



the Salute designation was the more common). The best known example of this type of confusion was in two tunes relating to MacDonald of Kinlochmoidart, one a Salute, the other a Lament. This case is discussed below.

Such data lends credence to the notion that the piping tradition suffered real disruption from the mid to late eighteenth century. Examples are in fact few and far between, so the case should not be overstated. It is nevertheless evident that the clear principles relating to tune tonality expressed by Joseph MacDonald in 1760 had, by the early nineteenth century, become somewhat blurred.

Table IV/5

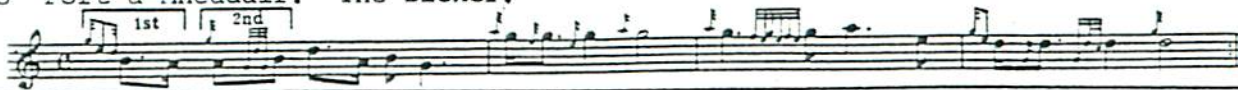
PIOBAlREACHD SOCIETY TITLES IN NEED OF AMENDMENT

(1) MACDONALD OF KINLOCHMOIDART'S LAMENT

Piobaireachd Society [187-188] <u>Cumha Tighearna Cheannloch Mùideart. MacDonald of Kinlochmoidart's Lament.</u>		
SOURCE	SETTING # 1 [SALUTE]	SETTING # 2 [LAMENT]
		
1797 Campbell Canntaireachd		[I:180] Chumbh craoibh na tiubh
1818 EJ Ross [57]	Failte Fir Cheannlochmuidort	
1838 Competitors (x3)	Failte Mhic-Dhomhnuill Muideart MacDonald of Kinlochmoidart's Salute	
c1840 A Mackay [MS I:173]	Failte Fir Cheannlochmuideart MacDonald of Kinlochmudeart's Salute	[MS II:97] Cumha Fear Cheannlochmùideart MacDonald of Kinlochmudeart's Lament
1844 Competitor	MacDonald of Moidart's Salute	
1869 W Ross [28]	Cumha Fear Lochmuideart Kinlochmuidart's Lament	
1880 D Glen [197]	Kinloch-moidart's Lament Cumha Fir Cheann-Loch-Mùideart	
1900 CS Thomason [213]	Kinlochmùideart's Salute	[307] Lament for MacDonald of Kinloch Mùideart

(2) THE BICKER

(a) Piobaireachd Society [108] Port a Mheadair. The Bicker.



1797 Campbell Canntaireachd [I:96]

1823/24 Kenneth MacRae

c1840 Angus Mackay [MS I:243]

1844 Duncan Campbell

1880 David Glen [144]

1900 Thomason [343]

Rob't Sinclair's Wife's Lament.

Port a Mhiodar. The Dairy Tune.

Port a Mheadair.

An Tuasaid. The Bicker.

Am Biceir Rioghail, No Port a' Mhàidsear. The Royal Bicker.

The Extirpation of the Tinkers by the King's Orders.

(b) Piobaireachd Society [350] Port a Mheadair. The Bicker (or two-faced Englishman).



1797 Campbell Canntaireachd [I:178]

1822 James MacDonald

1823 Donald MacDonald Jnr.

1824 John Cameron

1826 Donald MacDonald [Snr MS:132]

c1840 Angus Mackay [MS I:65]

Sutherland's March

Sutherland March.

Marsail na Sutherlanaich.

Spaidsearachd nan Sumharlanach.

Marsal na Suherlanach. Sutherland's March.

Port a Mheadair. The Bicker (The Two-faced Englishman).

(3) I GOT A KISS OF THE KING'S HAND

<u>Piobaireachd Society</u> [126] <u>Thug mi Pòg do Lamh an Rìgh. I Got a Kiss of the King's Hand.</u>	
1651 Wardlaw MS [380]	Fuoris Pooge i Spoge i Rhi. I Got a Kiss of the King's Hand.
1813-1844 19 Competitors	Fhuair mi pog o Laimh an Rìgh. I Got a Kiss of the King's Hand.
1826 P Reid [MS:41]	Fhuair mi Pog o Laimh an Rìgh. I Got a Kiss of the King's Hand.
1838 Angus Mackay <u>Collection</u> [14]	Thuair mi Pog o' Laimh an Rìgh. I Got a Kiss of the King's Hand.
1840 Rev. N MacLeod	Thug mi Pòg do Làimh an Rìgh.
1880 D Glen [72]	Fhuair mi Pòg 'o Laimh mo Rìgh. I Got a Kiss of the King's Hand.

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(4) PATRICK OG MACCRIMMON'S LAMENT

<u>Piobaireachd Society</u> [83] <u>Cumha Phadruig Oig MhicCruimean. Patrick Og MacCrimmon's Lament.</u>	
1785, 86 Donald & Allan MacIntyre, Rannoch	Cumhadh MhicCruimean. The Lamentation of Patrick More McCrimmon.
1797 Campbell Canntaireachd [II:120]	Couloddin's Lament.
1820 Donald MacDonald <u>Collection</u> [84].	Cumh Pharic More MhicCruimmen. Lament on the Death of Patrick More McCruimmen.
1823 & 1824 Competitors (x4)	Cumha Phadruic MhicCruimean. Peter McCrimmen's Lament / Great McCrimmen's. Lament / Peter McCrimmen's Lament.
1838 Angus Mackay <u>Collection</u> [82]	Cumha Phadruig Oic MhicCruimein. Patrick òg MacCrummen's Lament.
1844 Competitors (x4)	Cumha Phadruig Oig Mhic Cruimen. Patrick Og MacCrummen's Lament.

(f) PIOBAIREACHD SOCIETY TITLES IN NEED OF AMENDMENT

Although tune titles are now firmly established, certain titles currently used by the Piobaireachd Society (and hence by pipers at large) might usefully be reviewed on the basis of evidence from the competition records, combined with information from early notated sources. Four tunes are examined in the following pages. Two are cases in which the Piobaireachd Society has duplicated the same title for different tunes. One involves an inaccurate Gaelic title. The last involves the discarding of an early title in favour of a later, anomalous title. Data cited is presented in Table IV/5.

1. MacDonald of Kinlochmoidart's Lament

In this case the Piobaireachd Society has taken the unusual step of publishing two different tunes side-by-side with the same title. Setting Number 2 was recorded by Angus MacKay [MS II: 97] as a Lament, and the Piobaireachd Society are justified in following this lead. The Campbell Canntaireachd title "Chumbh Craoibh na tiubh" (e.g. "The Lament for the Harp Tree") is of interest, but is an unnecessary confusion since a better-known tune has wider currency by that title [e.g. PS.362]. (There are several tunes in the Campbell Canntaireachd, such as Finlay's Lament and The Brother's Lament, which use titles

more commonly applied to other tunes).

It is clear from Table IV/5(1), that setting Number 1 of the tune, also published by the Society as a Lament, was up until the 1840's popularly considered a Salute. It appeared as such in the Ross [1812] and MacKay [c.1840] MSS., and was entered at the competition by four pipers in 1838 and 1844. Kinlochmoidart's Lament, by contrast, does not feature in the competition records at all. Curiously, the generation which succeeded Angus MacKay came to regard this tune as a Lament. William Ross (who normally followed MacKay closely in settings and titles) and David Glen, both published the tune as a Lament. Thomason (1900) sensibly reversed this trend, but the Piobaireachd Society opted for the Lament designation on the grounds that Alexander Cameron, a valued advisor to the Society, considered it such. [PS.189]. On the foregoing evidence, however, there seems no merit in perpetuating the confusion of publishing the two different tunes by the same title, and Setting Number 1 might usefully be relabelled a Salute.

2. The Bicker

A similar situation pertains in this case, for the Piobaireachd Society has again published two different tunes by the same title. Table IV/5(2) strongly suggests that the title Port a Mheadair. The Bicker (based on MacKay MS I: 243) most correctly applies to the first setting of

the tune. [PS: 108]. "Bicker" is a Scots word for "beaker", or drinking cup, but is often mistaken for the English word signifying a "quarrel". That this corruption had crept in early is shown in Duncan Campbell's entry for 1844, for which he used the Gaelic "An Tuasaid" (meaning a quarrel or brawl). Another corruption is seen in Glen's subtitle "Port a' Mhaidsear", translated as "The Major's Tune" [1880: 15]. The correct Gaelic was clearly "miodar" or "meadar", signifying either a drinking vessel, or a milk pail or churn. This latter connotation explains the title preferred by Kenneth MacRae, piper to the Earl of Caithness, namely "The Dairy Tune". The modern title is based on MacKay, and is broadly supported by Glen. Thomason's curious title ("The Extirpation of the Tinkers by the King's Orders") derives from a pencilled note on MacKay's MS., but this is not in MacKay's hand, and no explanation of its provenance has been advanced. The Campbell Canntaireachd, as with so many other tunes, furnishes a substantially different title from other sources, "Rob't Sinclair's Wife's Lament". This might suggest a Caithness origin for the tune, the Sinclairs being Earls of Caithness, and it is perhaps significant that the tune was first entered at the competition by the Earl's piper, albeit under a different title.

The Piobaireachd Society also published another tune by the title The Bicker (or Two-faced Englishman). [PS.350]. This title derives from Angus MacKay's MS.[I: 65], where he subtitles the tune in pencil "The two-faced

Englishman. John MacKay's Sett". This presumably was to distinguish it from the first version of The Bicker, which he recorded in the same MS., and suggests that he was aware of the discrepancy in titles. Table IV/5(2) indicates that a more suitable title was The Sutherland's March, recorded in the Campbell Canntaireachd [1797 I: 178], and also in the MSS of Donald MacDonald Senior [1826:132] and Donald MacDonald Junior [1826]. This title was also used at the competition by two of MacDonald's sons (James and Donald), and by John Cameron from Glasgow. These sources suggest that it was a title in active use, unlike "The two-faced Englishman" which appears only in MacKay's MS. Thomason was in error in entitling the tune The Sutherland's Gathering (for a better-known tune bears that title).

One further alternative title for the Sutherland's March was MacLean of Coll's Triumph (found in Thomason and in The Music of Clan MacLean [1900: 19]), but there is no early evidence to substantiate this title. The Piobaireachd Society here demonstrates a rather slavish adherence to MacKay's title, even where blatantly in error. The Sutherland's March seems a worthy alternative.

3. I Got a Kiss of The King's Hand

The Piobaireachd Society's error in this case lies in their use of a mixed title: "Thug mi pòg do làimh an Rìgh"

means "I gave a Kiss to the King's hand", not, as they write, "I got a Kiss of the King's hand".

In fact, early records strongly suggest that they have the Gaelic rather than the English wrong, for, as Table IV/5(3) shows, these almost unanimously use the Gaelic "Fhuair mi pòg o làimh an Rìgh".

The incident commemorated in the tune is well known. Patrick Mòr MacCrimmon (c.1595-c.1670), piper to MacLeod of Dunvegan, was present at the levee of Charles II's army near Stirling in the Summer of 1651. A contemporary account, the Wardlaw MS., recounted the following incident at the Stirling camp:

"It was pretty in a morning [the King] in parad viewing the regiments and bragads. He saw no less then 80 pipers in a croud bareheaded, and John M'gyurmen in the middle covered. He asked What society that was? It was told his Majesty: Sir, yow are our King, and yonder old man in the middle is the Prince of Pipers. He cald him by name, and, comeing to the King, kneeling, his Majesty reacht him his had to kiss; and instantly played an extemporanian part Fuoris Pooge i spooge i Rhi, I got a kiss of the Kings hand; of which he and they all were vain." [Fraser J. 1905. Edn: 379].

There is some doubt as to whether the piper concerned was, in fact, Patrick Mòr MacCrimmon, since he is described as "John Mcgyurmen ... The Earle of Sutherland's domestick". [ibid.]. Tradition, however, avers this to be the case [vide. Rev. N. MacLeod 1840: 134-7], and certainly the account bears a resemblance to John MacCodrum's description of Patrick Mòr-

"Air na piobairean uile
B'e MacCruimein an rìgh ..."
(Of all the pipers, MacCrimmon was
King).
[Matheson W. 1938: 254].

An alternative account states that MacCrimmon wrote the tune in 1661 when he accompanied Roderick MacLeod of MacLeod to London after the Restoration. [MacKenzie A. 1889: 103; Whyte H. 1904: 123].

All the competitors in Edinburgh used the Gaelic "Fhuair mi pòg ...", translated as "I got a kiss of the King's Hand", (other than one who in 1838 had trouble with his English prepositions, and entered "I received a Kiss from the King's Hand"!)). Likewise, both notated sources, and Pibroch Song versions recorded by the School of Scottish Studies [eg Tocher 5:325], concur in the use of the Gaelic "Fhuair mi Pog ...". The only exception I have traced is in Rev. Dr. Norman MacLeod's article on "Clann 'ic-Cruimein" published in Cuairtear Nan Gleann in 1840 [134-7], in which he used the Gaelic "Thug mi pòg ...". Perhaps this simply represented an attempt at rationalising the title into superior English. MacLeod certainly proved adept at transforming English lyrics into Gaelic, (he was responsible for translating Scott's MacKrimmon's Lament, vide. Blankenhorn [1978]), but in this case the change was unjustified, and the Piobaireachd Society title is in need of amendment.

4. Patrick Òg MacCrimmon's Lament

In 1838 Angus MacKay published Cumha Phadruig Oic MhicCruimein, and furnished a nice traditional story on how the tune was composed by Iain Dall MacKay on a false report of the death of his tutor, Patrick Òg. [MacKay 1838. Hist. Notes: 9]. By 1844 MacKay's title had gained currency at the competition, and it was adopted in all subsequent publications. (e.g. Glen 1880, Thomason 1900, etc).

Table IV/5(4), however, shows that prior to MacKay's publication the tune was not considered a Lament to Patrick Òg MacCrimmon, but rather to his father, Patrick Mòr. It was entered as such by Donald and Allan MacIntyre from Rannoch in 1785 and 1786, and it might be recalled that Donald's father John was, according to a 1783 newspaper report, "bred at the College of Dunvegan". [E.E.C. 27/10/1783]. Donald himself was 75 years old in 1785 [Cal Merc. 3/9/1785], which made him a late contemporary of Patrick Òg MacCrimmon, who on the evidence of estate rentals did not die until approximately 1730. [Morrison A. n.d.; Grant I.F. 1959: 490].

Other variants of the title used at the competition were, in English, "Peter McCrimmen's Lament" (1823), "Great Peter McCrimmen's Lament" (1823), and "Great McRimmen's Lament" (1824). There were several cases of "McCrimmen's Lament", but these could equally refer to the other famous MacCrimmon tunes, The Lament for Donald Ban MacCrimmon, and

Cha Till MacCruimein. The only Gaelic variant was "Cumha Phadruic MhicChruimein" (1824). There is other evidence to suggest that the "Patrick Mòr" designation was in wide use prior to MacKay's collection. In 1831 the historian James Logan wrote that ...

"Pipers, as was becoming, were honoured with long and very affecting funeral dirges, one of which was on the last mentioned [MacLeod's Piper] who was designated 'Great Patrick'".

[Logan 1876 Edn. II: 295].

Most importantly, in 1820 Donald MacDonald published the tune as Cumh Pharic More MhicCruimmen [1820: 84]. This, clearly, was no aberration. It was the actual title in common use at the time. In all, a good case could be made for re-naming the tune Patrick Mòr MacCrimmon's Lament, although it is unlikely that such a move would be popular.

The Campbell Canntaireachd, incidentally, managed to find an alternative title for the tune in "Couloddin's Lament". One wonders if this was the tune which Alexander Campbell heard played by Archibald MacArthur when he visited Ulva in 1815 - "The Lament for the Slain on the Fatal Field of Culloden". [Campbell, Alex. 1815(a): 9].

Table IV/6

THE REPETITION OF THE URLAR. INFORMATION FROM EARLY NOTATED SOURCES.

- 1760 Joseph MacDonald. A Compleat Theory of the Scots Highland Bagpipe.
 "In marches (eg pibrochs) which contain a variety of runnings [variations], they return to the Adagio once or twice. It is usual, at the running before the last, to return to the Adagio, after which you proceed to the last, which is that of greatest execution." [p26]
- 1778 Daniel Dow. A Collection of Ancient Scots Music.
 Contains 5 tunes which can be identified as pibrochs, arranged for keyboard; and four of these have repetition at the end of every variation, one at the end only.
- 1784 Patrick MacDonald. A Collection of Highland Vocal Airs.
 Contains four pibrochs arranged for violin. Three repetitions of the ground are indicated for all except A' Ghlas Mheur, which has six repetitions.
- 1797 The Campbell Canntaireachd. Repetition of the ground is not indicated.
- 1812 E.J. Ross. Original Highland Airs.
 Contains four pibrochs arranged for keyboard. Repetition is indicated at the end of the doubling of each part. [Vide Cooke 1985]
- 1815 Alexander Campbell. Piobrachd Dhomhnuill Duibh.
 Noted from the canntaireachd of Neil MacLeod, Gesto, Sept. 1815. "The creabh or theme of the piece, being the first 16 bars, is to be played once over after each variation and its doubling." Five repetitions indicated in all. [Campbell A: 1815(b)]
- 1816/18 Alexander Campbell. Albyn's Anthology. (2 vols 1816/18)
 Contains three pibrochs, arranged for keyboard and voice. Two ("Piobrach Dhomhnuill Duibh" and "MacGregor's Gathering") were taken from MacLeod of Gesto, and in these the ground is in fact treated as a chorus; lyrics by Sir Walter Scott.
- 1818 Menzies. The Bagpipe Preceptor.
 Contains one traditional pibroch "Cogadh na Sith" [pp39-42]. Seven repetitions of the ground are indicated. "Piobrachs always close with the first strain or subject." [43]
- c.1820 Donald MacDonald. Collection of Ancient Martial Music.
 "...as a chorus of a song is to the verses, so is the ground of a piobaireachd to its variations, and ought to be played after the doubling, and where it happens tripling of each measure." [p3] Of the 23 tunes included, repetitions are indicated as follows: None (3); 1 (1); 2 (4); 3 (10); 4 (3); 5 (1). Most commonly repetition is indicated before the Taorluath variations, before the Crunluath variations, and at the end.
- 1820 Angus MacArthur. Highland Society of London MS.
 21 out of 30 tunes here indicate repetition only at the end. A further 7 indicate repetition before the crunluath, and only one has 3 repetitions. (King James Vis Lament)
- 1826 Peter Reid. Pibroch MS.
 Reid's tunes are mostly written in abbreviated form. In three instances repetition is indicated between Taorluath and Crunluath. [1826:4, 14, 51] He often uses a shorthand to describe variations, eg "here a Taorluadh and Creanluadh with each a singling and doubling and D.C." [Failte Fir Staffs:31]
- 1828 Neil MacLeod of Gesto. A Collection of Piobaireachd.
 "First measure of each tune to be played twice over, at the commencement, and once after each variation and doubling; but not to be played after Crouluigh Mach or last part." [1828:1]
- 1838 Angus MacKay. A Collection of Ancient Piobaireachd.
 Only 9 out of the 61 tunes do not indicate repetition before Crunluath variations, and at the end.

(g) TUNE STRUCTURE. THE REPETITION OF THE ÛRLAR

The indications are that tune structure has not materially changed since the late eighteenth century, other than for the fact that the Ûrlar or ground, which is nowadays repeated only once at the conclusion of the piece, used to be repeated one or more times as the tune progressed. Donald MacDonald described this practice in 1820 as follows:

"... as a chorus of a song is to the verses, so is the ground of a piobaireachd to its variations, and ought to be played after the doubling and where it happens tripling of each measure. It is also the conclusion of each piece, as well as its beginning."
[MacDonald D. 1820: 3].

At the time MacDonald wrote the practice was, in fact, close to extinction, for it was in the 1820's and 30's that pipers were forced to abbreviate tunes in response to the time-constraints of competition, and they did this by abandoning the repetition of the ùrlar.

Such repetition is attested to in a number of sources.

Early notated pibroch sources, with the exception only of the Campbell Canntaireachd, indicate that regular repetition was commonplace, but was not systematically applied to all tunes. Table IV/6 presents a synopsis of data from major early sources to this effect. Donald MacDonald's 1820 collection is perhaps representative of the variety of ways in which the device was used. The 23 tunes in this collection reveal a continuum ranging from no

repetition at one extreme (3 tunes), to five repetitions at the other (1 tune), with a median of three repetitions, one before the Taorluath variations, one before the Crunluath variations, and one at the end (10 tunes).

Other sources confirm that repetition was a device in common use. When Alexander Campbell heard Donald Ruadh MacCrimmon playing The Prince's Salute in 1815, for instance, he remarked on Donald Ruadh's "regular return to the subject, or theme of the piece ... in fine contrast with the more intricate passages". [Campbell A. 1815(a): 62]. And in 1849 J.G. Dalyell, drawing on his long experience of the competition, wrote of how

"... the bagpiper traverses the ground with haughty stride while occupied with his initial theme, or its renewal preceding each variation. During the latter, however, he becomes stationary - fronting him who he would most honour with his performance." [Dalyell 1849: 16].

Dalyell actually wrote with some licence, for it was in fact on his recommendation, as an active member of the competition committee, that the idea of abbreviating tunes by omitting the repetition of the urlar was first introduced to the competitions. [Dalyell Gen. 369D: 55]. The object was to allow a maximum number of competitors to compete in a limited period of time. It seems likely that his ideas were not initially welcomed. Regulations for the 1823 competition insisted that "each piper is to be left entirely to himself, and is not to be directed to play

short". [HSSPMB: 9,10]. This suggests a degree of resistance to the innovation, and helps us date the approximate time of its introduction. By the 1830's the practice of frequent repetition was clearly on the wane. In his 1838 collection Angus MacKay opted for a standard formula of just one repetition before the crunluath, and one at the end (in 52 out of the 61 tunes). Ross (1869), MacPhee (1879) and Glen (1880) all followed this lead, but at some stage during the nineteenth century the repetition before the crunluath was also abandoned. In his Musical Memoirs in 1849, J.G. Dalyell, speaking of the first Falkirk competition in 1781, was able to write with a degree of self-satisfaction:

"It is no wonder that the competition is said to have lasted three days, for it must be recollected that the duration of piobrachs ... was by no means abridged as at present - an improvement due to later years."
[Dalyell 1849: 101].

Although such a development in the art of pibroch playing may seem of little consequence nowadays, there is no doubt that it must have radically altered the feel of a tune. The chorus-like effect of regular repetition of the ùrlar must have been quite different from the slow but steady building of variations to climax which we now experience. Certain tunes, apart from anything else, were of prodigious length. Donald MacDonald's version of "Ceann na Drochaid Big" contained no fewer than 20 variations, with 5 repetitions of the urlar. This was exceptional, but many other tunes must have demanded a high

degree of concentration on the part of player and listener alike. This style of playing must also have put extreme demands on the instrument: it is exceptionally difficult to keep drones in tune for more than about twenty minutes of continuous playing. In fact, Dalrymple recorded that "it was quite common to tune in the middle of any part, and resume where the pipe left off" [Gen. 355D: 13], and in 1825 competitors were being specifically warned against this practice. This too helps us to date the change of playing practice with regard to the *ùrlar* to the mid-1820's.

(h) OTHER ASPECTS OF TUNE STRUCTURE IN THE EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURY

Other than the question of the urlar, there is every indication that pibroch was an established tradition by the time the competitions were inaugurated in Falkirk and Edinburgh. Both the repertoire, and the actual nature of the music, were firmly delineated by 1781.

It is necessary to state this, because recently it has been suggested that pibroch did not reach full maturity until the late nineteenth century. The case has been put most vociferously by Campsie in his book The MacCrimmon Legend (1980). In order to justify his claim that "pibroch was formalised long after the MacCrimmons" [1980: 116], he cites two principal pieces of evidence. The first derives from the folklorist J.F. Campbell who in 1880 conducted an inquiry into the nature of Canntaireachd. Campbell interviewed Duncan Ross, piper to the Duke of Argyll, who had been a pupil of John Ban MacKenzie. Ross had this to say of MacKenzie:

"It must be nearly a hundred years since he was in Raasay, learning 'Ceòl Mòr', great music, from MacKay. They had but two drones then, and they played no gracenotes."
[Campbell J.F. 1880: 33].

This is poor testimony. John Ban MacKenzie was in fact born in 1796, and was a pupil of John MacKay's in the early 1820's (not the 1780's as Ross implies). By this time the 3-drone bagpipe was in common use, and there is no

evidence that pipe music at any time was played without gracenotes, for gracenotes are essential to separate notes of equal pitch. Indeed Joseph MacDonald, author of an invaluable treatise on the bagpipe in 1760, saw in the gracenotes "the principal beauty and singularity of true bagpipe music", [MacDonald Joseph 1760: 20], and went on to illustrate several gracenote formulae of far greater complexity than those currently in use. Besides this, we do in any case have precise knowledge of the nature of early nineteenth century gracenoting, for this has been preserved in the major pibroch collections of Donald MacDonald (1820), Angus MacKay (1838), and others. As shall be discussed in Section 3 of this chapter, there were differences in gracenoting between these authorities, but these were minor discrepancies which, if anything, illustrate a greater richness in the tradition than currently prevails, and are certainly not indicative of musical immaturity.

A second strand of evidence cited by Campsie [1980: 116] is a written account of the 1784 Edinburgh competition by the French geologist Faujas St. Fond. St. Fond had already heard the pipes in Oban, and confessed an understandable bewilderment at the music - it was, after all, his first taste of a thoroughly foreign culture. In Edinburgh, however, he appears to have come to some understanding of the music, aided, no doubt, by his companion Adam Smith:

"The air he played was a kind of Sonata divided into three parts:" the first

"connected with a warlike march and military evolutions"; the second "a sanguinary battle"; and the third "as if lamenting the slain who were being carried off from the field of battle." [St. Fond, 1907 Edn. II: 248].

This bears little resemblance to pibroch as we now know it, or indeed, as it was written in the earliest collections. Campsie, however, sees this as "startling proof" that pibroch in the late eighteenth century was thoroughly different from the modern product. [1980: 116].

St. Fond's remarks, of course, should be put in context. This passage marks a moment of levity in a tome otherwise weighty with factual information on contemporary Scottish society, and geomorphological and geological data.

He wrote at this point primarily to amuse, and clearly had little understanding of piping, for he described the "loud cries" and "pantomimical gestures" with which the piper accompanied himself during his portrayal of the "sanguinary battle" - a physical feat verging on the impossible. [St. Fond. *ibid.*].

If his remarks have little bearing on the actual nature of pibroch in the late eighteenth century, they do however illustrate an interesting side-issue: namely that pibroch was commonly envisaged as music descriptive of battle, at least amongst non-pipers. Appendix VIII details three other contemporary accounts which use precisely the same sort of vivid descriptive imagery - the march to battle, engagement, victory and lamentation. Two of these accounts were written by native Scots, one of

whom, James Logan, also demonstrated a good understanding of the actual construction of pibroch. [Logan 1876 Edn. III: 291]. Why this type of interpretation became commonplace is open to debate. Pipers who set pen to paper did not indulge in comparable imagery to describe the pibroch, so perhaps this should simply be seen as an extension of the prevailing romantic notion of the Gael as noble warrior.

Sources such as those cited by Campsie should not detract from the fact that pibroch was by the early nineteenth century a highly-developed art form. Greater variety in playing style and tune format at this time need not be taken as evidence of an ill-developed tradition. The reverse, in fact, is probably true.

CHAPTER IV SECTION 3

- (a) JOSEPH MacDONALD (1739-c1761) A Compleat Theory of The Scots Highland Bagpipe. Compiled 1760. Published 1803.

The first pipe music publication with which the Highland Societies were directly involved was an invaluable work compiled by a young Sutherland man, Joseph MacDonald, whilst en route to India in 1760.

The Compleat Theory was not a tune collection, but rather a descriptive treatise, combining detailed instructions on how to play the pipe with personal remarks on composition, keys ("tastes"), time, and the "antient rule" of measurement using "fingers"(3) rather than bars.

Musical illustrations include one complete pibroch ("A March for a beginner"), plus numerous short extracts of unnamed but recognisable tunes. The principal value of the work lies in the fact that it predates subsequent records by a full generation, and recalls the playing style and musical lore of pipers who lived before the '45. In many respects it shows how little has changed in piping. Much of the terminology is familiar, as is Joseph's jibe at those pipers who "by their insipid musick and antick gestures give the publick the most despicable idea of this instrument". [1760: 21]. On the other hand, he described aspects of technique and playing style now lost, although echoed in other pre-MacKay sources such as Donald MacDonald

(1820) and Angus MacArthur (1820). His analysis of variation forms is particularly illuminating - his fingering instructions are quite explicit, and he includes specimens of variations or "cuttings" no longer played, such as "Barludh":



This formidable-looking sequence is in fact quite playable, and breaks down into three familiar constituents:

- (1) A closed E throw (a G rather than A)
- (2) The movement "Darodo"
- (3) A closed throw from low G to high G

He included four other unfamiliar variations, but admitted that most tunes then, as now, went no further than the Crunluath, "a graceful conclusion to the whole."

Joseph MacDonald was in a unique position to produce such a document. He was at once a piper with a love of his native music, and a musician trained in the conventions of staff notation, capable of writing pipe music on the stave. Born in 1739, one of eleven children of the Rev. Murdoch MacDonald of Durness, Joseph and his elder brother Patrick (1729-1824) were taught the rudiments of music by their father, and by Kenneth Sutherland of Knockbreac. [Scott H. VII: 102 MacDonald K.N. 1897:135]. In 1753, when aged 14, Joseph spent some time with Patrick who was then a school teacher in Rosshire. His father described

him then as an accomplished player of flute, violin and hautboy (oboe) [S.R.O, GD 125/22/1(24)], who by 1754 had also made "considerable progress on playing the bagpipe". [MacDonald P. 1784:1]. He was sent to school in Haddington, where he studied music under "Signor Pasquali", but fortunately never lost his enthusiasm for Highland music. On returning home in 1757 he set about making a collection of the songs and instrumental music of Ross and Sutherland, including a collection of "the different kinds of bagpipe music." [MacDonald P. *ibid.*]. In 1759 he decided to join the East India Company, but before setting sail he again visited Patrick, newly appointed to the Presbytery of Kilmuir in Argyll (which charge he held for 69 years), and also made a copy of "a number of vocal airs" which he left with a sister. [MacDonald P. *ibid.*].

En route for India Joseph occupied himself in editing his music with a view to publication, and also in writing the Compleat Theory, aided by two practice chanters ("feadan meaghra") made for him by native craftsmen in Persia. Like so many of his compatriots, within a year of arriving in India, Joseph died of fever. [MacDonald P. 1784: 1,2]. Surprisingly, two of his manuscripts survived, and were eventually published with the help of his brother Patrick. The first was the manuscript of vocal airs deposited with his sister prior to departure, which forms the largest portion (86 tunes) of Patrick MacDonald's Collection of Highland Vocal Airs, published in 1784. This is considered a milestone in the history of