làmh dhomh.

(It's a pity I was not there/and four by my side for me)

(q3)

An leann thog iad gu'd bhanais (three times)
Air t-fhairàiri 'bha e.

(The beer they took to your wedding/It was for your wake)

(q4)

Bha mi'm bhréidich a m'ghruagaich (three times)
'S am'bhantraich 's an aon uair ud.

(I was a coifed (married) woman, a maiden/And a widow all at once)

(q5)

Gun chron air an t-saoghàl ort (three times)
Ach nach d'fheud thu saoghal buan fhàstinn.

(Without a blemish of the world on you/But that you could not obtain a long life {lit. hire a lasting world})

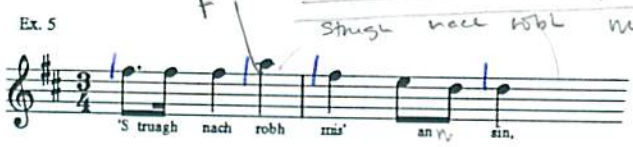
If it is assumed that the above words are to be sung in the manner of JCM1's version and modern pibroch style, that is, with four melodic stresses per line of song, only some of the song lines fit this particular style. Some of the lines within the stanzas are only suitable for the four stressed phrase ie. for common time. (q1 line 2; q2 line4; q4 line 4) Others are suited to compound time with a two-stressed phrase only, similar to JCM2's version, for instance all of q3 where the first three lines are not suitable to be sung in four stresses, even though it would appear that the requisite number of syllables is present. This is because the language and melodic stresses do not coincide at the start of the phrase. In normal speech stress *leann* and *thog* would be stressed, but when adapted to a melodic line with two stresses, the stress positions of the language change. Also, in (q5) lines 1-3 are only suited to two stresses each. Other quatrains

can be accommodated to either of the two rhythms (eg. q1 line 1; q2 line 1) but the fourth line of (q5) does not suit either of them.

To summarise then, some of the lines within the stanzas are suitable for common time only (q1 line a2; q2 line 4, q4 line 4), others are suitable for compound time only (eg. all of q3; q5 lines 1-3) and others can be accommodated in either of the two rhythms (eg. q1 line 1; q2 ; q5 line 4 etc.)

This is not a clear cut distinction for it may well be possible to force some of these stanzas onto the rhythmic line of the present day pibroch style, but the diction would become stilted and the performance would become closer to the quasi-operatic style discussed earlier. The interplay of melodic stresses with language stresses should retain the natural flow and communicative powers of the language.[7] (q2) and (q3) of Mclg. are sung in JCM2 to the Bodaich nam Briogais tune although JCM2 is closer to 2/4,- similar to today's pibroch - than to the 6/8 rhythm to which it is clearly suited.(See CS 2.). In (q4), music stresses in some places would force the language into too rigid and unnatural a form, with words not normally stressed in this position in the poetic line being stressed and inappropriately accented. For example, if the words *'S truagh nach robh mis ann sin* are sung to the JCM1, version as follows:

Ex.5.



here, the stresses as they appear in the music at the melody notes F high AFD, are applied at the words *truagh, robh, mis, sin,* which is unnatural to the language. This is because the speech rhythm would always tend to link *robh* and *mis* together as *robh-mis* . In this case the decision as to whether the melodic stress is on *robh* and *mis* or on *'S truagh* and *mis,* dictates either a rhythm close to 2/4 as in the first instance or one close to 6/8 as in the second. The most natural rhythm, in both song and

---

7 This may be a fairly moot point because for some, the traditional singing style of eg. Connemara in Eire, may be perceived as having a complex speech flow as a result of its extensive ornamentation. Ultimately, only the native *Sean Nós* singers in their community can decide where the optimum balance between performance style and communicative powers lies.

pibroch, probably lies between these two extremes. Similarly, in (q3) *An leann thog iad gu d'bhanais,* in normal speech rhythm tends towards two points, *'thog iad* and *bhanais* which comfortably fits the approximate 6/8 melody version of Bodaich nam Briogais .

The first three lines of all but the first quatrain are more appropriately sung to the Bodaich nam Briogais melody. However, the fourth or last line of each quatrain, with the exception of (q3), differs in language stress from the three previous ones. This means that the lines *'S am'bhantrach 's an aon uair ud* (q4) and *Ach nach d'fheud thu saoghal buan fhaistinn* (q5) fit the four-stressed pibroch style more comfortably.

It would seem then that the DMcD transcription of the pibroch, MacIntosh's Lament and subsequent pipe settings are at odds with the song texts in whichever version they appear.[8] The only way in which the words of the earliest, Mclagan, song version will fit the pibroch as notated by DMcD is if the conventions which are inherent in the mainstream or European notation are dispensed with. The European convention of 3/4 rhythm is taken to mean three beats to the bar stressed in a strong, weak, medium-weak fashion, ie. the first beat is always accented more than the rest.[9] This convention is not applicable to Gaelic song rhythms nor is it one which should be taught in the pibroch tradition.

DMcD, although notating McIntosh in 3/4 time, may have been more concerned with recording the values and relative values of notes within the restraints of measured time. It has to be realised that, as he was part of his tradition and was primarily, it is assumed, writing for an audience with similar understanding, there was not the same need to adhere to a European system in his transcriptions. A reader brought up in the same tradition as DMcD would therefore tend to pay more attention to the relative values of the notes and where they fit into the phrase than to the exact values of the notes themselves.

---

8 A number of these song texts as well as notated aurally recorded versions have been collected by the writer. Other sources are available which demonstrate metrical unsuitability to the modern pibroch style of performance.

9 Károlyi (1968:.28)) He describes 3/4 as 'one strong and two relatively weaker beats in a bar'

Because of the metric changes found in the Mclg Ms.version, both within and between the song quatrains, the song text is unsuitable for singing from beginning to end if the same number of melodic stresses per phrase is applied. There must therefore be a reappraisal of the rhythm of the song words vis-a-vis the melody, as the melodic settings are clearly too restrictive to allow the words to carry the tune, or vice-versa. A study of this interaction of syllable and melody in song is important in order to identify the points of stress. These points of stress are important for they should indicate where the stresses occur in the melody when the same tune is performed as a pibroch. In view of the rhythmic disparities between song and text which have already been identified, it must be taken into account that, in this song, the singing style(s) are very likely to have changed as dramatically as the pibroch style. Instead of the song having two or four stresses per melodic phrase, it may be that the lyrics were in syllabic metre. With this in mind, the difficulties perceived in relating the song text to the pibroch melody are resolved if the text is placed in a genre which is situated somewhere between chant and song. This possibility will be discussed in the following pages.

THE CHANT IN SONG

Carmina Gadelica: Song version 2

CG (Vol V: 346) has two versions of the song, one of which has been discussed above as a composite version comprising ABCD and AAAB stanzaic forms. Thomson (1974: 83) cites one of the AAAB verses of the above as a keening 'with its same end-rhyme sustained throughout the song'[10] and regards the other text (Vol V p.354) as an 'elaborate and different version'. This other text will not be discussed in this study suffice to state that it has the characteristic of the caoineadh having the characteristic interjections of vocables in the manner of *Ubh ùbhanaich! oich oicheanaich!*. These keening motifs have survived in Scottish Lowland society to this day as tokens of Highland culture and probably represent the remnants of a widespread tradition. They are no longer to be heard, the Gaelic song tradition, which shows that not only has a particular song genre been lost, but that the vocal style has also changed.

There is evidence which states that the singing style of Laments has indeed changed. The Rev. Alex. Stewart[11] wrote:

> 'Our oldest Gaelic Laments are to this day to be chanted rather than sung and I recollect an old seannachie in the Braes of Lochaber some thirty five years ago chanting MacIntosh's Lament to me in a style of recitative that impressed me greatly, his version of the well known and beautiful air being in parts very different from that printed in our books and if ruder and wilder all the more natural because of its naturalness' (TGSI. Vol XXXIII: 305)

It seems that some of the melody was recognisable to him, but the features which would relate it to measured time were not. Similar observations on the style of singing laments were made by Henry Whyte,[12] He refers to an aged man named McLarty of Craignish who was able to

---

10 He does not comment on the ABCD form which appears in the later texts presumably because he was referring to the earliest, Mclagan, source. It is likely, given the different form, that the ABCD represents a different version.

11 This was quoted by Alexander MacDonald ('Gleannach') in TGSI Stewart wrote under the pen name of 'Nether Lochaber"

12 He wrote under the pen name 'Fionn'. See The Highlander (1881:198).

> 'recite more of the poems of Ossian than any other person the editor knew'. Most of these he sung in Socair Dana [13]corresponding in melody with the tunes to....'

following which only the titles of ten different laments are given,[14] one of which is called Cumha an Aona Mhic. Unfortunately, no link is made between any specific Ossianic dàn and any of those laments given in the list. Neither can we be sure if Cumha an Aona Mhic pertains to the pibroch tune of that name nor, if any of the two Cumha Dhun Abhairtich (DunAverty) or Cumha DhunNaomhaig (Dunyveg) have any connection with the pibroch called Colla mo Rùn (Piper's Warning to his Master), two places with which the tune has been associated.

He gives further clues as to the manner of performance and continues:

> 'This oralist sang all his poems and laments in the same manner as psalm tunes are distinguished and found out by whistling a mournful flat key to every lament'. (sic)

What Whyte means by 'the same manner as psalm tunes are distinguished' and his further comments on their musical characteristics is again not very clear. It is more than likely, however, that Gaelic psalm singing has changed less than other song forms due to its isolation and conservative nature.[15] Even though some change may be assumed, the distinguishing features may be salient enough to allow some conclusions. These features exhibit a defined contrast between precentor and congregation who occupy opposite ends of a music spectrum.[16]The precentor has the function of communicating the words of a line in as clear and concise a manner as possible. In order to do this most effectively, the words are delivered in a non-melismatic syllabic-based chant similar to *dàn*, using one syllable per note. The chant has a very small pitch range. The congregational response however, being based on a psalm

---

13 This is a term which has frequently been applied to describe the style of singing represented by *dàn* or *luaidh* .

14 These are: Cumha an Aona Mhic, Cumha Dùn an òir, An Seana Chumha, Cumha Dùn nan Gall, Cumha na Misge, Cumha Dhun Abhairtich, Cumha Dhun Aonarain, Cumha Dhun Naomhaig, Tuireadh nam Fiann, Cumha nam Bràithrean.

15 Information from Morag MacLeod, School of Scottish Studies.

16 Grove's Dictionary of Music (ed.1980) defines 'Melisma' as: 'a group of 5 or 6 notes sung to a single syllable . Most used in reference to western music esp. chant'. It continues: 'Melismatic indicates one end of a spectrum; the other is syllabic'.

melody, has a greater melodic range and is often melismatic in style. From the evidence of the performance of *dàn* discussed already, it seems that the distinguishing features Whyte finds worthy of comparison are those which set the precentor apart from the congregation. The 'mournful flat key peculiar to every lament', although a subjective and inexact comment, could nevertheless be taken as a description of the precentor's chanting style. This description could also be applied to one type of pibroch lament which ranges around the notes low G, B and D.[17]

In the Gaelic oral tradition, the distinction between chant and song has never been a clear one since chant seems to occupy the area where recitation and song meet.[18] The style of performance known as chanting is typified in the classic heroic ballad poetry which is broadly taken as preceding the stressed modern poetry, which developed post 1600.(Watson

---

17 Joseph MacDonald (ed1994: 67) states:
'The Key for Laments excludes C altogether because it is sharp, and dwells upon the Lower Notes. It takes the Freedom of all the Notes but this. There are other Keys that exclude this Note also'. If we accept the tune recognised today as the Lament for Mary MacLeod and many others which, like it, contain the note C as laments, and suppose them to have been recognised as laments by the pipers of the time, then it can only be assumed Joseph had not heard them. Many of the titles of course may be creations of post 1745 and so it is difficult to place too much credence on them. A preliminary study of laments (by the writer) has shown that the inclusion or exclusion of C is more to do with the modal nature of the tunes than with a deliberate composing technique as his comments above suggest. This makes sense, especially if many of them were extant in the song tradition and were adapted for the pipes. Of those pieces of pibroch on the low G-B-D mode, the only lament which has a C is the Lament for the Viscount of Dundee, which in tradition was also known as Thàinig Gorrie, removing the lament status. A portion appears in the Joseph MacD Ms (1760),where it is unnamed. Of those on the A (C) E mode, most of the laments have Cs apart from eg. Lament for MacDonald's Tutor, Ruairidh MacLeod's, Cpt. MacKenzie's, MacLean of Lochbuie's, Donald Cameron's, Findlay's, MacLeod of MacLeod's, Sister's, Union, Catherine's and Donald Bàn's. In the same way, those starting on B, in similar mode to the first, are for the most part without Cs, apart from eg. Hugh's Lament. No general system seems to exist which connects nomenclature, categories of pibroch and modal characteristics. Some pibrochs, however, are clearly related to their subject matter or function and these can be recognised by virtue of specific phrasal and rhythmical characteristics. For example, the 'Gatherings' with their short phrases (where identifiable) and their sequences of short rhythmical motifs.

18 Grove's Dictionary (1980) defines: 'To chant is generally to sing, and , in a more limited sense, to sing certain words according to the style required by musical laws or custom'. What is performed is a chant, and chanting is *cantus fermo* or *cantus firmus*. It was the fashion for singing everything in regular metre which led to the demise of the chant style.

1959: XIX) The terms *dàn, duan* and *laoidh* have been used interchangably this century to refer to the heroic ballad. (MacInnes 1987:103) *Dàn dìreach* is the fuller term for *dàn* , which also appears (McCaughey 1984:39). However, it seems that these terms have lost their precise meaning with the demise of the Gaelic oral tradition. (Matheson 1970: 152)[19] J.L.Campbell (1975: 55) also states

> 'It appears that the term dàn dìreach was losing its original significance in the Highlands in Kirkwood's time'

- in reference to the Ms. of the Rev. James Kirkwood.(1650-1709)

These ballads are still being performed in the twentieth century. (see MacInnes 1987; Bruford 1987) The melody to Ossianic or Fenian lays which O'Madagain (1983: 71-86) describes as 'very simple and chant-like'[20] ,Bruford (1987: 56) describes as being 'more like arioso than plainchant'. I presume that 'very simple' means that it lacks easily identifiable melodic form. What Bruford means is that it veers towards the melodic domain with more alterations in pitch than what one would expect in a chant.

These are two examples of observations on the heroic ballad which overlap and which demonstrate the problem of defining it in melodic or rhythmic terms. The distinctions do not seem to have been clear this century although MacInnes (1987:105) states how an exemplary tradition bearer, Dòmhnall Chaluim Bàin (Sinclair) of Tiree, considered the *laoidh* to be different from the *dàn* because it is more melodious. There may have been regional variations concerning the exact meaning of these terms because there does not seem to be sufficient melodic difference between some examples of *dàn* and *luaidh* to differentiate them for melodic reasons. McCaughey (1984:40) considers *dàn* as a cover term where 'The majority of laoithe...are in some form of dàn'.

The rhythmic features of these 'ballads' however, and their effect on the performance style of traditional Gaelic singing in general, is of great

---

19 The Blind Harper The songs of Roderick Morison and his music. ed. Rev. Wm. Matheson. SGTS (Edinburgh 1970)

20 B. O Madagain. Béaloides 51 (1983: 71-86) This applies to the other heroic lays of Ireland and Gaelic Scotland as well. MacInnes (1987) dates their first appearance in Irish literature to the twelfth century and some to a period as recent as the eighteenth century, although most are placed in the middle ages.

importance to this case study. The *dàn* has been described by Matheson (1970:149) from recordings made this century, as

> 'a chant sung in free rhythm with a constant shifting of the musical accent as determined by variations in the number and position of stresses'

This has also been verified by McCaughey(1984: 49)[21] Although this description does not give much information regarding the melodic content, it nevertheless gives an important insight into the rhythmical relationship between language and melody. Ross (1954: 230)[22] also emphasises a frequently occuring 'wrenched accent' where syllables which are unstressed in speech are musically accented. Ross shows that the stresses which occur in song are not necessarily the same as those of poetry. Develop? For example!-

What appears to have occurred over time, probably mostly within the period of the twentieth century alone, is that singers' Gaelic speech rhythms have shown a tendency to 'regularise the tempo' of the performance (MacInnes 1987:129)[23] That is to say, the performance style has become more measured. The classical poetic metre of the heroic ballad has been influenced by what is believed to be the later *amhran* or accented metre. Matheson (1970: 152) implies that the *amhran* form became more popular with the demise of the other distinctive song forms such as the *iorram* and the *dàn* and that the distinctions between song types became less clear. The result was that the *amhran* came to be used

> 'for what were considered to be the poet's greatest and most solemn themes, namely, eulogy and elegy '

Other changes may have occured deliberately; for instance, when such chants were adapted to the *oran luadhaidh* (waulking song) form with its regular rhythm, as in Am Bròn Bìnn (Campbell/Collinson 1969: 22)[24]

---

21 O'Madagain quotes a verse by Mòr Bean Nìll Chatriona singing Laoidh a choin duibh SA/1963/OI3/A2 in which syllables normally unstressed in speech are stressed in the *laoidh*.

22 'Sub -literary tradition in Scottish Gaelic Song-poetry' Part 1 Eigse (Vol vii: 217-239)

23 Here he is referring to notes made by himself on the song 'Latha dh'an Fhinn am Beinn Iongnaidh' sung by Mrs. Archie MacDonald on the School of Scottish Studies disc Music from the Western Isles, Greentrax Recordings Edinburgh. (CDTRAX 9001/CTRAX 0680)

24 For further information on this ballad see Gowans (1994)

Another performance feature which may have altered the metre, suggested by McCaughey (1984: 39-57), was the unconscious desire to stress certain words, which results in even numbers of regular stress pulses in each line or pair of lines. However, the decline of Gaelic oral tradition in itself meant that fewer people were able to sing epic tales in free rhythm, which laid more emphasis on the words and the story line than on a melody. What is important is that although the *dàn* and the *amhran* are recognised as two different genres with an apparent chronological distinction, the *dàn* being more ancient, they overlapped and were not mutually exclusive in terms of performance style. As MacInnes (1987: 128) has pointed out,

> 'the 'prosody' of traditional Gaelic singing, except in the domain of work-song, clearly aims at maintaining a conversational rhythm: as older singers used to insist, a song should be 'told'. As a general observation, this applies not only to the so-called 'syllabic' metres but to other metrical forms as well.'[25]

By 'other metrical forms' he includes what the twentieth century Gàidheal would refer to generically as *amhran/òran*. in accented metre.

This association between the freer, irregularly stressed, syllable-based rhythm of the *dàn* and the regularly stressed *'amhrán'* within the context of one song, has also been recognised in the performance style of some traditional singers in the Irish Gaeltacht. It has been suggested (Breathnach 1981:108) that

> 'the performance of amhrán in the early period may not have differed much from that of dán díreach'

---

25 He points out that singing with 'speech rhythm' does not necessarily mean that the stress-pattern is identical with that of speech and raises some questions regarding the use of the term 'syllabic metre' as an exact term in Gaelic poetry. An idiomatic feature of Gaelic arises in the context of song performance in speech rhythm. Historically speaking, there is no word for 'sing' in Gaelic (see Bruford) although *'seinn'* has now become the standard term. As pointed out elsewhere, however, *'seinn'* was and still is used in the verbal form to mean 'play' an instrument. eg. *a' seinn na pìoba; a'seinn na fìdhle.* The question arises as to whether or not the idiomatic form of the language can tell us anything about actual performance style. *'Gabh òran'* is the idiomatic form for 'sing a song' which is increasingly being replaced by the English influenced 'seinn *òran'*. It has been sugested to me that the Irish Connemara idiomatic form *'gábhail fhuinn'* means to 'drive' the song. This, however, requires further research.

It is this overlap between these two song categories which is relevant to this study.

Scholarly articles on the nature of Gaelic poetry have tended to examine its features according to characteristics which relate specifically to language while ignoring the musical idiom which it communicates.[26] In light of this attention to melodic features, Ross (1954: 219) emphasises the need to differentiate between poetic metre and song metre[27] as, he points out, the same poetic metre can be found in very different song forms.[28]

This problem has also been addressed by McCaughey[29]where he observes a song to be

> 'in the *amhran* metre and not any kind of *dàn*, but the differentiation in modes of performance may be equally applicable in either'

There seems to be a grey area in attempting to define the performance style of earlier singers. There are two identifiable traditions which are by no means mutually exclusive; *dàn* with its emphasis on syllabic metre and irregular speech stress and *amhran* with its emphasis on the coincidence of regular melodic and language stress. Bruford (1987:55)has shown how twentieth century performances of heroic lays are a mixture of *dàn* metre,

---

26 cf. William J. Watson's Bàrdachd Ghàidhlig (1918) James Ross also points out that the song poetry had been shown little interest by what he calls the 'savants of Gaelic literature'. Eigse vol vii p. 218. (see below)

27 One has to be careful here with regard to the use of these terms since Watson (1918) writes of *amhran* or song metre which he classifies according to poetic characteristics. One has to distinguish between *poetic metre* and the melody with which it is associated in the form of *song metre.*

28 For instance it is necessary to ascertain whether the stanzas have regular numbers of lines like couplets or quatrains, or whether these vary throughout the song performance. How much this depends on the song metre is a fairly complex 'chicken and egg' situation and may have as much to do with song function as it has with the balance between poetic metre and melodic form. An attempt has been made by P.Breathnach (1981) to return the poetry of what are recognised as *amhran* to their airs, based on their metrical characteristics, the corollary of which may be similar to relating the pibroch to its song words. John MacKenzie of Sàr Obair nam Bàrd (p. 57) in a note on Oran do dh'Alasdair MacColla states:
'As the air to which this piece is sung in rather a kind of irregular chant than a tune, the poetess was not necessitated to make all her stanzas of equal length'. The chanting style would seem to have been identified with the poetic metre of an irregular line form without a formal tune structure. This may have been partly as a result of the extempore nature of the composition.

29 McCaughey (1984: 39-57)

with stressed syllables appearing at irregular intervals 'as the speech rhythms dictate' He observes the performance style of this classic form, recorded in South Uist in the 1950's, to have 'no regular beat, though a steady punctation is provided by the stressed rhyming syllables'[30]

This demonstrates that the changes which have occured with regard to the performance of Gaelic music are widespread and not confined to one particular category of song.

CAOINEADH AND CUMHA (KEEN AND LAMENT)

The distinction between the keen,(*caoineadh*) lament (*cumha)* and heroic ballad *(dàn)* [31]in style of performance before the twentieth century is

---

30 However, some other singers of these ballads were found to be singing in a definite regular beat. How much this was due to modern influences or to an alternative ballad style which may have been adapted to the waulking song tradition is not clear. That songs were adapted to different rhythms in this way is well documented though.

31 These are probably the most commonly known terms for these different genres. *Caoineadh* is interchangeable with *coronach.* Without musicological evidence, these terms are treated as synonyms. Grove's Dictionary (1904) refers to keen as 'a funeral cry from Co-ràranaich, weeping or shrieking' and 'Dirge chanted in former times in Celtic Scotland by the Bard or Seannachie on the death of the chief or other great personage of the clan'. Wailing in unison may have been a provincial term to describe the rituals of the bean/mnathan tuirm (wailing woman/women) or bean/mnathan caoinidh (woman/ wailing women) {Benbecula} In Scotland the two terms coronach and caoineadh seem to have been used interchangeably. The word coronach appears frequently in nineteenth century texts. eg. in Walter Scott's Lady of the Lake (Grove:1904) CMo. (Vol 3 p.179): 'the sad music continued which at times amounted to a wail resembling the coronach chanted by the Highlanders for their departed chief'. CMg. (Vol 5 1879) refers to the coronach being played at the funeral of Uilleam an Taightear (William the tutor, father of the piper, Ewen of Vallay), where 'several pipers were in attendance...placed at certain distances in the procession, severally played the usual 'coronach' or funeral Lament'. There is also a reference to Flora MacDonald's funeral where McArthur and MacCrimmon pipers 'simultaneously played the coronach or the usual melancholy lament for departed friends'.(CMg Vol 2 Nov 1877) Watson ('Varia': SGS. vol 2) suggests that the tune Flowers of the Forest is possibly an adaptation of a Gaelic coronach.(see also Colin Brown's 'The Thistle' p.156) Also, Neil Ross in CMo. ('Ceòl Mór agus Clann 'ic Cruimein' Vol 18:.45. 1909-1910) on Cumha an Aona Mhic (Lament for the only son) states: 'Théid am port so dlùth air an t-seann choronach oir tha na facail agus an ceòl a 'tòiseachadh le 'Ochoin a Ri'. (this tune comes close to the old coronach as the words and the music begin ' Ochoin a Ri') There is an older Scots reference to the coronach in John Barbour's 'The Bruce' c.1375: 'The schenachy the clarsach, The ben

unclear. However, from the evidence of the song tradition in this century, it seems that they were all performed in a similar style to the dàn - as a recitative chant.

Ross (1956: 5) prefers to avoid the use of the term 'Keen' because of its 'unclear functional implications'. However,

> 'That 'mnathan tuiridh'[32] existed can be established, but we have no information as to the metrical or song structure, if any, of their effusions. Indeed, what slight information that can be gathered suggests that these effusions would be classed as recitative rather than as song.'[33]

Ross is fairly certain of three characterisitics of the keen, that it was improvisatory; that between the textual content there were 'wailing' interjections rather than a refrain, and that it was created and performed by professional keeners.

Further insight into the style of performance of the keen may be found by reference to the observations which have been made of this ritual. An early reference to the funeral ritual during the seventeenth century describes the following scene:(Campbell.J.L. 1975: 86) original ref.

> The women make a crying while the corps is carried and when they have done, the Piper plays after the corps with his great pipe. When they come to the churchyard all the women (who always go along to the Burial place) make a hideous Lamentation together and then they have their particular Mournfull Song for their other Friends that lye there.'

Over a hundred years later, in the 'original preface' to the 1803 edition of JMcD's Compleat Theory we find the following: [34]

> 'At funerals they played a variety of laments, composed in the elegaic strain, analogous to the corronach, or dirge, performed over the dead, in the days of paganism: a custom

---

schene the ballach, The crekery, the corach, Scho Kennis thaim ilkane. (lines 49-52) This reference needs checked. where from?

32 The keening or wailing women also known as mnàthan tuirm/tuiream as well as other variants eg. Mnài caointeach (Matheson 1970: 127) See also Matheson (1938 ll.1297 ff. and note)

33 There is a reference to CG. (Vol V: 338) for traditional information on keening.

34 This information looks as if it was rescripted from PMcD's 1784 intro(p.12):

> said to be still common in some parts of Ireland , and not entirely exploded in the Highlands'

It would seem then that the part of the ritual called the *corronach* was gradually being substituted by the bagpipes with the pipers eventually taking over the role of the *mnathan tuirm* (the keening women) This is not surprising because in 1642 the Synod of Argyll took steps to suppress the custom of the 'corronach' where: 'ignorant poore women...howle their dead into the graves.' (Campbell J.L. 1975 p.86) That the keening tradition formed an important part of the funeral ritual is demonstrated by its survival into a period as recent as the early part of the twentieth century on the Island of Barra and possibly other pockets of the Highlands too.

The two traditions of piping and keening clearly had the same social setting. Thus it would have been very strange indeed if the performance of keening had not influenced the piping tradition.[35] In some sources coronach and pibroch are synonymous eg. Grove's Dictionary (1904) in which the coronach is described:

> 'However rude, it appears to have been rhythmical and was chanted in recitative' and: 'The name coronach has been transferred to the Cumhadh or musical lament, a kind of pibroch now played by the pipers who lead the funeral procession.' 'They begin with a simple motivo and this is worked up with ever increasing intricacy and rapidity of note, through a number of divisions or variations, till the same simple wild strain reappears at the close.'

---

35 The late Annie Johnston of Barra, in a conversation with Mr. Fred MacAulay, Sollas, North Uist, told of her memories of the *coronach* or *caoineadh* at funerals on the Island of Barra in the early 1900's where the *mnathan- tuirm* were still recognised for their social functions. One lady, on her arrival at the family of one who had died declared *"Càite bheil mo loma-losgaidh?""* (Where is my seared(?) one) Source: From a coversation with Mr. Fred MacAulay 5/12/91, Nan MacKinnon SA/1974/108 used the same expression ' ' s bhiodh iad a' moladh an duine dh'fhalbh 's ga mholadh 's 'se mo loma-losgaidh a bhiodh ac' air'. (they would be praising the person that departed and praising him and they called him my *loma-losgaidh'*) She gives more information on the keening tradition "Bhiodh iad 'gam bualadh fhéin ris an talamh 'sa bualadh am basan, 's a' deanamh fuaim uamhasach 'sa caoineadh 's ag eubhachd; 's bhiodh iad air am pàigheadh aig an tighearna airson a bhith 'ga dheanamh".(They would beat themselves against the earth and beat their hands and making a terrible noise and crying and shouting and they would be paid by the chief for doing it.).

There are no examples called keens extant in Scottish Gaelic song or music. However, it is likely that, partly because of religious suppression and changing social habits , many keening melodies have been adapted to other functions. The number of song versions of MacIntosh's Lament supports this. Another closely related adaptation, however, which has been discussed by O'Madagáin (1978 p 43) is as what Joyce called 'death songs'. Joyce noted these particular songs which include quite well known ones in today's Irish *Sean Nós* tradition such as Anach Cuain and Amhrán na Trá Báine. They were sung by the people but not in the context of the funeral ritual itself. The implication of this is that the style of performance has changed, so that keens have become melodically and rhythmically indistinguishable from other songs in the *àmhran* genre. In the same way, the song MacIntosh's Lament and what I argue was a similar keen and a variant of MacIntosh's Lament, Griogal Cridhe , has also lost its particular keening characteristics, leaving only the word text and its similar melodic range and shape to allow it to be identified as such.

As a pibroch, MacIntosh's Lament could be one of those few keens which have survived in the pibroch tradition.[36] Just as the song had its range of versions which might be identified with a particular melodic shape and rhythmic characteristic, so the pibroch would have had its versions in a thriving tradition too. A comparison of perceived variant forms of pibrochs by the writer shows how the melodies and rhythms in the tradition were constantly changing. This could be partly accounted for if the songs and their melodies were constantly being adapted to different functions.

If MacIntosh's Lament is taken as a representative example of the keen, then the evidence here may be equally applicable to a number of laments played on the pipes, which have similar melodic and rhythmic motifs as the above. On the basis of the earliest song words collected, (McLagan), this analysis clearly suggests a performance style which is much more rhythmically variable than that which is suggested by the pibroch manuscripts. To be credible as a reflection of the tradition of its time, an instrumental performance should embody the rhythms which suggest the recitative nature of its song-poetry. If this was a keen, how much of this characteristic could have been reflected in the performance style of the

---

36 Cumha Ghriogair is another, and it also sounds like a variant of Cumha Mhic an Tòisich.

pibroch. Is there a recognisable difference between the keening and the lament as played on the pipes ?

Ross (1956: 6) divides what he calls the 'elegaic material' into two groups, elegies and laments, based on form and content. The elegy is normally an eight lined stanza and is commemorative but expressed in a fairly conventional manner. This contrasts with the lament which is normally of one or two lined stanzas; also, it is 'expressive of sorrow rather than descriptive of it'.(p.7) However, can these charactieristics be identified in the melodies of pibroch? I shall argue that, to some extent, one can detect melodic features which suggest one particular type of tune.

Although there is no named keen in Gaelic, there is, however, one piece of music which has been associated with the keening tradition on the Island of Barra. The singer, the late Calum Johnston, stated that it was used as a keening there. It has the characteristics of the keen, namely a repetitive chant around a limited pitch range, which falls down to the the lower notes to finish.* This tune, when transcribed to the pipes is, like as in MacIntosh's Lament concentrated around the high G and the F of the pipe scale. It might be played as follows:

Ex. 6

Source: Tocher, School of Scottish Studies no.34: 227. Transcribed 4 notes up to pipes by AMcD.

The points of stress in the above sung performance are elusive however, not relevant to above. The repetitive three-stressed motifs typify the recitative chant form. Another characteristic of the keen is its use of language with the frequently occuring *'och ochone'* or variants of the same which have been identified in the Irish tradition.[37] This is identified as a particular part of a process in the keen called the *gol* or cry[38] and has similar

---

37 O'Madagain cites Joyce 1873: melody 59 as a good example of this.

38 O'Madagain (1978: 45) cites William Beauford's (1791) description where he identifies the "Gol or choruses' including vocables which seem to have been easily recognisable in both the Irish and Scots' Gaelic traditions. The description given is similar to the melodic techniques of the psalm singing tradition in Gaelic Scotland today and may have some historical pretext. This word *'gol'* survives in Scottish Gaelic vernacular as *gul*. eg. 'a' gul"(crying)

* Farmer's theory Redshank

exclamations to the 'refrain' of MacIntosh's Lament. O'Madagáin (1978 p. 39) shows a notated example of one with the exclamations 'och ochone' which is, musically, not repeated on one tone but has a wide range. Another, from found in Bunting(1840) shows a similar three-stress motif as in the DMcD's notation of MacIntosh's Lament.

Some nineteenth and twentieth century Irish collections of music include notated examples of both the lament and the keen, (or *caoine/-adh* as it appears in these collections.)[39] The features which seem to have been more prevalent in the keen than in the lament are those melodic and rhythmic motifs consisting of repeated notes around a single pitch as in chanting, followed by a rapid ornamental descent to a much lower pitch. The keen has been recognised by P.W.Joyce (1873) as having three identifiable parts, the last of which, the *gol* or cry would seem to be the one which is represented most in the music collections. This would be equivalent to the refrain of MacIntosh's Lament with its *'Och nan och'* vocables. Because the funeral ritual at which this genre of music was played represented unpredictable emotional outpourings of grief, the music, as a reflection of this, cannot be represented in measured time and the emotional polarities of the occasion are further emphasised ~~in the music~~ by contrasting high and low notes of the scale.[40] Although MacIntosh's Lament does not have a dramatic drop to the low notes of the scale it does have repeated motifs and there are a number of other pibrochs which have similar features.

The notes on the pipe scale which would seem to emulate the keen are F, high G, and high A, [41] This effect can also be heard eg. in Cumha na Cloinne (Lament for the Children)[cf. PS 3: 99] :

---

39 Some of the Irish forms are *caoine* and *caoineadh* as in Scotland but also *cái cáoi* and verbal form *cáiniud* (see Joyce, P.W. 1903), . In some parts of Scotland, for example on the Isle of Skye, *caoin* was used to refer to the 'tune' alone. In the tradition of the travelling people of Scotland, the word *caoin'* is used to refer to a singer who has the ability to make the listener emotional, used in the context eg. of "she has the caoin in her."

40 cf. Caoineadh an Bhuachalla gabha agus Caoineach don Athair ó Maonaigh in 'Ceol ón Mumhain' by Liamde Noraidh.(1964) p.24-25

41 Of course there are exceptions to this where a similar effect can be produced on the lower range of the scale as in Hugh's Lament. (CC-1 no. 48 and PS. 13 p. 412)on the low G, B, D mode.

Ex. 7

and the Nameless Lament Chidareche hive eao [42]

Ex. 8

as well as a number of others, which appear throughout the pibroch repertoire.

From Irish evidence and from internal evidence of some of those pieces believed to be laments, there are, broadly, two different styles of lamentation discernible. One had its provenance in the keening ritual, while the other was more elegiac and less emotive, such as eg. Cumha Aonghais Mhic Raoghnuill Oig (See CS 10) Their melodic shape and pattern of arrangement of motifs give a different musical effect. The 'lament' *per se* which Ross distinguishes metrically and textually cannot be melodically distinguished from the elegaic form, unless the words can be identified. There are particular tunes which one may intuitively feel to be a lament rather than an elegy where words are not extant. This 'intuition' is, however, to some extent based on past experience and the modern pibroch player might 'intuitively' feel that Lament for Mary MacLeod, for example, might be a lament. This consideration is probably based, for the most part, on the the preconceptions of melodic rhythm which have been created through a long competition patronage and divorce from the comparatively more rhythmical lamentations of the song in Gaelic society.

In view of its function as part of the funeral ritual, it is inconceivable that the performance of pibroch was aesthetically, rhythmically and melodically independent of the social setting which preserved the keening. According to the descriptive evidence in this country and the

---

42 In MacArthur HSL Ms. no. 18. Thomason's Ceòl Mór (p. 216) has revised the same tune which he calls Ben Cruachan. This tune is also in PS. bk 13.

notated examples of keening from Ireland with its chant-like perfomance style, the pibroch would, as a functional piece, have a similar rhythm.

Although keening itself was probably confined solely to women, and would not have been performed by men in the male dominated society of the piper/singer, the other styles of 'singing' were practised by the pipers or their mentors, which must have influenced them as instrumentalists as well. The style of singing which is closest to the keen by nature of its syllabic structure and its closeness to speech rhythm was sung by John MacDonald, father of the writer of the DMcD Ms. He is quoted by MacGregor (1877: 462-466.) as a man:

'who could repeat the notes of any lament, salute, or gathering'

and who was clearly familiar with the rhythms of the heroic style since he could also

> 'repeat ancient poetry for hours on end, which he called "Bàrdachd na Féinne " Fingalian Poetry (ibid)

The piper emulating the emotional intensity through melodic sounds and rhythm is one connection between the keening and pibroch. Although the keening in both Ireland and Scotland contained an element of extempore composition,[43] it is formally recognised as a specific type of poetic metre. In this context, it may have some relevance to the form of pibroch and its emergence within this culture. W.J.Watson (1918 Intro. xlvi.) has a poetic structure called *Ochtfhoclach mór corranach* which is a sixteen line variety of *ochtfhoclach mór* (great eight phrased poetry). On a broader level, this structure is the same as the form of most pibrochs. Much of written Gaelic poetry/song is in eight or sixteen lines, which is usually equivalent to four and eight poetic phrases. The song, MacIntosh's Lament, appears in eight lined form in CG (Vol v: 354) but it actually has four poetic phrases and can be chanted to the melodic outline of the DMcD version of MacIntosh's Lament[44] as studied here. Because

---

43 The coincidence of the extempore creation of poetry by women in the form of chant similar in style to the heroic ballad style has been witnessed this century in Scotland. See O'Madagain Béaloides 51 (1983: .71-86.) See also O' Madagáin (1978 :30-47.) Also an article called Caoineadh na dTri Muire agus an Chaointeoireacht by Angela Partridge in the same publication.

44 The lack of information about melodic characteristics restricts a proper analysis of poetic metre, especially when it is understood that the song and poetry tradition are so interlocked in Gaelic society. In the Lowland

of the melody's undoubted popularity it had a wide range of settings, the pipe setting known today probably being a shortened version among a number of more extensive pipe and fiddle settings. The eventual setting of nine phrases adopted by DMcD may have been a shortened version of a much longer one. Some twentieth century song performances of the lament have become more regularly measured, as has already been shown in this study, just as twentieth century performances of some heroic ballads are in stricter time than in previous generations.[45]

It is clear that what pipers recognise as MacIntosh's Lament represents one version of a range of variant melodies to which a number of different sets of words were sung. This is a common feature of Gaelic oral tradition where there are recognised 'stock melodies'[46] Its association with different social events at different periods of time like, for example, from funeral ritual to lament to lullaby, would be responsible for its appearance in different rhythmic and melodic forms in both the song and the pibroch tradition. The adaptation from a chanted keen would have made it less restricted to a repetitive melodic line and might explain its appearance, more identifiable with the *amhran* , in the sense of being more measured in time and more melodicaly structured, such as Mnàthan a'Ghlinne seo. As a result of changes in function, it is probable that the rhythm generally became more regularly accented. The performances by NMcL and AA who sing it as a lullaby are witness to this. Lullabies have, both in Ireland and Scotland, a fairly regular rhythm[47]. It is fallacious, however, to examine different song versions according to function with the

---

tradition, Robert Burns wrote words to what was probably a Highland keen and melodically one can recognise the characteristics of repetitive motifs around one pitch. He also uses the proclamations "Ochon, Ochrie." Other lyrics to the same melody place the song in the Scottish Borders.(See Kinsley, 1969)

45 Bruford (1987: xxx)

46 See Matheson (1970:153) where he refers to the bards in the *amhran* tradition 'making use of airs already existing in his repertoire' to which to wed the poetry. Some stock melodies, and their variants, seem to have been Murt Ghlinne Comhann, Iorram na Truaighe, Oran do Iain Breac MacLeoid. The same was true of the Heroic Ballads. In Albania and Jugoslavia the same observation was made on the heroic poetry that 'there certainly seems to be no evidence that a special poem has its own tune'. (Bowra, **Date**) It may also partly explain why in Gaelic there has been little concern with tunes connected with the heroic ballads, the story line being the most important feature, so that no term for 'tune' exists in that context.

47 One which seems to have conversational rhythm followed by variations in more regular rhythm appears in Tolmie (1911, no. 20) 'Oran Tàlaidh na Mnà- Sìdhe

implication of a chronological development, and it is possible that a number of song versions of MacIntosh's Lament associated with different social events were concurrent.

Bannatyne (1904: 152) pointed out that the recitative style, applied to pibroch, allows considerable scope for the display of individual tastes in performance. This is a valid observation and one which emphasises the close correlation between words and instrumental melody, to the extent that each syllable can be represented musically in quaver beats for example. The AF Ms. (c1850) claims that MacIntosh's Lament was 'one of the most perfect airs known in the Highlands for that purpose', ie. for the purpose of playing in recitative style. One has to understand however, that his arrangements seem to be of his own making, which he suggests by the following comment:

> 'We find that these poems may be very correctly sung to the developed air to which we have no doubt the chiefs had been accustomed to hear them sung'.[48]

Nevertheless, AF's *ùrlar* is not dissimilar, in melody and rhythm, to that of the pibroch. He then links the first variation with the words according to *'Fonn Socair Dhàna a réir cleachdadh nam bàrd.'* (Free rhythmic melody according to the bardic tradition). This implies an irregular rhythm. In addition he experiments with this particular piece by adding more variations, a procedure not untypical of nineteenth century music collectors who set out to 'improve' by adding and/or making out features which were set out to give the music a higher profile.[49] Bannatyne[50] also made a connection between pibroch and the style of singing which has been addressed here when he stated that:

> 'the word piobaireachd among the Gaels of old was limited to the recitative form of the melody'.

---

48 Bruford (1983) in an unpublished article refers to Angus Fraser's theories as 'the vapourings of his overheated brain'. There would seem to be some basis for this dramatic criticism. Fraser created his own complicated and rather turgid system for classification of the melodies, in the process inventing his own terminology which failed to give any salient information on the nature of their performance. However, one might argue that the use of Italian musical terminology which numerous collectors have used for Gaelic song music is equally flawed. cf.Joseph MacDonald (1760)

49 See also W. Matheson 'Some early collectors of Gaelic Folk Song' in 'Proceedings of the Scottish Anthropological and Folklore Society 3-4.'

50. Bannatyne.(1904: 149).

Bannatyne was not the only one to link the *dàn dìreach* or syllabic metre - and by implication, its performance style - with pibroch. Another writer, Lambert,(1953) considered pibroch to be an exact counterpoint of *dàn dìreach*

On the basis of the traditional lore itself, regarding the emergence of the song and the pibroch, it seems appropriate to support MacIntosh Lament's provenance as a melody in the chanting/recitative style of keening. The common tradition, both on the mainland and the Outer Isles,[51] links the tune with the death of a MacIntosh and the legend goes on to tell that the widow

> 'not only composed the beautiful air of the lament, but chanted it as she moved forward at the head of the bier of her husband's funeral, and marked the tune by tapping with her fingers on the lid of the coffin' (Killin 1884: 46.)

There may be some exaggeration here and although it is quite conceivable that the woman went with the coffin and beat it in a state of high emotion, it is unlikely that she composed a 'tune' in the process. It seems more likely that she keened using distinctive melodic and rhythmic motifs, which ultimately became a more standardised lament in the form we know it today.

In whichever form the song appears one cannot regard it, and the melody and melodies which accompany it, in isolation. O'Madagain (Bealoideas 53: 132) reinforces this point when he states:

> 'Songs are not an independent entity in themselves: they are a form of human behaviour and their vital context is the social life and culture of the community'.

It is hard to conceive that the pibroch tradition did not have a similar role, the implication of which is that one would expect a range of different rhythms with interrelated melodies within its own genre and shared with the song and other instrumental traditions in the communities

FIDDLE SOURCES.

---

51 W. McK. (CMo. Vol 2 1876-77: 235) states the tradition in Ross-shire linked it with the death of a 'MacKenzie of Gairloch, accidentally killed whilst going to be married to a doughter of MacLeod of Cadboll, in Easter Ross'.

Sources: McFarlane [McF]; Oswald [JO]; Riddell [RR]; Patrick MacDonald [PMcD]

The earliest transcriptions of MacIntosh's Lament were in fiddle collections. They appeared in four different fiddle sources throughout the eighteenth century before they were published specifically for pipers.[52] The earliest source of the tune is McF(1740). It is there originally headed Cumh'mhic-o-Arrisaig (sic), which may translate as 'Lament for the son from Arrisaig'. A pen has scored through this title in the Ms. replacing it by the title O'Hara's Lament.[53] It seems that after the title had been written clearly in ink, the author's subsequent research discovered the alternative title, but which itself may be yet another corrupt version of the same Gaelic title. All the other fiddle sources call it McIntosh's Lament.

The tune in McF (1740) has a musical form of a fifteen phrase ùrlar, followed by eight different variations. JO (1747-1769) has a five-phrase ùrlar followed by seven different variations and RR (1794) also has a five phrase *ùrlar,* melodically quite unlike JO's, followed by fourteen different variations. PMcD's fiddle setting, in contrast with his pipe setting already discussed, differs in having a four-phrase *ùrlar* followed by eight variations. Again, he directs that some of the variations do not have to follow the four-phrase structure throughout and that they may be occasionally 'prolonged', which involves extending the variations by a number of phrases away from the form set down by the *ùrlar.*[54] This less rigid musical form may have been a common feature of pibroch during the eighteenth century before it became more standardised during the nineteenth century.

A characteristic of the early, eighteenth century, fiddle texts of the ùrlar of MacIntosh's Lament is that they are more evenly notated than the nineteenth century ones. This in itself suggests a more chant-like performance than what is suggested by the frequency of dotted notes and long pauses of later sources. · For example, a comparison of the earliest texts in approximate chronological order with some of the later ones with DMcD's and the present day PS version inserted for comparison shows:

---

52. In the McFarlane Ms.1740 (Vol 3: 262-269); Oswald's Caledonian Pocket Companion c1747-69 (Vol x: 18) MacDonald's A Collection of Highland Vocal Airs 1784: 40 and Riddell's Scotch, Galwegian and Border tunes 1794: 32.

53 This cannot be traced in Irish collections.

54 It also moves out of the modal range set down in the *ùrlar*

Ex. 9

Although ER was notating the pibrochs for other instruments 'in a form which would enable them to be played on the piano, flute or violin' (Cooke 1972: 41) it is quite likely she was notating from a bagpipe performance. One can see that the semibreves at the end of each phrase represent a departure from the styles previous to her time. Although this in itself is not crucial since in a sung or instrumental performance, it would merely constitute a pause, the existence of the E between the two F's at the beginning of the tune, could mean that the echo beats were performed similarly to how they are played today with a long second E instead of a gracenote:

If this is the case, this style of lengthening the second gracenote E to the extent that a transcriber would treat it as a melody note, must have been one style which existed around the beginning of the nineteenth century. That there was a lengthening of the second E is supported also by DMcD in his manuscript.(See Ch 3.4.1.)

Keith Norman MacDonald[KMcD] in his Gesto Collection[55] also notated from a bagpipe performance and one can see the differences in rhythm implied by the apparent choices with regard to holding phrase and sub-phrase endings in the same way as was suggested by Elizabeth Ross.

What is clear then, is that the pibroch idiom was already popular with fiddlers by the mid eighteenth century and, as Johnson (1984: ch.5) has pointed out, that fiddlers, at least in the eighteenth century, were much less constrained than the pipers of the twentieth century; not only was the music much less standardised and stylised but it was adventurous and recognised a new genre of music in the 'pipe style.'[56]

The PMcD pipe setting and the fiddle settings referred to, represent alternative settings of the pipe music, some of which probably represented what pipers played at the time. Some do not fit the pipe scale and differ in form, but their existence demonstrates the extent to which the pibroch idiom had reached out into the repertoires of other musical idiom(s). One wonders why it has now stopped. I suggest it is because the twentieth century pibroch style no longer has the melodic and rhythmic appeal it once had.

---

55 He was a grandson of Neil MacLeod who compiled the Gesto Canntaireachd c1828.

56 David Johnson 'Scottish Fiddle Music in the 18th Century (1984) Chapter V 'Bagpipe Pieces'

The song in its ABCD form is only found (if the line repeats of the pibroch are not repeated) in DMcD's setting. The fiddle texts may contain motifs of the song melody, or variants of these, but they do not appear in the same order as DMcD's. This raises some questions as to whether or not the modern version of the pibroch was adopted by DMcD because it was closer to the song form than the other versions; or whether it was an edited and standardised form set out by DMcD, who was being mindful of the song version while transcribing his setting. ER's metre is the same as DMcD's and so is AMcK's, so it may have represented the Skye setting of the tune. PMcD's pipe setting, however, might also have been collected in the same area from which Joseph, his brother, had collected his. Originally it may have been collected by Joseph himself as they were taught by the 'first Masters and Composers in the Islands of Sky and Mull'. (See p.213) However, the metrical nature of the tune is not a crucial issue here unless it suggests characteristics of the performance style of the piece. What it does show is that there was a greater variety of settings, the implication of which is that there was a greater variety of accepted styles of playing these as well.

The fiddle variations for the most part were probably imitations of the rhythms as they were perceived by the fiddlers themselves. They are undoubtedly attractive and not unsuited to the pipes. Some of the pipe variations can easily be recognised such as the *taorluath* and *crùnluath.* What is striking about these different fiddle sources is the range of different types of variation in different time signatures apart from, in some sources, a much greater compass of notes than on the pipes. They also utilise *accordatura/scordatura* tuning to give a more convincing aural imitation of the pipes. McF's Ms., however, stays within the pipe scale and is melodically closer to the DMcD setting for the early part of the tune. It also has similarities with the PMcD setting although it has two extra phrases.

On the subject of technique, one would have to make a detailed comparative analysis of the fiddle movements with the pipe movements. This would probably be only of limited use, as one would not expect the fiddle style to exactly represent the pipe movements on the fiddle, no more than the pibroch style should exactly represent the song idiom. However, it is possible to make some general conclusions especially with

regard to the question of whether or not the pipe cadences are represented in any way by the fiddle texts in this tune.

ER's first motif suggests that the echo beats were played similar to today's with the second E gracenote played very long. She has:

Ex. 11

PMcD's fiddle setting is similar to the MacLeod (1828) and Fraser (c1900) sets of Cumha Mhic Rìgh Aro[57] in that its melodic line, starting at C, ranges over a similar compass of notes. Furthermore,what is recognised as the song text to MacIntosh's Lament appears as Bealach a'Ghàraidh (named after the last line of a song version), in KMcD's Gesto Collection (c1895). and has a similar melody to Cumha Mhic Rìgh Aro . This version clearly has its own identity as an altogether different melody from MacIntosh's Lament but it seems to akin to an alternative transcription from the song setting starting on C in the 'key' of A rather than at F in the 'key' of D. Further more, a fragment of song text appears in AnG. (August 1873: 169) called 'Cumha Mhic a Arois' (Lament for the son of Aros)

---

57 Such a person has not it would seem, been recorded in history. This 'Aro' may be a corruption of Aros, which is on the island of Mull. Pennant (1772 Vol 2: 300) refers to 'a charter dated at Aros in the year 1449'. This site was associated with the Lordship of the Isles as a meeting place for them. There is also an Aros house near Tobermory which was, until about the middle of the nineteenth century, called Drumfin and which may have a song called Fàilte Dhruim Fionn associated with it It's melodic line has a similar shape as Cholla mo Rùn and explains why a verse of the latter has been mixed up with it. (See Tocher 1973-74 Vol 2 194-5) The word 'aros' is also used in Gaelic as a term for an important dwelling and this may have arisen from Aros in Mull having been associated with royalty.

underneath which is 'No Cumha Mhic-an-Tòisich' (Or MacIntosh's Lament). This makes a clearer connection between text and tune and for comparison, the fragment of verse has been laid out underneath the Cumha Mhic Rìgh Aro which was transcribed by Cannon (1990) from NMcL (Gesto).

Ex. 12

R.Cannon's transcription from Gesto (1828) has been used, but I have attached different time values to them according to the song text.

The words do not match exactly but one can see how, without the stringencies of measured time, the melody could easily be rhythmically adapted to the words just as in MacIntosh's Lament.

A person brought up in an oral tradition can well appreciate how a musician, listening to a singer singing MacIntosh's Lament might, instead of starting at F on the pipe scale start at C, and so produce what might appear to some, a different tune. The internal and historical evidence is therefore sufficient to state that Cumha Mhic Rìgh Aro is a variant of MacIntosh's Lament. as a result of it having been notated beginning five notes down. It is impossible to be sure how it occurred and any analysis which lays much credence on modal characteristics can prove to be fallacious.

MacIntosh's Lament now exists in the pipe tradition with no variant settings and the main reason is probably because after its appearance in Angus MacKay's collection in 1838 it quickly became the standard text. As pibroch has come down to us in its present form, through a highly standardising competition system, other versions have, unfortunately, been lost.

Another possibility is that, if it is assumed that the number of variants and different names a tune has is linked to its antiquity, the relative shortage of these, in pibroch, could suggest that MacIntosh's Lament is a relative

not logical
- there were other versions edited away so
so cut! I have shown.

newcomer to pibroch and that possibly pibroch itself is not as ancient as piping tradition dates this particular tune ie. early 1500's.[58] On the basis of this evidence alone, it is likely that the Gaelic song is much older than the pibroch and that the identification with the event was via the song around which, at a later date, pipers created the pibroch form.

If MacIntosh's Lament is played in this manner, it is effective as a representation of these genres. However, in order to represent this musically, one has to dispense with the standard methods of European musical notation. One way in which this might be notated:

Ex. 13

MacIntosh's Lament. One recommended style; most prominent features only.

CONCLUSION.

Some important issues have emerged as a result of the study of this piece of pibroch which, as will be seen, are common to many of the tunes and songs analysed. The analysis has shown that:

1. the singing style which has come to be regarded as being in the genre of 'òran mór', is not traditional, neither can it be used as a dependable source for research because of the influences of twentieth century pibroch performance style;

---

58 PS no.8: 225.

2. the more traditional song recordings, as well as the earliest song text, cannot be sung according to the Twentieth century interpretation of Donald MacDonald's notation;

3. the modern style of pibroch performance of the *ùrlar* of MacIntosh's Lament has to be reinterpreted in terms of the rhythms of the song and social context in which it was initially contrived. The social setting relates it to the keening ritual in the wider context of lamentation. It is also rhythmically closer to the ballad tradition in the form of heroic song-poetry, or *dàn*, than to the more regularly stressed *àmhran.*;

4. the pibroch setting represents one of a number of melodic variants and rhythms from a stock melody, recognised as MacIntosh's Lament;

4. the song, pipe and fiddle traditions in their various social settings have interacted in the process of dispersion and alteration of the stock melody which is represented by MacIntosh's Lament;

5. early attempts to transcribe the versions of MacIntosh's Lament may have been the 'least worst' way in comparison with what the rhythm of the song words suggests. The DMcD version represents an important influential stage in the development of a standardised form for the bagpipes;.

What is beyond doubt is that the original text of the song does not correlate with the modern pibroch performance style. The method of transcription adopted by Donald MacDonald and subsequent transcribers represents a fairly good attempt at notating this particular type of tune using standard European musical conventions. The main problem, however, lies in interpretation of the score rather than in any particular method of notation adopted. Accordingly, if each crotchet value in the Donald MacDonald score is given a series of more equal stresses throughout each phrase, it should represent a performance style which is closer to the syllabic-based rhythm suggested by the song. Also, it is probably closer to the rhythmical style originally intended than what modern performance style conveys.

CASE STUDY 2

BODAICH NAM BRIOGAIS
(THE CARLES WITH THE BREEKS.)

SOURCES and TITLES

Pibroch Sources

Campbell, Colin [CC]. c1815 Vol 1 no.19: 44.

'Lord Breadalbin's Gathering'.

MacDonald, Donald [DMcD] Coll. 1820 Ed. 1974: 102.

'Bodaich na'm Brigis' and 'Lord Breadalbane's March'.

MacKay, Angus [AMcK] Coll. 1838 Ed. 1972: .5.

'Bodaich na'm Brigais; 'The Carles With the Breeks' and 'Lord Breadalbane's March'.

Sound Recordings: Pibroch

John Burgess SA/1961/66

Song

Nan MacKinnon, Vatersay [NMcK] SA1960/117.

Fiddle and other instrumental sources.

Dow, Daniel [DD] (1776[1]) A collection of Ancient Scots Music. Edinburgh.

Fraser, Angus.[AF]Ms) c1855

Killin coll. 1884 p.43.

---

1 There seems to be some doubt as to the date of this publication. Cannon (1988) has c1771, Johnson(1984) has 1776 and O'Baoill and MacAulay (1988) have 1778.

INTRODUCTION.

There are, broadly, two sets of song words relevant to this study. The introductory words of each of the different song versions have been adopted as the titles of the pibrochs. The fragment beginning 'Bodaich nam Briogais' has not been recorded on tape although it was prevalent in the Gaelic song tradition. (see Killin Coll.) McK's Coll. attempts to show its compatability with the pibroch setting by placing the words underneath the pibroch score. The song words of Bodaich nam Briogais are rhythmically interchangeable with the song words beginning 'Mhnàthan a'Ghlinne seo, as both share the same melody. The pibroch performance style which the writer recommends could therefore be just as effectively ascertained from the 'Bodaich nam Briogais' song text on account of the rhythmical similarities.

Melodic features.

The tune is of binary structure. It is a tonic D tune,.the particular features of which can be seen in Example 1 below. When phrases end on the tonic they can be regarded as closed (c) and when they end on notes other than the tonic, they are open (o). These phrases have been identified accordingly and are shown as follows.[2] This gives a total of four phrases in the NMcK's song and eight phrases in the pibroch which proceed in the following order:

Abbreviations: The following :// means part repeated.

		Refrain	Verse.
NMcK	Song.	Ao, Ac	Bo, Bc.
DMcD	Pibroch	Ao, Ac ://	Bo,Bo, Bc, Cc.
CC	Pibroch	Ao, Ac ://	Bc, Bo, Bc, Cc.

---

2 The identification of altogether different phrases is to some extent a subjective task. Nevertheless it is important for the study of pibroch metre. Analysis according to bar lines is useful only in so far as it, in the majority of tunes, coincides with the identification of a phrase ie. where two bars constitute one phrase. As Cooke has shown in his study of Maol Donn (1972), a particular note might be the beginning of one phrase to one person and the end of one phrase to the next person.

The CC. version has the same closed phrase Bc *heetra* at the fifth and seventh phrases where the DMcD version has open phrases. The open phrase Ao and Bo gives the impression that the phrase is incomplete and forms part of an even bigger phrase which ends on a closed *cheha.* Similarly, the open ended phrases of the fifth and sixth of DMcD give an impression of incompleteness which is finally resolved by the penultimate closed *heetra* and the final *cheha.* The existence of this penultimate closed phrase is considered by the writer to be a more effective final melodic cadence than that of the CC., which has the closed phrase Bc much earlier at phrase five and repeats it at seven. The final Cc phrase, which represents the final melodic cadence, contains melodic motifs common to phrases A and B making any phrase analysis rather subjective and problematic.

Although some of the verses as sung by NMcK are similar to those found in MacIntosh's Lament discussed in CS 1, the refrain is identifiable with an alternative theme(s).

Ex. 1 compares DMcD's score with the CC and NMcK"s song version. The second couplet of NMcK's words has not been set out immediately below DMcD's score because, although there are rhythmic similarites the melody and rhythm is more identifiable in the first two phrases.

Ex.1.

The allocation of specific syllables of each 'cannt' to a specific note shows the rhythmical quality only and cannot be used as nomenclature. Also the words have been hyphenated in a manner which allocates each part of the word to each note as a singer might sing them. In most cases each part of a word is a syllable but in some cases eg.èirigh a syllable has been allocated to two different notes giving a melismatic effect.
The asterixes * show where the Campbell Canntaireachd and Donald MacDonald differ. Ties above the score identify the phrases.

The words of the whole of Nan MacKinnon's version are set out below.

Refrain(R1):

'Mhnàthan a'Ghlinne so, Ghlinne so, Ghlinne so, Phrase 1(A)
'Mhnàthan a'Ghlinne so 's minich dhuibh éirigh, Phrase 2 (B)
{Women of this glen/ you need to arise.}

Verse:(V1)

'S mise rinn moch éirigh,'s mise rinn moch éirigh Phrase 3 (C)
'S mise rinn moch éirigh, agaibhs' bha feum air. Phrase 4 (D)
{I arose early etc.you were in need of it.}

(R1) 'Mhnàthan a'Ghlinne so, Ghlinne so, Ghlinne so,
'Mhnàthan a'Ghlinne so, 's minich dhuibh éirigh,
{Women of this glen etc. you need to arise.}

(R2) Eoghainn Oig leag iad thu, o cha do thog iad thu,
Eoghainn Oig leag iad thu,'n eabar a'ghàraidh,
{Young Hugh they knocked you down/they didn't pick you up/in the mire of the enclosure. }
(V2) Leag iad thu, leag iad thu, o cha do thog iad thu ,
Leag iad thu, leag iad thu,'n eabar 'a ghàraidh.

{They knocked you down and never picked you up/in the mire of the enclosure}
(R3) Truagh nach robh mise sin, 's truagh nach robh mise sin,
Truagh nach robh mise sin, 's bheirinn air laimh ort,
V3) Truagh nach robh mise sin, 's truagh nach robh mise sin,
Truagh nach robh mise sin, 's bheirinn air laimh ort.
{Pity I was not there /I'd hold your hand.}

(R4) Iain dubh biorach dubh, biorach dubh, biorach dubh,
Iain òg biorach ag iomain na spréidheadh,
(V4) Iain òg biorach dubh, biorach dubh, biorach dubh,
Iain òg biorach ag iomain na spréidheadh,
{Young dark sleekit Iain[3] etc driving the cattle.}

ANALYSIS OF PIBROCH- SONG RELATIONSHIP.

If one considers the melody of NMcK's first line as the refrain of the song and the melody of her second line as the verse, then DMcD's *ùrlar* can be regarded as a repeated refrain followed by a repeated verse.

Although the stanzas have been presented in quatrain form, each may best be regarded as two couplets since the first couplet is sung to the refrain melody while the second is sung to the verse melody. These are indicated beside the couplets by (R) and (V). The last two stanzas above are merely repeats of the words sung in a refrain-verse form.[4]

---

3 An infamous cattle lifter and plunderer(creachadair) See Cuairtear nan Gleann (1842-43: 182)

4 There is nothing particularly significant about NMcK's repeat of the refrain 'Mhnàthan a'Ghlinne after the first verse or at the end of her performance. This seems to have been her own particular style of performance.

DMcD's pibroch version is, not surprisingly, more standardised than NMcK's song version. Her style contains common features of traditional Gaelic singing where words with long vowels are variably accented. The notes are therefore 'stretched' and the following note or vocable is, frequently, reduced in length. For instance her first *Ghlinne* in each refrain (R1) is elongated throughout whereas her second and third are shortened. (See Ex.1.) Similarly, the first *mise* (R3) on the melodically stressed F is elongated and the second *mise.* is shortened. At the final refrain(R4) she stresses the first *biorach* and shortens the following two, but on the repeat of the couplet in (V4) elongates them all. Similarly, the duration of long vowels varies throughout, sometimes they are very long on the *à* in mnàthan and sometimes very short on the *é* in éirigh - which is closer to *airidh* in this particular version[5].

Although there is a range of subtle internal rhythms which continually contrast different areas of the song, there is a fairly regular beat throughout[6]. This regularity, may be associated with the song's function as a lullaby since it was well known as such in the Outer Isles[7] It appears, however, in the early song sources, Gaelic or English, as a melody with an easily identifiable regular rhythm. It's regularity is probably not due to its association with the lullaby.

What is striking about the comparison of song and pibroch is their closeness of rhythm. In the opening motif, the CC *hiharin* , one is tempted to include the *hi* as part of the themal rhythm, which therefore gives three notes equivalent to three syllables. It is, however, probably a shortened form of what was once a three note or three syllable figure as found in Joseph MacDonald (1760) which became a pibroch convention in the form of a birl. (See Ch 3) In the first phrase, *'Mhnàthan 'a* corresponds to three successive low A's of the pibroch. The song has no vocal ornamentation to the low A, as suggested by the *hi* in *hiharin* (CC), which might correspond with the DMcD pibroch 'cadence'. Although, by

---

5 There is a phonological reason for this concerning the behaviour of compound words in Gaelic The first word of a compound receives the stress with the result that the èirigh sounds more like airigh without a stressed a

6 The characteristics of NMcK's singing which make her performance less regular than what is notated in the score are her pauses at the end of phrases when she takes a breath.

7 Information from Morag MacLeod School of Scottish Studies. Frances Tolmie (1911) also states it to have been 'a favourite lullaby...known in every Highland home.'

itself, this does not suggest that the *hi* in *hiharin* is not a cadence, it does suggest at least that it was of a short duration.[8] There is no suggestion in this song of even a short cadence. When performed, the cadences should therefore not detract from the flow of the tune, as it usually does in present day pibroch performance. The flow of the tune is not arrested by DMcD's demi-semiquaver cadences, (GED) which represent an anacrusis, before the first stressed syllable *'mhnà* .

Although the sung melody is rhythmically close to the pibroch throughout and melodically close in the first two phrases there are very minor points of departure such as in *éirigh* where the two syllables are linked with the unaccented passing note E in FED. These are more interesting for their subtle effects, applicable to both the song and the pibroch tradition, than for their, more pedantic, differences. Such melismas are common in Gaelic song, (to a much greater degree than in this example), and this characterisitc is common in many other song traditions.[9] The melody 'slides' from F to D rather than what has been shown in Example 1 as three clearly separate notes. This contrasts with two notes of approximate equal value as played in modern pibroch performance.

DECORATIONS IN THE PIPE VERSIONS.

There are two instances where DMcD includes two note decorations or 'cadences' where the CC has no hint of them. This occurs in bars 2 and 4 of the tune on the D's and E's. For instance, where the CC has *haroem* DMcD has *hiharoem*. Similarly, where the 'echo beat' or more descriptively the *cherede* occurs, DMcD has a two note demi- semiquaver run to this.

If one plays these decorations in a manner which approximates the notation of DMcD , these are very effective in creating a melodic and rhythmic tension which is resolved only when one plays an ornamented

---

8 This is discussed in the introduction. It raises an unresolved issue on whether the hi in hiharin represents a piping cadence to the leading note(s), which the Piobaireachd Society publications have recognised, or whether it represents the themal notes only.

9 It is especially common in the *Sean Nòs* singing of Connemara in Ireland.

figure such as at the FED figure *heetra*. (See Ex.1.) It is this balance between the desire to retain an apparent underlying regularity of rhythm and the overlaying of the themal line with variable ornamentation that the musician should always strive for. Unfortunately the bearers of the pibroch tradition have chosen the easy way by slowing down the tune and changing the anacruses function of ornamentation into stressed positions on the stave and regularising the rhythm. The crucial element is the time which the piper allocates to the cadences. If for instance they are played where each note is clearly articulated then the tune cannot be played in 6/8 time. Notation in that time signature or, for that matter, any time signature, is therefore very misleading.

The reason why the pibroch was written in 6/8 time in the first place is quite clear if we consider it in the context of the song words. The number of differentiated notes of music per beat is three, giving a total of six in the first two stresses of the tune. The first of the three notes of each beat is stressed and there is never any tendency to stress the third note of the group of three in this performance which might suggest common time.

If the tune was played in an approximation of 6/8 time - for this is as exact a description which can be afforded - the cadences in DMcD's score would probably have been played approximately at the values in which they are represented in his collection; that is, as very short ornamentated figures as he notated them. Obviously, in practice, the musician would represent a great range of relative values both within the cadence figures and between them and the themal notes they decorated.

An alternative style of performance is to read the DMcD notation literally and play the three demisemi-quaver decorations as extremely short acciatura gracenotes just as in bagpipe light music.

Ex. 2

When played this way the tempo and rhythm of the pibroch can be more easily matched with the tempo and rhythm of the song. When performing these graces, there is a tendency among pipers to vary their length and this could explain the adoption of a longer E later on in the the

19th century in AMcK's (1838) settings. This may explain his choice of a common time signature with four beats to the bar. McK 's book shows the first four phrases of the pibroch (with the first quatrain of the other song version Bodaich na'm Brigais.) as follows.

Ex. 3

The words do not fit the music. Although they are set out underneath the music there is no rhythmical agreement between the notation of the pibroch and the words of the song. A vocal rendering which would best be able to reflect this pibroch setting would not be in any way a reflection of the singing style which prevailed in the Highlands during AMcK's period. For example, the note E which has been taken from the decoration and become part of the melody in MacKay's setting now has to correspond with *Tha*. Although this is possible as a first note of the song, no orally recorded or printed sources have this. It becomes clear by the beginning of the second bar that the presence of the themal E is peculiar to the instrumental setting and can have little relevance to the song, since it disturbs the balance between words and music. Singing this second E to the *Tha* in bar2, in Ex. 3 above, at the tempo it is sung by NMcK would be both unnatural and rhythmically restrictive.

At the end of bar two, the four notes *EDBG* and *Brigan_* are similarly incompatible. *Brigan* has a short vowel *i* and the word would normally be sung to a maximum of two notes only.

It seems as if AMcK, or someone else with AMcK's consensus,[10] has merely identified the song words with a pibroch setting and has placed them below the musical notation as if to give the pipe setting more credibility. It is difficult to understand why AMcK should have allowed this to happen, especially when it represented the development of a pibroch style which was in keeping with the language rhythms to which

10 This may have been the editor of the book or James Logan.

he would have been accustomed. In effect, the song has been wrenched out of its traditional idiom and an attempt has been made to adapt it to a different performance style. AMcK must have been aware that what he was notating in his pibroch setting did not represent what was acceptable to the Gaelic idiom. An ungraced version of the tune exists in his diary,[11] which is in 6/8 time and not in common time as his own book has it. This emphasises once again that the problem seems to lie in the manner of notating the decorations of the tune, ie. whether to place them above the stave as a decoration with minimal interference with the rhythm of the tune, or whether to place them on the melodic line with the themal notes.

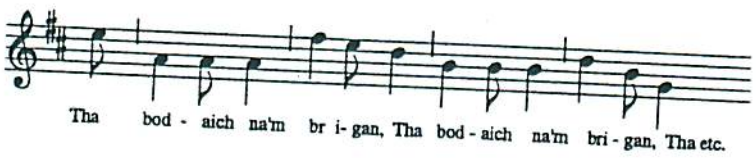
The title is even slightly different from the words using the term *Briogais* rather than *Brigan* and suggests yet again that no great importance was attached to the song words, particularly with regard to their relevance to pibroch performance. [12]

The presence of the cadence E's also tends to break up the longer phrases into a series of sub-phrases. This makes the identification of a full phrase, equivalent to a line of poetry, more difficult. In singing terms, this is akin to taking a breath at the end of every half line or sub-phrase.

A more natural way of singing these words, in the context of AMcK's notation would be:

Ex. 4

Example 4.



This brings it closer to DMD's pibroch setting of the tune but the introductory E would now appear to be part of the melodic line of the song. It also means that the second *Tha* begins on the anacrusis D not on the E of McK's pipe setting. The *tha* before *bodaich* is similarly an

---

11 N.L.S. MS 3756 Lord Breadalbanes March p.277

12 Another version of this (CMo vol 10: 167) fits the Donald MacDonald setting more closely:

Tha bodaich nam brigis,
Nam brigis, nam brigis,
Tha bodaich nam brigis,
A nis retréuta.

anacrusis which carries the first syllable of the text and should therefore be notated before the first bar line.

As the E is an anacrusis which does not represent any one of the themal notes of the melody it therefore should never have been considered as such. The inclusion of these words underneath point out the inadequacies of the editorial hand in the first place and also the inadequacy of AMcK's pipe notation. So why were the words inserted below the music when they had little relevance? Are the words and the music so much divorced from each other?

Despite these faults in McK's setting of this tune the rhythms of Gaelic song are more evident in them than in present day performance style. What is important is that when a Gaelic speaker sees the words of the beginning of the song, the person should be immediately aware of the rhythm of the tune (from the words underneath) even though the notation and words do not exactly match. What is important to bear in mind is that the musical notation can, at best, only be a rough guide. If one reads the notation literally without knowledge of the pibroch idiom set within its linguistic context, then the notation is of little relevance. There are, however, certain places in AMcK's notation such as in his opening motif at 'Tha Bodaich na'm' (see Ex. 4 above) where someone working from within the pibroch/song tradition will identify more closely with his notation than with present day notation and performance. If the relative note values within the motif are played as notated, (with the intuition that one might expect from a musician), it is quite unlike the modern performance style which now has two clear beats made up of an introductory E followed by a one pulse beat or birl. A modern performance of this tune, notating only what appears to be the themal notes ot this tune in twentieth century performance, would not be unlike the following:

Ex. 5

J.Burgess SA/1966/66

Source: John Burgess SA/1961/66 {Transcribed A.MacDonald.}

The perceived stressed notes in this example of a modern performance are marked by short vertical bars. The style is slow, with a somewhat regular time although the rhythm is difficult to identify at the tempo at which it is being performed· The 'cadences' are played as 'introductory Es and are given equal value to some of the long themal notes of the tune. If we compare the values of the E's in DMcD's, AMcK's and this example of a modern performance we can see how greatly they differ:

Ex. 6.

Ex 6: Introductory Es: DMcD,AMcK, Mod

Similarly, the 'echo beats' (see Ch.1.) in modern performance are played as two stressed notes on the E and on the lowA birl respectively. This contrasts with the three note demi-demiquaver anacrusis of DMcD to the lowA on which the first stress occurs. AMcK has an embellishment which lies between these two extremes, the notation of which implies, however, that the first stress occurs on the E. (Ex.6. above.)

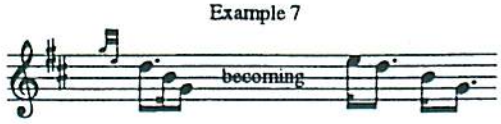
The relative value of the notes rather than the time signature given, is an important feature of AMcK's notation which deserves attention If the durations of the notes are compared in his transcriptions and placed in the context of the song words, the rhythm intended becomes more obvious. The rhythmic effect, which can be interpreted from AMcK's score, is much closer to the Gaelic language rhythms than today's performance style(s) reflect. The salient difference between MacKay's notating of this tune and that of other notators eg. JMcD's , AMcK's and DMcD's, is that he replaces all the previous notators' decorations or 'cadences' with a full melodic E. But, unlike present day performers he only gives it the value of one quaver, that is, it is only twice as long as the A or B that follows it. As stated earlier, by including the E as a melody note, AMcK created a bar of 4 stressed notes However, it is very hard to believe that he imagined his notation would be interpreted so literally that 4 stresses would be meant, especially as he had knowledge of the song rhythms and notated the tune in his diary in 6/8 time

It is important to place AMcK's setting in its proper context as a link between the style suggested by the notation of DMcD and earlier collectors and the present day style of performance, which erroneously claims AMcK as its provenance.[13] The insertion of the E as a themal note has therefore been misread and exaggerated because of the separation of pibroch from the Gaelic song tradition and idiom in which it developed. Nevertheless, it was a mistake to insert it on the themal line since this implies it is a stressed note when it clearly isn't.

In the second bar of AMcK's setting, at *brigan*, where DMcD has a short two gracenote decoration before the D, MacKay again notates a semiquaver E as a melody note:

Ex 7.

Example 7



In modern style this becomes:

Ex. 8

Ex. 8

The texts of pibroch sources alone, apart from the CC, would seem to tell us that there is an upper limit on the tempo of Bodaich nam Briogais mainly because of the numerous cadence insertions, but from the evidence of the song settings the tempo is closer to Allegro It is worth considering other sources in order to see what these can reveal. (See Appendix A for further discussion on tempo.)

OTHER SOURCES.

Daniel Dow's (1776) fiddle collection is the earliest source for this tune, over forty years earlier than DMcD's pipe music collection. He calls it Lord

---

13 Seamas MacNeill, in preface to A.MacKay (1972) states it was regarded as the 'piper's bible' at the beginning of this century.

Bradalban's March or Boddich na mbrigis. and it appears in pibroch form in 6/8 time with an ùrlar and some variations[14].

It is melodically similar to the versions which have been considered so far. The *ùrlar*, is also similar in form to the DMcD and modern settings with two repeated phrases, followed by another two repeated phrases giving a total of eight phrases. The variations look like rhythmical imitations of the pibroch movements with the crunluath, for instance, made up of five pulses. One can be quite sure, therefore, that the fiddle setting is as close a structural and rhythmical imitation of the contemporary pibroch performance as can be found.[15]

DD also includes short single quaver decorations over some of the notes in the ground just like the cadences in pibroch. These appear in front of Ds as E quavers, in front of low As as E quavers , and in front of Fs as high G quavers as follows:

Ex. 9

It would seem that DD was aware of the three demisemiquaver cadences since he has notated them in his fiddle version of the pibroch 'S fhad mar so tha sin (Too long in this condition). Johnson (1984) has shown how fiddlers adopted the pibroch genre during the 18th century and imitated the style of the pipes. DD's style of transcription of this version of

---

14 He does not use the term 'pìobaireachd' however, it is a loose term of reference in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

15 One cannot rule out the possibility that the setting may have an origin in harp music. The internal rhythms of these pipe movements ie. taorludh and crunludh are identifiable in clàrsach playing.

Bodaich nam Briogais is further proof that the pibroch was played in a rhythm closer to 6/8, rather than in common time favoured in AMcK's pibroch setting and in present day performance.

It appears also as a 6/8 in AF's manuscript where it has a number of additional variations composed for the pianoforte. These would seem to have been of his own creation rather than in imitation of the pibroch rhythms.[16]

Stewart(1822) identifies a Finlay MacIvor as specific composer of this tune in the latter half of the seventeenth century.[17] One cannot make any conclusions on this. Tradition has it also that the tune was played by Breadalbane's piper to warn the wives of Glencoe in 1692.[18] It is just as likely, however, that the words and melody were in the tradition and that the piper adapted it for the pipes and added variations. There is another pibroch in the CC (Vol 1 no. 69) called Glencow's March which is a variant of Bodaich nam Briogais and it is more than likely that this is the one that was associated with the event[19]. What is important however about the possible composition of this tune by a person or persons is that it occurred when the song and the pibroch were performed in the same shared idiom of language and music. The rhythm of the tune is therefore best represented as a flexible compound-duple time metre approximating European 6/8 time. [20].

---

16 The sixth variation of Fraser's transcription is referred to as the piece which 'has long been known as Lord Breadalbane's March.' He also relates that 'it was played by the minstrels of the Campbells when that clan pursued the men of Athol who invaded Argylshire for plunder and devastation in the year 1644'. He states also that it was played at the Battle of Allt na'Meirleach near Wick in July 1680. (the original source probably being Stewart of Garth.)

17 Quoted by Henry Whyte (Fionn) Celtic Monthly 3.(1894-95: 169).MacIvor was piper to to Sir John Campbell of Glenorchy and is stated by Stewart to have played it at the Battle of Allt-na -Mèirleach in Caithness in 1681. Angus Fraser Ms. however, states that the tune was played by the minstrels of the Campbells as early as 1644.

18 James Scott .Piping Times December 1960. Killin Collection(1884: 43).also with the additional information that the warning was the means by which MacIan's (the chief) wife escaped with her son.{Original source given in Killin as from the Records of Parliament Reprinted in Edinburgh in 1818. First published and sold in London 1704.}

19 The first line is as follows: Hindreaoen hadre hioenem, hindre haoen hadre haoen hiodre haoen hadre hioenem.

20 Dr.J.J.Galbraith in T.G.S.I. XXXV. (1930: 300) refers to it as a quickstep which has been made into a lament by means of a change in tempo. When

It is likely that it is melodically related to MacIntosh's Lament, as already suggested, which has given rise to a range of different melodic variants through changes in function from *caoineadh*, in MacIntosh's Lament to lullaby and 6/8 quickstep. Pibroch notation style ultimately, made it into what we recognise it by today, which is indistinguishable from the manner in which most other pipe laments are played.[21] .

This melody was not confined to the Gaelic tradition and its adoption and development in Lowland Scotland, Northern England and the classical European traditions in a range of poetic and melodic forms are witness to its popularity. What is significant is that in all the sung variant forms in the English language such as 'Blow the Wind Southerly',[22] it has a similar, approximate, 6/8 rhythm as in the Gaelic Song Tradition. Although it is identified with a particular composer, 'George Kinloch's Air', at the end of the eighteenth century[23] the tune was obviously already

---

he refers to lament here he is most probably referring to its performance as a pibroch.

[21] A variant of this tune also appears in Bunting(3rd ed. 1840, no 112: 83) where it is called MacDonnell's March This is also given in 6/8 time. It is yet another example of how the oral tradition creates 'new' melodies by way of a continuous process of changes. Bunting states: 'This was Alister of Alexander MacDonnell son of Coll Kittogh' known in Gaelic tradition as 'Alasdair MacCholla Chiotaich'. He gives the date as 'anno 1647 March of the Munster pipers.' He offers more information: Smith's History of Cork (Vol 1: 159) states ' There is a very odd kind of music well known in Munster by the name of MacAllisdrum's march, being a wild rhapsody made in honour of this commander to this day much esteemed by the Irish and played at all their feasts.' Also 'This piece is a section of a longer piece for the pipes entitles Marséal Alasdruim.' See also B.Breathnach in Ceol Vol 3 (1980) nos 2 and 3.

[22] Whittaker(1921 no. 13.) where it states 'Possibly a pipe tune to which have been added words modelled on an older ballad of which only fragments remain'. It is called 'Blow the wind Southerly ' and was recorded by Kathleen Ferrier in the 1940's

[23] Fiske, George (1983) p.194. Where it is entered under Kinloch of Kinloch: 'George Kinloch's Air, 1st pub. c1798 (probably not known by Burns).' Its other arrangements are identified in Fiske also as follows: Johnson's Museum no. 559, 1803; Sweetest May by Burns.(ed. Kinsley 1969: 598), Thomson V (1818: 217), Beethoven: Enchantress farewell; Moscheles (1828) Pf. Concerto Fantasie sur des Airs des Bardes écossais; W.Gillies Whittaker (1921) as a Northumbrian folk-song, Blow the wind southerly; , John Cameron The Lyrical Gems of Scotland. (No date given but late 19th century p.19) Prince Charlie's Farewell to Flora. On p.25 is a different melodic version called For home and for love where the melody is closer to the Blow the wind Southerly version. 'Hail to the Chief (p.52) with words by Walter Scott from The Lady of the Lake. The popular song sung by the folk group The Corries about the Glencoe massacre beginning 'Cruel is

flourishing in the Gaelic oral tradition. The number of different Gaelic song versions and associated legends alone suggests this. (See Appx). Its title in the earliest source, DD's collection, also supports this. Kinloch, Johnson and Thomson would seem to have extended its appeal to a wider 'classical' audience, to Beethoven and Moscheles for instance.

A variant of this tune is given by Edward Bunting (1840, no 112: 83) also where it is called MacDonnell's March[24] and is also notated in 6/8 time. It is yet another example of how the oral tradition creates 'new' melodies by way of a continuous process of changes.

CONCLUSIONS.

It is clear that this piece of music has a history of popularity, spanning at least the last three hundred years, both as a song and as an instrumental piece. In whichever idiom this tune has been performed, its rhythm has always been close to 6/8 time. It would also seem to have been a fairly animated piece of music, quite different from the style expected today when played as a pibroch. Modern pibroch performance is the only source which suggests this tune should be played in anything like common time with eight beats or stresses in the phrase rather than four.
This modern style has been encouraged by the common time notation adopted firstly by Angus MacKay. The style of performance of this tune has changed since Angus MacKay notated it so that it has become, in the late twentieth century, rhythmically divorced from the song. This has occurred mainly because of the lengthening of decorative notes to the principal melodic notes and, in consequence of this, a slowing down of tempo. In this way the rhythm has changed from what was a more easily identifiable one in approximately 6/8 time at an Andante pace to a less identifiable one at a slower Adagio pace.

---

the foe'is another reworking of the same melodic theme as is the 6/8 pipe march Colonel Robertson.

24 I have reservations on this being a variant of Carles with the Breeks although their rhythms are similar. I have had, on two separate occasions, the opportunity to enquire from Irish Traditional singers/instrumentalists whether or not this melody was known to them. I sang the tune and on both occasions, the musicians answered that they knew a variant of it called MacDonnell's March. Each musician then hummed this march and were convinced that the tunes were closely related. A version of MacDonnells March is played by Irish musicians 'The Chieftains' (2nd Album. Claddagh Records) which has variations on the theme as in pibroch.)

CASE STUDY 3

ALBA BHEADARACH
(BATTLE OF SHERIFFMUIR)

SOURCES and TITLES

Pibroch

Donald MacDonald Ms. [DMcD]	c1805-1826	(no7: 103.)
'Cheerful Scotland'. (Alba Bheadarach)[1]		
Angus MacKay Ms.[AMcK Ms.][2]	c1826-1840	Vol 2: 105 no.25
'Blàr Sliabh an t-siorraidh The Battle of Sherriffmoor'. .		
Angus MacKay Coll. [AMcK Coll.]	1838: 63	
'Blar sliabh an t-Shirra The Battle of Sheriffmuir composed by Finlay Dubh MacRae 1715'		

Melody no.2

Angus MacArthur Ms.	c1820
'Albain Bheadarach'[3]	

Variant pibroch.

---

1 This is not to be confused with another completely different tune by a similar name found in Angus MacArthur MS., the Pìobaireachd Society Series and Kilberry collections called Beloved Scotland. Subsequent sources of the tune under consideration here call it The Battle of Sheriffmuir. eg. see Pìobaireachd Society (Book 15: 500)

2 The Ms differs in that it is short of the last two phrases, although an asterix appears at the end of the sixth phrase which MacKay may have inserted after realising it was a mistake. Neither has the Ms. a thumb variation as in his collection.

3 This title has been inserted above the tune in ink. The other titles in the book have beeen inserted in the same manner in what looks like the handwriting of Dr. Bannatyne. This title does not seem, however, to be in Bannatyne's hand.

Donald MacDonald Bk. [DMcD] BK 1820: 102

'Bodaich na' m Brigis Lord Breadalbane's March.'

Song Recording

Charles Cameron, [CC] [CCam] Spean Bridge, Lochaber (SA/1969/175 B6+B7)

Song Text with Music.

A Chòisir-Chiùil [ChCh.] p. 90.

Variant song text.

Frances Tolmie 1911: 171 no. 17

'Mhnàthan a'Ghlinne so.'

DESCRIPTION AND CONTEXT.

This is an eight phrase pibroch in 3/4 time having a song melody which is sung to its close variant, Bodaich nam Briogais. The melody of the song (version of Alba Bheadarach) has been mixed up with the second half of the melody of Bodaich nam Briogais. ~~with which the song~~ (as seen discussed in CS2, another song text with Bod nam Briogais) beginning 'Mhnàthan a' Ghlinne is associated. ~~As~~ only the first half of the latter has been used as a basis for the pibroch Alba Bheadarach, the sung words starting *'Alba Bheadarach'* are considered as, at least, the rhythmic basis of its *ùrlar*.// It is useful to ~~consider the manner in which the composer adapted one tune and used~~ it ~~to form the basis for another~~ pibroch. Because of the shared song text, it is possible to ascertain what the *ùrlar's* performance style is likely to have been like around the time of its composition.

ANALYSIS. (linked to the pibroch (Bodaich nam Briogais) the song)

In one of the recorded versions made of 'Mhnàthan a'Ghlinne, the singer, CC, melodically varied each verse of the song. Although he seemed quite sure of the song, he nevertheless sang into another, completely different, topical theme which is not recorded elsewhere. He himself stated the subject matter of the song to have links with the Glencoe theme of a later version of 'Mhnàthan a'Ghlinne, ~~although it appears~~ (It is clear, however, which Neil Macleod created in the late 19th.) that there are at

least two different themes brought together because of their melodic similarity.[4] His words are:

Albainn bheadarach, bheadarach, bheadarach,
Albainn bheadarach,'s math dhuinn 'ga h-fhàgail.
(Beloved Scotland/We'd better leave her)

'Si mhuir tha 'cur eagal,'Si 'mhuir tha 'cur eagal
'Si 'mhuir tha 'cur eagal, Air clanna nan Gàidheal.
(It's the sea that is frightening/the children of the Gael [ie. the clansmen])

The reason for the confusion with a different subject theme becomes clearer when the melodic line of the two pibroch versions Bodaich nam Briogais and Alba Bheadarach are compared. The first phrase of a version of each will show the similarities:

Ex. 1.

The metre of the tune[5] is simple, with eight phrases occuring as follows

A, A, B.

A, B*, B.

A, B2.

and these phrases can be identified in the DMcD in the following manner:

---

4 See Appendix on the history of the song.

5 As defined by A.Campbell, Kilberry (1948)

Ex.2.

typically

The phrase B*, which is the fifth in the tune, contains melodic motifs common to both phrases A and B[6]. The very last phrase, B2, differs slightly as it opens with a full E melodic note instead of the demi-semiquaver cadence run. In this particular instance the E represents the beginning of a melodic motif comprising the notes EBDF. Variants of this melodic motif can be found in some Gaelic songs and pibroch.[7]

In AMcK however, all of the cadences in Alba Bheadarach, and his cadences in general, are represented on the melody line as full notes E, which means that the first musical stress lies on the E rather than on the low A as in DMcD. This can be seen in the following example of the first phrase, A, as notated by AMcK and DMcD.

chan eil seo ceart
dìr chan eil 'bar' ann.

Ex.3.

include?

There are a number of styles of interpretation, several of which could be described as follows;

- either the stress occurs on the first A (DMcD)

---

6 The fifth phrase of pibroch is a crucial one in the procedure of the tune. It frequently reasserts a melodic/rhythmic motif by its repetition, or it changes a motif in order to break monotony and in the process opens up the melodic scope of the tune. (see page 216 footnote)

7 For instance this EBDF motif is found in the song version of Colla mo Rùn as sung by Mary Morrison of Barra (cf. CS 5)

- or the EA figure (AMcK) is played as shown with two quavers giving a crotchet stress

Each of the above styles has subsequent stressed two-and three-note figures, giving the impression of 3/4 time. This arises from playing the score fairly literally - which is what one has to assume is intended with this type of notation - and each bar has three stressed positions.

The problem with the second style, that of AMcK, is that it does not make musical sense because the notation gives equal prominence to the E and the first low A, weakening any rhythmical ambiguity between 3/4 and 6/8 and placing the tune more firmly in 3/4 rhythm. The aural effect is such that one has a succession of crotchet units which sound at odds with the pibroch and song traditions.

A third style involves stressing the first low A and the *edre* on the F, in AMcK as well as in DMcD, which places the dotted quaver A in an unstressed position to give an approximate 6/8 rhythm.

The rhythm intended is probably between the literal interpretation and the other possibilities. These ambiguities becomes clearer once one is aware of the song words for the melody. When these are overlaid, the rhythm tends towards 6/8 time with two rather than three stresses per bar.

THE SONG.

On one occasion, CG sings the 'Mhnàthan a'Ghlinne couplet stanza beginning 'Tha'n crodh air an togail' to the melody of its refrain; that is, on the notes AAA FED etc. of Bodaich nam Briogais. His next stanza 'Albainn bheadarach' etc. therefore comes in on the melody of the verse of Bodaich nam Briogais[8] (or the second half of its *ùrlar*). See Ex. 4.

---

8 Vaughan Williams stated that when singers grew old they often "sing only the second half of a tune". This has also been testified by Bayard in article 'Notation and Classification: Prolegomena to a study of the principal melodic families of British - American folksong.' in Readings in Ethnomusicology by David McAllester, (1971: 65-109).

Ex.4.

Charles Cameron. SA/1969/175/B6

However, the pibroch Alba Bheadarach does not have a distinguishable second half of an ùrlar as in Bodaich nam Briogais, equivalent to the refrain-verse form as in 'Mhnàthan a'Ghlinne. The melody which CC uses is therefore not represented in the pibroch version of Alba Bheadarach because the whole of the eight phrases of pibroch consist of reworkings of the phrases A and B as shown earlier.

If the words beginning *Alba Bheadarach* were not mixed up with the 'Mhnàthan a'Ghlinne song, then it would be reasonable to suppose that the start of the song would be the same as the beginning of the melody line of the pibroch Alba Bheadarach in DMcD. In light of this, the words of the song fragment have been set out below the music of the first part of the tune. What is most important is the identification of a common rhythm around a melodic shape which connects them both, even though the melodies may now appear to differ greatly. The important feature is the rhythm and not what has happened to the melody line.

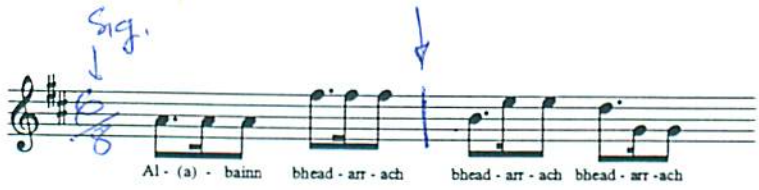
The words can be placed below the notated pibroch setting as follows:

Ex.5

So what does the existence of song words tell us about what the pibroch performance style may have been like? When the words are compared to the notation as in the example above, it is possible to see a relationship between words and notes. The stress positions of the words allow one to see where the stresses should occur in the pibroch. These occur at the first

lowA, at F, B, and D in the first phrase. It is not necessary, however, to overlay the words on the music to realise that the language rhythm itself suggests 6/8 time as follows:

Ex.6



although it appears in MacDonald and subsequent sources in 3/4 time.

The rhythmical connection between the words and the notation is fairly tenuous. There are areas, however, where the notation does not appear to be so inappropriate as in others. For example, if one attempts to sing the words to the pibroch as notated, two of the three stresses in the first bar of the pibroch are sung to the first word *Albainn*. This is followed by a two syllable word on a one beat *dare*, {NL.} at least according to present day pibroch performance. If the tempo of the tune is slowed down to the tempo one might hear today, of approximately one and a quarter minutes for the ùrlar, and stressed in 3/4 time, normal language stresses as a performance guide become irrelevant. However, since there would seem to be a range of compromises between the song words and the melodic line of the pibroch notation, there will be a range of acceptable rhythmic styles of singing or playing a musical phrase. These rhythms can range between what might be considered to be closer to the vernacular language stresses and the more measured style of the competition platform. It is this hiatus between the apparent 3/4 rhythm of the notated pibroch and the 6/8 of the language which needs to be reconciled.

As Alba Bheadarach appears to be a variant of Bodaich nam Briogais I suggest that a traditional singer would naturally sing through from the end of the first bar of DMcD at *dare* down to the B of the next bar rather than sing *bheadarach*/ on the one tone. This rhythmic scansion does not only apply to the singer. The musician, in identifying the music in the form of phrases, would tend to play through the phrase rather than stress *dare*. In this situation the short cadences would be part of the rhythmic continuum of the melodic line of the tune. One might be just as informative to a reader by notating the music with the cadence on the melodic line; the note values may be no different although in this case the

E is being shortened to represent the *-arach* of *bheadarach*. The effect is very much the same as suggested by DMcD and earlier notators who used cadence runs. They lie between the positions where melodic stress coincides with accented metre. A performance might be notated as follows:

Ex. 7

Ex. 7

This example highlights the problem which notators like DMcD had when faced with the question of measured time and the desire to preserve a *legato* effect throughout the tune as the pibroch player and singer might perform it. The choice of time signature which DMcD made when notating this tune may have had much to do with the choice of whether to place notes above the line as unstressed cadences or include them as part of the melodic theme. The points of stress are clear in the song but are not identifiable in the same manner in the pibroch score.

DMcD possibly had to make a choice between two rhythms, 3/4 and 6/8, between which the song melody ranges. Neither of these rhythms is applicable for notating the full melody, especially when pibroch cadences have to be included. Theoretically the decision on a choice of time signatures should be independent of the presence or absence of cadences. It should be possible to regard the themal notes of the tune as separate entities from the cadences which in pre-MacKay texts, appear to act as flourishes to the themal notes. In reality, the time taken to play these cadence runs and their effect in placing additional stress on the following themal note may have some bearing on the choice of time signature. In DMcD, an introductory cadence at the very beginning of the tune would emphasise the low A as the first of a series of stressed motifs. This is stated with the reservation that the cadence has the tendency, if not played effectively, of isolating each melodic motif as a series of units, which conceals the melodic line of the tune. Under the circumstances, DMcD probably decided that 3/4 would be the most representative rhythm for the

tune and notated it, most probably using the standard movements which already existed in the piping tradition of his time.

If the song words are now compared with his notated melody, (see p.4) the motif on F at the end of bar one which Donald MacDonald has notated with three musical pulses, coincides with the trisyllabic *bheadarach*. If the pibroch setting of this tune is slowed down and the language rhythm is ignored, then it might be notated in common time with four beats to the bar such as in the PS Series.[9] The true rhythm, it is argued here, is that which has the closest associations with the language, and alternates between 3/4 and 6/8 when sung vocally or played on the pipes.

It may be argued that the three language syllables of *bheadarach* have been imitated on the pipes and have been represented in the Campbell Canntaireachd by the word *dare* . These appear with three notes in the DMcD score but the aural effect is sometimes ambiguous and may sound like two syllables. These *dares* are clearly instrumental conventions developed on the pipes, but they may have technically evolved into two pulses from a shortening of the three-pulse echo beats. These echo beats are in turn imitative of the trisyllabic rhythmic motifs which are very common throughout all Gaelic song.

In the same way, the similar movement on E as a throw or doubling[10] has a bisyllabic word although the *edre* has a svarabhakti vowel giving the impression of another syllable. There may be a two way influence here between song and pibroch where the rhythmical characteristic of three musical pulses or language syllables on the same tone exist. This may be a feature which suggests a song has a pibroch equivalent, especially it the melody is within the range of the bagpipe scale.

The vocables *dare* and *edre* represented frequently in the Campbell Canntaireaachd and represented in the pibroch scores by short ornaments onto a one-stress but ambiguous number of pulses, may have been partly influenced by the syllabic-based singing style which would have been more

---

9 First series part 1-5 published from 1904-1913. Second series parts 1-5 republished from 1925-1934 followed by parts 6-15 published from 1936-1990.

10 See notes on Campbell or Nether Lorn Canntaireachd in PS Series.

prevalent during the period in which Donald MacDonald lived[11]. They may be shortened more technically developed forms of the three pulse *crahinin*.

It is only natural that tonal and rhythmical features, which may at one time have been common both to the song and its pibroch equivalent, change in the oral tradition simply because of the limitations or choices made in the idiom in which it is performed. For instance, the singer might consider it quite unimportant to imitate the instrumental idiom and vice versa. The singer would be likely to lower or raise the pitch at *bheadarach* in the first phrase just as in the performance of the song 'Mhnàthan a'Ghlinne rather than sing on the one pitch as shown. In this case then, the cadences which have been left out of the transcription here would now represent part of the melody line of the song, especially if the song had been adapted to an already existing pibroch melody. The point is that in the performance style of the time, the singer in an oral tradition is likely to have heard the cadences as an inseparable part of the melodic line. The cadences would be unstressed and possibly more subject to melodic variation than the stressed notes. For example, in the context of the rhythm implied by the song words, there is no reason to expect that the following *edre* (E) could not be considered in the same manner as a cadence might be and might as effectively be represented by a highGFE cadence run. This might be represented as follows and is not unlike Ex. 7. shown as follows at the beginning of the second bar:

Ex. 8

11 This characteristic of singing was common in the old syllabic order of poetry as well as to the keening songs as is suggested in MacIntosh's Lament. It has also survived to some extent in the performance style of some of the older singers of stressed metre who were recorded by the School of Scottish Studies. This apparent contradiction is because those singers eg. the late Domhnall Chaluim Bàin Sinclair, Tiree, move between regular stressing and chant like performance as it suits them. This makes the poetic term 'stressed metre' in song performance more a term of convenience than an exact specification.

The cadences included here now form part of the melodic line of the song with the *-darach* of the word *bheadarach* being sung to the cadence notes. In this way the words fit the music more naturally and the cadence is still behaving as an anacrusis on the upbeat with the stress falling on the following B, coincident with the *-bhea* of *bheadarach*.

However, in order to be more representative of a sung performance the three-note cadence may just as effectively be represented in demisemiquaver, quaver, quaver form as above. These details however verge on the pedantic for the instrumental musician in this context at least, will always tend to approximate - especially without the Gaelic words as a guide. Alternatively, one might reinterpret the tune in view of the rhythmic style which is imparted by the song words to give a performance like the following:

AUDIO - reinterpretation.

Ex. 9

The difference between what one reads from the cadence run above the line and what is interpreted and played when the the same notes are read from the melodic line, as in Exs. 7 and 8 may be very slight. The notation itself can only be a rough guide and the same musical effectiveness can be achieved by all three, depending on interpretation. There is probably always some preconceptions about the score such that if presented to a person in the three different examples as shown, that person will in reality interpret the three scores in almost exactly the same manner. Because this is notated without bars and therefore in unmeasured time,

one does not need to force it into an arithmetical relationship in the form of measured time. What is clear at any rate, in performance, is that the cadence run should not take any longer than, say, a dotted quaver value as is the case in modern pibroch performance.

Once again, this example highlights one of the problems the earliest notators of pibroch had in attempting to notate accurately. Donald MacDonald probably knew the tune from both the song and the pibroch tradition having been brought up in a rich Gaelic oral tradition and notated it in what he considered was an acceptable pibroch performance style.

It would seem, according to the extant fragment of the song text of Alba Bheadarach and the melodic evidence from its pibroch variant, that this song air consisted of two phrases in a poetic couplet, which, like 'Mhnàthan a'Ghlinne, consisted of couplet stanzas as shown earlier in this study.

The pibroch, however, has a different melodic form from the song so that, although the first phrase A can be identified with the first line of the song couplet, its repetition in the pibroch would leave the song unresolved on an open ended phrase on the themal note low G. The song, though, has a final melodic cadence on the tonic A. Unusually, the pibroch never seems to resolve but always ends on the low G throughout and never on the tonic A. This is in contrast to the song melody to which it is related, Bodaich nam Briogais/'Mhnàthan a'Ghlinne seo, which as a pibroch is so much more easily identifiable as a song because it has retained the more familiar ABCD song metre.

The use of time signatures in both the song and the pibroch tradition are to some extent arbitrary. A good example of this can be seen in Frances Tolmie's notation of 'Mhnàthan a'Ghlinne in 3/4 time and DMcD's notation of Alba Bheadarach also in 3/4 time. Tolmie's song version represents a 6/8 rhythm divided into two bars and does not suggest three stresses per bar.

Ex. 10

Tolmie JFSS. 1911 no. 17

The words themselves, just as in Alba Bheadarach suggest 6/8 time but when slowed down can indicate a different rhythmical sense. That a singer should move between one and the other freely supports the contention that these two time signatures, at least in the Gaelic song and pibroch traditions, are very ambiguous. This is because the rhythms of Gaelic song do not fit into the European rhythmic scheme.[12] It is the speech rhythm of the words which dictates the musical rhythm of the melody and which partly explains how the two characteristics of tune and text are so interdependent. DMcD, by writing it in 3/4, seems to have chosen the time signature which he considered would best represent the style of performance when cadences are included. However, just as in MacIntosh's Lament, Alba Bheadarach represents a rhythm with more flexibility than what the written score might imply. The problem is that the words of the song suggest two stressed beats per bar which makes the tune more appropriate for notation in approximate 6/8 time. So why is it notated in 3/4 time, which implies three stresses per bar when neither the song words nor the modern way of playing it suggests it has three stresses per measure?

It is possible that the earlier notators were not so much concerned with the use of time signatures in the conventional sense, where the first beat is strong followed by two weaker beats, but in terms of an underlying stress. For example, the singer may want to sing close to the vernacular, stressing the first syllable of *Alba* and the first syllable of *bheadarach* to suggest a 6/8 rhythm.

The other most obvious alternative is 3/4 time as in DMcD. One can understand how the the bar might be considered in three stresses as notated by DMcD, when played slowly. The 3/4 time can partly be explained by the slowing of tempo from the vernacular 6/8 rhythm, where the words would tend to be sung in a slightly different manner. At an even slower pace one might be convinced that an approximate 4/4 rhythm might be appropriate. What is most important is the musical phrase which has four stresses - the positioning of which can be identified at the beginning of each song word: *Albann bheadarach, bheadarach, bheadarach.* The notation for the end of the second phrase, B, is more clearly 3/4 time.

---

12 See Introduction for further discussion of this argument.

This is clearly a break away from the song rhythm and suggests a separate piece of music from the song.

If DMcD had wished to notate according to the speech rhythm of these song words in approximate 6/8 time, the cadences might have had to be included on the main melodic line of the score as demonstrated earlier. Although he notated it in 3/4 time, the same melodic effect might be achieved by a performer aware of the song /pibroch idiom. The main point is that there is not a great difference between the recommended notation and DMcD's; the greatest differences are decided by the interpretation of the music score.

This feature of changing rhythm which may arise from a change in function or simply a performer's prerogative, creates opportunities for the emergence of more variant forms of a tune. Just as a change in rhythm in MacIntosh's Lament disguises the melodic nature of the tune and goes some way towards creating another, this could also be the case in 'Tha'n Cuan a cuir eagal air Clann nan Gàidheal',[13] This appears in Gesto (1895: 113) as a four part 6/8 tune without words. Its title can be recognised in the words which CC mixes in with the 'Mhnàthan a'Ghlinne song version. The first two phrases are shown below. It is not difficult to detect the relationship when one compares the melodic shape and rhythm of these two pieces. The third and fourth parts of this source are usually associated with another well known tune which has a different title 'Kenmure's up and awa ' the Gaelic original being Bha Biodag bheag bhiorach air Alasdair Gorm.[14]

Ex.11.

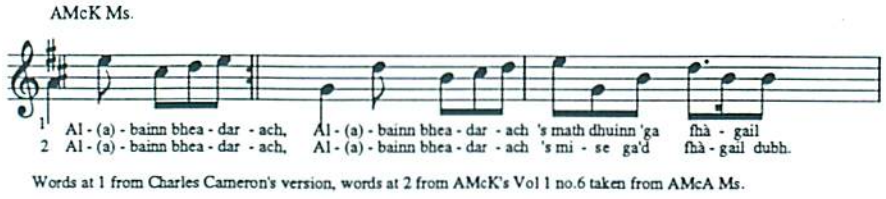
---

13 This is 'The ocean is frightening the children of Gaeldom.' However, it is translated in Gesto as 'The Highlanders March going to America.' Charles Cameron explains to John MacInnes, the collector, that the words which he sang referred to this fear of emigration across the sea.

14 This might be considered as a variant of the tune Bha mi air banais am Baile Inbhir Aora. (or The Campbells are coming.)

There is another tune called Albain Bheadarach which first appears in Angus MacArthur's Ms. (no.13.)[15] Although no song recordings exist of this it is obvious from the pibroch notation that the words heard from CC fit easily. Furthermore, the tune is notated in the same 6/8 rhythm as the language suggests. If the words of the first couplet are placed below the MacArthur score the rhythm becomes very clear.:

Ex.12.



AMcK has this tune with a fuller title, copied from the AMcA Ms. The extra word *dubh* in MacKay suits the pibroch notation more closely. The dotted D at the end of the tune in MacArthur coincides with the stressed *à* in *fhàgail*. All sources[16] for this tune agree rhythmically. It is interesting, however, to observe that the problem of deciding what should be represented as a cadence or as a themal note appears again. In all the early sources, the E and low G which pertain to CC's *'s math dhuinn* or MacKay's *'s mis-e* [the latter word ranging between the two notes E and low G] are given as themal notes as above. However, in the PS series (Book 6: 178) the E is represented as a cadence. The following example shows the AMcA notation on the left and present day PS notation on the right.

Ex.13.

15 Angus MacKay's Ms. Vol 1. no. 6, p.15 names the tune 'Albain Bheadarach 's mise ga'd fhàgail dubh'which underneath he has translated as 'Beloved Scotland, I leave thee gloomy'. He refers to its source as no. 15 in the H.S. of London Mss. (ie. the Angus MacArthur Ms.)

16 These are Glen,p. 146. CM p. 221. PS, Book 6, p. 178 K. no.9, BB. 4-2, Glen (Edinburgh Coll.) p. 28.

Abbreviations.

Appendix to show Abbreviations.

This is one example where the modern notation represents a shorter E than the earliest sources although what is actually played is usually much longer and closer to the AMcA full E. The implication is that present day performance should subsequently be less rounded owing to the implied long low G and the following cut B. Sadly, no more song words are available to work on and one can only surmise on how far the song proceeded if sung to this melody. Since the words coincide only with the first two phrases of the ùrlar, it is more than likely that they went as far as the end of the fourth phrase as the song seems melodically unresolved at the end of the second phrase.

The word fragments which exist could be regarded as a quatrain stanza of the poetic line AAAB where the words *'Albainn Bheadarach'* represent the short phrase A and the whole stanza forming the refrain. Or alternatively, when the melodic form is overlaid on this line with its AABC shape, it could be treated as a couplet rather than a quatrain.[17] Whichever stanza structure is considered, it is represented by the first four bars of the pibroch with a song phrase to each bar of pibroch. However, if this is the case, then one might expect the following two phrases of the *ùrlar* to represent the song verse. These are, melodically, more like a continuation of the first two phrases of the song rather than the beginning of a song verse.. Neither are they a rhythmic fit for the following verse sung by CC beginning *'Tha'n cuan a'cur eagal '* since the first stress would come in at the second word *cuan* reversing the note values of the beginning of the pibroch to relative values of quaver-crotchet.

An important feature is that the rhythm of the words of the first stanza is represented thoroughout the whole of the *ùrlar*. It may be for this reason

---

17 This touches on a very important area which has been ignored for the most part by compilations of Gaelic Poetry of the nineteenth century especially: the analysis of verse metre without taking account of the song metre. This has not been confined to Gaelic scholarship; Hendren (1966) in his foreword states: 'The development of the ballad text in the form of song ...a fact of central importance to the understanding of its structure...has been, in the main, neglected.'

that pipers are only given the words of the first stanza alone. For example, in AMcK's Ms., the existence of the words may have been an effective reminder to the pibroch player before performance, what the rhythmical characteristics of the tune were which could then be applied to the rest of the tune.

The song words which CC sang to the Bodaich nam Briogais melody which were in turn compared to its variant Alba Bheadarach seem to be rhythmically more closely asssociated with the other pibroch known today as Alba Bheadarach. It is quite usual for song words to be adapted to a number of different melodies in the oral song tradition and this is no less the case in the pibroch/song tradition. It could be that the words were sung to both the Bodaich nam Briogais melody and the AMcA version recognised as Alba Bheadarach (played today). The pibroch melody which has been analysed in depth here would seem to be a new pibroch based on the 6/8 Bodaich nam Briogais melody. In the process, the composer/adaptor has changed the rhythmic and melodic scansion, which, once subject to further treatment at the hands of the pibroch notators has become fairly disguised from its probable provenance and has become recognised as a separate tune.

CONCLUSIONS.

This analysis identified the tune Alba Bheadarach as having melodic and rhythmic features in common with Bodaich nam Briogais. Because the rhythmic characteristics of the song version of Bodaich nam Briogais (as 'Mhnàthan a'Ghlinne) and Alba Bheadarach are similar, the performance style of the pibroch version of Alba Bheadarach known today as 'The Battle of Sheriffmuir' can best be understood by considering it as a melodic variant of Bodaich nam Briogais. with a similar rhythm. Although the earliest pibroch sources have this tune notated in 3/4 time, the evidence from the song shows that the rhythm does not fit into the conventional metric scheme and can best be regarded as having elements of simple and compound time, 3/4, 4/4 and 6/8. Even without the supporting evidence of the song text, one is best to regard the tune as progressing according to two stresses per bar, (or four stresses per phrase,) rather than three stresses.

CASE STUDY 4

A'GHLAS MHEUR
(THE FINGER LOCK)

SOURCES AND TITLES

PIPES

The Campbell Canntaireachd [CC] c1815 Vol 2: 341 no. 48

Glass Mhoier.

Donald MacDonald's Collection[DMcD] c1820: 7

A Ghlass Mheur Finger Lock

Song Recording

'Bean Earsaidh Cheannadach' [BEC] 1964 Dunvegan, Cape Breton, Nova Scotia . Recording held by Dr. John Shaw. 555

No title.

FIDDLE.

Patrick MacDonald's collection [PMcD] 1784: 42

A'ghlas mheur

SONG TEXTS.

An Gàidheal [1][AnG] May 1874

The Scottish Highlander [SH] 23rd April 1891

---

1 This is the same text as that in the Killearnan Ms. no.164 p..209

DESCRIPTION.

This is a pentatonic tune with a compass of notes low GAB-DE in the CC and DMcD. In PMcD it is notated for fiddle and is one note higher throughout. This difference gives it a range of ABC-EF. This can be seen as follows and shows the DMcD version, without cadences, the CC version and the song text.

Ex. 1.

DMcD's cadence runs are not relevant to the song and demonstrate yet again that the primary function of the pibroch cadence is to enhance the melodic line of the tune.

As can be seen, the pibroch has a simple melody consisting of two phrases which are repeated and followed by a further two repeated phrases, giving eight phrases in the *ùrlar*. The first two phrases or 'line' of pibroch consist of a repeated melodic motif of B and A to low G, rising to include E and D in the penultimate vocable, *bea,* of the second phrase. It has an ABCD melodic form. (see Ex. 1) The second line, or last four phrases, consists of a rising and falling melodic line with the phrases giving a double tonic[2] effect.

The words of the first stanza are given in three line form in the original article, but it is not suitable to set them down in this manner because, when compared to the pibroch phrases set out in a four line format, they

---

2 Collinson (1966: 24) defines 'double tonic' as 'the sequence of a melodic figure on a major triad followed by the same or other figure on the major triad a tone lower' He states later (p. 26) that the term has no authority, but that it is the terminology used by a piper acquaintance of his. He continues to use it, however, as a term of convenience throughout the book. .

match. The words of the first two stanzas, of the fifteen stanza song version, are as follows:

Ol, òl, òl; òl, òl, òl,
Ol, òl, òl; òl, òl, òl;
Ol, òl, òl,;òl, òl, òl,
Ol air an daoraich; òl, òl, òl;
Ol, òl, òl, etc.
[Drink, drink, drink etc.
Drink on a binge, drink etc.]

Ol air an daoraich, òl, òl, òl,
Ol mar a dh'fhaodas, òl, òl, òl;
Ol air an daoraich, òl, òl, òl,
Ol mar a dh'fhaodas, òl, òl, òl;
Ol air an etc.
{Drink on the binge, drink, drink,
drink/Drink as one would wish,
drink, etc. }

The following is my translation of the Gaelic introduction by D.C.MacPherson, who contributed the words to AnG:

> 'I will give you the ground of the music as the pipers are used to playing it; and then, I will set down verses of it, that which I have of it, as we used to sing it as a port-a-bial.'

The use of the term *port-a-bial* or 'mouth music' today is more often associated with a fairly fast tempo and a rhythm which one could dance to. However, its original meaning was probably more generic, as the term suggests, referring to any vocal interpretation of instrumental performance,[3] using words or vocables or both.

---

3 Gaelic dictionaries have *port*' as a tune. However, there seems to have been a more specialised meaning of *port* which pertained to a particular type of harp tune. (see Sanger and Kinnaird 1992: 174) What is more certain is that the word referred to instrumental pieces of music. Whether or not this word could be used also to mean melody or tune in the broader sense of the word is not too clear. It may have come to mean melody in some areas but a universal term for tune in Gaelic does not appear to be in evidence. Earlier this century in the Outer Hebrides an elderly couple were asked in Gaelic what the 'tune' of a particular song was, but the specific term was not understood by the singer. This emphasises the concept of melody and words in song as being inseparable entities. Although a

One obvious feature is that the stresses of the song coincide with the themal notes of the tune and the language rhythm therefore goes well with the song text. The eight phrases of the *ùrlar* are identifiable in the arrangement of the words themselves with each pibroch phrase being the equivalent of one song couplet. The repetition of the words, implied at the end of the quatrains, is consistent with the repetition of each line of pibroch. ~~This is unusual, however, as the words have already been repeated.~~ The repetition of the couplet again may suggest that the pibroch form influenced the singing or that the song was taken from the pibroch rather than the other way round.

One would find it difficult to sing this as a slow, grave piece, not least because the song words are quite farcical. This song seems to represent a vocal imitation of pibroch style, no less valuable for serious analysis than the more poetically respected Moladh Moraig and Iseabail NicAoidh for example. It is ~~rather~~ unlikely that there ever was a serious word text to this melody as it appears here. It also had mystical associations with the fairies in oral tradition probably on account of its curious title, ~~which, in turn~~ has probably been responsible for the myth that it is a more difficult tune to play than other pibrochs.[4]

A Gaelic singer would tend to lay more stress on the first *òl* even though each *òl* is presumed to have the same linguistic stress. Even at a very slow pace, one would probably detect this accent on the first one, although the contrast would not be so evident. The stresses would remain on the first *òl* of the three-syllable motif, even if sung at a more vigorous pace, but the rhythm is more likely to alter to one which alternates between simple time and compound time. This would result in four stresses per phrase, approximating 6/8 time, rather than common time as notated by DMcD. But, given that he has recommended the tune to be played 'very slow', it is therefore easier to understand why he notated it accordingly as:

---

number of different song texts exist sung to the same or very similar tune it may be that the word rhythm immediately suggests a particular melody with which it is naturally associated.

4 For example, following the piping competition of 1784 in Edinburgh where A'Ghlas Mheur was a set test piece, a journalist for the Scots Magazine (October 1784: 552) wrote that the tune was 'a much admired composition, but difficult of execution'. This myth seems to have taken hold and passed down in piping tradition into the twentieth century. The supposed difficulty has probably more to do with the title which was first translated by Donald MacDonald as The Fingerlock

Ex 2.

Ex.2.

The singer and the piper might vary the melodic stresses in relation to the vocal ones for artistic purposes alone. One would expect a singer or instrumentalist to vary the accents throughout this song particularly because of the frequency of repetitive motifs. The slight change in rhythm in the last bar of each of the lines of pibroch (at the end of the second and fourth phrases) is an effective contrast. A sensitive singer or musician might also tend to contrast each motif and not sing or play exactly according to how it has been notated.[5] There is a comfortable tempo at which this piece can be sung and the best guide is probably the tempo at which the words can be most effectively communicated. From this evidence alone, this would mean that the modern style of performance of this *ùrlar,* which takes approximately twenty five seconds for the first two phrases, is painfully slow.

The next quatrain (Q2) clearly fits the last four phrases or 'second line' of the *ùrlar* as well:

Ol air an daoraich; òl, òl, òl;
Ol mar a dh'fhaodas; òl, òl, òl;
Ol air an daoraich; òl, òl, òl;
Ol mar a dh'fhaodas; òl, òl, òl;
Ol air an etc.

[Drink on the binge, drink, drink, drink/Drink as one likes, drink, drink, drink, etc.]

The contrasting rhythms of the two song quatrains are correspondingly contrasted in the pibroch. The language rhythm in the second quatrain

---

5 This seems to be a truism, but the influence of notated music in the competitive environment of pibroch today, may be to some extent responsible for the overuse of the word 'consistency' by performance critics.

clearly fits the rhythm of the pibroch and is especially evident in the continuation of *òl air an daoraich* and *òl mar a dh'fhaodas* which are represented by four notes:

Ex 3.

Ex. 3

one ?

I am tempted to be slightly pedantic to emphasise the rhythmic relationship between words and tune by suggesting that the throw on D embellishment, in representing the *air an*, was more pronounced than one hears in present day performance. DMcD's throw is not only notated differently from the present day which is:

Ex 4

Ex. 4
4.

but, in addition, piping tradition suggests that it was played in a manner which is equivalent to two syllables in contrast with one syllable as suggested by present day performance style.

The next quatrain given in the text is the same as the previous one but has *'Fonn'* in front of it, which is the refrain of the song. This means that the song refrain is represented in the pibroch by the second half of the tune [phrases five to eight. (see: Ex.1)] or what pipers would recognise as the second line. Then follows thirteen verses, the first ten of which are set out in couplet form. The *Ol air an* which is shown underneath each couplet, would seem to direct that the performer returns to the *Fonn*. However, the form of the song and melody suggests that these apparent couplets are meant to be repeated to give a quatrain which then returns to the *'Fonn'* at the end of each. It may be that the compiler omitted the instruction to repeat each couplet rather than sing it once through only. The final three stanzas which are presented as quatrains have changes in one of the lines and therefore could not have been presented in couplet form. Whatever the form of the tune, the rhythm is the most important feature. The first two couplets are as follows:

Ol air an dallanaich,
'S òl air an daoraich.
Ol air an etc.
[Drink until blind drunk/And drink on a binge]
Bho dhallanaich gu dallanaich,
Gu dallanaich na daoraich.
Ol air an etc.
[from blind drunkeness to blind drunkeness, to the blind drunkeness of a binge]

If a rhythmic picture is created using v for the unstressed syllable and - for the stressed one, then the repeated couplet above:

Bho dhallanaich, gu dallanaich

can be shown to have a rhythmic picture like:

v - v v v - v v
bho dhall-an-aich gu dall-an-aich] (insert

This can be transcribed in the following manner:

Ex 5. (dots)

The language rhythms in the above quatrains are more complex than in those already discussed and are not suited to the *ùrlar*. Furthermore, the first variation and its doubling does not represent a corresponding change of rhythm. The two verses above are closer to the rhythm of the taorluath and crunluath than the *ùrlar*. The eleven verses which follow these, (see appendix) the final three of which are shown below, have rhythms which change from verse to verse, as well as within a verse. The succession of verse rhythms does not represent a particular structure, although they all return to the *'Fonn'* , which is equivalent to the second line of the pibroch. Some of the verses are more easily identified with the *ùrlar* while others are more suited to the, more animated, variations.

This return to *'Fonn'* may represent the practice of returning to the *ùrlar* at various stages of the performance which occured in nineteenth century performance and earlier. PMcD's version has a return to the ùrlar on six occasions throughout the course of this tune. The DMcD Coll. returns to the *ùrlar* only once in this tune - ~~namely~~ after the doubling of var 2. Surprisingly, it does not indicate that it be played after the crunluath, even though most of the tunes in DMcD coll. have D.C. following the crunluath. Although one cannot make any assumptions, it is reasonable to state that there is no musical reason for not playing the ùrlar again. The AMcK collections recommend a return to the *ùrlar*, usually at the end of the taorluath variation and at the end of the tune itself.[6] Campbell (1953) suggested that this may be further evidence that the earlier performances were faster. At the pace at which they are played today, it is unsuitable both for practical and musical reasons.

In order to further clarify what has been stated, the following three quatrains, show how the rhythms of the verses contrast. The first is more representative of the second line of the *ùrlar* (phrases 5-8):

Théid sinn a dh-òl do chrò nan caorach,
Chrò nan gobhar, do chrò nan caorach,
Théid sinn a dh'òl do chrò nan caorach,
Théid sinn a dh-òl a dh-òl, a dh-òl.
Ol air an etc.
{We'll go drinking to the sheep fold/to the goat fold, we'll go drinking.}

The song rhythm of the above might be represented as follows:

Ex 6.

The second fits the first variation or its doubling:

Chùm thu, chùm thu, chùm thu'n dé mi,
Chùm thu, chùm thu, chùm thu'n dé mi,

---

6 See MacInnes (1988: 194) who identifies the recommendations of a number of notators and publishers of pipe music regarding the repetition of the ùrlar in performance. The evidence shows that repetition of the ùrlar was widespread but not systematic.

Chùm thu'n diugh mi, chùm thu'n dé mi,
Tinn an diugh mi, 'g òl an dé mi!
Ol air an etc.
{You kept me....yesterday; You kept me today...Sick today, drinking yesterday}

This might be sung in the following rhythm:

EX 7.

The third quatrain has a rhythmical 'mix' of taorluath-a-mach (DMcD's var 2 doubling) in the first couplet; a siubhal (DMcD var1) or dithis (DMcD var 1 doubling) in the third song line here, which returns to a rhythm which could be identified with both the taorluath-a-mach and the *ùrlar*, in the last line of the song:

Chùm thusa mis', chùm mis' thus',
Chùm thusa mis', chùm mis' thus',
Chùm thu, chùm thu, chùm thu'n dé mi,
Tinn an diugh mi, 'g òl an dé mi!
Ol air an etc.
{You kept me, I kept you..You kept me yesterday..Sick today, drinking yesterday}

which might be sung in a rhythm which approximates:

Ex 8.

Recorded song version

Since this comparison of song text with pibroch was undertaken, ~~the writer~~ was given a recording of a version of this song. The BEC version's text runs as follows:

Ol, òl, òl air an daoraich,
òl, òl òl air an daoraich,
òl, òl òl air an daoraich
(drink etc. on a binge)

òlamaid 's pàighidh mi,
gu slàinte nan daoine
òl, òl òl air an daoraich.
(We'll drink and I'll pay/to the health of the people)

òlaidh sinn ar gartanan,
far ar casan caola,
òl, òl òl air an daoraich.
(We'll drink our garters/ from our thin legs)

òlaidh sinn ar boineadan,
mar shatadh ris na daoine,
òl, òl òl air an daoraich.
(We'll drink our bonnets,/as raise them to the people(?))

òlamaid 's pàigheamaid,
's òlaidh sinn 's pàidhidh sinn,
òlamaid 's pàigheamaid,
mar shatadh ris na daoine.
(Let's drink and pay/and we'll drink and pay/Let's drink and pay/as raise them to the people(?))

This has been transcribed by the writer as follows with the first two bars of the pibroch setting set out below this:

Ex.9.

One can see the similarity between the song melody and the pibroch one. The form of this song version is different from the one already analysed and instead of the repeated series of six *òl òl òls* which coincide with the pibroch, the melodic phrases in this example are much shorter. Each musical phrase is identified by the words '*òl òl òl air an daoraich*'. The couplets which follow can each be regarded as single musical phrases however, having the same number of four stresses per phrase.

The tempo is slower than the one which I recommended from the words of the AnG. version. As the form of the recorded version is also different, this means that the melodic phrases of the BEC version cannot be used for the AnG song text. The BEC recorded version is another example of the adaptable and changeable nature of the oral tradition.

The value of this recording is that it shows that the association which D.C. MacPherson made in AnG. between the printed words and the pibroch A Ghlas Mheur was reliable.

Canntaireachd.

As has been pointed out , the most noticable feature of the CC in general is its lack of cadences. The unimportance of the cadence in relation to the song melody is once again evident in this case study. The number of syllables of canntaireachd is generally consistent with the notes of music and the song stresses. There are two areas, however, in which the texts might appear to be at variance. The fourth and sixth vocables in bars two and three, which are repeated in the second half of the tune, are represented by a four syllable *hindaendan* which can be represented on the stave as follows:

Ex 10

This is a four-pulse movement of GDE gracing on low A followed by the D gracenote on the final A

The three stresses of the song are coincident with DMcD's three low As. There are shortcomings in the CC. in that one cannot be sure of the manner of stressing. The vocable *hindaendan*, as one can see in the text (Ex. 1), has been distributed over the three successive low As. The *daen* suggests two pulses of music, because of its two syllables, which therefore gives the effect of a four-note motif.

The word rhythm may be useful in solving questions of misprints or omissions in the CC, although one has to be wary of taking the details of coincidences in word and music rhythm to an extreme. For example, the penultimate vocable *himbabea* in the last bar of the second phrase, at the end of the first 'line' was one syllable short in the CC appearing as *himbabe*. As it corresponds with *òl air an daoraich* one can be fairly sure that it is an omission and so this *a* has been replaced in the first line. DMcD and PMcD both have the note D to correspond with an *a* nevertheless.

A monosyllabic vocable at the beginning of the fifth phrase, (beginning line one) has *hio tra e a* for *òl air an daoraich* , so that a monosyllabic *tra* stands for a two syllabic *air an.* Once again, this suggests that the throw on D consisted of a more pronounced two pulse movement. The next bar has *tro* of the CC for the two syllable *mar a..*

One has to be careful about giving too much musical prominence to these small differences as one should not expect the details to coincide exactly. In some circumstances, however, features can be perceived where a song has at one time been closely associated with a piece of instrumental music, so that the instrumental piece may reveal some of the finer details of language rhythm which link it to a song text. Although the CC represents a more contrived 'literary' form of recording the music, the point still holds true. The CC for the most part has each syllable representing one note of music. This observation, however, requires further research. The most important result of the comparisons is that the pibroch score, song text and CC all substantially agree and there are no areas, apart from those already mentioned, where the song rhythm is at odds with DMcD and the CC.

Fiddle Text

Rev. Patrick MacDonald's fiddle score for the tune is interesting and informative in a number of ways. He calls it 'A bagpipe lament' above the score and indicates that it is to be played 'very slow solemn.' It also has six variations following the *ùrlar*[7]. Apart from it being notated a note higher,

---

7 DMcD's and PMcD's variations are not named according to their characteristics, but merely by numbers. None of the singling variations or their equivalents have cadences as in modern pibroch performance. For the present day pibroch player, these can be identified as follows:
Var 1 - siubhal; stressing the themal notes and connecting the motifs with a lowA.
Var 1 doubling dithis; ie. doubling of the themal note.
Var 2. - Taorluath;
Var 2.doubling, - taorluath doubling.
'Creanluidh' (DMcD) which is equivalent to a 'fosgailte' in modern performance,
Creanluidh doubling -which is a 'standard' present day crunluath ,
Trebling of Creanluidh- which is equivalent to the modern 'a mach' movement.
For comparison with the rhythms of the fiddle version, let the above be regarded as seven variations. The PMcD variation is numbered on the left

the *ùrlar* is identical in form and almost identical in melody. The setting represents a less restricted melodic scansion, even within the pipe register, and the succeeding variations are less restricted to what might be perceived as the themal notes of the *ùrlar*. The first two phrases, appear as follows:

Ex 11

PMcD

The striking feature of this text concerns not only how he notated the cadence runs, but also where he placed them on the score. Just as in DMcD they are shown as demi-semiquavers with no rests on any of the constituent notes. He also notated them in a manner which shows that they represent decorations to the themal notes of the tune and are therefore not to be accented. He therefore placed them before the bar line, as anacruses, implying that the stress occurs on the following themal note at the beginning of the bar. It is interesting that, although PMcD obtained this setting from a Lochaber piper, which means that it probably represented a different source from DMcD, the setting is nevertheless similar to DMcD's. The cadence runs decorate the same notes in most cases. It does not seem that DMcD was influenced by PMcD's notation style in his own collection. If he had studied PMcD's notation and had

---

and the equivalent DMcD variation on the right. These proceed in the following order:
1st: Var 2 doubling; ie. Taorluath a mach.
2nd: Var 1 siubhal;
3rd: Var 1 dithis;
4th: Var 2. taorluath singling with undotted quaver, two semiquaver motifs;
5th: taorluath, melodically different with 6/8 rhythm ie. dotted quaver;
6th: crunluath singling
The equivalent rhythm of DMcD's 'creanluidh' trebling is not identified in PMcD. This is not surprising, as it becomes more technically demanding on the fiddle. Instead of three crunluath variations of DMcD, PMcD has just the one. It is compensated for by the melodically different kind of taorluath immediately before and the rhythmic differentiation between three taorluath movements. If he notated it exactly as he stated (from the piper's actual performance) then the position of the taorluath trebling after the ùrlar is intriguing. It does not follow the strict melodic line of modern pibroch performance either.

chosen to notate cadences in PMcD's style it is possible that Angus MacKay, influenced by DMcD, may have avoided his own accentuation of the E of the cadences at the expense of the melodic line of the tune. It seems a little unusual that DMcD did not see the advantage of PMcD's notation, even if the latter was not notating strictly for pipes but for fiddle and other instruments.

FIDDLE VERSION AND SONG: IMPLICATIONS.

It would initially seem that the presence of the numerous cadences in both the DMcD and PMcD *ùrlar* is what sets this tune apart from the brisker version implied by the existence of the song words. The song words as sung to the pibroch text without cadences do not allow much freedom for vocal embellishments because of what appears to be a somewhat regular rhythmic metre. DMcD and PMcD's notation of the cadences as demisemiquaver flourishes, followed by the stressed first notes of the following motifs, creates a very rhythmic effect. It should also clearly identify, for the listener, the notes which are decorative as opposed to those which are not. The song maker in an oral tradition would therefore have no difficulty in identifying the melody line and its use. The cadence runs are very sparse in all the variations in both DMcD and PMcD and some of the song text, as has been observed, can be more closely modelled on these than with the *ùrlar*. Where they do appear, they act as introductions at the beginning of the variations. Occasionally,they occur in other places in the text, but in what appears to be in fairly random positions in PMcD. This 'randomness' is probably one musician's prerogative.

Both the fiddle and the pipe versions recommend a very slow tempo but from the evidence of the song versions two different tempos seem to exist, one fairly brisk and the other slow. This is not surprising and in a healthy oral tradition there was probably a range of tempos possibly encompassing some different versions. The numerous cadences in the *ùrlar* and the tempo advice suggests that a slowing down had occured by 1800. Could it be that the influences of the drawing room type of genre which prevailed from the early 1700's[8] onwards had already been felt at least in the tempos

8 Johnson (1984: 34)

of tunes? Did the Lochaber piper play it at this speed or was the slow tempo on the advice of the notators only? Dalyell (1849: 101) commenting on three of the most popular tunes of the early nineteenth century competitions mentions: 'Glass Mheur which a Lowlander may not venture to interpret'[9] What he meant by this comment is not very clear and one cannot be sure of whether he was influenced by the traditions about the tune and its enigmatic title, its actual performance style or the melodic and rhythmical features of the tune, independent of any historical preconceptions. I suspect he was also affected by the mystique associated with the tune which suggested it was a difficult piece.

The title of the song and the traditions associated with the tune do not suggest lamentation and even if it were a lament, there would be no reason to play it very slowly and solemnly. The lament becoming especially slow is probably one of the greatest influences of the drawing room genre mentioned above, although research is required in this area before one can draw any conclusions. Some of the main characteristics of lamentation are discussed in the case study of MacIntosh's Lament.

There is a feature of PMcD's version which relates it once again to the song version, which in turn specifically relates to form and the refrain-verse style. Like the song, which returns to the 'Fonn' after every verse, PMcD's version returns to the *ùrlar*. This occurs after every variation. It would be difficult to perform this tune very slowly, rather like modern performance style, and to return to the *ùrlar* after every variation. DMcD in notating for pipers is probably being more pragmatic, given his advice on a slow tempo, and returns to the *ùrlar* only after Var 1 doubling and the taorluath doubling.

There is another set of words (SH: 23/4/1891), the text of which was stated to be 'the correct words of A'Ghlas Mheur ' by the contributor.[10] But they clearly are not the correct words, for the texts comprise a number of

---

9 The other two tunes were Prince's Salute and Grim Donald's Sweetheart.

10 The collector was Alasdair Carmichael {Carmina Gadelica} who stated that the old man from whom he had collected the song had emphasised that they were the correct words to the song: 'Fhuair mi na rannan a leanas , anns 'an Ard Albannach (aireamh Lunnasdal 1881), agus bha e air a radh an sin leis an deagh sgoilear Mr Alasdair Carmichael gu'n d'thuirt an sean duine, bho'n d'fhuair e na focail so gu'n robh annta ceart-fhocail na Glais-mheur.'

identifiable songs, [11] the metre and rhythm of which are unsuited to what pipers identify with A'Ghlas Mheur.

There are other fragments which lay claim to A'Ghlas Mheur[12]

An interesting social feature of this tune is that it was used in a Highland regiment of the eighteenth century as a reveille. Murray (1975: 11) doubted its suitability on the assumption that the style of performance was similar to today's. However, with the evidence just presented and in view of the short melodic motifs which this tune contains, I consider that it was, on the contrary, a suitable tune for this purpose. Furthermore, with regard to social setting, the nature of the song words and the context in which this tune was used, there is further internal evidence which links it with the Highland soldiers.[13] The tenth and eleventh verses especially relate this song to the soldiers' lot. These are as follows:

---

11 The song I have identified has fragments of: 1.Crodh Chailein. 2. Tha bò dhubh agam. 3. Na Féidh am Bràighe Uige. There also appears to be several other texts here: 4. O ho nigh'nn donn. 5. Ho ro mo nighean Chagair 6. Ho mo lur deurach dubh...an téid thu 'Bhraigh Lochaidh an diugh.

12 Scottish Highlander 30 April 1891 has: 'it would appear that the following was either the *Deuchainn Ghleusda* or the wording in the *tus-cheol* of the Glas mheur: *Glas-mheur, Glas-mheur, Glas-mheur gu h-ullamh, Tha ceol gu leor Ann am meoir an duine.'* This is more likely to be part of the storyline of many of the traditions which have been handed down concerning this tune.

13 D.C.MacPherson (Abrach) in An Gàidheal (May 1874) gives one tradition behind the tune linking it to *'Fear Bhaosdail'* the chief of ClanRanald MacDonald in South Uist, Colin MacDonald, who turned against Catholicism and was remembered as *' fear a'bhata bhuidhe'* (the man of the yellow stick) because of his forceful beatings against those who would not reject the Catholic faith. Ronald MacDonald of Morar (Raonaill MacAilean Oig) on hearing this sailed to Uist and calling on the minister left him very drunk to face his congregation. The following day he then warned Boisdale that he should change his ways or else *'dheanadh e pasgadh-na-pìoba air'* (he would fold him up like a set of pipes) - which appears to have been a commonly used expression by the Morar piper. On this occasion the pibroch with the accompanying words was composed. It is possible that some of the verses associated with this event are in this song which has later been adapted by soldiers. For example, the last three verses may refer to the above event. See also TGSI XXXVII p. 56 Neil Rankin Morrison 'Clann Duilligh: Pìobairean Chloinn Ghill-Eathain' ~~for another tradition on how the tune was named.~~ See also TGSI. XLVI (1970: 278) for another tradition on how Glas-Mheur was composed.

Olaidh sinn ar boineidean,
Ged lomadh air na maolaibh.
Ol air an etc.
[We'll drink our bonnets/ even if it leaves our heads bare]

Olaidh sinn na gartana,
Th'air na casan caola.
Ol air etc.
[We'll drink the garters/that are on the thin legs]

One style of playing the *ùrlar* in light of this research can be heard on audio.

→ Comment here on other provenances - footnote 13.

CONCLUSIONS

The evidence presented shows that the song represents a burlesque imitation of the pibroch idiom. The performance style of the song version which was identified by text alone was probably fairly animated and I suggest that the pibroch performance was similarly animated in style. The other, recorded, song version supports the conclusion that there ~~was~~ were several versions and tempos in the song tradition, which was probably as valid in the pibroch tradition although not as diverse. Despite the slow tempo of the song recording, it is rhythmic and in stark contrast to present day performance style, which is usually also very slow but unfortunately relatively arhythmic. A' Ghlas Mheur's use as a reveille probably represents its most animated form with the settings by PMcD and DMcD representing slower versions. The tune as played today therefore represents a slowed down version of what was once a popular animated piece of music.

The use of A' Ghlas Mheur

CASE STUDY 5

CHOLLA MO RUN

(THE PIPER'S WARNING TO HIS MASTER.)

SOURCES

Pipe

Donald MacDonald [DMcD] Ms. c1806-1826 no.10 p.98

'MacDonald's Warning: Cholle mo Run'

Angus MacKay Coll. [AMcK] 1838 p.125.

'Caismeachd a phiobaire da Mhaighsteir na Piobaireachd Dhunaomhaig. 'The Piper's Warning to his Master or Piobaireachd of Dunyveg '

Audio recording.

Mary Morrison Barra. SA/1959/70 J A Machellan

Song texts.with Music.

Folksongs and Folklore from South Uist.[FFSU] 1955: 130

Donald Campbell's Treatise [?] Dc ? 1862: 124-125.

Abbreviations.

Subscript letters are used to represent low Gs and low As and superscript letters are used to represent high Gs and As. These appear before the themal note which is represented by a capital letter. A small *e* in front of the letter for the note signifies a cadence E.

Description.

This pibroch is in ABAC form in the first four phrases. These four phrases are repeated and developed into a nineteen-phrase tune in DMcD. It is useful to consider the tune as consisting of three sections: the first four phrases which are repeated to give eight phrases (sections one) followed by six phrases (ph.9-14: section two) then five phrases. (ph.15-19: section three) This is shown in Example 1.

The form of the song version is unusual in that it has five line stanzas, or five melodic phrases. The song air is very similar to the first four pibroch phrases, but with an extra phrase occuring between the third and fourth one of the pibroch, ie. before the phrase which consists of the two *hiharin* motifs. This 'extra phrase' in the song has the unusual line eg. in stanza one, *'seachainn an caol, tha mi'* (avoid the narrow(s) I am). The most important area which concerns this study is the first, four-phrase, section of the pibroch which contains the whole of the MM version of the song melody

The two phrases which follow, nine and ten, move up several tones, which is a common characteristic of song verse in relation to its refrain. [ie. from]GAE to]GA^{1}A] In the eleventh phrase, the pibroch unexpectedly repeats the second phrase of the tune. [BBAD BBAB]^{1} and then repeats the ninth and tenth resolving it with the familiar two *hiharin* motifs, as at the end of the first four-phrase section.

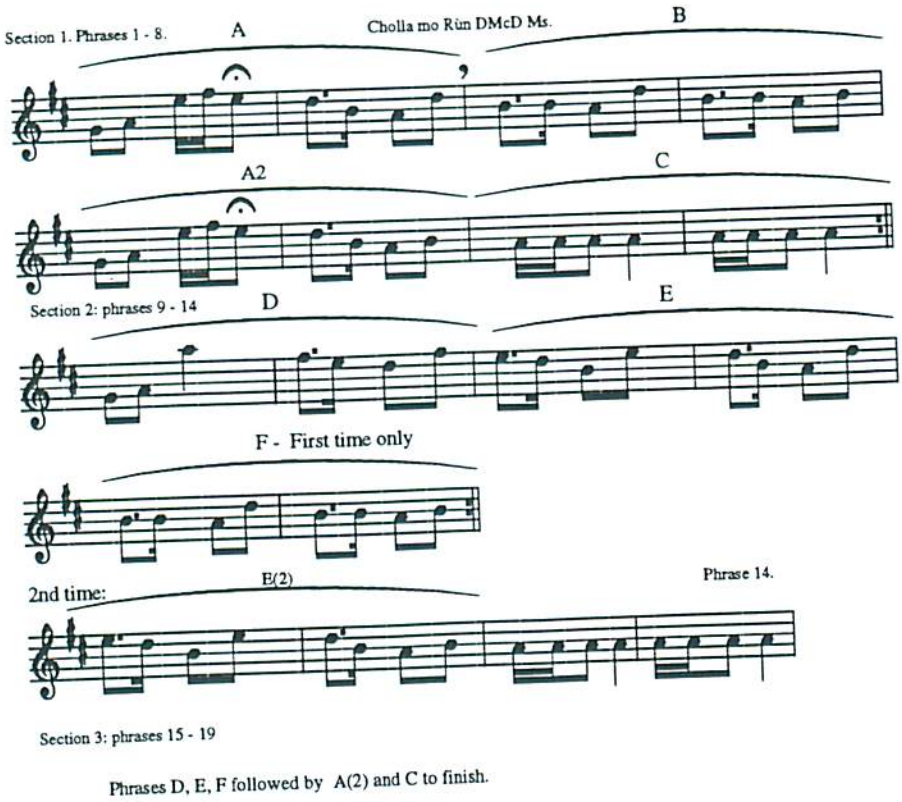
The last section (phrases fourteen to nineteen) represents a repeat of phrases nine to eleven and finishes by returning to the third and fourth phrases, which are equivalent to the third and fifth line of the song. This can be seen in the transcription of DMcD's setting with the song words [MM] underneath.

The above description and the DMcD setting set out in Ex. 1 below, demonstrate how four melodic phrases, whether or not they are based on a song text of ABAC form, can be reworked to give rise to a fairly substantial pibroch of nineteen phrases. This tune may have been very popular at one time, suggested by the existence of a number of different versions which have been orally transmitted. The first four pibroch phrases, however, are of greatest relevance here. The rhythmic scheme for the whole tune can be identified from them.

---

1 This seems unusual. However, when one is familiar with the eight-phrase pibroch form which frequently has a fifth phrase representing a 'composite' of earlier phrases or a reintroduction of one of these, its occurence here is not so surprising. This particular type of phrase seems to be an important pivotal stage in the development of the pibroch to its final conclusion. In many cases they represent a 'break' from the previous melodic characteristics which have already been stated in the tune. Examples of these required here. This is a very important feature of pibroch composition. However, it is the performance style which is the subject of analysis here and not the structure of the tune.

Ex. 1



Sung Recording.

q1

O Cholla mo ghaoil[2], seachainn an caol,
Seachainn an caol, seachainn an caol,
O Cholla mo ghaoil, seachainn an caol,
Seachainn an caol,- tha mi,
Tha mise làimh, tha mise làimh.
(quatrain sung twice)
(O Colla my love, avoid the narrows/I am caught)

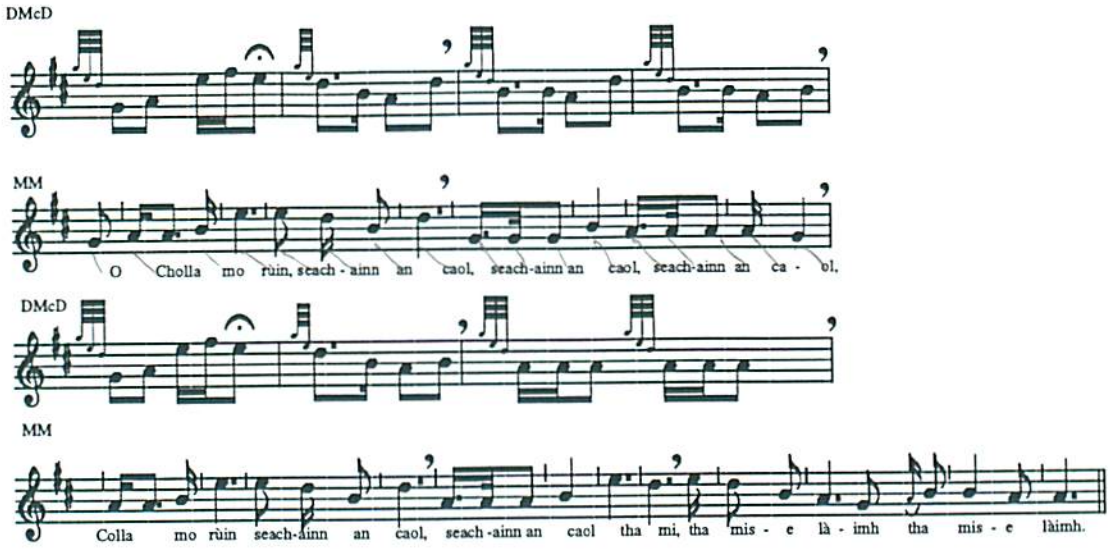
verse

2 She sings 'rùn' on the first occasion. However, this rhymes with Dùn in other versions. She does sing 'rùn' with 'caol' though in the same performance.

Discussion

Example 2. shows the four phrases of the pibroch with the MM song version underneath.

Ex.2.



The melodic link is very obvious, especially in the first phrase of the song.

The most striking feature of the song concerns the rhythmical and the animated performance style of of the singer. Both these features are lacking in the modern pibroch performance style of this tune. The 'extra' phrase of the song occurs in the fourth line, where MM sings *'seachainn an caol tha mi'*. Her final line *'tha mise làimh, tha mise làimh'* melodically moves down to the low A and can be identified with the *hiharins* of the pibroch version.

The close correlation between DMcD's low G and low A starting the tune and the beginning of the song are clear in the music. The three demisemiquaver cadence to the low G could be regarded as an anacrusis, equivalent to the vocable *'O'* which begins the song. This would have to be short and played as a 'run' in order to fit into the rhythmic context of the song air. This running cadence contrasts with the presence of long introductory E's in the modern pibroch version despite there being no hint of an introductory cadence in the song version. For example, present day pibroch players are likely to play the first phrase in the following manner:

Ex.3.

Ex. 3. J.A.MacLellan.

Source?

This cannot be rhythmically correlated with either the song or Donald MacDonald's text.

When the corresponding words are placed underneath the pibroch text, one can see that the disparities which exist between the song rhythm and the pibroch rhythm are, for the most part, due to the existence of cadences and other conventions of pibroch notation. If the themal notes only of the pibroch are compared with the song, the rhythm of the song can easily be applied to the pibroch setting given. The choice of tempo and rhythm, using DMcD's score as a guide, is one which represents a compromise between the song's language rhythm and the pibroch as notated. The grips in bars three and four would also have to be played in a shortened form, as shown, in order to retain a strong rhythmic presence as one can hear in the song.

As pointed out in intro.

It would seem, however, from the manner of notation adopted, that the tune was played fairly slowly in comparison with the song performance being considered here. For example, if the tune is played above a certain tempo the grips in the third and fourth bars, aforementioned, seem to make the tune over ornamented and tend to slow down the natural rhythmic flow of the piece. These notational features are not so noticeable when the tune is played fairly slowly and their existence on the stave may partly explain why pibroch became to be played in such a slow pedestrian manner. There was probably a two-way influence here between notation and tempo.

One can be fairly certain that the manner of playing the DMcD cadences with longer Es and their frequency throughout the tunes had the effect of slowing the tune down. This probably became more prevalent following the publication of AMcK's setting in 1838.

a little much...

ANGUS MACKAY'S SETTING.

AMcK's version has the *ùrlar* reduced to a similarly 'unorthodox' (PS Series[3]) form of fifteen phrases. The first eleven phrases, however, have words underneath the melody. Eight of these eleven phrases are in the form of a repeated quatrain. This is followed by a three-phrase section which, like DMcD's version, moves up several tones. [low AAE to low GA high G] This section is textually like a quatrain with the third line missing. It is for this reason that a line is left blank in the AMcK example below although no hint of editing potential is suggested here.

The song text as follows has a guide to the notes used on the right hand side. These can be explained as follows. What I consider to be the main melodic features of the tune are on the right hand side. The small letters represent cadences and the capital letters represent the themal notes. ~~The Gs have a subscript or superscript 1 before the note, according to whether they be low or high.~~ The asterixes represent what one might expect to be a line of song beginning 'A Cholla...because of the form of the first quatrain.[4]

~Insert AMcK tune with words here (facsimile)

ACholle mo rùnn tionndaidh am bàt, ^{e}AAAE ^{e}DBAD;
na'm fhios dhut mar tha chad thigeadh du'm chòir, ^{e}BBBD ^{e}BAGB
Cholle mo rùnn seachainn an dùn, ^{e}AAAE ^{e}DBAB;
tha mise'n laimh, tha mise'n laimh. ^{e}AAAA ^{e}AAAA
(Quatrain repeated)

this is followed by:

---

3 The Pìobaireachd Society editorials, in their published series, regard tunes which fall outwith their classification system, which is founded on the number of bars in a tune, as unorthodox. But see Introduction for more discussion on this.

4 Any suggestions on pibroch form are made solely in relation to the melodic scansion of the song and its appearance within the pibroch ùrlar. This pibroch has been subject to fairly extensive debate on its form, but usually in terms of the relative numbers of bars which have been recorded by different notators. Some comparative studies or discussion can be found in eg Thomason (1900), G.F.Ross (1926), Campbell(1948) Haddow (1982)

Replace high Gs with ^ and high as with X. 221

Cholle mo ghaoil seachainn a'n caol — $^{e}G_{1}A^{1}GFEDF$
s'na creaganan caol, 'thoir orst a mhaol, — EBBE ^{e}DBAB
****************************** — ******************
tha mise'n laimh, tha mise'n laimh. — ^{e}AAAA ^{e}AAAA

The tune finishes without words in the folllowng manner:

$^{e}G_{1}A^{1}GFEDF$
EBBE ^{e}DBAB
^{e}AFE ^{e}DBAB
^{e}AAAA ^{e}AAAA

from the fragments (of) the song had.

Although AMcK has inserted one version of the words underneath the music, there is no evidence in the song tradition of the tune going up from the refrain to high G as in the pibroch here. It may be that the words were inserted as a rhythmic guide, or to give the impression of a legitimate musical text or both of these. Unfortunately, although AMcK's text has the words inserted, they provide little assistance to either the Gaelic or the non Gaelic reading pibroch player who wants to find an affinity between them and the melodic text and the song words. A native Gaelic speaker should be able to infer the rhythmical characteristics which are implied quite easily. This has not been the case, however, and it is clear that these particular rhythms which should be so obvious to the Gaelic speaker have been ignored for the mainstream pibroch style. The nature of the words, when compared with the pibroch score, entail making the cadences extremely short almost to the point that they sound like the gracenoting which one finds in light music. This would represent a dramatic departure from our present-day understanding of the cadence. It is quite possible that on occasions the cadences may have been played particularly short as shown in the introductory section of this thesis page no? with particular reference to Cameron's Gathering. When the words are compared with the conventions of pibroch notation, they clearly do not match.

The implications of the rhythmic characteristics of the song on the pibroch melody are quite obvious. If these rhythms are overlaid on the pibroch score one might play something like the following:

- Audio reinterpretation.

One could attempt to notate this music in a ~~manner~~ which sets out to describe the manner in which to play. The notation falls far short of adequately recommending a style ~~in which to play~~ and one realises that the DMcD score itself is quite sufficient, providing one knows the idiom within which one is working.

For example, one could attempt to notate it as follows:

The note values will vary however on each performance even though there appears to be regular stress. This reminds us that pibroch performance is like Gaelic song where, as Cooke (1972) stated

> 'even those in regular stress are traditionally sung with a very flexible beat which is stretched and contracted for poetic and musical purposes.'

CONCLUSIONS.

The attempts to demonstrate a valid relationship between a song and a pibroch in Angus MacKay's collection, other than through title and historical association are seen to have been ineffective at least in preserving a rhythmic style which was probably once common to both. This particular example shows once again how, by overlaying the rhythm of the song on the pibroch and by playing the cadences as short decorations to the melodic line, a similar melodic and rhythmic scansion can be detected between the song and the pibroch, which places the latter more firmly into its historical context once again.

CASE STUDY 6.

MARCH FOR A BEGINNER.

SOURCES.

Pipes.

Joseph MacDonald Ms. [JMcD] c. 1760 p. 82 (ed. 1994)

'March for a Begginner.'

Angus MacKay Ms.Vol. 2 [AMcK] c. 1826-1840: 128.

'from an mss.written in Bengall by Mr.John MacDonald about the year 1730.'

No title.

Other music sources.

Angus Fraser Mss. c1855 Vol. 3. no.14.

'An òinseach.'

Daniel Dow's Coll. [DD] 1776 / 83 ?

'Mairi nighean Deorsa: Mary the daughter of George'.

Song Text without music.

Bardachd Ghàidhlig. (Watson) 3rd ed. 1959. p.104.

BACKGROUND

There are two versions of this tune in the Angus Fraser Ms. One version is called 'An òinseach' (The idiot), a Gaelic term used by the poet Alexander MacDonald (Alasdair MacMhaighstir Alasdair) in his poem in praise of the pipes called 'Moladh air Pìob Mhór Mhic Cruimein.' (In praise of MacCrimmon's pipes) and is shown below.

This first notated version in the Ms. is the one on which Matheson based his sung version, which is used here for comparison. This version has been identified as a variant of the pibroch March for a Beginner.

The provenance of different versions and titles of this air is given by AF in his notes to tunes. (no.87)[1] The information he gives shows that in the eighteenth century,

1. 'Grant of Sheugly in GlenUrquhart' composed a song on a supposed contest between the violin, pipe and harp.

2. The same air was used by MacDonald of Ardnabi in praise of his violin which he called Mairi nighean Dheorsa ('Mary George's daughter') This appears in AF's father's book, Simon Fraser (1816: 2) where the title Mairi nighean Dheorsa is given, alongside which is the original heading "Grant of Sheuglie's contest between his Violin, Pipe and Harp." This explanation by Angus Fraser clarifies the existence of the two titles [2]

3. The same tune was thereafter adopted by Alasdair MacMhaighstir Alasdair for his poem 'Moladh air Pìob Mhór MhicCruimein' (In praise of MacCrimmon's pipes) probably as a poetical *tour de force* as a retort to MacDonald of Ardnabi's praise of the fiddle and the earlier song by Grant.

No information exists on how and when the pibroch version appeared but it is probable that Alasdair MacMhaighstir Alasdair set his poetry to what was an already known, and probably quite popular, pibroch. March for a Beginner is the only pibroch theme which was notated in full by JMcD in

---

1 See also Cpt. Simon Fraser of Knockie's Collection of Highland Music Note 3 p.96 where it is stated that Alexander Grant of Knockie composed the tune to his violin. He died in prison in Tilbury in 1746 at the age of 70 after having taken part in the 1745 rising.

2 In TGSI XLV (1969) Hugh Barron's 'Some Gaelic verse from North Inverness-shire' are some stanzas of a song 'Oran le Alasdair òg Mac fir Ard na bighe' which is 'air Fonn' or to the tune of Màiri Nighean Deòrsa. This begins 'O! ciad mìle fàilte do Mhàiri Nighean Deòrsa' which is slightly confusing as it would seem that the tune was already in existence and recognised by this title already. The form is also confusing with the existence of two couplets of vocable and the two lines referring to Màiri Nighean Deòrsa. They are as follows:
O! ciad mìle fàilte do Mhàiri Nighean Deòrsa
Fal-al-dir-al dìro,
Fal-al-diro, Dal, dal rìro.
Gum b'ait leam bhi làmh riut a'Mhàiri Nighean Deòrsa
Fal-al etc.
When these words are compared to Dow's setting of Màiri Nighean Deòrsa, they do not fit the music. However, they do fit the tune in Angus Fraser's Ms. which is being used here as a comparison with the pibroch. The only problem lies with the fourth line followed by the vocable repetitions. It appears in succeeding verses, in which case it is highly probable that it had a variant melody in a different form.

1760 and it would be unlikely that a tune would have this title if it were a little known tune.

Description and Pibroch/Song Relationship.

JMcD used this tune as an example of a four-lined pibroch and demonstrated how the tune is organised according to sixteen fingers or bars and organised into four quarters consisting of eight phrases of music.

Although the song is set out in Watson (1959) as appearing to have a twelve lined stanza, each 'line' only has two stresses. As a song, there should be four stresses per line and therefore the song has been set out below as six lines of poetry. Each line of poetry is equivalent to a phrase of music which, in this example, is equal to two bars of pibroch.

Eighteen verses of this song appear in Watson (ed. 1959: 104)[3] The first verse is as follows:

'S iomadh baintighearn' bha spéiseil mu'n chéile 'bh'aig Móraig;
Gun àirmhear mi féin diubh, is gach té tha de'm sheòrsa:
Mhol e phìob anns gach grìd, am b'fheàrr a prìs cheòlmhor,
'Na buadhanna móra, 'na gaisge ri còmhraig;
O fhad bhios bìog no aon dìorr,no gnè chlì am chòmhradh-s',
Is gun an fhorc a bhith am mheòiribh, gu mol mi ri m'bheò thu.

---

[3] This song is, to quote Watson (ed. 1959 lxii): 'A complicated metre. Each line has four stresses. In the first two lines the vowel sequence is the same, except in the first stressed syllable. The third and fifth lines are homogeneous, ie., they have the same vowel sequence. The fourth and sixth lines have each a syllable rhyming with the final stressed syllable of the previous line. The final stressed syllables rhyme throughout the stanza. By arrangement of the stress in the third and fifth lines, the poet obtains a staccato effect resembling the phrasing of part of a pibroch. Scheme of the first stanza:-

(1)----a------é------é------ó
(2)----à------é------é------ò
(3)----ì------ì------ì-------ò
(4)----ua-----ó------a------ò
(5)----ì-------ì-------ì------ò
(6)----o------ò------o------ò

The extra syllables, giving a total of nine in: Is gun an fhorc a bhith am mheòiribh at the first half of the last line may have some bearing on the appearance of a long phrase which appears penultimately in some pibrochs. eg. Lament for Captain MacDougall.

(Many ladies held Morag's partner in esteem/I myself am numbered amongst them, as were all of my kind/He praised the pipe in all its qualities/its melodic value was better for its great virtues, its heroism in battle/Oh, while there is a squeak, one spark of life or any degree of strength in my tongue/and no cramp in my fingers, I shall praise you forever. (Translation from Scottish Tradition 16 'Gaelic Bards and Minstrels'.)

The pibroch dwells mostly on the notes low A, B, C, E , F and high A.

The animated song version by comparison, dwells on notes lower down the scale and cannot be fully accomodated on the pipes, but has greater melodic intervals with leaps of an octave in some areas. Example 1 shows the pibroch version

Ex. 1

On first hearing and examining the scores, it is likely that the relationship between these two melodies seems a little tenuous. In order to make the connections clearer, some of the melodic and rhythmic motifs which link these two tunes have been set out below.

The writer identified the relationship aurally at first, before knowing the title of the song which linked it to MacCrimmon and piping and it was the presence of common specific melodic and rhythmic motifs in the pibroch and the song which allowed this identification to occur. For instance, if the sixth phrase of the pibroch is compared with the third phrase of the song, similar features can be observed:

Ex.2.

The other area which has remained sufficiently prominent for a listener to make a connection is in the last phrase of the pibroch and the penultimate, fifth, phrase of the song. This is as follows:

EX.3.

It is important to realise that the features which allow one to recognise a variant tune do not relate solely to melody or rhythm but to elements of each of these two features. Although the melodic comparison alone may seem insufficient to make a connection between two tunes, when these are set in a particular rhythmic scheme the relationship becomes clearer than in the above examples.

The two tunes have a different rhythmic scansion in the first phrase and there is an obvious problem reconciling the music with the words. This is because at *Is iomadh baintighearn*, the first poetic stress does not appear until *baintighearna*. This would occur on the low A in the pibroch. The *Is iomadh* would have to be musically represented as an anacrusis. This can be represented in pibroch by a short introductory E or cadence run before the low A. The long E of present day performance would not suffice as it would be equivalent to a stress on the first two words.

Despite the areas of departure in the melody and to a lesser extent in the rhythm, the common features which exist between the song and pibroch are sufficient to achieve a useful reassessment of the pibroch ùrlar.

The implications of the song on the pibroch performance style are such that the JMcD version can be read as notated to a great extent, but only when interpreting the music in the context of Gaelic language rhythm. This entails representing the tune in a notation which more closely

resembles 6/8 time rather than the common time which JMcD notated it in. As has been shown in some of the other case studies, the choice of notation between common time, represented by C, or compound duple time in 6/8 seems to have been fairly arbitrary in Gaelic music notation because there are frequently elements of both rhythms in a single version. JMcD in the fourth bar has a rhythmical figure which suggests that he may have had problems deciding on how best to represent the rhythm of this tune.

In this particular case, I suggest that, given the nature of the rhythms of this song version and the nature of the rhythms which are suggested by the pibroch notation itself in the context of the Gaelic musical tradition, a notation which is closer to 6/8 time might be more appropriate.

A recommended setting of the first two phrases is therefore set out below. This rhythmic scheme can be continued throughout the rest of the tune.

CONCLUSION.

This case study showed how, because of similar rhythmic and melodic motifs, a variant version of a song could be recognised in March for a Beginner. The performance style which is being recommended is much more rhythmical than the style one might hear at the present day. The notation of the pibroch version in JMcD gives a fairly clear indication of the rhythm, provided one is aware of the idiom of song in pibroch. A notation style which is closer to the Gaelic song idiom, from which this tune probably arose, is improved by notating it in an approximate 6/8 rhythm.

CASE STUDY 7

CUMHA CHOIRE AN EASA
(CORRIENESSAN'S LAMENT)

SOURCES

Pipes

Robert Meldrum Ms.

John MacColl [JMcC] Ms. Early 1900's

Pìobaireachd Society Series [PS] (1986: 481-3)

Song Text

Celtic Monthly [1][CMo] Vol.1.(1893:151)

Elizabeth Ross Ms. c.1812

W. Matheson (Ard

SOURCES AND DESCRIPTION

This is an eight-phrase pibroch in the form of four repeated phrases. The song consists of four phrases in ABCD form which are fully represented by the first four pibroch phrases, also in ABCD form. JMcC. has eight phrases, but the second set of four phrases in JMcC is so close to the first four that it can be regarded as a slight variant of these. This may be why the PS source regarded the JMcC score as 'structurally defective' and adopted another setting of this tune[2] where the four phrases are repeated to give an *ùrlar* of eight. The small melodic changes which occur in the JMcC repeat of the first four bars suggest the kind of alterations which might occur when a traditional singer continues into the next verse of a song. The manner in which the source was originally collected, however, is not known.

The JMcC setting is chosen for comparison because its melody is closer to the particular version of the song which is being compared.

---

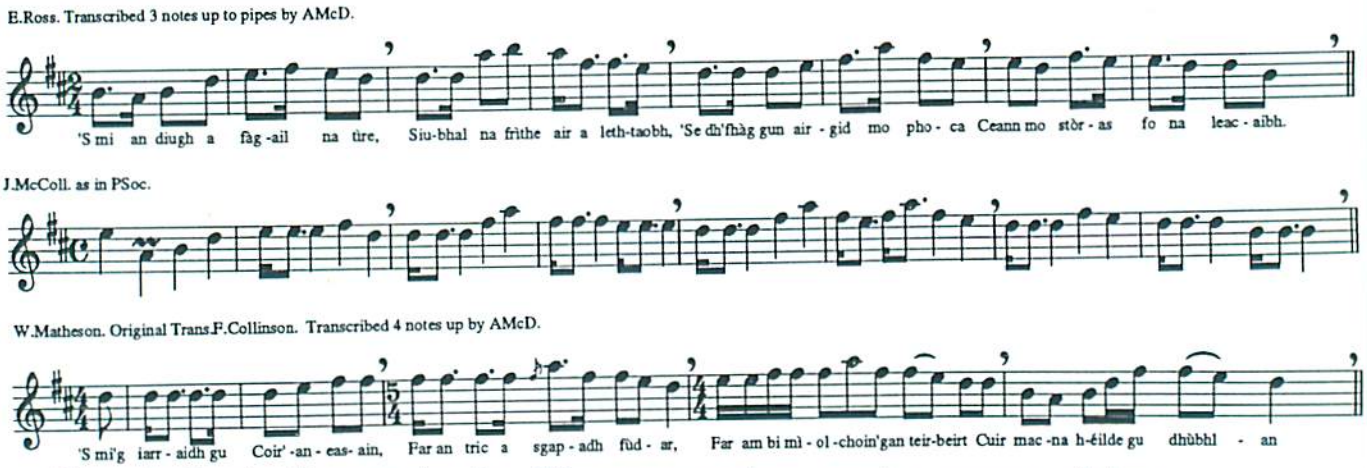
1 See also Vol xv (1905:135). This setting was also used by O'Baoill (1994:207) It also appears in MacKenzie (1841: 98),

2 George MacKay [GMcK] Ms. (c1939.) The first two phrases are very similar to the JMcC setting but the settings diverge in the last two.

ANALYSIS.

The ER version is transcribed in Ex 1 with the pibroch version underneath. The *hiharin* figure with the introductory E is shown with a mordent on the low A for ease of presentation. Below this is another version as sung by Wm. Matheson, which appears in Collinson (1966:63) This was sung 'fast in free rhythm according to the natural stress of the words.' If the poetic rhythm of this song is now considered, it is not difficult to see that the pibroch setting could not possibly fit the rhythm implied by the song. If one compares the words with the ER transcription, as in Ex. 1 one can see how each note relates to one syllable.

Ex.1.



The rhythmic figures in the ER song version are in groups of two throughout, which is verified by Matheson's sung version shown at the bottom and also by the insertion of the words of the beginning of the song underneath the music. In the pibroch version, however, these rhythmic figures are more commonly in groups of three, represented by the echo beats throughout (see bars 2, 3, 4, etc.). It would seem that, if the song was adapted to the pibroch, the two-note motifs were transformed into three-note ones to fit the conventions of pibroch. This transformation is not a major departure from the rhythms of the song in that, if the echo beats are played in the older style of two very short gracings to the low G or low A for example, the rhythmical effect is similar to the two-note motifs of the song. This is because the echo beats can be played in a manner which makes the two clear stresses obvious. It is therefore not necessary to edit the above pibroch setting to the rhythmic style of the song as long as the

rhythmic style of the song is suggested in the pibroch performance. Whether one plays:

Ex. 2

is of no great consequence. However, if one played the echo beat as it is performed today:

Ex. 3

this would not be rhythmically appropriate .

It appears that in the development of the pibroch version, some notes have been taken into the melodic line which are possibly better left out. This particular characteristic has already been discussed in the introductory chapter in the section on Gaelic song and pibroch notation. This addition of notes distorts the rhythm of the melodic line, which must be played in a manner which allows the rhythm which has been identified in the opening phrase to be preserved. One area of the pibroch notation which may have the wrong time values allocated to them is in the sixth bar or third phrase. Reference to Matheson's version shows how extra notes are sung without distorting the performance. For example, in his fourth bar, at the change back to 4/4, these 'extra notes' are well accommodated because of the time values allocated. In the same way, one might consider playing the sixth bar of the pibroch version approximately as follows:

Ex. 4

The coincidence of the unusual turn of phrase between Matheson's version and the pibroch version at this point of the melody is further evidence of the close correlation which once existed between song and pibroch.

The song 'Cumha Coire'an-Easain' is stated to have been composed by John MacKay (1666-1754) [MacKenzie 1841: 95], It is more commonly known by his Gaelic title 'Am Pìobaire Dall' (The blind piper). There is no melodic relationship between this pibroch and the one called 'Corrienessan's Salute.' The Salute, however, may have been composed by the blind harper, John Roderick Morison (1656-1714). As Matheson (1970: 157) has already shown, it is a variant of Lament for the Harp Tree. Matheson suggested in conversation with the writer that the two blind musicians and poets knew each other and may have been at the same hunting party which occasioned the performance of The Lament for the Harp Tree and which subsequently became mistakenly known in variant form as Corrienessan's Salute. The Lament for Corrienessan may therefore represent a *tour de force* by the blind piper Iain Dall[3].

Archie Kenneth(1989) suggests a melodic connection between Dàn Dheirg or Dargo which appears in Patrick MacDonald (1784: 18) and Corrienessan's Lament. The relationship is quite difficult to detect, however, because the form of the song is different and the melodic lines and their respective rhythms are quite different. All this evidence still does not nullify the relationship (eg. cf. CS 1 and 2) and Kenneth points out that a variant form in J. F. Campbell (Vol 3: 61) has the same melody as the variation of the pibroch. These associations once again raise questions on how 'new' melodies are created in an oral tradition. Although the rhythm in the variation is very different to the song, a common melodic line does exist. The rhythm of the song Coire an Easa has characteristics of duple time whereas the *dàn* in MacDonald's (1784)

---

3 Whyte (1911: 180) states in the historical notes to Glen's pibroch collection that *Am Piobaire Dall's* poem Coire'n Easain was adapted to the Salute to Corrienessan composed by Ruairidh Dall, Iain's father. The PS Series (Book 8: 224) states that the identification of Ruairidh Dall as the composer can only be a conjecture. It is more likely that, as Matheson suggests (1970: 157), the tune Lament for the Harp Tree was a favourite of the *Ruairidh Dall* and that he played it at Corrienessan, after which event the titles were mixed up PS (Book 8: 224) discusses the appearance of a title 'corines' in Angus MacKay's handwriting which was subsequently interfered with by an unknown writer. The title may therefore have been suspect.

has triple time. The variation can more easily be associated with the J. F. Campbell version because of its crotchet or double quaver beats with a duple time effect. One has to beware, however, of comparing a pibroch variation, rather than an *ùrlar,* with other melodies which have words, as this comparison might give a false impression of rhythmic characteristics which only existed in an instrumental variation.

When the notation and rhythm of the song, is different to that of the pibroch version, as in Cumha Choire an Easa, one is faced with a decision regarding the style of performance to adopt. For example, does one play the song version on the pipes and apply the same rhythmic scheme to the rest of the *ùrlar?* One has to take into account the characteristic that, whatever the song version(s) might tell us about the rhythm of the tune, it may not be possible to replicate the rhythmic scheme exactly because of the particular features of pibroch convention. But conventions such as echo beats themselves in their original performance style are most likely to have arisen from the rhythmic scheme of the Gaelic language. In this way, it should be possible to represent the rhythms on the pipes fairly closely. There are, of course, a number of areas which have developed in the instrumental tradition by becoming more technically advanced as it were. One example is the long three-note introductions on low A which became the more technically demanding birl already discussed. There are remnants of rhythms which were closer to the Gaelic language in a number of areas such as in the more clearly identifiable three beats in the pibroch taorluaths in contrast with the light music taorluaths. This probably explains the use of the term 'taorluath' in the variations of tunes which have the four-note motifs eg. GGGB and AAAC as frequently occur in the Gathering tunes.

If the pibroch player bears the rhythms of the song in mind, even within the apparent constraints of pibroch convention, which have, to some extent, created a hiatus between the two idioms, the following notation is a suggested style of performing this tune.

See Ex. 5 overleaf.

Ex.5

There are no cadences because the rhythm implied makes the use of this kind of ornamentation too restrictive. The echo beats have to be played much faster than they are at the present day. What is noticable is that the notation has changed little from the JMcC version shown earlier. The implication of this is that the main problem lies not so much with the details of notation as in the manner of its interpretation.

CONCLUSION.

This pibroch is a good example of one which was influenced not only by the four-stress song tradition known as *amhran* but also by the syllabic poetic tradition. In the process of adapting a song to the pibroch tradition, some notes were added and motifs of two pulses on one beat were, initially, made into a pibroch convention of three pulses on one stress - equivalent to Joseph MacDonald's 'crahinin'. Despite the changes which appear to have occurred with the adaptation to pibroch conventions, the tune can still be played in a style which identifies it more clearly with the rhythms of the song and the tradition from which it came.

CASE STUDY 8

ISEABAIL NICAOIDH

(ISABEL MACKAY)

SOURCES

PIPE

Campbell Canntaireachd. [CC]	c1815.	Vol. 2 no. 31
'Clann donail Raoich'		
Donald MacDonald Ms. [DMcD] p254.	c1806-26	no.37
'Battle of Maolroy'.[1]		

---

1 There is another tune in A.MacArthur's Ms. (no.8) which was later called the Battle of Mulroy. The title 'The Battle of Red Hill' has been written in ink above the music score and this handwriting looks like Dr. Bannatyne's. The tune also appears in A.McKay's Ms. Vol 1. without a title,as his source is MacArthur. However, MacKay has the following words underneath the music:
'Fhir a bhreacain duibh, chaidh an diugh oirnne,
Chaidh an diugh 's an dé le clann Dòmhnaill.'
(Men of the black plaids, the day went against us/ today and yesterday went with clan Donald.) which links them to a battle theme. The words are difficult to match with the notation,though,without taking a great amount of freedom in singing them.
Thomason's Ceòl Mór (1900) has a title which similarly suggests an older song text relating it to battle called 'A mhuinntir a chail chaoil thugadh am bruthach oirbh.' (Those of the meagre kale/cabbage that took to the hills) The associations made in poetry and song with kale or cabbage were derogatory in the Gaelic Scotland of the sixteenth century at least.
Another title is 'Thug Clann Dòmhnuill am bruthach orr'. PT. (May 1968) has an article which states that by tradition, it was composed by Dòmhnall Mór Mac a Ghlasraich on the battlefield to celebrate the victory of the Keppoch MacDonalds over the MacIntoshes in 1688. This was the last clan battle fought in the Highlands. It took place in Keppoch between the MacDonalds and the MacIntoshes immediately before the revolution of 1688 and the MacIntoshes were 'vanquished.'(Gregory 1881: 415) The 'muinntir a chail chaoil' was an epithet on the MacIntoshes. It seems from the titles that both sides claimed some honour.
Another source (CMg. vol VI: 89) associates some of the above Gaelic poetry with another battle, Blàrleine in 1544. It states that a pibroch was composed to it with the lines:-

Variant Tune

Pìobaireachd Society Series. [PS.]	1925	Book 1.

'Prince's Salute'

SONG

Urquhart Ms.	1820

Audio Recording

JCM Campbell, Kintail. [JCM]	Scottish Tradition Series 8

'Iseabail NicAoidh'

OTHER MUSIC SOURCES.

Daniel Dow	1776	p. 40

Isobail Ni Caoidh - The Stewart's March

'Fhriselich a chàil chaoil (Three times),
Thugaibh am bruthach oirbh.

plus two more stanzas:-

'Chloinn Dòmhnaill an fhraoich (three times)
Cuiribh na' siubhal iad.

Luaidhe chruinn ghorm (three times)
'S fùdar 'air siubhal ri.'

Although Blàr Léine was between the Clanranald MacDonalds and the Frasers with the latter sufering heavy losses (Gregory 1881: 162) the association of the additional lines with the same event is flawed. This date is too early for the existence of firearms on the Highland battlefield, which did not appear till the Battle of Killiecrankie over a hundred years later. It is just as likely then that the words are mixed up with different occasions. The poetry does however go some way to explaining the CC title 'Clan Donail Raoich' for Iseabail NicAoidh and 'muinntir a chàil chaoil', although one cannot be sure that Frasers were meant See also Carmichael Watson Ms. for a version of Battle of Mulroy beginning :'Thàinig sgeul o'n armailt (8 lines per verse and three stresses/line)

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND.

The song Iseabail NicAoidh is recognised as of the best known of all the songs which are associated with pibroch. However, the melody to which the song is sung is historically associated with a pibroch called The Prince's Salute. Robert, or Rob Donn, MacKay was the author of the song words which, as the titles above suggest, was based on a much older tune than the period in which the poetry was writen - in the mid 1700's but probably pre.1747[2]

The deliberate imitation of pibroch rhythm and form as an identifiable genre in the song/poetic tradition was not new to Gaelic culture because there were songs closely associated with the pibroch tradition in existence probably one hundred years earlier such as Cholla mo Rùn (Piper's Warning) (CS 5) and Fuaim na Tuinne ri Dùntreòin (The sound of the waves against Duntroon) The composition of Gaelic song on a higher Gaelic register than these[3] two just mentioned does not seem to have occured, until Alexander MacDonald set his poetry to extant pibrochs, basing his poems on their melodies and imitating the different rhythmic schemes which are represented by the ùrlar, siubhal and crunluath. Rob Donn was probably influenced by MacDonald's seemingly innovative form which created a new poetic genre, later used by Duncan Bàn MacIntyre and others. (See CS 9) Buisman (1995) points out that although Rob Donn may have known the form by 1746, MacDonald was regarded as the person who started the literary form of 'pibroch poems'.

Isabel MacKay was not the only poem Rob Donn wrote which was based on pibroch. He is said to have composed 'at least two pibroch-poems' (MacLeod 1971: 19) One of these is probably Thogaireadh bean Aoith (The desire of the MacKay woman) (Gilles 1789) which in Urquhart (1820) is called 'Port Mearsaidh eile le Rob Donn' (Another marching tune by Rob Donn) At a later date (MacFarlane/Gunn 1900) called this 'Pibroch of

---

2 See Grimble p.31.

3 The frequent inversions of words ,which occur in the lines and the use of consonants to imitate the pipe fingering is, however, clever, and it seems to have been a test of memory to be able to reproduce the sequences in the predetermined order. For example, part of the '*siubhal sleamhuinn*' runs as follows: 'Sin iad thugad, so iad agad, bidh iad agad a Dhùntròin; so iad agad, sin iad thugad, tha iad thugad a Dhùntròin. Tha iad agad sin iad thugad...'

Aodh's Wife'. MacDonald published at least four songs which were modelled on pibroch in his 1751 edition. (See CS 9)

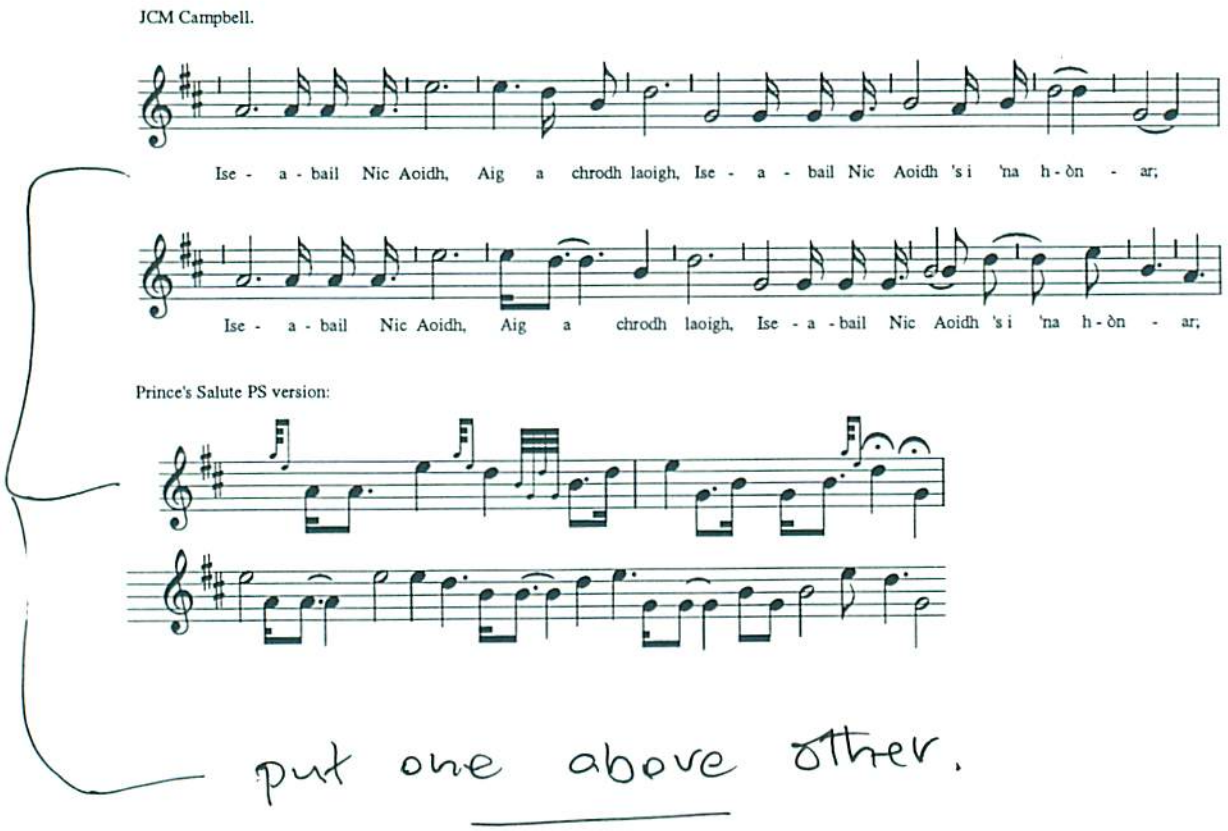
DESCRIPTION

This is a standard eight phrase tune. The first two phrases are repeated and the rest of the *ùrlar* consists of a development of this, merely by moving up one note in the phrases. It finishes by repeating the first phrase once again which is followed by a different concluding phrase, in a reworking of the more prominent notes of earlier phrases. The song versions which will be considered can be identified in the first two phrases of the tune.

Firstly, the song version 'Iseabail NicAoidh', which is heard today and the pibroch with which it is traditionally associated will be considered.

The song version as sung by JCM is shown in Ex. 1 below which is the present day piper's notation of The Prince's Salute. Underneath this is the PS notation below which is the actual notes values that one would be most likely to hear played today.

Ex.1.



One can see the common melodic features when comparing the song and pibroch score . The first two stresses show the song beginning on the low A which coincides with the pibroch version's low A rather than the E as played today. The short Es which are notated in the PS version are exaggerated in actual performance, but this seems to be a common feature of modern style which has, unfortunately, become fairly generally accepted. The JCM version has an operatic style with great accentuation on the the stressed vowels eg., the *I* of *Iseabail* and the the *o* of *Aoidh*, which are prominent especially at the beginning of phrases and at the end of subphrases. A strong rhythmic contrast is set up in the phrases and sub-phrases due to the greater differences between the longest and the shortest notes of the song compared to what would normally be heard in more traditional singing.

It is probably a coincidence that it has a very similar melodic shape to Cholla mo Rùn, which is a very different type of pibroch. It demonstrates, however, how changes in function, tempo and rhythm, can well disguise a tune from another.

The important feature to observe is that the PS version of Isabel MacKay also has a similar melodic shape as The Prince's Salute and is shown in Ex.2. By removing the cadences a song version can be created by overlaying the words on the pibroch melody line to produce a version which is shown transcribed underneath the pibroch version.

Ex. 2

When one compares JCM's version with the Prince's Salute and then the song version which has been 'recreated' as it were, and identified with its pibroch Isabel MacKay, this version is no less closer, melodically or rhythmically, to its pibroch than the same words are to the more commonly associated tune The Prince's Salute. The pibroch Isabel MacKay could therefore be regarded as a variant of Prince's Salute ~~It is possibly much older than~~ Prince's Salute because it appears under a range of different titles related to events which pre-date the eighteenth century one commemorated by the Prince's Salute.

The rhythm of the song words are fairly constant if sung in a traditional style which places importance on speech rhythm. One does not get long accented notes followed by much shorter ones. Both pibrochs accommodate this rhythm with a little editing. When the same principles of editing are applied to each pibroch, Isabel MacKay seems more adaptable to the words than Prince's Salute.

Could it be the case that the song Isabel MacKay was once sung to a melody which formed the basis of the pibroch Isabel MacKay? Because the Prince's Salute was so melodically and rhythmically similar, the song may have been adapted to the new melody which was associated with Prince Charles. At a later date, the Urquhart Ms. (1820) has the somewhat romantic story that Isabel MacKay represented Prince Charles when under hiding after the Battle of Culloden, as his own name dare not be mentioned. This seems to be an extension of the theme of Alexander MacDonald's waulking song Agus Ho Mhòraig in which Mòrag represented Charles. (MacKenzie 1840: 121, Tolmie 1911: 143)[4].

The situation is further complicated by the fact that the melody of Prince's Salute was used as a vehicle for the words of Isabel MacKay quite soon after it was written. Daniel Dow's (1776) version which is as follows

Ex.3 (overleaf)

4 Willam Gray in PT Aug 1973 mistakenly identifies MacDonald's Moladh Mòraig as the one which represents the Prince rather than MacDonald's waulking song.

Ex. 3

This example provides us with information on the style of playing which the fiddlers were picking up from contemporary pipers. (See Johnson 1984 Ch.V) As one can see from the score, the ornamentation is short. In the second line (phrase four) the cadence appears to be represented by a G gracenote and a slightly longer E. This longer E was recorded by Elizabeth Ross representing the pibroch style of John MacKay of Raasay, and it also appears in one tune in DMcD's book. The most important point, however, is that it is never anywhere as long as one finds in the style played by pibroch players today.

Other notable features are the identification of phrases in the form of rests over the penultimate note and a wider range of rhythms even when the same melodic figure appears more than once. Each can be played in a different rhythmic manner for contrast. This is the style of performance which one would also hear from a good traditional singer, who could vary the word stresses with the music to give a range of rhythmic subtleties within the song.

There is another song by Rob Donn, Thogaireadh Bean Aoidh (Gillies 1786), which has a similar rhythm to Isabel MacKay and which has been associated with the pibroch idiom. This association first appears in the 1829 edition of Rob Donn's songs as Pìobaireachd Bean Aoidh. Buisman (1985) however, suggests that this is a corruption of *Thogaireadh.* This is supported by the ~~observation~~ that Gillies has the title 'Thogaireachd Bean Aoidh' in his index.

CONCLUSIONS.

The pibroch named Isabel MacKay which has hitherto been considered a melody different from and unrelated to the pibroch melody The Prince's Salute to which the song Isebail NicAoidh is sung, was shown to be melodically closely related. This observation was made possible by removing the E cadences and changing the rhythm of the echo beats to what the writer considers them to have been in the eighteenth century. The closely related melody was then shown to have similar rhythmic characteristics. This close relationship may partly explain the possible transfer of a poem from one melody in the form of the pibroch Ishbel MacKay to a similar melody, called The Prince's Salute with which it subsequently became associated.

CASE STUDY 9

MOLADH MORAIG

(IN PRAISE OF MORAG)

SOURCES

PIPE

Campbell Canntaireachd. [CC]	c1815	Vol.1. no. 82.
'Moraig'		
Donald MacDonald Ms. [DMcD]	c1806-26	no.42. p. 59.
'Praise of Marion.'		
Angus MacKay Ms.Vol 2 [AMcK]	1826-1840	no. 4 p. 8.
'Guileagag Mòrag. The Praise for Marion.'		
Piobaireachd Society Series [PS]	1925.	Book 1.p. 22.

Audio Recordings.

Pibroch

Robert Reid. Privately held.

Song

Audio recording.

Wm. Matheson. SA/1954/53

DESCRIPTION.

This could be considered as a sixteen phrase pibroch, according to the CC source if one considers a phrase as consisting of four melodic stresses per phrase where the melodic stresses correspond with the poetic stresses. In DMcD however, after the ninth phrase this method of phrase identification is problematic because each phrase is 'open'. DMcD has bars

which follow with three stresses per phrase but which still fit into the mathematical requirements of common time. One might therefore be able to consider DMcD as a twelve phrase setting with an extended last phrase. The CC setting was adopted by AMcK who notated it in 3/4 in contrast with DMcD. The AMcK setting and rhythmic scheme was later adopted as the standard setting by the PS. In the PS notation, there are three equal-value themal notes throughout in 3/4 with two bars to a phrase and in DMcD one phrase is represented within one bar of music. The melodic phrases in the pibroch can therefore be identified by comparing them with the poetic stresses of the song, that is, where four song stresses exist within the melodic phrase.

The melodic range is limited to the lower notes of the pipes throughout most of the tune and does not rise to the upper part of the scale until the twelfth phrase. The first twelve phrases can therefore be regarded as reworkings of the first four phrases, using a double tonic effect to a great extent throughout.

ANALYSIS

The DMcD version is set out below with my notated version of the WM version of the song. From this the melodic relationship between the two versions becomes evident.

Ex.1

The salient notational features of the PS version are shown in Ex. 2 along with my notation of RR's performance.

Ex. 2

As one can see from the comparison made between RR and the PS notation on which the mainstream pibroch playing is presumed to be based, the note value differences between the reality of actual performance and the recommended style are great.

Although the PS setting is in 3/4 time, each bar has two rather than three stresses giving four per phrase. The number of stresses per phrase therefore, has probably not changed since the pibroch was first played. The rhythm and tempo would seem to have changed however. When one looks at the RR performance one can see that the Es are greatly extended at the expense of the rhythmic and melodic scansion of the phrase. Although the Es do not receive a melodic stress, the time allocated to them distorts the rhythmic pulse of the tune setting its rhythm apart from the rhythmic scansion of the song. This hiatus provides another good example of a pibroch which has changed its rhythm to create a quite different melodic and rhythmic scheme from the melody on which it was probably based. This development, which involves a change of rhythm and slowing of tempo, to the extent that the rhythm and points of stress become difficult to identify, is typical of what occurs in the creation of what is recognised as Art music.

The melodic relationship between the DMcD pibroch version and the song is more evident in some places than in others, especially at phrase ends eg. down to the low A at the end of the first and the similar BA low G melodic motif at the end of the second phrase. The song, like the pibroch, has a limited melodic range.

There seems to be little doubt that the Gaelic poet Alasdair MacMhaighstir Alasdair (Alexander MacDonald), composed his poem based on a recognised pibroch and imitated the structure of pibroch to some degree. (see Thomson 1974: 169) Although the rhythmic relationship with pibroch is usually not commented on, the implications are obvious. The rhythmic imitations of pibroch movements *siubhal* and *crunluath* are continued throughout the song, to the same song melody considered here.

The rhythm of the words of the poem imparts sufficient information on what the rhythmic style of the pibroch might have been. The poet was unlikely to have based his poem on a piece of music which had no rhythmic affinity with his language. One would find it difficult to adapt the present day style of the tune to a rhythmic style which suited the bard's poetry unless one was fully conscious of the processes which took place to change the melodies into what they are now. It is unlikely that musicians added long Es and slowed down their pibroch, fully aware of what they were doing, in order to change it into a 'classical' style. Nor is it likely that MacMhaighstir Alasdair was an adept musician who set out to identify a more robust style in one which was accepted in the society of his day. For instance, many of his songs are difficult to sing because of the high concentration of consonants throughout his poetry. It is unlikely, therefore, that he would have been able to adapt the tune Moladh Moraig to accommodate his words if the rhythm was not already extant in the pibroch tradition of his time to which he was attracted.

One question which arises at this stage concerns the existence and title of the pibroch to which MacMhaighstir Alasdair put the words of the song. Was it called 'The Royal Oak that saved Prince Charles', the title which appears in Gesto (1828)? Ross ((CMo vol 18: 28) states:

> 'Is e Padruig Mór a rinn am port grìnn mu'n chraoibh dharaich a chuir falach air Rìgh Tearlach aig Boxabel, an uair a bha saighdearan Chromwell air a thòir'.
>
> (Patrick Mor made this lovely tune about an oak tree which hid King Charles at Boxabel, when Cromwell's soldiers were pursuing him).

This alternative title probably existed in Skye and it could be that MacMhaighstir Alasdair used this particular tune because of its

political perspective.[1] As well as using another pibroch for his praise on MacCrimmon's pipes, (See CS 6) he set another of his poems, Marbhrann na h-Aigeannach, to an unamed pibroch also. (Matheson 1938: 324). The trend of writing poetry which attempted to imitate the pibroch rhythm and form was continued from the end of the eighteenth and throughout the nineteenth century with the majority of these poems appearing to adopt the Moladh Mòraig/Beinn Dòbhrain form and melody with similar rhythms.

The pibroch can easily be reinterpreted in the contemporary style of the song by applying the song rhythms to the pibroch version. The effect of playing the tune with the rhythm of the words in mind does not imply a change of stress positions. The tempo is faster though with less accent on the four notes DDCA of the first two bars, as one might hear in modern performance. The phrases become more clearly identifiable as a result as one moves through to the final A or low G.

Variant melody

As Thomson (1974: 187) and others have pointed out, the poet Donnchadh Bàn Mac an t-Saoir (Duncan MacIntyre) may have been strongly influenced by the metre and form of Moladh Mòraig in his Moladh Beinn Dòbhrain (Praise of Ben Dorain) The evidence is stronger when one observes that the melodies are closely related. Matheson starts on a low A instead of a D in Moladh Mòraig, which is very like the beginning of Beinn Dòbhrain. Note that, once again, there are no cadences in the song version and this suggests that the pibroch cadences here are a convention of piping which do not form part of the melody line of the tune. In Ex. 3 below is the first phrase of each song which shows the close melodic relationship between them.

Ex. 3

1 Charles II was a grand uncle of Charles Edward Stewart.

There is also a close rhythmic relationship which one could show by notating both in the same manner. The difference in singing styles is more subtle than the transcriptions suggest. One has to emphasise therefore that the notation is only a rough guide and could, to someone unfamiliar with the language rhythms, suggest they represented different rhythmic schemes. However, they merely represent two perceptions of the song in an attempt at notating the rhythm using standard musical formats. The first four phrases of Beinn Dòbhrain might be perceived as follows:

Ex. 4

The above is the writer's own approximate interpretation of a version of the song.

CONCLUSIONS.

The adaptation of the pibroch melody known today as Moladh Mòraig would seem to have started a trend for poets to use the pibroch idiom as a model for a new genre of poetry. This adaptation occured in the manner of imitation, to various extents, of melody, rhythm and form. Alasdair MacMhaighstir Alasdair's Moladh Mòraig was probably subsequently used, both metrically and rhythmically, as a model by Duncan MacIntyre in his Moladh Beinn Dòbhrain. The pibroch style played today differs substantially in tempo and rhythm from the song versions and is therefore highly unlikely to be representative of the style of the mid-eighteenth century.

CASE STUDY 10

CUMHA TIGHEARNA BHRAGHAID ALBAINN
(LORD BREADALBAN'S LAMENT)

SOURCES

PIPE

Campbell Canntaireachd [CC] c1815 Vol. 1. no. 73.

Lord Breadalban's March.

Donald MacDonald [DMcD] Ms. c1806-1826. p. 114

'Lament for MacLean'(index: Lament for Lachlan Mor MacLean.)

Music of Clan MacLean. [McL] 1900.

'Lament for Sir Lachlan MacLean. Cumha Lachuinn Mhoir. Latha Sròn a'Chlachain.

Angus MacKay Ms. vol. 2. c1826-1840 p. 124 no. 39

'Cumha Mhorair Bhreadalbain Lord Breadalbane's Lament.'

Pìobaireachd Society Series [PS] 1970 Bk. 12: 368

'Cumha Tighearna Bhragaid Albainn(sic)[1] Lament for Lord Breadalbane'

---

[1] This Gaelic title, (which should be Bhràghaid Albainn) would seem to be a twentieth century translation of the English title as in the Campbell Canntaireachd. These translations are often deceptive as they suggest that the tunes were recognised by these titles in Gaelic society. The implication might be that they have more credibility and respectability than is merited. It was clearly a lament in the song tradition which some of the other pibroch titles bear out. The tune is based on Angus MacKay's setting but without themal Es, which MacKay had. These Es for the most part have been replaced by cadences in the PS series. There are notes on alternative sources but the CC version does not seem to have been one of those considered.

Song text with Music

Killin Collection [K] 1884 no. 21 p. 54

'Cumha Aonghais Mhic Raoghnuill Oig.'[2] (Keppoch's Lament)

Song text only

Orain Iain Luim [OIL] A.MacKenzie.(ed) 1964. p. 10.

'Cumha Aonghais Mhic Raoghnuill Oig na Ceapaich.'

Description and variant settings.

This is a tune which has a tonic on the low A and an exposition around the notes ACE using the supertonic as a means to develop into an eight phrase piece. In all the sources, the number of phrases identified is dependent on regarding the *hiharin* figures at the end of the tune as a musical phrase. Their number varies between collectors. The CC version has two-*hiharin* figures throughout the *ùrlar* and a coda of four *hiharins* at the end of the ùrlar[3] with each vocable taking a melodic stress. In

---

2 There is further information underneath the title which helps to explain its other titles. It appears as follows:- 'Chaidh fear na Ceapach a marbhadh(sic) Latha Blar Sron-Clachan 'n uair thog clann Iain Ghlinne-Comhunn creach Bhraid-Albann. Translation: (The chief of Keppoch was killed at the Battle of Sron 'a Chlachain when the people of John of Glencoe cattle raided Breadalbane.) In the Killin coll. is the English title, Keppoch's Lament, followed by a summary in English: 'Lament for Angus MacDonald of Keppoch, who fell at the Battle of Stronclachan, in the Breadalbane Creach by MacIain of Glencoe.' In the fairly copious notes it states: 'The following Lament to his memory was composed by the celebrated bard, John MacDonald, better known as Iain Lom.'

3 DMcD only has double *hiharins* in the first phrase and ends on a double *hiharin* in the last bar. However, they appear throughout the CC *ùrlar* where it ends with four *hiharins*. McL does not have the end *hiharins* so that version consists of seven phrases. The sixth and seventh phrases of McK and PS are repeats of phrases A and B followed by the *hiharins*. Both DMcD and McL use the fourth phrase C rather than B to end the song melody, which for the comparison here excludes the final *hiharins*. The suggestion from the music is that the *hiharins* are separate motifs which have become conventional on the pipes but which possibly have an older provenance in Gaelic words or exclamations at the funeral ritual such as ochone, ochone. The majority of Laments in pibroch have this motif, most often at the end of the tune. The implication of this is that it might be useful to reconsider pibroch form or metre without the hiharin endings.. The problem however lies in knowing which of them had exclamations

DMcD, however, they are edited to two *hiharins* at the end of the tune and where they appear earlier in the *ùrlar*, they have been reduced to one, apart from at the beginning, where they correspond with the song form. AMcK has retained the four *hiharins* at the end of the tune as in the CC, but has reduced all the earlier ones to one. This setting was copied by the PS series, despite AMcK being at odds with all the earlier sources. The McL setting also agrees with AMcK but in the penultimate phrase (hiodro hinodro hiodindro hiodin" - see below) departs from AMcK in line with CC and DMcD but then finishes the tune without the *hiharin* coda. This gives a version with an unusual seven-phrase *ùrlar*.

In all the pibroch settings, the first four phrases are in the ABAC form where the fourth [C] moves up a note as a 'bridge' allowing the tune to develop. In the CC this looks as follows. The numbers beside the vocables are how the CC refers to lines of music. The commas have been inserted by myself to show the phrase ends.

1.	Hindro cherede cheodro hiharin hiharin"	A
	hiodro cherede cheodro hiodin"	B
2.	Hindro cherede cheodro hiharin hiharin"	A
	hiodro hinodro hiodindro hihorodo hihorodo"	C
	hiodro cherede cheodro hiodin."	B
3	Hindro cherede cheodro hiharin hiharin"	A
	hiodro hinodro hiodindro hiodin"	B
	hiharin hiharin hiharin hiharin"	Coda.

Phrases are clearly identifiable in all the sources except for DMcD, which will shortly become clear. As pointed out above, the CC has preserved the double *hiharins* which are more easily recognisable as representing the ends of phrases in melodic rather than metric features. But these CC phrases are not being identified in the usual way from the notated score where two bars of music are in most cases equivalent to one phrase of music. The problem of phrase identification in this manner is exacerbated because DMcD retained the repetitive *hiharins* with the result that the phrase endings now appear in the middle of a succeeding bar of music. The reason he retained them at the beginning of the tune may have been

---

rather than song text. For example, A Cholla mo rùn has the words 'tha mise 'n làimh, tha mise 'n làimh' and is an integral part of the song.

because the pibroch remains closer to its song form in this format. Subsequent collectors edited them out, probably because it allowed the phrases to be more identifiable in a standardised form with each phrase corresponding to two bars of music. It is necessary to look at the song version before one can understand why this problem of notation has arisen.

The Song version

The problem of phrase identification according to bars of music is further complicated in DMcD's notation because the song is not in the *amhran* form with its usual four stresses per phrase but is in what is sometimes identified as strophic metre. This means that the phrases proceed in the order of two, two and three stresses per phrase in a three-lined format.

The song appears in three lined stanzas in OIL with six different melodic phrases. The first two stanzas are as follows:

1. Rìgh gur mór mo chuid mulaid,
Ged as fheudar dhomh fhulang,
Ge bè dh'éisdeadh ri m'uireasbhaidh àireamh.

(O Lord, heavy indeed is my sorrow/though bear it I must/who so should listen to the tale of my losses [would admit it])

2. On a chaill mi na gadhair,
Is an t-eug 'gan sìor thadhal,
'S beag mo thoirt gar an tadhail mi'm Bràighe.

(Since I have lost the hounds/whom death is constantly seeking out/it matters little to me if I do not visit Brae Lochaber)
[Trans. MacKenzie OIL]

The song is performed as follows.[4] The first two three lined stanzas are sung to six different melodic phrases. The song then proceeds from the second stanza, sung from the beginning of the melody and continues throughout in the same way. This procedure can be shown by numbers where each number refers to a stanza in the order 1,2.; 2,3; 3, 4; etc. This means that after the first stanza is sung, each three-lined stanza is repeated

---

4 Based on examples of similar song forms and from discussion with Rev. Wm.Matheson.

twice, each one being accommodated to the first and second half of the six-phrase melody in turn.

The pibroch in the song

The first phrase of the pibroch melody can be identified in only the first two lines of the first stanza. The pibroch setting therefore represents a reworking and repetition of these founding phrases to give the eight phrase form.

As can be seen from the following notated example, there are only three melodic phrases in the *ùrlar*, excluding the coda at the end. The bottom of this example shows phrase C* showing the position of bars as they appear in DMcD.

Ex. 1

Another hand may have been responsible for placing the bars in other places so that the tune reads in 2/4 time. The position of bar lines are very misleading as a guide to the phrasing of the tune. As in other case studies, however, the guide to melodic phrasing can be obtained from the poetic stresses which in this case are 2, 2, 3 in each stanza. The subsequent phrases to the ones which match the song's can be identified by extrapolation.

Although there are no sound recordings of this song available, it appears in K with words and music. It has been chorally arranged there with piano accompaniment. What is unusual is that the melody of the pibroch is only recognisable in the tenor score of the song which represents a harmony to the song melody found in the soprano. (See Ex. 2) It would be expected that the melody in song would be the one which the pibroch player would take on[5] rather than what appears as a harmony. Despite

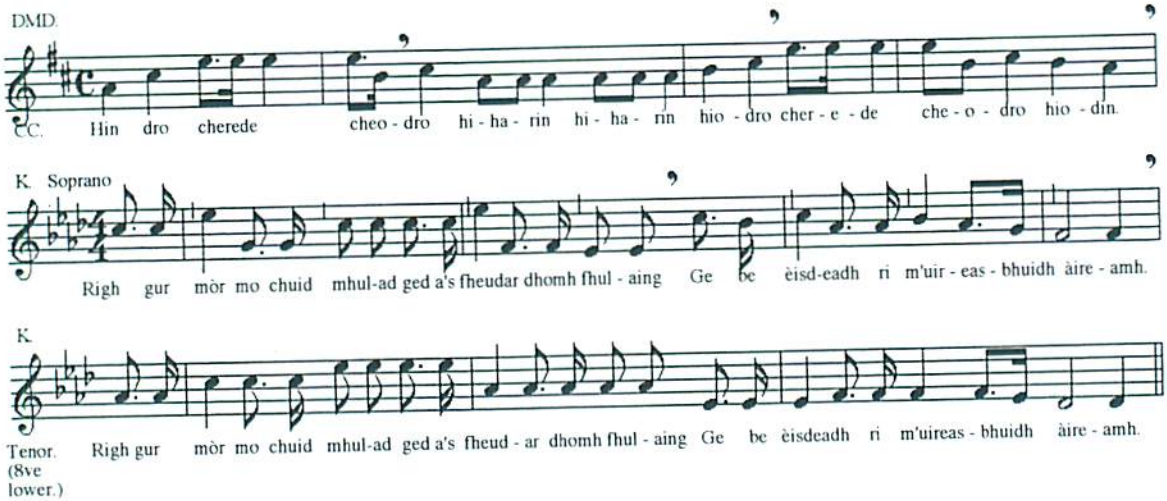
---

5 With reference to the other songs in the Killin Collection, all melodies are found in soprano with the tenor as accompaniment. It may be assumed

this intriguing situation there is, nevertheless, no doubt as to the shared melodic and rhythmic features in song and pibroch, in addition to the title(s) alone.

In Ex. 2, the melodic line of DMcD's version is shown with the CC version underneath. The *hi* of the vocable *hiharin* has been inserted underneath the note rather than before it as if it were a cadence. The reason is because it is a rhythmic representation which, although possibly technically shortened into a birl in CC (see Intro) was at an earlier period was represented by three notes giving a three-pulse rhythm.[6] Below this is the melodic line of the song in soprano. The K version of the song in soprano is underneath this. The tenor part, where one can identify the melodic link with the song melody, is also shown. The key signature has been left in A♭ because it represents the same scale for the pipes.

Ex. 2.



One can see where the phrases of the song end in the melodies; the position is identifiable at the end of the poetic phrase, eg. these positions

---

then, that the editor did not meddle with the melodic line of the song as he saw fit. Although this still does not explain the pibroch's closer relationship with the tenor rather than the soprano, it is interesting to speculate on the manner in which variant forms of a song melody are created. In this case, the tenor starts off and finishes on the tonic doh whereas the song melody starts on the mediant mi and finishes on the submediant lah. It may be that there is a tendency or a predisposition to certain notes when a tune in the oral tradition creates another by way of variation. Could it be that the pibroch was composed from a variant of this song which happened to be harmonically related to another version?

6 See Compleat Theory (Ed. 1994) for Joseph MacDonald's examples.

are at *mhulad, fhulang* and *àireamh.* (These are shown by commas.) As in so many Gaelic songs, the first stress does not occur on the first syllable but, as in this case, on the third syllable of the song. This means that the words *'Rìgh gur'* occur on an anacrusis. The beginning of the next phrase is at *'ged a's'* with the melodic and poetic stress occuring at *fheudar* in the next bar.

If DMcD knew the song or a variant of it, then one can understand why he would retain the second *hiharin* at *fhulang* because, without it, the phrase would seem incomplete. However, one can only speculate on this point because he left out the subsequent double *hiharins* in the *ùrlar.* The most important point of the pibroch/song identification is that which allows one to become familiar with the rhythmic scansion of the tune and in order to do this, identifying the rhythm of the first stanza alone is sufficient.

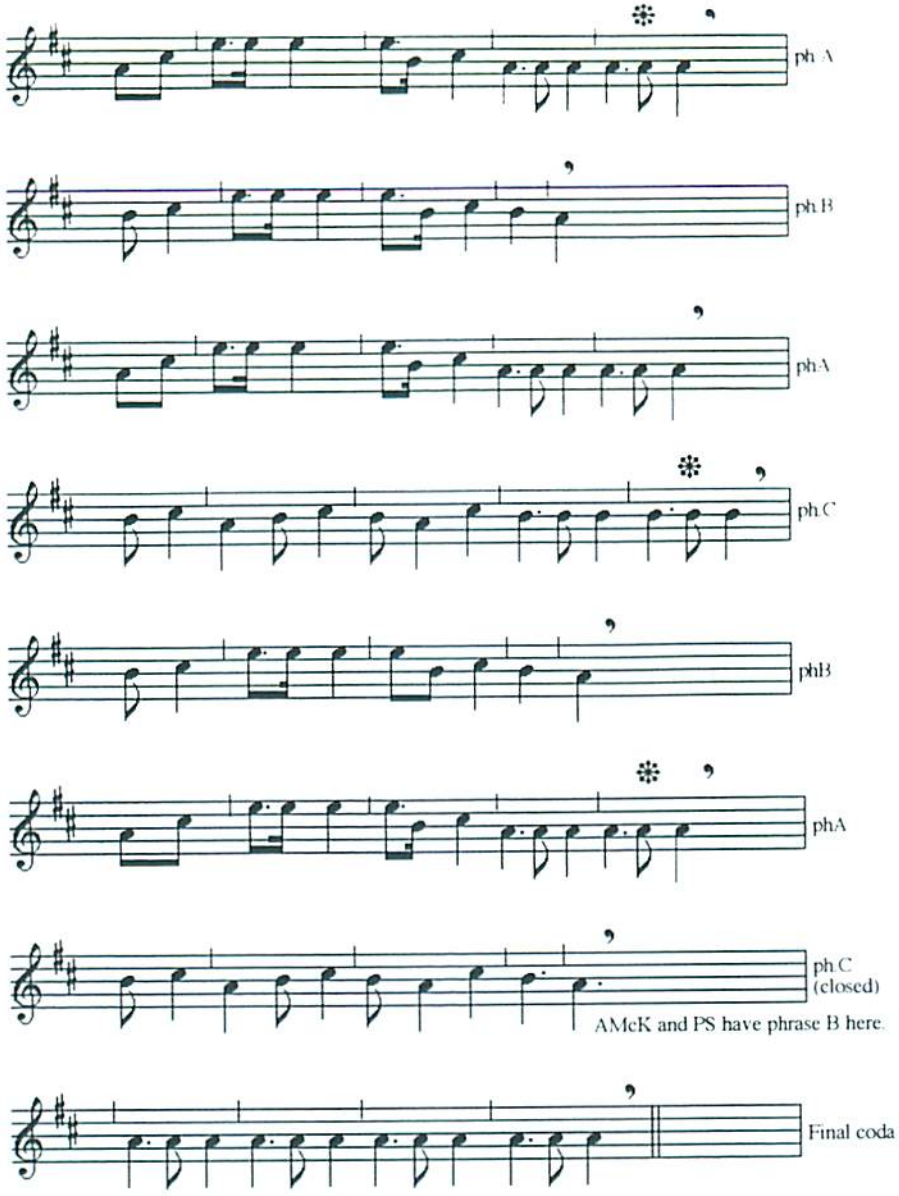
The words of the first stanza of the song have been overlaid on an amended pibroch notation, in Ex. 3 below, based on the CC and DMcD's notation. The interpretation of the notation is closer to the rhythm of the song words than to what one would expect to hear from a modern day piper interpreting a DMcD score.[7]

The stress positions in the song identify where the stresses should occur in the pibroch although one has to apply some interpretive freedom with the note lengths of the pibroch to do this. When this is applied the common rhythmic features becomes more obvious. The words of the song can now be sung to the pibroch melody which, as it is related harmonically, can be regarded as a melodic variant of the one which appears in K.

Ex. 3 [overleaf]

---

7 There are now piping competitions held in Scotland (Armadale, Skye) where pipers are expected to interpret Donald MacDonald scores of pibroch. The problem with this is that the same rhythmic parameters are adopted and assumptions made on the style of playing which existed in the time of Donald MacDonald such that the performance style is very similar to what might be heard in the mainstream pibroch competitions held throughout the year.



❊ The points marked with a large asterisk, show where the post-AMcK collectors only had one of these motifs. DMcD only retains two hihorodo figures and two hiharins at the first phrase A.

The cadences have not been shown in the examples because they are not relevant to the song/pibroch relationship. For the pibroch performance to be understood in the rhythmic context of the Gaelic tradition from which it arose, these cadences would require to be played very short, in a fairly literal manner. There seems to be too many cadences if one assumes that the tune be played in a tempo which would make the song version effective. Clearly, playing the cadences, the echo beats and the *hiharins.* along modern lines of interpretation would be inappropriate.

If it is assumed that the pibroch was based on a melodic variant of the one in K, given the close coincidence of notes and syllables, there are areas which show how the conventions of pibroch were so much closer to the song rhythms than the modern style. For example, the echo beats, with their dotted first E and short gracings separating the following E/s

represent stressed words of the song. In the succession of stanzas this occurs at *mór, chaill, bochd, gèadh chraobh* . Similarly, the dotted E of the second bar represents the second stress at *mulaid, gadhair, daoine, spìonadh, rùsgadh* . The two *hiharins* fall short in rhythmic value in comparison to the words at *fheudar dhomh fhulang* and *t-eug 'gan sìor thadhal* in the second line. This is because in pibroch they have become conventional in nature so that a double strike would be played only on low A at *fhulang* rather than three low As to properly represent the words. This point is verging on the pedantic, however, and ignores the fact that the pibroch merely represents an instrumental setting of a melody which has been adapted because of the existence of particular instrumental conventions.

The K song version is notated in measured time and therefore takes little account of the rhythmically variable behaviour of language in music. However, the transcription is a fairly good rhythmic representation despite the restrictions of measured time. What is important for a proper interpretation is that a Gaelic speaker can identify the rhythm of the song when the words are placed underneath the notes. Without these words, or a knowledge of the rhythms which underlie the measured time, the song might be interpreted in the same way as a person might interpret a pibroch score. In the pibroch tradition, one is often reminded by those who have had some 'traditional' oral tuition, that the notes are more useful as a melodic guide rather than as a rhythmic one. Unfortunately, in the pibroch tradition, the rhythmic guide has been transmitted with deceptive and unsatisfactory musical scores to fall back on with no words to act as a rhythmic guide.

CONCLUSION

This case study has shown that phrase identification in pibroch can best be realised when compared to its Gaelic song version. When the words of the song or variant melody on which the pibroch has been based are known, the phrase structure is easier to identify and therefore the rhythmical and melodic procedure of the tune becomes more obvious. Some editing of pibroch texts has been undertaken during the course of transmission which has been founded on fairly subjective premises.

CASE STUDY 11

GABHAIDH SINNE RATHAD MOR

(WE WILL TAKE THE HIGH ROAD)

SOURCES

Pipe

Angus MacKay Ms. Vol 2 [AMcK]	1826-1840	p.19 (no. 9)

'Gabhaidh sinne Rathad Mòr. We will take the Highway.'

Song Text

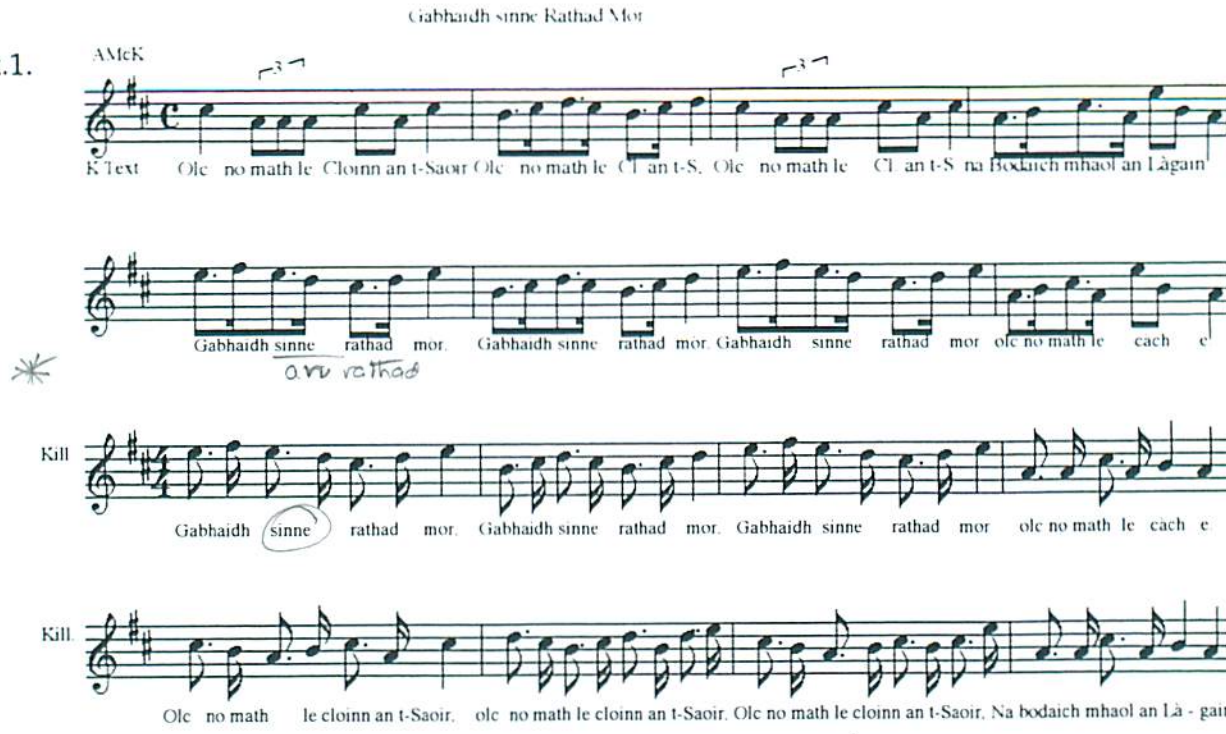
Killin Collection [KColl.]	1884	p. 40.
An Gàidheal [AnG]	1871	vol 1 p. 288-289

DESCRIPTION

This is a hexatonic tune with a question and answer phrasal arrangement. (See Ex 1). Identification of phrases, however, is ambiguous and the tune could either be regarded as a six phrase or a twelve phrase one. This observation is based on the only source of the tune, AMcK's Ms. version, where the whole of the first line of the tune is repeated. It can be regarded as a four-or eight-phrase tune depending on whether one treats each bar as a phrase, recognising eight phrases, or whether one regards each phrase as consisting of two bars, giving a four-phrase tune. Here it will be regarded as a standard eight-phrase tune because of the following reasons.

The melody, if not the song version, is very well known in Gaelic as well as in the Lowland musical tradition. With this knowledge, one recognises that the first line of the pibroch represents the verse quatrain of the song and the second line represents the refrain. This is not what the singer would expect; thus AMcK has placed the refrain and verse in the wrong order. In addition to this, he repeats the verse quatrain which is not a feature of the song. Therefore, if the pibroch phrasing is analysed in terms of the song form, the phrasal structure is clear. In this way, each bar of music represents a line of Gaelic song of four stresses per line. The whole pibroch melody, as with Bodaich nam Briogais, is the same as the song.

Ex.1.



The refrain and verse of the song have been placed underneath the pibroch setting with the refrain corresponding to the second line and the verse to the first.

These are as follows:

Refrain: Gabhaidh sinn an rathad mór(three times)
Olc no math le càch e.
(We will take the high road/Bad or good with the rest of them-ie. whatever the consequence)

First verse: Olc no math le cloinn an t-Saoir(three times)
Na bodaich mhaol an Làgain.
(Bad or good with Clan MacIntyre/or the auxiliaries)

The song matches the pibroch very closely. However, there are one or two areas which diverge slightly. The three lowA's at the beginning of the pibroch played to the one stress or beat are a little different to how one might hear it sung. The singer would sing it in the same rhythmic manner as appears in the Killin Coll. as follows in Ex.2:

Ex.3.

Several other pibrochs have a similar melodic and rhythmic motif in the final phrase of the tune on the notes ABCABA, as for instance Spaidsearachd Bharach (AMcA no7). Where these similar endings occur, the cadences have to be played short in order to retain the rhythm as in the song. The existence of common motifs amongst different tunes can therefore give us some guidance on the rhythm of certain pibrochs even without the existence of song words with which to compare.

CONCLUSION

The close similarity between the song and the pibroch version, in both melody and rhythm, is such that there is little reason to play the pibroch in any other fashion than what appears to be implied both by AMcK's text and the manner of the song performance. The small divergences between the song text and the pibroch one are ones which need to be adapted or changed when the pibroch performer is aware of the words of the song. The main difference for the modern pibroch player would seem to be that the tune be played at a brisk tempo and the cadences should be much shorter than in modern performance style. However, if the note values given in AMcK are applied, then the pibroch still retains the very rhythmical character of the song.

CASE STUDY 12

CUMHA NAM BRAITHREAN

(BROTHER'S LAMENT.)

SOURCES

Pibroch[1]

Angus MacArthur Ms.	c1820	no. 15

(Untitled.)

Angus MacKay Ms.Vol 1	1826-1840	no. 9.

'Cumha nam Brathairean: The Brothers' Lament. Blind Ronald MacDougall.'

Song Text.

Turner Ms.XIV[2]	c1750	page 51.

'Cumha na Mbrathar.'

---

[1] There are three different laments with this title. Angus MacKay implies below its title,that this was composed by blind Ronald MacDougall. However, if the song link is correct, this would imply MacDougall set the tune to an already existing, much older song. The pibroch seems to be mixed up with the Sister's Lament in the variations although the two tunes differ substantially in melody. W.Ross (1869: 42) has another setting ~~in that there are~~ 15 phrases in the tune; his fouth and fifth phrases being an addition to the MacArthur text. No reasons can be ascertained for the existence of this setting especially ~~when~~ as it does not represent a more standard 16-phrase version. It also appears in Thomason's Ceol Mor (p.220.) The second, different melody called Brother's Lament (2) is in CC (Vol 2 no. 41) and has been published in PS Book 13. The third Brother's Lament (3) is in John Smith's Ms. p.123. (Owned by Piobaireachd Society.)

[2] This is in NLS Adv. 73. 2. 2. (Gaelic Ms. CXXI) and ~~consists of a collection of~~ is the poems of William MacMurchy's ~~collection of poems/songs~~. The Ms. was obtained by a Peter Turner and in 1808 this Ms. was given to John Campbell of the Highland Society of Scotland. [Information from List of Gaelic Mss. Vol 2 compiled by R. Black, North Reading Room NLS] It also appears in Cameron's Reliquiae Celticae. (1892-1894, Vol 2: 333.) ed. MacBain and Kennedy, Inverness, The whole contents of the William MacMurchy's Ms. are printed there (310+).

Music Source.

Angus Fraser Ms. c1855 no. 31.

'Cumha air a brathair le nighean òg'.

DESCRIPTION

This is a D tune which is unusual in form with thirteen phrases. The first four phrases can be identified with a song text which has a melodic form ABCD. The four phrases are repeated with a different melodic motif on the eighth phrase to allow the tune to develop. This development consists of a series of reworkings of previous melodic and rhythmic figures which constitutes the remaining five phrases of the tune.

ANALYSIS

The Song

A recorded sung version of the text is not available, so the following analysis identifies one poetic text of Brother's Lament with a pibroch version.

A reading of this song, in the absence of music suggests syllabic verse metre. The implications of this poetic feature for the music are that each syllable sets a musical stress This isorhythmic characteristic gives a strong sense of rhythm in the song, common in the performance of *dàn* or heroic ballad. The first quatrain is shown below, beside which are the notes of the pibroch which are considered to be appropriate to the words. This works out at one note per syllable.

Seisior Sinne saor ar sliochd, {DDDA BDE}
Seisior nach do smaoin an t olc {DFEB DEF}
Ta fear don tseisior gun teachd {BDFD EEE}
O leachd an Fhir chaoimh a nochd.{DXFE DDD}

(Six free people we are in our family/six that did not think badly/there is one of the six who has not arrived/tonight from the tomb of the meek one)

This is clearly a very old song. The archaic language and the use of alliteration with a set number of seven syllables per line throughout is evidence of this. The style of singing suggested by the syllabic metre of the poetry results in a tendency to give equal stressing to each syllable of language and not to a particular sequence of four vowels as in most of present day Gaelic song metre. Although there are four stresses per line in the quatrain above, this four-stressed feature is not so dominant because of the internal syllable rhythm which emphasises the syllabic metre of the poetry.

There are two settings of this song in AF Ms. It would appear that he made several attempts at notating this one because one setting is in 6/4 and the other is in 3/4. Alternatively, as the settings are metrically different, it could be that there two different song texts (of different metre) sung to the same melody.

The 3/4 setting in Ex. 1 has a three lined stanza, rather than the four lined stanzas considered here. The third line of the stanza, in the 3/4 setting, is longer than the preceding ones, giving a stanza of 4, 4, and 5 stresses. This is similar to bardic verse where one would normally have 2, 2 and 3 stresses. This is followed by a three lined refrain which was probably made up of vocables.

Ex. 1

AF notates the verse again but this time it implies a four lined stanza as in the 6/4 version.

AF's 6/4 version has been chosen for comparison because of its quatrain form, which is shown in Ex. 2 below. If the melodic stresses of the music are compared with the words, one can see that for every seven musical figures there is an equivalent syllable in Gaelic. The first poetic couplet therefore matches the music with seven syllables per line or alternatively four coincident stresses of poetry and music.

Ex. 2

The second musical couplet, however, suggests eight syllables, or alternatively, five musical stresses and therefore does not suit the poetry. The rhythmical features are similar, however, and one can see how the notation and word rhythm relate in Ex. 3. Some alterations have been made in order to make a proper match between words and music and one has to consider the pibroch settings in order to explain how these alterations have been made.

The tune first appears on the stave in AMcA's Ms. and each bar has cadences to the first note. Although these are short demisemiquavers, they are probably too numerous for the tune. Angus MacKay made each introduction into a full E, as was his wont, exacerbating the melodic and rhythmic restrictions of what should have been subtle effects of decoration. One can consult this source for his treatment of the tune. As MacKay's method of pibroch notation has been addressed in other case studies and as AMcA's cadences are irrelevant for the purpose of identifying the melody line of the original tune, only the themal notes of the AMcA version are shown in Ex. 3. below.

In view of the changes which have been discovered to have occurred in pibroch notation, by the addition of notes, (cf. Cumha Choire an Easa) my edited version of the pibroch is shown below the AMcA version. This has a rhythmic scansion which accommodates the words of the song and these can be seen matched with the music. The perceived points of stress are shown by the small bars.

Ex. 3 (overleaf)

Ex. 3

As one can see from Ex.3, two notes are taken out of the first phrase. Even without the words with which to compare, the first bar, in AMcA and subsequent pibroch sources, does not have the same rhythmic scheme as the second bar. It appears that notes have been added in the process of 'instrumentation'. The Ds are accented in the first bar, giving a completely different and inappropriate rhythmic effect in contrast with the more evenly distributed rhythmic scheme which follows. The first bar has therefore been represented in the rhythm which accords with the rest of the tune. One can see now how closely the words and music relate in the edited version of the pibroch.

The pibroch version of Brother's Lament differs from the song in the first instance by the addition of notes and in the second by the insertion of cadences. The removal of some of the notes as has been done in the example above is one way of bringing the tune back into the idiom from which it arose. It is still possible to apply pibroch conventions, similar to AMcA's style and at the same time preserve the important rhythmic character of the tune by the insertion of cadences played as demisemi or semiquaver runs in specific places. For example, one might choose to play the tune in a manner which approximates the following:

Ex. 4

CONCLUSION

The evidence suggests that this pibroch tune may have been adapted from a song which can be identified with a style of singing which was much more commonly heard, especially in the Gaelic society of the eighteenth century. It would seem that some notes may have been added by the pibroch players as a matter of convention and the addition of notes such as D's and E's, especially in AMcK's system, was a feature which was fairly common in the process of adapting songs from voice to instrument. It would seem that the introduction of notes onto the melody line not only happened as a result of taking the cadence ornamentations onto the melody line, but that some notes were simply drawn into the melody line as an accepted method of adaptation from the song tradition.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

It is clear that a number of pibrochs were at one time closely associated with the Gaelic song idiom. This relationship is evident to the extent that the same or similar melodic and rhythmic features are to be found in both pibroch and Gaelic song. In order to reach this conclusion, it was necessary to reinterpret the earliest pibroch sources by comparing some pibrochs with their song versions.

Those pibrochs with which song versions have been identified, are shown to have been more commonly based on the melodic and rhythmic features found in the first two to four phrases of a song. These phrases have then been 'reworked' to create, in most cases, eight pibroch phrases. In a small number of cases, such as Bodaich nam Briogais , Gabhaidh sinne Rathad Mór and possibly A Ghlas Mheur, the whole song is equivalent to the pibroch *ùrlar* or theme. That is, the ùrlar consists of the chorus and refrain of the song.

Although the research which is presented here concentrates on twelve case studies, the techniques which have been applied to the published sources in order to place the tunes back into the context of their traditional idiom can be applied to the whole pre-twentieth century pibroch repertoire. This research, therefore, provides an interpretative guide by which pibroch which has been transmitted into the twentieth century can be reassessed.

Gaelic scholarship of the twentieth century has drawn attention to a particular category of songs called 'pibroch songs' associated with the pibroch idiom. Many of these songs, frequently called 'orain beaga' or small songs, are found within the compass of the pipe scale and tend to be associated with the lullaby tradition. This thesis has shown, however, that pibrochs have been founded on a wide range of song types and rhythms such as the keening songs, heroic ballads or *dàn* , bardic verse and the more widespread *amhran* or song form. Pibroch has therefore drawn on all types of song sources in the Gaelic song tradition and vice versa and although not within the remit of this research, there is strong evidence to suggest that there was a similar interplay between the pipes and other

instrumental traditions. This is a line of research which should be pursued, especially with regard to the Irish musical tradition which appears to have rhythmic and melodic motifs similar to the pibroch tradition.

The shared characteristics of song and pibroch are shown to have been severed, to the extent that present day pibroch performance style has little in common with Scottish Gaelic culture except in tune titles alone. The original melodic line and rhythm of pibroch has altered perceptively. The changes can probably be identified in two processes. The first stage, which occured implicitly in the transfer of melody from voice to instrument was probably immediate and obvious. The second was clearly more gradual, occuring over the last two hundred and fifty years or more.

In the process of adaptation into the pibroch tradition, the songs have been subjected to the idiosyncratic features which represent modern pibroch conventions. The first, and probably the most obvious, feature which set pibroch apart from the Gaelic song idiom was the adoption and subsequent preponderance of cadences, in Angus MacArthur's and Donald MacDonald's settings. This latter dominance of cadence over the melodic line may not have been the case in earlier periods of the eighteenth century, as Joseph MacDonald's theory suggests. In contrast to this development, the present study suggests that the cadences were an important feature of pibroch as embellishments or decorative enhancements to the melodic line, but unlike in modern performances, did not take any melodic stress at any part of the *ùrlar*. It has been suggested in this study that the cadence in an unstressed position may have occasionally formed part of the melodic line in some melodies. This is because in an oral tradition the melodic line may be an ambiguous concept. Over time, because of the influence of pipe notation, the cadences became more indistinguishable from the melodic line and this was accompanied by a slowing down of tempo, both in a cause and effect manner. In addition to this, extra notes were occasionally added to the melody. The total effect of all these changes resulted in an alteration in the pibroch rhythm. In general, this rhythmic change occured in tunes which had been notated in 6/8 time and these tunes were subsequently notated in common time. This study suggests that common time is a more suitable time signature for notating at a much slower pace, as in present day pibroch performance.

The use of standard European notation to attempt to describe both the Gaelic song and the pibroch idiom has been shown to be inappropriate. Although pipers today will generally accept that this is indeed the case, it is not borne out by present day performance style. Although this style is very slow, the underlying rhythm is discernible; it is very predictable and subject to little musical rubato. This performance style has emerged despite the common understanding in pibroch tradition that the notated scores are only *aides memoires* The manner of notation has influenced the modern pibroch performance style in that it has exaggerated the cadence E conventions to the extent that the crotchet of modern notation is likely to be played as a minim.

The above point emphasises a major contradiction found in present day pibroch transmission and teaching. One commonly held view in teaching is that the written scores are unimportant. This statement is probably a remnant of the time when transmission was truly oral. The reality is that pipers rely on the notated scores for learning. The orally taught method has been partially substituted by the use of a tape recorder, which is also an effective way of imitating prize winning performances and narrowing the range of performance styles.

In contrast to the above scenario, the often held opinion among defenders of the present performance style is that the Angus MacArthur, Joseph, Patrick and Donald MacDonald notations, although notated in a particular style, (on which these collectors appear to agree for the most part) was not actually meant to be played that way. Even without using the present study's analysis of the relationship between pibroch and song, it is probable that the early notators could just as easily have chosen to insert quaver or semiquaver cadences as demisemiquaver ones, into the score. A range of different note values for embellishments exist in the early scores and as this study shows, they are easily interpreted into the existing rhythmic and melodic scheme. There is no evidence of the exaggerated and inappropriate E cadences which are so prevalent in modern pibroch.

In eighteenth century Gaelic society the community with its language and customs defined the melodic and rhythmic parameters of the musical tradition. This is no longer the case. Present day pibroch may be described as a sophisticated art form with an enigmatic and bewildering contrivance of rules as to its performance, one which is divorced from the natural

controls which might have allowed it to adapt to a changing society or even die. The sparsity of pibroch variants to emerge since the notators of the early nineteenth century began their work, contrasts with those evident in the notated scores themselves, which are, however, partially disguised under different titles. This sparsity of variant melodic settings makes a clearly visible and valuable distinction between the living tradition of pibroch, where melodies change and adapt and new ones are constantly being created and the 'preservation' of pibroch which adheres to chosen written scores with an unnatural and unmusical verve. One has to accept that because of the political and cultural ethnocide following Culloden, pibroch might have disappeared without its subsequent patronage and standardisation. The researchers, such as myself and others, have been fortunate in that the changes which took place occured in a fairly systematical manner so that it is still possible to reveal the original music when set in its cultural context, in contrast with the 'improved' settings of today.

The main recommendation of this thesis is that pibroch should be placed back into the framework of the wider stylistic range of the oral tradition. The style has changed so much since the era of Joseph MacDonald, however, that one has to take a fresh look at the whole tradition in light of this research in order to reinterpret the music. A constantly changing interpretation of the, albeit faulty, pibroch scores has been shown to have been the main problem which has beset the piper/musician over the last two hundred years. The reality is that, no matter how much one may attempt to notate the score exactly, it will never be able to describe the rhythmic subtleties of pibroch set in its traditional idiom. A much greater freedom of style in pibroch performance is the most obvious implication of this thesis. The musical parameters will be much wider as a result, and will never be constant because the emphasis of future teaching of this idiom is on oral transmission.

This research has shown how, on account of the numerous interconnections of this oral tradition, the repertoire has many examples of variant melodies. Much of the pibroch was retained and performed, probably with little in the way of aides-memoires. This research bears this out, certainly in the *ùrlars*, because the performance style(s) recommended here have stronger melodic lines and rhythm so that the tunes can be learned in a much shorter time than before and retained more easily.

A range of different styles of playing pibroch is open to the piper as a result of this thesis. As a broad guide to the range of performance styles, consider what may lie between the following two opposite polarities of style.

The pibroch *ùrlar* may be played in the style of the song itself, without the cadences and extra notes, if the latter can be identified. Alternatively, it may be played in the rigid standardised style which has emerged in present day performance pibroch. The problem with the former is that, if, as this thesis concludes, the cutting edge between song and pibroch lies in the presence of cadences on the song's melodic line, then it could be argued that the *ùrlar* , in the matter of performance style, is an eight-phrase song. Therefore, for the person who is adept at playing Gaelic songs on the pipes in their traditional idiom, the subtle difference between this and playing a pibroch *ùrlar* is knowing how to effectively adapt cadences into the melody while preserving the melodic rhythm.

An understanding of the idiom allows one to know the parameters of the music and so the extent of freedom and individuality one has in performance. An understanding of this idiom does not necessarily require that one should be a Gaelic speaker, but it does demand an awareness of the rhythms which were implicit in the creation of that piece of music. As Bartók stated (ed. 1976: 346)

> 'For an artist it is not only right to have his roots in the art of some former times, it is a necessity,' -

a statement which is just as relevant to the piper musician.

The acceptability of pursuing a chosen style lies in whoever sets the musical parameters. Historically the parameters of modern pibroch performance have been set by the patrons of competition piping as much as by pipers themselves. The new parameters have to be set by the present and following generations of pipers who take on the responsibility of gaining an insight into the idioms which created pibroch.

One problem which has become apparent in this thesis is that the notation, which may initially have represented an attempt to describe pibroch performance, became prescriptive, mainly because of the competitive setting in which pibroch has been nurtured. The emphasis

on competition has ultimately resulted, whether deliberately or otherwise, in standardisation and the rigidity of pibroch performance.

Competition is a most artificial means for preserving pibroch, as it narrows the natural variability which would occur in an oral tradition, to a particular style which will win a competition. In such a climate pibroch cannot develop freely but only proceed in a fashion where all performance is predictable and imitative and where the most variable factors relate to technical features of performance.

The nature of pibroch survival cannot properly be described as the preservation or survival of a tradition. A true musical tradition, conveyed by musicians, can only proceed and develop where musical freedom exists. In evolution or development, in art as in other fields, change is often more valuable than the *status quo* , or extinction is likely to occur. When the traditional forms of music and song are in close association with the communities in which they arose, and this implies a relatively unselfconcious performance style, it provides a rich basis from which to develop in other stylistic directions. For example, which Gaelic, or even English speaker could feel at ease singing a Marjory Kennedy Fraser setting of a Gaelic song with the knowledge that it was created for an audience outside Gaelic Scotland and is not regarded as genuine in the society from which it sprang? If the original setting was known, however, the arranged setting might be more palatable with the knowledge that the original setting was extant as a reference to which to return to when required. In the same way, many of the pibrochs which are performed in what I call the modern or 'art style' may be beautiful pieces of music. But, because the original traditional styles were altered and in many cases disguised, the art style will never represent satisfying music for the Gaelic speaker with an insight into his or her musical idiom. The same may be true for many more pibroch players and listeners who have not had access to this idiom.

Some of the conclusions of earlier scholars have been vindicated by this study. There are a number of areas of research which this thesis only touches on but which are worth pursuing. There are upwards of fifty pibrochs which can probably be identified with Gaelic song(s). To quote a particular numerical figure for this amount is obviously deceptive because, as has been shown in this study, so many melodic variants exist in the pibroch tradition. Research is therefore required which will identify

common melodic and rhythmic motifs so as to provide more information on the extent and nature of the pibroch repertoire as well as of manners of pibroch composition. Another closely related area which requires research concerns the titles of pibrochs. In a rich oral tradition, a number of similar melodies can have more than one pibroch title and, as has been shown in this thesis, the titles may have been associated with different events. This suggests that one pibroch may have been transmitted over a long period of time having been adapted functionally and musically to different events over this period.

APPENDIX A

Although MacKay requires this tune to be played 'Andante', one cannot be sure of what 'Andante' meant in the classical music of Europe in 1838 and therefore what Angus MacKay perceived it to be, despite his explanation of European terms (1838: facing p. 1). These terms cannot be strictly defined because they are only guidelines. Nevertheless, one can go some way towards assessing what the tempo of one particular tune might be, by relating it to the recommended tempos for the other pibrochs set out in AMcK's book. A third of the tunes in MacKay's 1838 collection have advice on Tempo. (His Mss have none.) Most are recommended to be played Andante.

Andante is described in his collection, as being 'a little faster than Andantino' which is in turn 'a slow and distinct movement'.

Adagio is given as 'very slow and expressive'.

The Andante pibrochs are:

Donald Duaghal MacKay's Lament;

I got a kiss of the King's Hand;

MacCrimmon's Lament.

MacLeod's Salute, known also as MacLeod's Rowing Tune is directed to be even slower than this in Andantino tempo as is Glengarry's Lament and Gordon's Salute.

The only tune in Allegro is The Duke of Perth's March.

This contrasts with another two march tunes, MacLean's March and MacNeil of Barra's March which are even slower, in Adagio. Sir Ewen Cameron of Locheil's Salute is also to be played Adagio. From the evidence in Angus MacKay's collection, it would seem that the correlation between the title of the tune and the tempo at which it is to be played is inconclusive. It is important to maintain that, just as in Gaelic song, the tempo of a tune is closely related to its function. The pibroch manuscript and published pibroch settings which the researcher has to work with are somewhat standardised. The existence of different settings of a particular

tune notated for other instruments strongly suggests that there was a greater variability in tempo than what the pibroch sources themselves show. It would be rather narrow to assume then that the pibroch setting of a tune with more than one title (eg. Bhratich Bhàn, MacLean of Coll's, Battle of Pass of Crieff, Laird of Coll's Barge.) or variant forms (eg. Lament for the Harp Tree, Kinloch Moidart's Lament Kinloch Moidart's Salute, and Corrienessan's Salute) represents one particular tempo. The tempos are as likely to have varied between one district of Scotland and another according to its setting in the context of its various functions. The melodic and rhythmic characteristics of a tune can also suggest its pace, as is shown in the main text of this research. For example, the Angus Fraser Ms has Lament for the Harp Tree in a different rhythm from the pibroch one and musical intuition, according to the manner in which it is transcribed and its song words, suggests a fairly animated pace. One would therefore consider Lament for the Harp Tree to have been played at an Andante pace rather than the Adagio of today, where the first phrase takes approximately fifteen seconds to play.

This disparity in tempos also highlights the problem of terminology in pibroch where translations have resulted in misleading associations made with the same word in a different context. The 'march' in pibroch is a good example of this. Joseph MacDonald (1760) states that the march, which the 1803 editors have identified as the '*sighe*' is 'the slowest species of Pipe-Musick'. He states earlier on the same page (Ms. p.29) that the slowest movement in pipe music is the split common time Adagio. If, for simplicity it is assumed that the perceptions of tempos had not changed between Joseph MacDonald's time and Angus MacKay's, then it could be argued that MacKay was not breaking with tradition when he advised his marches to be played Adagio. It could also be that the music had already been slowed down by the time Joseph MacDonald wrote about it. Edward Bunting, (1840) at the Belfast Harp Festival in 1792 observed that the 104 year old Denis Hempson played much faster than the other performers representing an older style of clarsach playing. The faster playing of the earlier eighteenth century pibroch players may have had a parallel in the Irish *clàrsach* tradition.

Donald MacDonald does not give any direction on tempo for his setting of Bodaich nam Briogais where Angus MacKay gives Andante. Of the three tunes which appear in both Donald MacDonald's and Angus MacKay's

book, only one is given a direction on tempo in both cases. This is Craigellachie, which MacKay calls Grant's Gathering. The description given suggests that one person's perception of a particular tempo was different from another's. For MacDonald's 'Very Slow' MacKay has 'Andante'. This means that the other tunes in MacKay's collection styled 'Andantino' and 'Adagio' must have been exceedingly and tortuously slow. However, the arguments for defining one tempo or the other are founded on too many assumptions and what was considered very slow in 1820 when Donald MacDonald wrote it, may have been more rapid than the twentieth century perception of it. If we assume for a moment, that Angus MacKay's term 'Andante' is equivalent to the tempo played today, then his terms Adagio and Andantino become exceedingly slow, and the writer cannot conceive performance of this tune any slower than the modern tempos. As stated in the main text, the rhythm of the tune is already difficult to identify in modern performance style. Despite the reservations on the use of these Italian terms, it is suggested by the writer that Angus MacKay's use of the term Andante means that the tune was played considerably faster than what is heard today. A tune such as Bodaich nam Briogais would then be played at a tempo which approximaed one beat per second.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

ALMQUIST, O'CATHAIN, and **O'HEALAI,** (1987) The Heroic Process. Form, function and fantasy in Folk Epic, Dublin.

A CHOISIR CHIUIL (n. d.) St. Columba Collection of Gaelic Part Songs. Bayley and Ferguson, Glasgow, London.

BANNATYNE, Charles (1904) 'Ceòl Mór' Celtic Review

BARTOK, Béla (1976) Essays. Ed. Benjamin Suchoff, Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press.

BASSIN, Ethel (1977) The Old Songs of Skye Frances Tolmie and her Circle. ed. Derek Bowman, London: Routledge.

BARTOK, Béla, and Albert **LORD.** (1951) Serbo-Croatian Folk-Songs New York: Columbia University Press .

> Bayard - Cf. David McAllester

BLANKENHORN, Virginia. (1978) *'Traditional and bogus elements in MacCrimmon's Lament'* Scottish Studies 22: 45-67.

BOWRA, C . M. (1962) Primitive Song London, Weidenfield and Nicolson.

BRAILOIU, Constantin. (1984) Problems of Ethnomusicology Translated and edited by A.L.Lloyd. Cambridge University Press. Taken from original text of 1959 of Brailoiu's articles from 1924 onwards.

BREATHNACH, Padraig A. (1981) *'A Musical link between dán and amhrán'* Ceol Vol iv (no. 4: 108).

(1980) Ceol Vol 3 (nos 2 and 3).

BROADWOOD, Lucy E. (1911) Introduction to Journal of the Folksong Society 4, pt 3

BROWN, Colin See The Thistle.

BRUFORD, Alan. (1983.) *'The rise of the Highland Piper'* Paper given to the International Congress for Celtic Sudies, Oxford. Unpublished.

(1987) *'The singing of Fenian and similar lays in Scotland'* Ballad Research Dublin 1990 ed. Hugh Shields pub. Folk Music Society of Ireland.

BUISMAN, Frans. (1985) *'An anonymous manuscript and its position in the History of Piobaireachd playing.'* Piping Times Vol 38 no. 3: December.

(1987) *'From Chant to Script: Some evidence of chronology in Colin Campbell's adaptation of Canntaireachd.'* Piping Times Vol 39 no. 11 August.

(1991,) *"Paidh Na Bodaich Nail' Ach Ruairidh"* Piping Times Vol 43: 4 January.

(1991) *'A note on the MacKenzie Manuscripts.'* Piping Times 43: 5

(1991) *'The early history of Leumludh'* 1 and 2. Piping Times. 43: 9 and 10 {June and July. }

BUNTING, Edward. (1840) Ancient Music of Ireland edited from the original manuscripts by Donal O'Sullivan and Micheál 'O Súilleabháin, Cork: Cork UP. 1983.

BURT, Edward. (1754) Letters from a gentleman in the North of Scotland 2 vols; 5th edition with appendix, 1818.

CAMERON, Alexander (1892-1894) Reliquiae Celticae. (Vol 2) ed. MacBain and Kennedy, Inverness

CAMPBELL Archibald. (1948) The Kilberry Collection of Ceol Mor, Glasgow, The Piobaireachd Society.

(1953) Piping Times Part I Vol 5 no. 6. 4-7;

Part 2 Vol 5 no. 7

(1984) Sidelights on the Kilberry Book of Ceol Mor. Notes on instruction received by Archibald Campbell of Kilberry. Glasgow: The Piobaireachd Society.

CAMPBELL, Lieut.Donald. (1862) A Treatise on the Language Poetry, and Music of the Highland Clans. Edinburgh.

CAMPBELL, Duncan. (1886) The Lairds of Glenlyon Perth: Cowan.

(1888) 'The Book of Garth and Fortingall' Northern Counties Co.

(1910) 'Reminiscenses and Reflections of an 0ctogenarian Highlander'

> J. F. Campbell. See p. 232 (VJ 3:61)

CAMPBELL J.L. and Francis **COLLINSON,** (1969, 1977, 1981)

Hebridean Folksongs vols 1-3 Oxford: Oxford UP.

CAMPBELL, J.L. Ed. (1975) A Collection of Highland Rites and Customs. Copied by Edward Lhuyd from the manuscript of the Rev. James Kirkwood (1650-1709) and annotated by him with the aid of the Rev. John Beaton. From MS Carte 269 in the Bodleian Library. Pub.by D.S.Brewer Ltd.and Rowman and Littlefield for the Folklore Society

CARR, Sir John. (1809) Caledonian Sketches, London.

CANNON, Roderick. (1980) A Bibliography of Bagpipe Music. Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers.

(1988) The Highland Bagpipe and its Music. Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers.

(n. d.) ed. Gesto Canntaireachd 1828.

COLLINSON, Francis. (1966) The Traditional and National Music of Scotland London: Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd..

COLLINSON, Francis (1975) The Bagpipe. the history of a musical instrument. London and Boston, Mass. U.S.A. Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd.

COOKE, Peter. (1975-76) *'The Pibroch Repertory: Some Research Problems'*. Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association Vol 102: 93.

(1977) Music transcriptions and commentary in *'The Maltese Zaqq'* by J. K Partridge and F. Jeal. Galpin Society Journal XXX p 112-143.

(1978) *'Changing styles in pibroch playing.* Cadence E's and beats on A' International Piper .1 [ii].June p. 12-14 ; vol 1 no. 3 July p. 11-13

(1985) Piobaireachd Society Conference Paper Part 1.
'Elizabeth Ross and the Piping of John MacKay of Raasay' Session 3. [Part 2 in 1986]

(1987), The pibroch tradition and staff notation. *'The oral and the literate in music'* Proceedings of the ICTM symposium Tokyo, p. 400-413.

DALYELL, Sir John G. (1849) Musical Memoirs of Scotland. T.G.Stevenson Edinburgh.

deSAINT FOND ,B Faujas (1784) Travels in England and Scotland Vol 2 (In two volumes) A revised edition of the English translation by Sir Archibald Geikie 1907.

DONNINGTON, Robert (1974) The interpretation of Early Music. Faber.

< Dow

DUN, Finlay (c1848) Orain na h-Albain.

EMERY, Walter (1953) Bach's Ornaments pub. Novella

FISKE, Roger. (1983) Scotland in Music a European enthusiasm. Cambridge: Cambridge UP.

FRASER, Marjory Kennedy (1929) A Life of Song Oxford: Oxford UP.

GILLIES,John. (1786.) Sean Dain agus Orain Ghaidhealach,air an tabhairt o dhaoin uaisle,araid an Gaeltachd Alba, Perth

GLEN, David, (1900) The Music of Clan MacLean. Edinburgh, Glen.

GOWANS, Linda. (1994) 'An Arthurian Ballad in Scottish Gaelic' pub. Eastbourne, England.

GREGORY, Donald (2nd ed. 1881) History of the Western Highlands and Isles of Scotland from A.D. 1493 to A.D. 1625. London, Hamilton.

HADDOW, A. J. (1982) The History and Strucure of Ceol Mor. (np.)

HENDREN, J.W. (1966) A study of Ballad rhythm with special reference to ballad music, New York: Gordian Press.

JOYCE, P.W. (1873) Ancient Irish Music. Dublin.

JOYCE, P.W. (1903) A Social History of Ancient Ireland Vol 2. Dublin.

JOHNSON, David. (1984) Scottish Fiddle Music in the Eighteenth Century. Edinburgh: John Donald.

KAROLYI, Ottó. (1979) Introducing Music. Penguin Books, Middlesex England 1965.

KERMAN, Joseph (1985) Musicology. Fontana Press/Collins. London.

KILLIN Collection (1884) of Gaelic Songs with music and translations by Charles Stewart, Killin.

KINSLEY, James (ed 1969) Burns Poems and Songs. Oxford: Oxford UP.

LAMBERT, I. (1953) Piping Times Vol 5 no. 5:12.

LIST George (1963) *'The musical significance of transcription"* Ethnomusicology 7: 193-7

LOGAN, James. (1831) The Scottish Gael Edited with memoirs and notes by Rev. Alex. Stewart, 2 vols, Inverness, 1876; Reprinted Edinburgh 1976.

LORIMER, R.L.C. (1962) *'Studies in pibroch, 1. The "4:6:4:1(or 2)" metre in pibroch reconsidered in terms of Joseph MacDonald's "antient rule".* Scottish Studies 6, 1-30.

LORIMER, R.L.C (1964) *.'Studies in pibroch. 2. The metre of Bodaich Dhubha nan Sligean': a definitive account'.* Scottish Studies 8, 45 - 79.

MACDONALD, A. (1894) Uist Bards.

MACDONALD, Donald (1820) A Collection of the ancient martial music of Caledonia called piobaireachd as performed on the great Highland bagpipe. Now also adapted to the piano forte violin and violoncello. With a few old Highland lilts purposely set for attaining a thorough knowledge of the pipe music Respectfully dedicated to the Highland Society of Scotland by Donald MacDonald pipe maker Edinburgh. (the above is the wording of the first edition only).

MACDONALD, Ishbel T. (1995) Do Ghinealach eile Dà fhichead òran o bheul-aithris Uibhist a Deas.' South Uist: Muran.

> JOSEPH MACDONALD

MACDONALD, Keith N. (1895) Gesto collection of Highland Music. Leipzig.

MACDONALD, Rev Patrick. (1784) A Collection of Highland VocalAirs.... and some specimens of bagpipe music,Edinburgh.

MACFARLANE, Malcolm. (1908) *'The Bagpipe and the Gael'* in Guth na Bliadhna Vol V

MACFARLANE, Malcolm. (1924-25) *Vocal Gaelic Music'*. in Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness XXXII: 251.

< 1915:76

MACKENZIE, John. (1841) Sàr Obair nam Bàrd Gaelach..

see Ch. 1.3

MACINNES, John. (1986) *'Language, Metre and Diction in the Poetry of Sorley MacLean.'* In Sorley MacLean - Critical Essays. Edited Raymond ROSS and Joy.HENRY Scottish Academic Press, Edinburgh.

MACLEOD, Donald J., (1971) *'The Poetry of Rob Donn MacKay'*. Scottish Gaelic Studies Vol XII Pt 1.

? > Macleod (1828) – cf. MacIntosh's Lament under Fiddle sets.

MACNEILL, Seamas (1968) Piobaireachd. Classical music of the Highland Bagpipe. British Broadcasting Corporation, Edinburgh.

MACINNES, Ian I. (1989) 'The Highland Bagpipe: the impact of the Highland Societies of London and Scotland 1781-1844' Unpublished MLitt. thesis for Edinburgh University.

MACINNES, John (1987) *'20th century recordings of Scotish Gaelic '* in Heroic Ballads (1987), pp101-131. See ALMQUIST, O'CATHAIN and O'HEALAI.

MACINNES, Malcolm (1939) '120 Bagpipe Tunes Gleanings and Styles Glasgow, Bayley and Ferguson.

MACKENZIE, Bridget Gordon. (1981) *'On the relation of Norse skaldic verse to Irish syllabic poetry.'* in 'Speculum Norroenum' Oxford: Oxford UP.

MACKENZIE, John. (1840) Ed. Sàr Obair nam Bàrd.

MACLEAN, Sorley. *'Old Songs and New Poetry'* in Ris a' Bhruthaich (1985: 106) ed. W. Gillies, Stornoway: Acair.

MACLENNAN, John. (c1907) The Piobaireachd as MacCrimmon Played it with instructions how to read and understand music. Edinburgh.

MACLENNAN, John(1925) The Piobaireachd as performed in the Highlands for ages, till about the year 1808. Edinburgh.

MACNEILL, Seamas. (1989) Piping Times Vol 42 no.3 Dec 1989:19]

MACPHERSON, John. D.D. Minister of Slate. 'Critical dissertation on the origin antiquities, language, Government, manners and Religion of the Ancient Caledonians, their posterity the Picts and the British and Irish Scots.MDCCLXVIII.

MATHESON, William. (ed. 1938) The Songs of John MacCodrum. Scottish Gaelic Texts Society. Edinburgh.

(1954) *'Some early collectors of Gaelic Folk-song'*. The Scottish Anthropological and Folklore Society.

(ed. 1970) The Blind Harper (An Clàrsair Dall) The songs of Roderick Morrison and his Music. Edinburgh: Scottish Gaelic Texts Society,.

(1975) SM 1975/1. Lecture at School of Scottish Studies *'The words and music complex in Gaelic song.'*

McALLESTER, David. (1971) Readings in Ethnomusicology

McCAUGHEY, Terence. (1984) *'The performance of dàn'* Eriu (35: 39-57)
> McCulloch 1824 traveller.

MERRIAM, Alan P. (1964) The Anthropology of Music. Evanston, Illinois, U.S.A: NorthWestern University Press,

MORRISON, Neil Rankin. (1935) *'Clann Duiligh: Pìobairean Chloinn Ghill-Eathain'* Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness XXXVII: 56.

MURRAY, D. J. S. (1975) *'Piping in the Army'* Piobaireachd Society Conference 1-28.

NETTL.B. (1964) Theory and Method in Ethnomusicology. New York: Free Press of Glencoe.

NEWTE, Thomas. (1791) Prospects and Observations on a Tour in England and Scotland. London: Natural Oeconomical and Literary.

O'CANAINN, Tomas (1978) Traditional music in Ireland Dublin.

O'BAOILL, Colm Ed. (1994) Gàir nan Clàrsach. (The Harp's Cry) An Anthology of 17th Century Gaelic Poetry. Translated by Meg Bateman. Pub. Birlinn Ltd.Edinburgh.

O'BAOILL, Colm and Donald **MACAULAY**. (1988) Scottish Gaelic Vernacular Verse to 1730: A Checklist. Aberdeen University Department of Celtic.

O'BAOILL,Sean. (1976) The Irish Song Tradition' pub. Gilbet Dalton, Dublin.

O'MADAGAIN, Breandán. (1983) *'Ceol a chanadh Eohan Mór O'Comhraí.* Bealoideas 51: 71-86

O'MADAGAIN, Breandán. (1985) *'Some functions of Irish Song in the nineteenth century '* Bealoideas 53: 130-216

O'MADAGAIN, Breandán. (1978) *'Ceol an Chaointe'* in Gnéithe den Chaointeoireacht

O'RIADA, Seán. (1982) Our Musical Heritage. ed.T.Kinsella and T.O Canainn. The Dolmen Press, Portlaoise, Ireland.

ORME, B.J.MacLachlan Dr. (1979) The Piobaireachd of Simon Fraser with Canntaireachd. (n.p.)

PARTRIDGE, Angela. (1978) *'Caoineadh na dTri Muire agus a Chaointeoireacht'* in 'Gneíthe den Chaointeoireacht'. Dublin.

PEARSON, John, V. (1969) A North American Piping Fanatic Alexander K.Cameron (1882-1956) Montana's Bagpipe Essayist' The Colorado College. Unpublished thesis.

PENNANT, Thomas (1772) A tour in Scotland and Voyage to the Hebrides.

PETRIE, George (1855) The Petrie Collection of the Ancient Music of Ireland. Vol 1 Republished 1967 Farnborough, England: Gregg International [This includes an additional 48 pages of Petrie's second volume.]

PIOBAIREACHD SOCIETY SERIES.

1905-1925. First Series

1925- 1990 Second Series

PURSER, John. (1992) Scotland's Music. Edinburgh, Mainstream.

RIMMER, Joan. (3/5/1990) Cramb Lecture, *'Some aspects of Scottish Musical Identity'*. Glasgow University.

ROSS, (1959-1967) Binneas is Borreraig. Edinburgh, 5 Vols.

ROSS, G.F. (1926) Some piobaireachd studies Glasgow.

ROSS, James. (1957) *'A Classification of Gaelic Folk- Song'* in Scottish Studies 1. p. 95-151.

SANGER, Keith and Alison KINNAIRD. (1992) Tree of Strings - crann nan teud. Temple, Midlothian. Pub. Kinmor music.

SH? (1891) see p. 212 bottom. OK, Scottish Highlander,

SHAW, John. (1992/1993) *'Language, Music and Local Aesthetics: Views from Gaeldom and Beyond.'* Scottish Language. Number 11/12 , ed. J. Derrick McClure

SHAW, Margaret Fay. (1955) Folksongs and Folklore of South Uist. Pub. Aberdeen University Press

STEWART, Alexander (1928) A Highland Parish or The History of Fortingall, Stirling, 1928.

STEWART, Charles See Killin.

STEWART, David.(1822) Sketches of the character, manner and present state of the Highlanders of Scotland, with details of the military service of the Highland Regiments. Edinburgh, 2 vols. Reprinted Edinburgh 1977.

TAYLOR, E. (1979) The AB Guide to Music London: ABRMS publishing

THE THISTLE, (1896) ed. Brown, Colin. Glasgow

Put it into Author (B)

THOMSON Derick (1953) *'The Gaelic Oral Tradition'* in 'The Scottish Anthropological and Folklore Society'

TOLMIE, Frances. (1911) Journal of the Folk Song Society Vol iv no.16.

THOMASON, General C.S. (1900) Ceol Mor.

WATSON, William. (1927) 'Varia': SGS. Vol 2

WATSON, William. (1918) Bàrdachd Ghàidhlig. (3rd. ed. 1959) Stirling.

WHITTAKER,W.Gillies. (1921) North Countrie Songs

WHYTE, Henry. 1901-1902 CMo. vol 10. *'Martial Music of the Clans'*

1902-1903 CMo. vol 11. *'Martial Music of the Clans'*

1903-1904 CMo. vol 12. *'Martial Music of the Clans'*

WHYTE, Henry. (1911) - The Historical, Biographic and Legendary notes to David Glen's Collection of Ancient Piobaireachd by "Fionn".

WOODWARD, Colin. (1976) Piping Times, Vol 28 no.4 p. 31 January.

PERIODICALS AND NEWSPAPERS.

AN GAIDHEAL	1871-1877
CUAIRTEAR NAN GLEANN	1840-1843
GAIRM	1952-
GUTH NA BLIADHNA	1904-1925
HIGHLANDER NEWSPAPER	1873-1881
HIGHLANDER MAGAZINE	1881
OBAN TIMES	[ ]
PIPING TIMES	1948-
SCOTTISH GAELIC STUDIES	1926-

TRANSACTIONS OF THE GAELIC SOCIETY OF INVERNESS [TGSI] 1872-

MANUSCRIPTS

FRASER, Angus.	c1855	EUL. Gen 614.
MACARTHUR, Angus.	c1820	NLS 1679
MACDONALD, Donald.	c1805-182O.	NLS 1680.
MACFARLANE Walter	1740	NLS 2084, 2085

This was notated by a fiddler called David Young who, Johnson (1984:124) states, was probably from Aberdeen although living in Edinburgh. There were originally three volumes. However, the first was lost. The second volume refers to Drylaw, MacLean, Greig, Monro and possibly David

Gow? Macleod 1828?

Young the transcriber. The third refers also to Oswald and McGibbon. (Information from Johnson 1984)

MACKAY, Angus.	c1826-1840	NLS 1681-83
REID, Peter.	c1826	NLS Ms Acc 5585
ROSS, Elizabeth	1812	SSS Edinburgh Uni.
URQUHART, Benjamin.	1823)	EUL MacKinnon 10c
KILLEARNAN	1874+	

By Rev. Angus MacDonald found in Carmichael Watson Coll. (EUL) no.135. Most of the songs in this Ms were taken down from the recitation of different people in Uist and elsewhere beginning in 1874.

MACLAGAN	c1750-1800	GUL Ms Gen 1042.

Gaelic Manuscripts in Glasgow University Library. A photocopied collection is in The School of Scottish Studies Library. These Mss. were compiled in second half of the eighteenth century by Rev. James Maclagan (1728-1805) minister of Blair Atholl from 1778. For more detailed information on its contents see J Prof. D.MacKinnon's Catalogue 302ff

TURNER, Peter.	c1750	NLS Adv. 71.72.2 Gaelic Ms. CXXI.