A Classification of
GAELIC FOLK-SONG

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INTRODUCTION

The following article is an attempt to isolate and briefly illustrate the main types that are found in the oral song-poetry of Gaelic Scotland.† Attention is concentrated on what is actually found in present-day tradition and although most of the types described are strictly sub-literary, a few types are included which appear to be of literary origin.

One of the major barriers to the analytic discussion of any folk-song culture is the lack of a definitive terminology. There has been very little objective study in this field over the last fifty years and it has not been possible to use a previous classificatory system as a model.[1] This state of affairs contrasts sharply with the great progress that has been made in the systematic study of the folk-tale. Antti Aarne published his *Verzeichnis der Märchentypen* forty-six years ago, setting forth a classification of tales which set the pattern for all future catalogues up to the present time.[2] Since metrical forms cannot cross linguistic boundaries as easily as story plots which have no formal requirements other than those of the arrangement of narrative elements, it is probably not possible to provide a classification of song types which would have an international application. The basic procedure of Antti Aarne may be said to have been the isolation of recurring narrative plots and numbering them within larger groups based on the predominance of a particular theme, such as Animal Tales, Tales of Magic, Novelle, etc. Where similar tales in this classification differ in detail the difference is seen to lie in the presence, absence or different positioning of segments of narrative which recur in different contexts. His systematic tale division, therefore, implies the possibility of tabulating these atomic segments. This was subsequently undertaken by Stith Thompson.[3] Even ignoring the international aspect of this type of folk-tale study,

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† The translations presented in this paper are mostly in prose. Though printed in a narrow line they are not meant to reflect the Gaelic verse forms.

the many differences of theme, structure and function between story and song severely limit the application of such methods to song analysis. Because of the several important facets of song, the possibility of a plurality of criteria which takes due account of each of them has to be considered. In making a systematic classification each criterion must be used consciously, its relation to the others in use being carefully defined.

In this study four criteria have been found applicable to the particular task set and an attempt is made to use them systematically. Since it is important to reveal the system in use as far as possible, the types isolated have been grouped according to the criterion which has been predominant in their selection.

The criteria used are 1. *Theme*, 2. *Structure*, 3. *Folk Ætiology*, and 4. *Function*.

The thematic criterion, supported in some cases by a consideration of structural factors, is the one that has been most widely used. The following table gives a list of types grouped according to the thematic elements which are predominant in them.

I. SONG THEME

1.1   *Songs with an inter-sexual aspect*
1.1.1   Love songs (general)
1.1.2   Matchmaking songs
1.1.3   Night visit songs
1.1.4   Pregnancy songs
1.1.5   Rejection songs
1.1.6   Tàmailt (complaints)

1.2   *Songs relating to the physical environment*
1.2.1   Hunting songs
1.2.2   Homeland songs
1.2.3   Topographical songs

1.3   *Panegyric*
1.3.1   Eulogy
1.3.2   Elegy
1.3.3   Lament

1.4   *Satire*
1.4.1   Aoir
1.4.2   Flyting

1.5   *Songs of miscellaneous themes*
1.5.1   Religious songs
1.5.2   Bacchanalia
1.5.3   Jacobite songs
1.5.4   Merry songs

The arrangement of types isolated by use of a structural criterion is as follows:

II. SONG STRUCTURE

2.1 *Ballads*
2.1.1 Heroic Ballads
2.1.2 Sailors' Ballads (Place-name songs)
2.1.3 Soldiers' Ballads

2.2 Macaronics

2.3 Pibroch Songs

2.4 Puirt-a-beul

Since this criterion differs so fundamentally from the first, it may appear that there has to be a certain amount of overlapping. This will be discussed below where the thematic nature of these marked structural types will be illustrated.

The scope of the third criterion is narrower but nevertheless important. A song can become part of the general traditional lore of a community in a very special way, especially where it becomes the focal or culminating point of a supernatural tale, its existence being explained for instance by reference to a fairy or other supernatural being. The arrangement of this minor group is as follows:

III. FOLK ÆTIOLOGY

3.1 Fairy Songs

In the fourth main grouping the term *Functional* is used to refer to songs which play or have played a definite part in the material life of the people, and as such it has two applications: (*a*) to songs which are associated with traditional customs or rituals; (*b*) to songs which are used as an accompaniment to the physical rhythm of labour.

The use of the functional criterion would be more straightforward if it could be taken as a maxim that theme expresses function. Unfortunately this is only the case with the first of the two groups listed. The term *Duan Challuinn* (S.T. 4.1.1) for instance, not only labels a song from the aspect of its function but also indicates a thematic content which is indicative of that function. The term *Waulking Song*, on the other hand, while it implies that a song has been used in a certain occupation, tells us nothing about thematic content. Even incidental

textual allusions to the work are rare in songs associated with the waulking tradition. Although one hears the term frequently used in discussions about traditional Gaelic song, it has not been given generic status in this classification because of the wide variety of themes and structures which are found in this tradition. Songs from it are included in S.T. 1.1, 1.1.2, 1.1.4, 1.1.5, 1.1.6, 1.2.2, 1.3.2, 1.3.3, 1.4.2, 1.5.3, 2.1, 3.2, and 4.2.3, revealing the particular richness of this song culture. Although the theme of a song may not be directly indicative of its function, we nevertheless find that particular themes are found associated with particular occupations. Cradle songs, for instance, normally have texts which are either laments or eulogies of a particular kind. Since the employment of a song in an occupation is so often incidental to its origin or theme, occupational type names are only used where some peculiarity of content is also discernible.

The types isolated in this way are grouped together in the following manner.

IV. SONG FUNCTION

4.1 *Songs associated with ritual*
4.1.1 Duain Challuinn (Hogmanay Songs)
4.1.2 Eòlais (Charms and Incantations)

4.2 *Occupational Songs*
4.2.1 Cradle Songs
4.2.2 Milking Songs
4.2.3 Orain Basaidh (Palming or Clapping Songs)
4.2.4 Rowing Songs
4.2.5 Spinning Songs

As has already been indicated, suitable names were not available for many of the individual types enumerated in this paper. Where names did already exist with a sufficiently technical connotation they have been used. Terms such as *Flyting* and *Night Visit Song* are definitive type names borrowed from external sources and need little re-definition to suit the special requirements of this context, whereas other terms such as *Ballad* and *Satire* need considerable qualification. Gaelic names have been used where these are more suitable than English ones.

The classification is primarily the result of an analysis of some two thousand of the Gaelic sound recordings at present in the archives of the School of Scottish Studies.[4] The documentation of these recordings has involved the examination of

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numerous published collections and manuscripts. In giving references published sources are used where possible. It must be stated, however, that references are limited to indicating that a given type recurs and are not meant to be in any way exhaustive.

I. THEME

As has been indicated in the course of the above discussion, we can view Gaelic song from the three main aspects of Theme, Structure, and Function, and also from the lesser aspect of the position it occupies in the general folklore of the community. While Theme is undoubtedly the most widely applicable of these criteria, it is not sufficiently delimiting in itself to make a basis for an exhaustive classification. Thus many of the groups under the remaining three headings can be seen as further delimitations of Theme. S.T. 4.2.1 (*Cradle Songs*) further divides S.T. 1.3.2 (*Eulogy*) and 1.3.3 (*Lament*). S.T. 2.1.2 (*Sailors' Ballads*) and S.T. 2.1.3 (*Soldiers' Ballads*) can be seen as a further sub-division of Group 1.2 (*Songs relating to the physical environment*).

Although the criterion of Structure is used as a criterion distinct from that of Theme, it is also operative within the thematic groupings. S.T. 1.1.2, 1.1.4, 1.1.5, and 1.4.2 show individual structural differences which emphasise their thematic differences. Furthermore, an important part of the difference between S.T. 1.3.2 and 1.3.3 is structural in the metrical sense.

1.1. Songs with an Inter-sexual Aspect

1.1.1. *Love Songs (General)*

A number of songs having an inter-sexual aspect, and which could loosely be called "love songs", are treated below as more specific types. We shall here briefly consider the residue of love songs which are not characterised by any particular recurrent structure. From the aspect of the various influences that have gone towards its formation, we can consider this residue as falling roughly into three main groups.

(*a*) Specifically women's songs from the early modern period which have survived through the waulking culture.

(*b*) A small group of sophisticated love songs, some of which seem to indicate the continuing influence of the early modern literary love poem familiar in Irish literature.

(c) A large mass of recent compositions, mainly nostalgic in tone and related to the Homeland series we shall consider below.

(a) These are songs which share many characteristics with the sub-literary eulogy. The basic difference between eulogy and love song, ignoring for the moment the normal inter-sexual aspect of the love-song, is the objectivity of the former, its tendency to describe and attribute qualities to the subject, as distinct from the more emotional, subjective tendency of the latter. We naturally find a number of examples which reveal both these tendencies and there is a considerable overlap with the sub-literary eulogy. In this section we shall indicate briefly the peculiar characteristics that they have as love songs.

Their chief characteristic is their great virility of expression, frequently employing extreme imagery to convey desire.

> Alasdair òig ic ic Neacail
> b'fhearr leam fhin gu'm beirinn mac dhut
> cóigear na sianar na seachdnar
> 's uallach a dheanainn an altrum;
> bheirinn cìoch is glùn an asgaidh
> thogainn suas air bhàrr mo bhas iad.[5]

> > Young Alasdair son of the son of Nicol, I wish I could bear you a son, five or six or seven, and proudly would I nurse them; I would give breast and knee freely, I would raise them aloft on my palm. . . .

Jealousy can be found expressed in an equally striking way.

> N'an cluinninn té eile bhi suas riut
> gu spionainn bun is bàrr mo chuailein
> 'S leumadh mo shròn àird na stuaigheadh
> 's gu falbhadh m'anail na ceò uaine. . . .[6]

> > Were I to hear of another woman making up to you I would tear my hair tip and root, my nose would spout blood the height of a gable end and my breath would go in a green mist. . . .

The following passage occurs in a variant of the same song:—

'S tu fireannach lium as docha
shaltair air fiar riamh no fochann
laigh air a thaobh deas no toisgeail
no chuir bròg ma cheann a choiseadh.
Mo mhil mhìochain 's mo mhil bheachainn
mo dhìtheinean eadar ghart thu,
mo cheòl, mo cheòl mo cheòl fidhleadh
's mo cheòl clàrsaich àrd is ìseal.[7]

You are the man I most prefer to any who has ever trampled on grass or on corn shoots, who has ever lain on his right or left side, or who has put shoe on the point of his foot. You are my honey of . . . and my honey of bees, you are my flowers among fields, you are my music, my fiddle music, my harp music high and low.

These passages may reveal the starkness, and great directness of these heroic love songs, which are also unique in being the permanent contribution of women to Gaelic literature.

(b) The songs of this group could be called "romantic" love songs. They are composed with a certain controlled artistry of language despite the emotional disturbance of love. Among this not very prolific class are songs by known eighteenth-century poets like William Ross and Duncan Ban MacIntyre. These have survived in variants close to published versions and must be regarded textually as having been reinforced at one or more point in the history of their survival in the oral tradition by reference to the printed word. Musically, however, they belong purely to the oral tradition.[8] Others of fine literary quality are not traceable to any known author. Variants of beautiful love-poems such as *Fhir a leadain tlàith*,[9] *Oran le Nighean Fir na Rèilig* [10] and *'S mi air m'uilinn 'sa leabaidh* [11] are still to be heard traditionally.

(c) It is rather unusual to find any recent composition which is a straightforward love song. For the modern poetic lover the nostalgia of love tends to be combined with a quasi-nostalgia for the homeland, a common kind of development being *An teid thu leam a ribhinn oig a null gu tir nam beanntan*—"Will you go with me young maiden over to the land of the mountains?" This sentiment is becoming increasingly prominent

in modern compositions. Furthermore, the lack of melodic originality of these songs lessens their interest for the collector.

1.1.2. *Matchmaking Songs* [12]

At the conclusion of the shrinking process of the waulking when the cloth was being folded and palmed, it was customary to sing dialogue songs in which the leader matched a member of the waulking group with a certain man. The named girl sang a reply, which was derisive if the leader's choice was unacceptable to her, or eulogistic if she favoured him. These dialogues were spontaneous only to a limited extent since they were fitted into certain traditional song forms and refrains.

There were a number of these forms, employing various metrical and refrain patterns. No common metre is thus employed and the continuity of structure that is evident throughout the group is based purely on the dialogue element which is found in all of them. In belonging to the clapping or palming stage of the waulking, they can be regarded as a thematic sub-class of S.T. 4.2.3. Since, however, they do not constitute the total song literature of that occupation, and since they have a marked identity of theme, they are classed separately.

The following matchmaking song-form was popular in Lewis. A syllabic chorus was sung with a final solo line of text embodying a request for a lover to be named. The suggested lover was then named in a solo line sung to the same melody as the one in which the request was made.

> Haoim éile haoim ó
> hóro bhi 's na hóro gheallaidh
> haoim éile haoim ó
> faigheabh dhòmhsa leannan tràth.

Domhall Sheòruis dhut an trasd.

If he was unacceptable he was satirised as follows:

> Sios e sios chùirt an ùraich
> 's a chuid lùirichean ma cheann;
> ceigeanach dubh ceann gun chìreadh
> cha teid mi gu dìlinn dha

> Down with him, down with him to the dung-yard with his rags of clothing after him; black dwarf of the uncombed head, I will never go to him.

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A request for a better one followed and if he was acceptable he would be eulogised as follows:

> Suas e suas e chùirt an airgid
> nighean a righ cha b'fharmad leam;
> suas e suas e bhàrr nan crannaibh
> 's na siuil ghealaic' air a slìnn.[13]

> Up with him, up with him to the court of silver, I would not envy the king's daughter, up he goes, up he goes to the white-sailed mast tops.

A Skye song of a similar type had the following refrain, the name of the suggested suitor inserted in the second line.

> Goiridh an coileachan uair roimh là
> Aonghas mac Dhòmhaill air tighinn do'n bhaile so
> goiridh an coileachan uair roimh là.[14]

> The cock crows an hour before day
> Angus MacDonald has come to the township
> The cock crows an hour before day.

A solo line then followed:

> Có 'n té òg bheir e bho'n chagailte?

> Who is the young woman he will take
> from her fireside?

A young woman of the company was then matched with the man named.

1.1.3. *Night Visit*

We are now dealing with a clearly differentiated song type which has been found in many cultures. It has also a sociological significance in that it is associated with a courting custom known in a number of societies. As an English and Scots song type, the night visit song has been discussed at length by Charles Read Baskerville.[15] In this section we shall describe briefly the forms that the songs of the night visit take in Gaelic and make comparative notes where relevant.

Isolated references to the night visit appear in the earlier love songs, particularly the women's songs. A love-eulogy has

been recorded in which the woman enquires of her lover whether he is to visit her during the night.

> Ailein Ailein Ailein chùlduinn
> an tig thu nochd no'm bi mo dhùil riut
> an dean mi'n daras mór a dhunadh
> an dean mi choinneal bhàn a mhùchadh
> an dean mi sin no'n caisg mi'n cù dhut.[16]

> Alan, Alan, brown-haired Alan, will you come tonight or shall I cease to expect you; shall I close the outer door, shall I quench the white candle. Shall I do that or shall I restrain the dog for you.

Another song of the same type says:

> Tha an Seachdaran air an adhar
> 's tha a' ghealach gun éirigh fhathast
> faodaidh fear na suirghe gabhail
> ga brith taobh dha'n dean e rathad
> dh'iochdar no dh'uachdar an taighe.[17]

> The Pleiades are in the sky and the moon is not yet risen; the wooer may proceed wherever his destination may be, to the lower or the upper part of the house.

The above quotations represent the night visit traditions uncomplicated by intrigue or any special situation. Two distinct developments from this norm are found, one expected extension of the tradition being to sheiling life. Isolated references from an early period indicate this transference.

> 'S tric a chuir thu mi teann an gàbhadh
> 's mi leabaidh chaoil an taobh na h-àireadh.[18]

> Often you placed me in dire danger, and I in a narrow bed in the side of the sheiling.

It is unlikely that this variation of the custom would be regarded with approval by the society in which it was practised. The night visit of the lover to his girl was essentially a visit to her home, and if the visit was uncomplicated, that is, if the parents approved of the lover, the secrecy that attended his entry would be formal or ritualistic only. The night visit in this form could only properly exist with the approval or connivance of the girl's parents. The alteration of these basic

circumstances and the transference of the custom from the girl's home where some control could at least be theoretically exercised, to the sheiling, where the girls lived through long periods of the summer with the minimum of supervision, would be regarded as an illegitimate extension, particularly so in later times when the custom was declining and when there would be a changing attitude to it on the part of parents and guardians.

The songs that we have so far recorded, which deal with the night visit custom in the sheiling, are all composed from the lover's view point. They tend to be humorous and tell of the lover's frustration owing to some ridiculous mishap. A song attributed to a piper in the service of a Laird of Glen-alladale about the end of the eighteenth century is of this type. He describes his difficulties in achieving entry, and how, when he finally reaches his sweetheart's bedside, he finds her sleeping with a young child. In response to his request to sleep with her she replies

> Thuirt i mata cuir dhiot t-aodach
> bheir mise nochd mo leth thaobh dhut
> air eagal 's gun dean thu m'aoireadh
> 's chan ann air son gaol do mhànrain.[19]

> She said, unclothe yourself, you will to-night get a place at my side, but it is for fear that you will satirize me, and not for love of your company.

As he unclothed himself the child began to scream, awakening the woman of the house. The lover then had to flee partially clothed.

We get another variation of the normal night-visit theme when there is a background of intrigue and the woman is already married. A married woman's warning to her lover incorporated in a lullaby has been recorded. The song has the following three-phrased refrain

> Bi falbh o'n uinneig fhir ghaoil fhir ghaoil
> 's na tig a nochd tuilleadh fhir ghràidh, fhir ghràidh
> bi falbh o'n uinneig fhir ghaoil fhir ghaoil.[20]

> Go away from my window my love, my love
> and do not come again tonight my darling, my darling
> go away from my window my love, my love.

Baskerville has commented in detail on the antiquity and widespread occurrence of the refrain "Go from my window,

go". He also points to the international occurrence of the theme of a wife's warning to a lover through a lullaby. The text of the above song, which is fragmentary only, is as follows— the refrain being given initially and after each line.

> The athair mo chloinne 'na laighe 'nam thaice
> Tha do long air an t-seòra 's i gun seòladair aice;
> Cuir umad do bhrògan tha 'n tòir a tigh'n cas ort
> Gura mise bhios brònach ma ni an tòir seo cur as dhut.

> The father of my children is lying by my side, your ship is unmanned on the shore; put your shoes on, the pursuit is coming close to you; it is I who will be sad should this pursuit destroy you.

A comparison may be made in particular to Buchan's "*Cuckold Sailor*" [21] and to the texts discussed by A. G. Gilchrist in the Journal of the English Folk Dance and Song Society.[22]

1.1.4. *Pregnancy Songs*

Songs which are motivated by this state fall into two groups, the second of which concerns us in this section.

(a) Complaints about seduction or rape and subsequent pregnancy. These are included in the *Tàmailt* section and do not concern us here.

(b) Songs in which the complaint trait is only slightly developed or absent. The pregnancy is indicated but the song then develops into a vaunting boast which states that the father of the unborn child is not a "balach" or unworthy person but a great hero. The lover is then eulogised and the willingness to bear him several children may be expressed. The general trait is well exemplified, though in a compressed way, in a text recently recorded in Skye.

> Cha dìrich mi an t-uchd le fonn
> ceum mo chois is truime lium
> tha mi torrach dùmhail trom;
> cha leis a bhalach mo throm
> ach leis a lasgaire dheas dhonn.[23]

> I cannot climb the slope lightly, the stride of my foot is heavy, I am closely filled and pregnant; my pregnancy is not the servant lad's but that of the excellent brown haired hero.

A similar trait is developed in another song collected by K. C. Craig.

Thog iad ormsa le sgainneal
gu robh bainne 'nam chìochan,
gu robh mi trom torrach
o thoradh na h-aon uidhch
gun deachaidh mi an uaigneas
le buachaill a' chinn duibh. . . .
Gura càirdeach mo leanabh
dha na falannan uasal
do Mhac Leòid anns na Hearadh
's dha gach baran tha fiachar
Gura car' thu Mhac Dhùghaill
thig o thùr nan clach liomhann.[24]

They raised the scandal about me that there was milk in my breasts, that I was heavy and pregnant from the fruit of one night, that I had lain in secrecy with the black-haired herd boy. . . . My child is kin to the young nobles, to MacLeod of Harris, and to every baron of worth. You are kin to MacDougall of the smooth-stoned tower.

No traces of modern composition are found in any of the known examples of this interesting type. Heroic imagery is found in all of them and they may be regarded as survivals of the song-literature of a heroic society. We owe the survival of what examples we possess to the song-culture of the waulking.[25]

1.1.5. *Rejection Songs*

These are women's songs and are associated with waulking. They proceed, (a) by rejecting a given suitor and enumerating a number of reasons for doing so; (b) by rejecting a number of actual or hypothetical suitors, classed according to trade or profession, with one reason given in each case. A eulogy of the desired lover may be associated with either type.

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(*a*) The following text is sung in various parts of the Outer Hebrides.

Bodachan cha phòs mi
bi e fada 'g éirigh
fada dol na éideadh
fada, fada ag cur uime
cha teid e mach gun am bata
cha tig e steach gun an casda
saoilidh e gur caoirich clachan
saoilidh e gur bó na h-eachu. . . .

I will not marry a little old man, he will be late in rising, very slow in dressing; he will not go out without a stick, he will not come in without a cough; he will think that the stones are sheep, that the cows are horses.

A variant of this song has a brief eulogistic accretion.[27]

(*b*) The following text is a good example of the second kind of Rejection Song, in which the singer leads up to her choice of suitor through a series of rejections.

Chan àill leam an gobha
mu'm bodhair an t-òrd mi.

I don't want the smith, his hammer would deafen me.

Chan àill leam am breabadair
goididh e móran

I don't want the weaver; he steals much.

Chan àill leam an tuathanach
buailidh e dòrn orm

I don't want the farmer; he will strike me with his fist.

Chan àill leam a fìdhlear
ge fínealta mheòirean

I don't want the fiddler despite the skill of his fingers.

Chan àill leam an greusaiche
's breugach a sheorsa

I don't want the cobbler, his kind are liars.

Chan àill leam an cíobair
bi lìth air a mheòirean

I don't want the shepherd, his fingers are greasy.

.   .   .   .   .

Gum b'fhearr leam an tàillear
a chàradh mo chota.[28]

I prefer the tailor who would mend my coat.

Essentially of the same type is *Chan àill leam gobha dubh a ghuail*.[29] In this song, the blacksmith, tailor, farmer, carpenter, cobbler, weaver, and sailor are rejected and the soldier is accepted.

As stated above, a eulogy of the desired lover may be associated with the rejection song. This may be a brief reference, or it may be developed to a greater extent than the rejection element itself. Where the rejection element is only incidental to a longer text, as it frequently is, it can be seen as a formulaic trait peculiar to women's love songs. The Rejection Song is thus like the Pregnancy Song, in that it can comprise a song text in itself and is also used as a compositional element in longer texts of another type.[30]

1.1.6. Tàmailt (*Complaint Songs*)

The Gaelic term *Tàmailt* has already been given a technical significance in indicating a definitive song type.[31] An accurate translation of the word is difficult. It normally indicates an emotional state, a mixture of aggrieved shame and anger, which we could indicate approximately by using the English words "chagrin" or "mortification". There are a number of songs which appear to have originated in this psychological state, being complaints about personal insults or imagined or real persecution by other members of the community.

The song which J. C. Watson calls "A specimen of the *Tàmailt*" is an answer to a pregnancy slander. It has a satirical development and is similar to a section of a flyting. More typical of what is implied by the term *Tàmailt* is the song *Cha tog mi fonn eutrom* in Craig.[32] The song commences as a complaint about a cut thumb and then develops into a series of complaints against the entire community.

Since the most frequent source of a *Tàmailt* is a seduction, subsequent pregnancy, and abandonment by the lover, it has been placed in the inter-sexual grouping. The song *Choinnich thu'n coille nan geug mi* [33] is such a complaint and is not directed merely at a girl's faithless lover but complains of her treatment by her associates who despise her for what she has allowed to happen. In its more general sense of "complaint", the *Tàmailt* grouping can include miscellaneous pregnancy complaints and complaints about being dispossessed of land, or about sons being pressed into military service by the chief.[34]

1.2. Songs Relating to the Physical Environment

1.2.1. *Homeland Songs*

This song type is an old one, poems expressing love of place being known in mediæval Irish texts.[35] The vast majority

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of examples in the current oral tradition are, however, modern in conception and relate to the population movements of the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Very few examples have survived with an early eighteenth- or seventeenth-century background and it is doubtful whether songs of this type were composed in any numbers during that period. Of the one hundred and forty-seven songs from the waulking tradition published by Craig, twelve are of the homeland type or contain homeland traits. Of these, seven seem to be from the earlier period and are mainly in Type I metre. Despite the fact that they are all motivated by absence from the homeland, the heavy and repetitive nostalgic utterances of the later songs are missing. They appear to have been composed within Highland society and frequently express love for one Gaelic-speaking area rather than another, expressing joy at the prospect of returning. There is a marked tendency for the homeland trait in these early songs to be developed in a formulaic way, the following passage being found in close variants in different melodic and textual contexts.

> O chóin a chiall mo thriall dhachaidh
> gu baile bòidheach a chlachain
> far an d'fhuair mi gu h-òg m'altrum
> m'àrach chan e sàil a phartain
> ach bainne cìoch nam ban bas-gheal
> 's an toigh mhór am biodh am pailteas
> far an cluinnte pìob is caismeachd
> 's ruighleadh mór air ùrlar farsainn
> treis air dhìsnean 's treis air chairtean
> 's treis eil air an t-sròl a phasgadh.[36]

> Ochone my journey homeward to the pretty township clachan where I was nursed in childhood; my nourishment not the brine of the shore crab but breast milk of white palmed women, in the great house of plenty where bagpipes and tramping of feet would be heard with a great reel dancing on a wide floor; a spell at ice and a spell at cards, and another spell folding the satin.

This passage may be found as the central part of a song text or, as in the example quoted, it may be an accretion to a song of different type.

The development of the homeland song as a prolific type seems to be a late one. Its appearance in the earlier song culture of love-eulogies, laments, and flytings is incidental only and attracts our attention primarily because of its contrast to the later type. The vast majority of the Homeland songs in the School's recorded collection and in published collections relate to the involuntary emigrations of the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and reflect the social and economic vicissitudes which mark that era in the Highlands. We can divide them roughly according to origin into two different kinds.

(a) Emigrant's songs. In these the poet yearns for his childhood habitat, usually proceeding by cataloguing its virtues, the customs and qualities of its people, and the natural beauties of the countryside. The new environment in which the poet finds himself may be treated, its inhabitants being condemned for their different religious or moral attitudes.[37]

(b) Songs composed by people who have not been forced to leave the environment of their youth, but who have remained and watched that environment change. Like the former type they are heavily emotional in tone and contain expressions of bitterness or hatred towards the landlords. They lament the coming of the sheep and the expulsion of the tenantry, the two processes always being necessarily related in this kind of song.[38]

These later songs are not of great interest for the collector. They lack originality both musically and textually, and since the type has become a quasi-literary genre for town-dwelling Gaels with poetic aspirations, it has been popular at concerts and in broadcasts. The Homeland Song, with its interpolated love element, is the most prominent type in current composition.

1.2.2. *Songs of Hunting Scenes*

The type name in this case might suggest some kind of occupational song. The grouping has been made on the basis of theme because the songs deal largely with hunting reminiscences and these frequently develop into longer passages of a topographical kind. The hunting reference is quite often an allusion only, within the larger context of a topographical passage.

> Chi mi Srath farsuing a' Chruidh
> far an labhar guth nan sonn,
> is coire creagach a' Mhàim Bhàin
> am minig a thug mo làmh toll.

Chi mi Garbhbheinn nan damh donn
agus Lapbheinn nan tom sìth;
mar sin is an Leitir Dhubh—
is tric a rinn mi fuil na frìth.[39]

> I see the broad strath of cattle where
> loud is the voice of heroes; and the
> rocky corry of Màm Bàn, where often
> my hand wounded.
>
> I see Garbhbheinn of brown stags and
> Lapbheinn of fairy mounds, and also
> Leitir Dhubh, often I let blood in its
> forests.

Verses of a gnomic kind are also found in Hunting Songs.
In a recording of the song *Thogainn Fonn air Lorg an Fhéidh*
gnomic statements are predominant in the opening phase. A
series of utterances states the desires which characterise the trout,
innkeeper, goat, wise woman, farmer and hunter. As the song
appears in a longer published version, the text continues with
hunting reminiscences and includes a reference to the debility
of old age.[40]

A song collected by K. C. Craig has as its two main
elements a hunting passage and a series of gnomic utterances.
The first sequence contains a compressed description of a
hunt, culminating in the slaughter of a hind. The gnomic
utterances, which we quote here, are preceded by a slight
topographical reference.

Loch mo chridhe an loch ud thall
an loch ud eadar an da ghleann,
an loch air am bi an lacha le h-àl
cha tromaid an loch an lacha
cha tromaid an lacha a h-àl
cha tromaide caora a h-olla;
cha tromaide colann ciall,
cha tromaid an t-each a shrian.[41]

Yonder loch is dear to me
the loch between the two glens;
the loch which the wild duck frequents with her brood.
the loch is not heavier for the duck
the duck is not heavier for its brood,
a sheep is not heavier for its wool
a body is not heavier for understanding,
the horse is not heavier for its bridle.

We are probably dealing here with a type which is literary in origin. The poem we have already quoted two verses from, *Comhachag na Stròine* (The Owl of Strone), is a sophisticated sixteenth-century literary composition showing clear connections with the Irish bardic tradition. It exemplifies well the various hunting, topographical, and old-age traits we find intermingled in our other examples of the type. Apart from the undoubted fact that the practice of hunting was mainly an aristocratic pursuit, the possible literary origins of topographical poetry have also to be considered.

In his analysis of the poem, John MacKechnie goes too far when he regards as separate poems what are clearly different aspects of a single poetic genre.[42] He separates the hunting, topographical and old-age sections and treats them as independent poems which have fallen together. Yet it is not difficult to see why a poem or song which receives its primary inspiration from hunting should also contain comments of a topographical kind. Verses on senility also can be viewed as a logical development from a eulogy of the joys of the hunt; and their connection with topographical verses, particularly if these are in the nature of reminiscences, poses no particular problem.

Hunting songs which are essentially complaints or laments are exemplified in

(*a*) *'S gann gun dìrich mi chaoidh*,[43] a Skye song which expresses a hunter's complaint when further permission to hunt is denied him.

(*b*) *Òran Fear Druim a Chaoin*.[44] A song which seems to have been composed by a hunter while in prison.

(*c*) *'S dona sud a Bhothain bhochd*.[45] This song is said to have been composed for an injured hunter. It is in a syllabic metre and contains topographical and hunting reminiscences.

1.2.3. *Topographical Poems (Nature Poems)*

When dealing with a language in which the concepts of "song" and "poem" are united and the single word "oran" or "amhran" is the common term, it is naturally very difficult to impose the categories of *song* and *poem* on its poetic material. Yet we are dealing here with a type which we can only describe as being of a literary, poetic origin. At all stages of its development as a type that it is possible for us to trace, it has shown a conscious artistry of language and æsthetic purpose that is alien to the sub-literary tradition. In speaking of a "poetic"

origin in this context, we mean that a composition aims at its æsthetic objective primarily through devices of language and speech rhythms, and that the melody is incidental only. The melody is not composed by the poet but is chosen by him from well-known traditional airs. A melody for the poem is chosen at all only out of deference to a tradition that requires the singing of all poetic compositions.

The sung poems we are considering are not related in any way to the Homeland group we have already described. Neither are they, properly speaking, "nature" poems as they are customarily called. Undoubtedly their sudden popularity with the Gaelic poets of the eighteenth century was due to the influence of poets like Allan Ramsay and James Thomson. It must not be thought, however, that their style was modelled to any essential degree on the English nature poetry of that period, despite the fact that they were influenced by it in their acceptance of literary fashion and even in choice of subject. The whole æsthetic outlook involved in the Gaelic poets' conception of a nature poem was derived from an earlier and different poetic tradition. When a subject was chosen the aim was to describe it exhaustively in objective terms. Language indicating states or processes of a subjective kind, analysing the relationship between poet and his subject and the influence of an emotional or spiritual kind which it has upon him, is only found very rarely.

A few examples of this kind of song-poetry have survived in the oral tradition despite their involved, academic, structure. While their origin is plainly not sub-literary, the fact that they have a continuity in the oral tradition makes it desirable that they be included in this classification.[46]

1.3. Panegyrics

1.3.1. *Eulogy*

In this section we shall deal briefly with the eulogy in its sub-literary aspect. Although eulogies appear in the oral tradition which, on account of their form and content can be described as literary, no special section has been allotted to them. They belong to the same encomiastic tradition as the elegy, and what is said in the following sections about the relation of the elegy to the lament, applies also to this division within the eulogy group. This is particularly applicable to the differences in metre which are outlined in the lament section.

The eulogies we are concerned with here are found invariably in the Type I and Type II metres described there.

Some traits are found, however, which we associate with the literary panegyric. Among these is the well-known practice of attributing natural decay to the death or absence of the chief.

> O'n latha thug thu'n cuan ort
> laigh gruaim air na beannaibh;
>
> Laigh smal air na speuran
> dh'fhàs na reultan salach.[47]
>
> Since the day you took to the ocean,
> gloom has lain upon the mountains;
>
> A blemish has come on the heavens
> and the planets have grown dirty.

The use of tree imagery as a eulogistic reference is also known. It is highly developed in *Craobh nan Ubhal.*—The refrain of this song as it is sung is normally

> Chraobh nan ubhall gheug nan abhall
> chraobh nan ubhall o ho.[48]
>
> O tree of apples,
> choice branch of the orchards,
> O tree of apples o ho.

This imagery is further developed in the text of the song.

Although these particular traits are found, together with the practice of reciting the pedigree of the subject or enumerating his influential relatives, they are on the whole unusual. The songs are generally felt to refer only to the immediate social unit, whereas the reference of the literary eulogy is frequently to a wider unit. The trained poet, whose sphere of activity was normally wider, felt he had to qualify his praise for his subject to a certain extent. This could be achieved by mentioning other people and possible alliances. The subject's illustrious relatives were frequently mentioned, no doubt with the dual intention of pleasing the subject and at the same time pleasing his allies by eulogistic reference to them. The temporary allegiance of a poet on his rounds could also tend to the qualification of the praise of an individual by this reference to a wider enviroment.[49] These eulogies have for the most part been preserved in the

waulking tradition and include a large number of love eulogies. No doubt many of these were composed by women, but in some instances where the inter-sexual imagery is incidental only, they may not have originated as love songs. Centuries of oral transmission within a strictly feminine culture would undoubtedly bring changes of a particular kind, and the introduction of love imagery into eulogies of local chieftains would be an expected development.

1.3.2. Elegy (*Marbhrann*)

The chief differences between *elegy* and *lament* have already been described elsewhere in some detail, but a brief description will be given here for the sake of completeness.[50]

The elegy is a Gaelic literary type of considerable antiquity. The elegiac songs extant in the oral tradition follow the pattern familiar in elegies of late mediæval and early modern Irish poetry. The purpose remains the same, to construct an obituary in verse as a memorial to a dead person. An elegy from Skye contains the following couplet in its first stanza:—

> Mar chuimhneachan bàis ort
> bheir mi greis air do nàdur math inns [51]

> As a memorial to your death I will
> spend a while telling of your good nature.

The Gaelic elegy is essentially panegyric and its greatest emphasis is always on the qualities of the subject in life and the desolation caused by his death. While the poet frequently stresses in an exaggerated way the grief of others, his own sorrow is not emphasised.

The elegiac songs recorded by the School of Scottish Studies from the oral tradition are not survivals of bardic literature. They are all in the eight-lined stressed stanza used by the Scottish Gaelic poets after the break-down of the bardic tradition, and they show clearly that the elegy, although a poetic type of considerable antiquity, survived as a living genre until very recent times. It even came to be used by the bereaved person. *Mo rùn geal òg*,[52] composed by his widow on William Chisholm of Strathglass who was killed at Culloden, is an elegy in the completest sense of the word. The song largely consists of a catalogue of virtues and qualities accompanied by conventionalised expressions of grief. In this case the bereaved

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person has chosen an established poetic form, sanctified by past usage, and uses it both to express her personal sorrow and as a suitable obituary. In doing this she reveals a general tendency that came to be shown increasingly from her period to the present day. While, on the whole, the composition of elegiac literature, including laments, decreased considerably during that period, where it did remain, the forms peculiar to the laments disappeared and the more elevated style of the elegy took its place.

1.3.3. *Lament*

In exploring the song literature generally connected with death, a metrical division within the group is apparent immediately. One section is composed in eight-lined or four-lined stanzas and does not normally have refrains, while the rest are in a variety of song forms under which we can discern two main poetic metres which can be called Types I and II.

Type I is basically a quantitative metre in that the line is governed by the number of syllables in it rather than by any system of poetic stresses. The stanza we find beneath the refrain patterns of a song consists of an irregular number of lines related by final assonance only. This is essentially the same metre as is used in some European heroic narrative poetry, particularly in the early French *Song of Roland*. In Gaelic, however, it is subject to being broken up into various song forms, and we must speak in terms of *poetic metre* and *song metre*. These do not necessarily coincide.[53]

The basic metrical unit of Type II from the poetic aspect is the stressed couplet. In this case the couplet is usually sung in its poetic form with an external refrain. It is also, however, subject to occasional disruption by internal refrains and it takes song forms associated with Type I.

It is the second main group, framed in these two metres, that we call *Lament* as distinct from the first group which we have treated in the previous section as *Elegy*. It is not entirely suitable for inclusion under the general heading of *Panegyric* in that it is not primarily concerned with praise of the subject and commemoration of his death. It can be said to be expressive of the sorrow of bereavement rather than descriptive of it, as the elegy tends to be.

The most noticeable single feature of the Lament in this connection is its greater personal nature. The loss is framed in

terms of its impact on the singer and it may be illustrated by reference to its effect on everyday routine.

'S muladach 's muladach a tha mi
dìreadh na beinne is 'ga teàrnadh
'g iarraidh a' chruidh 's nach mi'n t-àireach
'g iarraidh nan each 's nach mi 'n àiteir. . . .[54]

> Sad and sorrowful am I, ascending and descending the mountain, seeking the cattle and I not the herd, seeking the horses and I not the grieve. . . .

In being generally concerned with sudden or violent death the Lament seems to reveal a more spontaneous response to tragedy. This realism is further manifested in their perception of the state of death. In the elegy, death tends to be a kind of "lying in state", a condition which does not necessarily impair the dignity of the subject, whereas the lament makes no attempt to lessen the impact of death. In one song there is an emphasis on its sheer incapacity.

Cha ghiulain a cholainn còt
cha ghiulain a chas a bhròg
cha ghiulain a làmh a dhòrn.[55]

His body cannot carry a coat,
his foot cannot carry the shoe,
his hand cannot carry his fist.

In another, a woman laments the death of her brother and imagines the actual decomposition of the body:

'S duilich leam do chùl clannach
bhith 'san fheamann 'ga luadh

'S duilich leam do gheal dheudan
bhith 'ga reubadh 's a chuan. . . [56]

> Grievous to me your curled ringlets being waulked in the seaweed, your white teeth being torn asunder in the ocean. . . .

Nearly all the laments we have are women's songs and we owe their survival to the waulking tradition. No songs of this type appear to have been composed in the last hundred and fifty years. The lament has been superseded by the more formal measures of the elegy. Its disappearance is, however, only one

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instance of the general decay of the specifically sub-literary tradition in song-poetry, and the gradual disuse of its peculiar metrical forms.[57]

1.4. Satire

The use of the term *satire* in an unqualified way in regard to any phase of Scottish Gaelic literature is not strictly justifiable. Where the term has come to have a technical significance outside the Gaelic sphere in discussions of art and literature, it has developed a moral import: that is, a satire is a castigation according to certain moral principles, and not mere abuse. In this section we consider briefly the Gaelic *aoir*, a term which is usually translated satire, and the *orain chòmhstri*, or flyting songs, of which a few survive in the oral tradition from the late mediæval or early modern period. Neither type is a satire in the above strict sense but since they constitute the nearest approach to satire that is discernible in the tradition they are both grouped under this label.

1.4.1. *Aoir*

The *aoir* was a well-known and much feared poetic genre during the mediæval bardic period of Irish literature. It survived the collapse of the bardic order and the subsequent release of poetry from its professional status in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, persisting into the present time as a clearly defined type. Although it is still being composed, the *aoir* is not a prolific type and it tends to be parochial. It is largely a poem of abuse in which the composer expresses enmity and malevolence towards his subject. No examples of any antiquity seem to survive and singers are chary of recording many of the modern compositions for fear of injury to the subject or his relatives.

Since there is nothing of great interest to be conveyed about the *aoir*, beyond saying that it is a sustained exercise in diatribe, it is not necessary to give any examples. Furthermore, the published works of the Gaelic poets of the eighteenth century contain compositions which are the same as their modern counterparts.[58]

1.4.2. *Flyting*

The type name in this case has been borrowed from Scots. It connotes an altercation in verse between two protagonists, and, as such, was known in Greek and Provençal literature, and elsewhere. Since the flyting tradition in Gaelic is somewhat

different from its Scots counterpart, the type name will have to be used with appropriate qualifications.[59]

Bardic contests of various forms are known to have taken place since mediæval times. In current oral tradition we hear of improvisation contests which are said to have taken place between known poets. These took the form of either improvising verses which included a number of given words, or making poems on set subjects. We also hear of battles of wit between known poets, taking the form of rhyming statements or complete verses of poetry. It is a feature of these accounts that the poet is named, but the names can vary from district to district although the essentials of the tale can remain. No sustained disputes in verse between known poets survive in the oral tradition; we have only tales of casual encounters and the verse portions are recited, not sung.

In the song culture of the waulking, however, sustained flytings do survive and at least four well-developed examples have appeared in the School's collection. It is not a living song genre and the examples we have seem to be from the early modern period. They are said traditionally to have originated in altercations round the waulking wattles. They are not so much personal encounters as slanging matches between representatives of districts or clans, and the scurrilous attacks of a personal kind, characteristic of the Scots flyting, are not prominent in them, districts, or clans or clan chiefs being the subjects of praise or dispraise. In one, the dispute is between a Barra woman and a Uist woman.[60] The Uist woman makes the first speech and upbraids Barra as a land of poverty which no one would enter willingly. The use of shell fish as food, symbolizing the extreme of poverty in all early Gaelic poetry, is mentioned with scorn. The Barra woman responds by praising the fertility of her island and emphasises the generosity of its people by a reference to the entertainment of Irishmen, presumably itinerant poets and harpers. In all extant versions of this song, the dispute is felt to be an inter-district one and references to personalities are incidental.

In others, however, the flytings are essentially inter-clan, and chiefs and their forbears figure largely in the opposing eulogies and satires. It is a feature of these flytings, and again one which distinguishes them from their Scots counterparts, that eulogistic passages are prominent. Indeed opposing speeches can be entirely eulogies, as in the song sometimes called *The Barra Boasting*. This is again a contest between a Barra

woman and a Uist woman but in their capacities as represent-
atives of the MacNeills and MacDonalds respectively. As a
complete flyting with opposing speeches the song survives only
in South Uist. In Barra tradition the speech of the MacNeill
woman only survives. Both eulogies are in the true heroic
tradition and they not only illustrate well the eulogistic content
of a typical flyting but reveal the imaginative language in
which the noble ideals of the sub-literary eulogy are phrased,
and the uncompromising pride with which it is developed.

In South Uist tradition the song commences with the speech
of the MacDonald woman.

> A Dhia, is gaolach leam an gille
> 'ga bheil deirgead 's gilead 's duinnead;
> dalta nam bàrd 's na mnatha gileadh thu,
> ogha 'n fhir o'n Chaisteal Thioram
> bheireadh air an togsaid sileadh
> cha b'ann le bùrn gorm na linneadh,
> le fion uabhrach buan ga shileadh,
> le fion na sheusdar 's e air mhire.[61]

> O God, beloved to me is the youth who
> has redness, whiteness and brownness; you
> are the fosterling of poets and of pure
> women, the grandson of the man from
> Castle Tioram who would make the
> hogsheads flow, not with the blue water
> of the pool but with proud wine per-
> petually pouring, with shimmering wine
> in perfection.

The speech of the MacNeill woman is then delivered with
as great a dramatic power and strength of imagery.

> A bhradag dhubh bheag a bhrist na glasan
> a Mhuilidheartaich a chochuill chraicinn
> ca'n do dh'fhàg thu Ruaraidh Tartair
> a bheireadh a fion dha chuid eachaibh
> air ghaol uisge lóin a sheachnadh
> a chuireadh cruidhean òir ma'n casan
> 's a chuireadh srianan dhe'n airgiod ghlas orr'.[62]

> A little black thief who has broken the locks,
> O hag of the skin husk, where have you left
> Roderick the Tartar . . . who would give wine
> to his horses so that they might avoid the waters
> of the stream, who would put golden shoes under
> their hooves and give them bridles of grey silver.

1.5.1. *Religious*

We have already dealt with religious compositions of a definite kind under *Eòlais*. Although many of these songs were distinctly religious in sentiment they were classified according to their peculiar function. In this present section we group together the *òrain mhatha* or *laoidheann spioradail*, which achieved considerable popularity in certain Presbyterian areas during the latter half of the nineteenth century, the *òran math* or "pious song", was contrasted to the *òran dìomhain* or "vain song", which category included all compositions of a non-religious nature. These religious songs were never sung in church or at any religious service but were performed at gatherings in private houses. At a time when there was a strong religious feeling against secular songs, and against instrumental music of all kinds, these songs must have occupied an important place in the evening's proceedings at many céilidh houses. They made a significant compromise with the traditional song tradition in being sung to familiar song melodies.

At the moment no definite information is available concerning the distribution of these *òrain mhatha*. No examples have so far been recorded from Skye or Uist but some were recorded recently from a Harris singer.[63] The available evidence suggests that as a living tradition they are largely confined to Lewis and Harris. From the few examples already collected it is unwise to form any generalisations concerning their composition or content. At the time of writing recording is proceeding from a Lewis woman singer who appears to know about a hundred songs of this type, many of them with lengthy texts and the vast majority of them hitherto unpublished. This group alone should provide enough material for a preliminary analysis when it is fully recorded.

Songs of a spiritual kind are also found in the Catholic areas. A long narrative song called *Laoidh Mhuire Mhathair*, on the life and death of Christ, has been recorded.[64] It is traditionally attributed to Silis Ni Mhic Raghnaill na Ceapaich, a Keppoch poetess who lived during the latter part of the seventeenth century. The religious songs of these communities were well collected and published by Alexander Carmichael but what proportion of them were song as distinct from recitative is not clear.[65]

1.5.2. *Bacchanalia*

The earlier song literature of the heroic type is fairly prolific

in bacchanalian references. These occur in eulogistic contexts having reference to the prowess of a given individual. These bacchanalian allusions are of two kinds, praising, on the one hand, the subject's capacity for imbibing liquor, and on the other, his generosity in distributing it to others. The words *drongair*, and *pòiteir*, which would be adequately translated to-day as "drunkard", appear to have had a different emotive force and were capable of use as eulogistic terms. The generosity of the subject is frequently described in the concise formula—*dh' òladh càch is phàigheadh tusa*—"the rest would drink and you would pay", or—*air am bu shuarach stòp sineubhair*—"to whom (the giving of) a stoup of geneva meant little".

Since these allusions, however, are merely references or passages within larger contexts, we cannot treat them as members of a song type. The bacchanalian song proper, that is, a song which devotes itself to the joys of drink and the conviviality it engenders, is of comparatively rare occurrence in the Gaelic tradition. When it does occur it tends to be in praise of whisky. In the earlier songs whisky is rarely mentioned and in some contexts appears as *uisge beatha nan Gall gruamach*—"the whisky of the surly foreigner", suggesting that in the Hebrides at least it first appeared as an imported drink. It becomes popular in the eighteenth century and with it appear the bacchanalian songs. Prominent eighteenth-century poets composed such songs, Alasdair MacDonald, William Ross and Ailean Dall in praise of whisky and Duncan Bàn MacIntyre in praise of brandy. Alasdair MacDonald appears to have based his composition *Horo mo bhobag an dram* on an existing folk-song, a version of which has been recorded recently in Barra. While most of the other bacchanalian songs extant tend to combine praise of whisky with mock repentance, this song, which is perhaps the oldest drinking song in the oral tradition, advocates a whole-hearted philosophy of drink. It praises whisky exclusively and treats geneva in a derogatory way, as the following verses show.

> As a chailleach a bu luidiche bh'ann
> nuair chaidh an drama na ceann
> "teann as mo rathad a chlann
> 's gu feuchainn mo chas air an danns"
>
> .   .   .   .   .   .
>
> Cha teid mi'n tigh-sheinnse ud thall
> chan fhiach an sineubhair a th'ann;
> ged chuirinn an casg aig ri'm cheann
> cha chuireadh e moille nam chainnt.[66]

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Said the clumsiest old woman present, when the dram went to her head—"Move out of my way children, so that I may try my feet at the dance."

.   .   .   .

I will not go to the change house yonder, the geneva they have there is worthless; though I should put the cask to my head, it wouldn't put a falter in my speech.

1.5.3. *Jacobite Songs*

There is no distinctive Jacobite song literature. The rebellion seems to have left little trace in oral tradition of any kind. Earlier clan warfare and the Montrose campaigns figure more prominently. It is true that the rising stimulated a number of poets to fine compositions of a literary kind but very few of these have had any continuity in the oral tradition. Two waulking songs survive in the Hebrides which date from that period. One, *Co sheinneas an fhideag airgid* [67]—"Who will sound the silver whistle", appears to have been composed either on the occasion of the actual landing of Prince Charles or during the currency of one of the many rumours of his coming that swept through the Highlands during the two or three years prior to 1745. The other, *Agus hó Mhórag,* [68] was composed by Alexander MacDonald after the failure of the rising and in anticipation of another. Another song has been recorded which seems to have been composed after the defeat of Culloden but before the realisation that it was decisive.

Ailein, Ailein 's fhad an cadal
tha 'n uiseag ag gairm 's a là ag glasadh;
tha ghrian ag éirigh air an leacainn
's fhada bhuam fhìn luchd nam breacan.

Ailein Duinn gabh sguinn 's bi 'g éiridh
tional do chlann cuimhnich d'fheum orr';
bi Alba mhór fo bhinn nam béistean
mar a dean a muinntir éirigh. [69]

Alan, Alan the sleep is long, the lark is calling, the day is greying, the sun is rising on the heights, far from me is the plaided company.

> Brown-haired Alan take heed and arise, gather your clan—remember your need of them; great Scotland will be under the judgment of the beasts unless her people rise.

A number of poems were composed after the event, bitter polemics against Hanoverian rule, longing for a French landing. The type of romantic Jacobite song which had some popularity in Lowland Scotland is not found in Gaelic.

1.5.4. *Merry Songs*

Broadly speaking, humorous songs tend to be of a parochial nature, although the themes, such as depredations of rats, the scarcity of commodities such as tobacco, the first motor car of the district, etc., can be universal. Exceptions to the broad rule of parochialism are songs such as *Cailleach Mhór Stadhlaidh*,[70] which describes the poet's battle with a hag which was reputed to haunt a moor to which he went to fetch his horse, and *Domhall an Dannsair*.[71] These songs carry their humour within themselves and do not depend upon a knowledge of local conditions for their effect. The parochial songs are parochial for that very reason; they parody a local event, for instance, and assume in their hearers some knowledge of the circumstances. Songs embodying traits of internationally known merry tales have not so far appeared.

Strictly speaking, the songs grouped in this section have a variety of themes, but since they share the important thematic characteristic of humorous intent they are grouped accordingly.

A common subject for a humorous song was a wedding. These songs are sometimes more like humorous satires and may have been inspired by the lack of good fare at certain weddings, or even by the lack of an invitation. Poor hospitality is criticised in an extreme way.[72]

2. STRUCTURE

This section marks our first change of criterion. To change over from viewing songs from the thematic aspect to looking at them from the viewpoint of compositional structure might suggest that a number, if not all of the thematic groups already outlined, would be re-considered. This, however, is not the case. The application of the structural criterion involves, broadly speaking, a further division of the material already treated by

a thematic analysis. This takes place through the addition of further themes, as in ST 2.1.1, 2.1.2, and 2.1.3. These could also have been included in the thematic grouping, but since the concept of "ballad" has a technical significance in Western European folk-song and since it implies a primary use of a structural criterion as distinct from a thematic one, these three types have been placed in this section.

By use of this criterion a further subdivision of themes also occurs. ST 2.2. is largely humorous in intent and could, with few exceptions, be regarded as a further limitation of ST 1.5.4 (Merry Songs). ST 2.3 and 2.4 are based on forms associated with instrumental music. They are limited in content, but so far as a definite theme can be identified, ST 2.3 could also be linked with ST 1.5.4, while ST 2.4 would largely fall with the Panegyric group (1.3).

2.1 Ballads

The ballad as a folk-song type has attracted much more attention than any other. Although it is not capable of easy definition it is clearly recognisable by its peculiar narrative style, the terseness of its rhetoric, its concentration on the main events of the story, and the impersonal attitude of the story teller. While much of Gaelic song, particularly from the earlier period, shares features that we find in the ballad, such as, "stress on the crucial situation", "letting the action unfold itself in event and speech", two of Gerould's constants found in all ballads,[73] it lacks the important third constant of telling the story—"objectively with little comment or intrusion of personal bias". A plot may be recognisable as a classical ballad plot, but it is told not by a detached observer but by a participant.

A good example of this is found in the Gaelic rendering of the *Two Sisters* theme, which is found widely scattered in three main versions throughout the Western Isles. In all the versions it appears as the song actually sung by the drowning sister. The following is a typical rendering from a Lewis singer.[74]

Thig am bàta	moch am màireach
bidh m'athair innt	's mo thriùir bhràithrean
's mo chéile donn	air ràmh bràghad
gheibh iad mise	air mo bhàthadh
togaidh iad mi	air na ràmhan
mo bhreacan donn	snàmh na fairge
mo chuaileinean	a measg nan carraicean
's mo bhroitse airgid	measg na gainmhich

The boat will come early to-morrow, my father
will be in her and my three brothers, and my
brown haired husband will be at the forward
oar; they will find me drowned, they will lift me
on the oars, my brown cloak awash in the.ocean,
my curled tresses among the rocks, my silver
brooch in the sand. . . .

The discovery of the murder and the survival of the song
is explained by the jealous sister memorising it and unwittingly
singing it as a cradle song to her child.

Themes from classical balladry are, however, very rare and
the *Two Sisters* is the most complete example of a ballad plot
that we have. The familiar story of the murder of the lover by
the girl's family appears frequently but the circumstances are
revealed only incidentally in the girl's lament for her lover.

2.1.1. *Heroic Ballads*

The parts played by ballads in the oral tradition of the Anglo-
Scots peoples of the late mediæval and early modern period
seems to have been fulfilled in the Gaelic communities by the
heroic Ossianic narrative poetry. These poems deal with the
triumphs of the Fenian warriors over their human and super-
natural foes. This is the oldest documented type that is included
in this classification and it is also the most documented. Edited
volumes based on an early sixteenth- and an early seventeenth-
century manuscript source have been published, together with
collections made from oral tradition during the eighteenth and
nineteenth centuries.[75] In using the plots of many of them as
raw material for his controversial *Ossian*, James MacPherson
was responsible for this early interest by collectors. While some
of these ballads are still to be heard in the Western Isles in
short versions nothing essentially new has been discovered.
The most popular are, *Duan na Ceardaich*,[76] The Lay of the
Smithy, which relates the adventures of Fionn and his men in
the magic smithy of Lon Mac Liobhainn, and, *Duan na Muili-
dheartaich*,[77] The Lay of the Great Hag, which tells of the defeat
and slaughter of the great hag called the "Muilidheartach"
sent by the King of Norway to invade Ireland.

These narrative poems have nothing in common with the
Child ballads. They reveal none of the constants which Gerould
found to characterise the essential ballad. Although, as far as we
can gather, they originated at about the same time as the

ballad form, and may, as a literary fashion, owe something to the Germanic ballad tradition, they are basically different in rhetoric and subject matter. They deal with different themes in being largely limited to the glorification of Fionn and his warriors. In their development of these themes they lack the terseness and the drama of the typical ballad. The obvious bias of the poet, who is frequently a participant in the events described, and the overall lack of human interest so prominent in the ballads, completes the dissimilarity.

2.1.2. *Sailors' Ballads*

Among songs of nineteenth- and twentieth-century composition we find narrative songs which refer to sea voyages. Subject to the general qualifications made in paragraph 2.1., these songs can be regarded as ballads of a peculiar kind. They are narrative in the sense that their main purpose is the description of a sequence of events but they differ from the ballad proper in that the description is given through the personal experience of the composer.

Some of these narrative songs have a peculiar structure. They proceed by enumerating the names of places passed on the voyage and appending to each place-name a statement as to weather conditions or circumstances aboard ship. A song recorded in Skye illustrates this progression in an extreme way. The first line of each couplet stanza states the progress of the voyage by reference to a place-name, while the second makes a report on conditions at the time.[78] Another song with a quatrain stanza shows a similar progression.

> Dol seachad aig Eige
> an t-eilean beag creagach
> gu'm b'fheudar dhuinn beagan
> a leigeil dheth siùil:
>
> Dol seachad aig Ìle
> 's ann aice bha sìneadh
> bha struth fo na linne
> tighinn dìreach fo cùl
>
> .   .   .   .   .   .
>
> Bha cóignear dhe'm bhràithrean
> air long nan cruinn àrda
> 's gur mise bha cràidhteach
> 'ga fàgail 's a' ghrùnnd.[79]

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Going by Eigg, the little rocky
island, we had to lessen sail.

Going by Islay she was journeying
swiftly, the current from the open
sea was coming directly behind her.

.　　　.　　　.　　　.

There were five of my brothers on
the high-masted ship, it was great
torment to me to leave them on the
sea-bottom.

Although only some of these ballads pinpoint the pro-
gression of a voyage in this detailed manner it is nevertheless a
characteristic of the group as a whole. A kind of plot is given
to events, which are perhaps not related in any other way, by
the statement of a geographical progression.[80]

2.1.3. *Soldiers' Ballads*

A song form having some typical ballad characteristics also
appears to have been used by soldiers in the late eighteenth or
early nineteenth centuries. The first person is used and the
subject matter consists of a description of some phase of the
singer's military carer. A widespread song tells of the circum-
stances in which the soldier was persuaded to enlist.[81] It relates
how he met the recruiting sergeant who persuaded him to take
the finest trade under the sun. The interview ended by his
accepting "the daughter of George—the grey wife who will
not scour my shirt".

The "daughter of George" refers to the musket, and is
explained by the jocular story that was current, to the effect that
the reward for enlistment was the hand of the King's daughter.

A complaint trait engendered by homesickness, maltreat-
ment and foreign service, is common in these songs. A song
occurs in Skye and Harris which is entirely a complaint in
nature. It describes the singer's unpopularity as a soldier and
expresses his misgivings at the prospect of foreign service.

Dol a bhaile mór na Tuirce
gun fhios a ruig mi gu bràth e

Dol a dh' eilean nam ban fiadhaich
cha robh duine riamh ann sàbhailt

Dol a dh' eilean nam ban dubha
cha bhi sinn subhach no sàmhach.

Going to the great city of Turkey with
no certainty that I shall ever reach it.[82]

Going to the isle of wild women—no man
was ever safe there.

Going to the isle of black women—we shall
be neither joyful nor peaceful.

2.2. Macaronics

Macaronics, poems composed in alternating lines and phrases
from two languages, one of them usually Latin, were fairly
popular in Western Europe during the late mediæval period.

Macaronic songs having both English and Gaelic words
and phrases as compositional elements first appear in the
eighteenth century. These songs are for a bilingual people and
cannot be understood by reference to the English or Gaelic
elements alone. The purpose of using two languages where the
poet could presumably compose in either one of them appears
to be to exploit the peculiar humorous effects that can be
obtained by the metrical combination of both languages. To
the bilingual the chief humorous element consists of an
exaggerated bathos.

Ma thilleas tu fhathast 's tu m' aighear 's mo rùn,
perhaps I will marry you *'s t-earrach co-dhiubh,*[83]

In the song from which this excerpt is taken the English
phrases are almost entirely confined to the first half of the
poetic line. While there is a definite tendency to combine the
language in phrases rather than in individual words, their
positioning is not the same in all examples. In the following
example, which is from a song describing a man's experiences
in a hospital, the English phrases tend to occupy the second
part of the line, although when one considers the whole song
no definite pattern can be established.

O madam you surprise me *bheil thu dol as do chiall,*
chan fhaod thu tigh'n cho teann orm I'm minus all my gear
'S ann thuirt i 's i smileadh rium you're very shy *ma's fhior*
ach chi mi aig an danns' thu if you do not die in here.[84]

It remains to be said that not all Gaelic-English macaronics
are humorous. A *Homeland* macaronic has been recorded which
praises a district in Uist.[85] The purpose in using such a form
in this case is not clear.

2.3. Pibroch Songs

The pibroch is the classical music of the Highland bagpipe, being quite different from the marches, strathspeys and reels that are more generally known. It is composed in movements, a typical composition containing *Urlar, Siubhal, Taorluath* and *Crunluath*, together with their respective variations. It is probably of late mediæval origin.

What we have called *Pibroch Songs* are songs which are traditionally associated with given pibrochs. This association is a two-fold one. Besides being sung to an air which is an approximation of the melody of its pibroch counterpart, the pibroch song generally takes as its subject the circumstances which inspired the original pibroch. Where, however, the pibroch is pastoral in inspiration or where the subject is indefinite, the text of the associated song is correspondingly free.

The words of the pibroch songs are usually very repetitive. Where it keeps to the subject of a pibroch it is content to reiterate key phrases and the subject is never developed in detail as an elegiac or descriptive poem. From this aspect of textual repetition it superficially resembles the *port-a-beul*. In the *port-a-beul*, however, the same melody can find expression in a variety of texts, whereas in the pibroch song, the text, although scanty, is frequently related to the origin of the piece of music that inspired it. This association between text and melody does not exist in the *port-a-beul*. Even where the pibroch song text cannot be related to the subject of the pibroch, it seems to have a greater continuity than the *port-a-beul*, which is more transitory. The following early text is sung to an approximation of the melody of the pastoral pibroch *Maol Donn*.

> Iain Shomaltaich e horó
> thog iad an crodh far na lóin   (sung twice)
>
> Thig an tòir oirnn fhin
> air mo laimh ni thu lorg
> Iain Shomaltaich e horó
> thog iad an crodh far na lóin.
>
> Iain bi muigh ho hó
> tha'n tòir ma'n tigh ho hó
> thoir leat claidheamh ho hó
> mór is saighead ho hó.[86]

This verse is followed by the repetition of the second couplet of the song followed by the first.

Iain Shomaltaich e horó, they have lifted
the cattle from the fields   (sung twice)

The foray will come upon us,
by my hand you will pursue them.
Iain Shomaltaich e horó,
they have lifted the cattle from the fields.

Go outside Iain ho hó
the foray is about the house ho hó
take with you a claymore ho hó
and an arrow ho hó.

Then follows the repetition described above.

The earliest dateable example in the collection is *Piobair-eachd Dhomhnaill Dhuibh* which appears to have been composed after the defeat of King James I's army by the western clans in 1431.[87] It was this song which suggested to Scott his Pibroch of Donald Dhu. The Gaelic song is, however, a celebration of a victory, while Scott's is a kind of romantic rallying song.

There is a genre of poetic composition in Gaelic literature which must be sharply distinguished from the type of song described above. During the eighteenth century it became fashionable for Gaelic poets to compose poems metrically based on the rhythms of a pibroch's movements. These poems such as *Moladh Móraig* by Alexander MacDonald, *Iseabail NicAoidh* by Rob Donn, and *Beinn Dórain* by Duncan MacIntyre are not textually related to any given pibroch and their purpose is never to perpetuate the subject or melody of a pibroch. In a period of metrical innovation, some poet (probably Alexander MacDonald) hit upon the idea of composing a poem in strictly defined metrical movements, taking as his model the rhythmical development of a typical pibroch. This innovation had a temporary popularity, giving, as it did, great scope to the rhythmic virtuosity which is a general characteristic of eighteenth-century Gaelic poets. Furthermore the poems were long and involved, and the purpose of this type of poetic construction seems to have been to create a poem, which, in relation to poetry composed in the commoner metres, had the greatness which pibroch essentially has in relation to the lesser music of the bagpipes. Apart from *Moladh Móraig* none of these ingenious compositions appears to have had any popularity in the strictly oral tradition.

2.4. *Puirt-a-beul* (Mouth-music)

The compound word *port-a-beul* literally means "tune out of mouth". The *raison d'être* of this song type is the memorising of dance tunes, and the texts are thus mostly trivial. Where the texts are sufficiently developed to have a definite content they are usually intended to be of a humorous kind, the humour frequently consisting in the brief and repetitive presentation of ludicrous images.

> Iain mór fada gobhlach
> Iain mór fada slaodach
> Iain mór fada gobhlach
> as deodhaidh Móire caoile.[88]

> Long, leggy, big John,
> long, clumsy, big John
> long, leggy, big John
> is chasing thin Marion.

A dance may be described in an exaggerated way, containing at the same time an exhortation to an actual dance.

Puirt-a-beul texts are subject to extensive local variation while the airs remain recognizably the same. This is not surprising considering the parochial nature of the texts and the comparative ease with which they could be improvised. The practice of singing dance tunes such as strathspeys and reels appears to be of modern origin. The *Puirt-a-beul* are popularly supposed to have originated as a result of the religious opposition to musical instruments such as the bagpipes and the fiddle, which was at its strongest in the middle of the nineteenth century.[89] This explanation seems quite feasible and would certainly account for the increased popularity of *Puirt-a-beul*. It is unlikely, however, that the mouth-music was widely used as an accompaniment to the actual dance. Its origin is more likely to lie in the desire of instrumentalists to perpetuate their favourite tunes after the destruction or banning of their instruments.

3. FOLK ÆTIOLOGY

The nature of this criterion has already been indicated in the introduction. The decisive factor by means of which we group a song in the category of *Fairy Song* is a traditional story which purports to explain its origin in a certain way.

The only songs which are included in this section, therefore, are those which have attendant stories to explain their authorship. Traditional information of a general kind about songs can also play a part in the classification of the functional groups, and can at times be very important, but it is of a different kind to the stories we are considering here.

3.1. *Fairy Songs* (Orain Shìdh)

It is difficult to isolate a definite textual type that we can call a "fairy song". Neither is there any metrical or melodic significance about it; it is merely the song a fairy sang in a certain situation, and for this information we depend upon a traditional account of its origin which is given by the singer of the song. Since, however, the circumstances under which the fairies sang are fairly clearly prescribed by tradition, and since, as a result, the songs that are associated with them tend to be of certain types, we can treat them as constituting a group.

When fairies wished to make prognostications, they were sometimes known to sing them. As a general example of a fairy song and its attendant tradition we may quote the following example.

A man was travelling during the night to fetch a midwife for his young wife who was in childbed. He had to cross a ford on the way and, as the tide was in, he lay down to rest and fell asleep. He was awakened by a fairy singing a song which revealed to him that his wife had died. The song text is fragmentary. The refrain is in two sequences (*a*) a syllabic line; (*b*) a textual refrain which repeats the line *hù rù aig tòiseach na tràghad*—"hù rù at the beginning of the ebbtide". The surviving text is as follows.

'S olc an obair
do theachdairean cadail.
Bean òg a chùil chleachdaich
aig baile 'ga càradh.

Mairead ni Ruairidh
bean shuairc' an deagh nàduir.

Dheanadh an t-aodach
's gum bu chaol bhiodh an snàithnean.

'S Aonghais Mhic Iain
bu tu cridhe na féille.[90]

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Evil is the work for messengers of sleep, the young wife of the curled ringlets being laid out in the township; Mairead, daughter of Ruairidh, the gentle woman of the good nature who could weave cloth of the finest thread. And, Angus son of John, you were the heart of hospitality.

It is clear that such a text needs the support of a story which relates the circumstances under which the song was composed. As the text stands it is a fragmentary lament of a typical kind. This reveals the somewhat tenuous basis of the *fairy song* grouping. A song can be a *fairy song* on the strength of folk ætiology as to its origin, but it is important to note that the number of types about which such explanations are given is very limited. Laments are prominent among these types and the stories centre on the theme of the fairy lover. A young man has a fairy mistress whom he visits frequently on the pretext of going hunting. When he returns empty-handed day after day, his mother becomes suspicious and details his brothers to follow him. They do so and, discovering his secret mission, they shoot him with an arrow. His fairy mistress then sings a lament for him, a portion of which we give below to reveal the beauty and pathos of its imagery.

Chuala mi do ghlaodh ’sa bhruthach
ach ma chuala cha d’ chuir umhail
gus an cualas guth an fhithich.

Mile mollachd air na bràithrean
dh’fhàg iad air mo bheulabh sgàthan
fuil do chuim do bheuil ’s do bhràghaid
’s tu nad shineadh air na blàru.[91]

I heard your scream on the hillside
but I did not heed it until
I heard the voice of the raven.

A thousand curses on the brothers,
they have left before me a mirror,
the blood of your chest, of your
mouth and of your throat, and you
lying in the fields.

These laments are almost invariably found as cradle songs. This close connection between songs with fairy ætiologies and

cradle songs is not confined to laments but is extended to the cradle eulogies discussed below. While this relation is interesting no obvious explanation is evident.[92]

For the sake of convenience, songs with a general supernatural background are included in this section, although a separation could be made in a more detailed classification. *Oran a Ròin*, The Song of the Seal, is the song of a woman under enchantment:

> Is mise nighean Aoidh Mhic Eóghain
> gum b'eòlach mi mu no sgeirean;
> gur mairg a dheanadh mo bhualadh
> bean uasal mi o thìr eile.[93]

> I am the daughter of Aodh MacEoghain, I knew the reefs well; woe betide him who should strike me, I am a noble lady from another land.

Other songs which are traditionally classed as *Oran Sìdh* are *Mo thruaighe mo chlann*,[94] a song by a deceased wife complaining of her successor's bad treatment of her children, and *Phiuthrag nam Piuthar bheil thu d'chadal*,[95] a song by a dead woman bringing news to her sister that a brother has been killed in Ireland.

4. FUNCTION

The general problems associated with the classification of songs according to *function* have already been outlined in the introduction. The fundamental difficulty lies in the fact that the function of a Gaelic song is rarely indicated by the nature of its text or theme. In the case of the large group of songs associated with the tweed waulking tradition, classification according to function would be pointless because of the great variety of songs which have apparently been borrowed and bent to this function. In this particular case function has been taken to be incidental to the nature of the song.

Although the text is not always indicative of function in the groups which are listed here, it is nevertheless possible to show that certain textual types tend to be associated with certain occupations.

4.1. Songs with Ritualistic Significance

In this group, theme tends to express function in that the text is related to the actions performed. A separation of *ritualistic* from *occupational* has been made because of the difference in

the nature of the employment of the songs. The songs of the latter group are used as accompaniments to the physical rhythms of labour, while those of the former group are associated with traditional rituals and in no way constitute a melodic or rhythmic punctuation of physical movements.

These two groups approach one another in certain cases. Where the *Eòlas* is directed towards the successful fulfilment of a physical activity it can be sung as an occupational song.[96] But more frequently it accompanies an activity of a different kind, such as the pouring of water over silver, or as in the case of the charm for a stye, stabbing movements towards the sore eye. The *Eòlas* type is thus included in the *ritualistic* group.

4.1.1. Duain Challuinn (*Hogmanay Songs*)

It used to be customary for young people through the Gaelic-speaking areas to celebrate Hogmanay by travelling in small groups round the houses of their townships. Various rites were performed at each house, including the recitation of a *Duan Challuinn* or Hogmanay poem. There appear to have been two types of *Duan Challuinn* proper. One was recited outside the house and contains a description of the ritualistic approach and entry of the house. Another duan was sung after the entry into the house, when the *caisean Calluig*, or piece of skin or hide carried by the travellers was beaten. We are uncertain as to the form this duan took but there is a fragment of text in *Carmina Gadelica*, *Calluinn a Bhuilg* which was probably one form of it.[97] As Carmichael gives it, the text consists entirely of injunctions to strike the skin, accompanied by the repetitive line *Calluinn a bhuilg*—Hogmanay of the sack.

The former type of duan is better known and is still recited in parts of the Outer Isles. There seems to be a universal form of it which is not susceptible to any fundamental variation throughout the entire area through which it is possible to trace it. It is invariably a recitation and usually begins with a statement of the intention of the reciter and the purpose of the visit.

> Thàinig mise so d'ur n-ionnsaigh
> a dh'ùrachadh dhuibh na Calluinn
> cha ruiginn leas sud innse
> bha i ann ri linn mo sheanair
> Theid mi deiscal air an fhàrdaich
> is tearnaidh mi aig an dorus
> gabhaidh mi null mar is còir dhomh
> culabh còmhla fhir an taighe . . .[98]

I have come here to you to renew Hogmanay; I need not relate it for it existed in my grandfather's day. I will go sunwise round the dwelling and I will descend by the doorway; I will go over as is proper for me behind the seat of the man of the house.

It is surprising that this duan, which seems so impromptu in its development should be widespread in close variants throughout the Gaelic-speaking area. The above passage is from a St. Kilda version collected in 1830, yet it is close to versions collected in Lewis in 1955. One Lewis version obtained, however, has an interesting variation. It begins with the line *Nochd oidhche nam bannag*, usually associated with the *Nuall Nollaig* or Christmas Hail, and a chorus *Hurra bhith ó* after each line. It ends with the following passage:

A cheud la de'n bhliadhn' ùr
chunnacas triùir a dol do'n tràigh;
dh'fhoillsich fearann dh'fhoillsich fonn,
dh'fhoillsich an tonn air an tràigh,
dh'fhoillsich fiadh na beinne cais,
dh'fhoillsich an coileach air an spàrr. . . .[99]

On the first day of the New Year three were seen going to the shore; the earth shone, the land shone, the wave on the beach shone, the deer on the steep mountain shone, the cockerel on the perch shone. . . .

Similar imagery is found in two Christmas chants recovered by Carmichael in Lewis.[100]

An interesting development in the Calluinn tradition was the employment of heroic ballads as *duain*. Ossianic narrative poems such as *Duan na Ceardaich* [101] and *Duan na Muilidheartaich* were recited or chanted by the young men on other rounds. These heroic poems do not seem to have displaced the normal duan in this function, or vice versa, since the two forms coexisted.

4.1.2. Eòlais (*Charms and Incantations*)

The basic everyday sense of the word *Eòlas* in Gaelic is "knowledge", or "wisdom". The name has also been traditionally

applied to the rhymed incantations which invoked the assistance of the saints to combat diseases or disorders of the body, the influence of the evil eye, to give power to maledictions, and to assist in the successful prosecution of such activities as churning, smooring and kindling fires, seed sowing, grinding, etc. Indeed, these incantations covered the greater part of the whole sphere of human activity. In these *Eòlais*, a common procedure is to describe an action attributed to Christ, to the Virgin Mary, or to one or other of the Roman Catholic or Celtic saints. The following is a version of a charm for the healing of injured limbs, *Eòlas air sgiuchadh fèithe*.

Chaidh Crìosda mach
's a mhaduinn mhoich,
's fhuair e casan nan each
air am bristeadh mu seach;
chuir e cnàimh ri cnàimh
agus fèith ri fèith
agus feòil ri feòil
agus craicionn ri craicionn;
's mar aleighis esan sin
gu'n leighis mise so.[102]

Christ went out in the early morning and found the legs of the horses each broken; he put bone to bone and tendon to tendon and flesh to flesh and skin to skin; and as he healed that, may I heal this.

This particular *Eòlas* has been collected in a number of variants and illustrates the religious basis of the type, the essential identification with the actions of a religious figure. Sometimes he is stated to be the actual author of an *Eòlas*.

An t-Eòlas a rinn Calum Cille
dh' aona mhart na caillich . . .[103]

The Eòlas that St. Columba made for the single cow of the old woman . . .

Only a few examples of *Eòlais* have been recorded by the School although informants stated that they had heard numbers of them. We are not yet certain as to what extent they are recitative or song.[104] A number are included in *Carmina*

Gadelica but Carmichael only infrequently states whether they were sung or recited. A churning and a querning charm have been recorded as songs, together with fragmentary texts said to have been sung to clear a muddy well, and during a hailstorm. The well charm is as follows:

> Tobar tobar sìolaidh
> tobar tobar sìolaidh
> nighean righ ag òl dibhe
> 's na gabhair ag éigheach.[105]

The first two lines call on the well to settle, and the second two state—"a king's daughter is taking a drink and the goats are bleating".

The hail-shower charm is of a similar kind.

> Clach mhìn mheallain 's an tobar ud thall
> clach mhìn mheallain 's an tobar ud thall
>
> Am buachaille bochd fo sgàil nan cnoc
> a bhata na uchd 's a dhealg 'na bhrot
> 's e 'g iarraidh air Dia turadh is grian a chur ann.[106]

Refrain:

> Fine hailstones in yonder well
> fine hailstones in yonder well
>
> The poor herdsman is in the shadow of the hills, his crook in his chest and his pin in his cloak, imploring God to send fine weather and sun.

Both these fragments are of a descriptive nature and show no trace of the invocation of supernatural powers to achieve the desired end. The peculiar efficacy which they were supposed to have is not thus easily traceable. We cannot assume that they had been religious in nature and that that aspect had been lost in transmission, since what would have been thought to be most essential to their efficacy would tend to be the last element to be forgotten.

4.2. Occupational Songs

4.2.1. *Cradle Songs (Tàlaidhean)*

The songs that are traditionally associated with this occupation fall into two main groups:

(*a*) cradle eulogies; (*b*) laments.

In the former type the child is visualised as a grown warrior. The most striking example of this type is undoubtedly *Tàladh Dhomhaill Ghuirm* "The Cradle Song of Donald Gorm", supposed to have been addressed to Donald Gorm of Sleat, Skye, who died in 1617, by his foster mother. She visualises her child as a mature warrior and describes his expedition to the mainland of Scotland and the festivities that accompany it. As a climax to her eulogy she invokes the elemental powers to protect him.

Neart na gile　　　　neart na gréine
neart an fhochuinn　　anns a' Chéitein
neart nan tonna　　　troma treubhach
neart a bhradain　　　as braise leumas
neart Chon Chulainn　fa làn eideadh
neart sheachd cathan　feachd na Féinne
neart Oisein bhinn　　neart Osgair euchdaich

．　．　．　．　．　　　　．　．　．　．　．

neart na miala　　　móire séideadh
neart nan dùl　　　 is chlanna speura—
gach aon dhiubh sud　is neart Mhic Dhé
bhith eadar Domhnall　Gorm 's a léine [107]

The strength of the moon, the strength of the sun, the strength of corn shoots in May time, the strength of the heavy, mighty waves, the strength of the swiftly-leaping salmon, the strength of Cuchulainn in full armour, the strength of the seven battalions of the Féinn, the strength of melodious Ossian and heroic Oscar . . . the strength of the great whale blowing, the strength of the elements and of heaven's children—may each one of those, and the strength of the Son of God, lie between Donald Gorm and his armour.

Before tracing this type further a connection with ST 3.1 (Fairy Songs) must be pointed out. Many cradle songs are given fairy origins by folk ætiology. The next cradle eulogy we shall consider was supposed to have been sung by a fairy to a child belonging to a MacLeod chief. Although less picturesquely expressed than the first example, it shows a similar eulogistic development.

˙ 'S truagh nach fhaicinn fhìn do bhuaile
gu h-àrd, àrd air uachdar sléibhe

.   .   .   .   .   .

'S truagh nach fhaicinn fhìn do sheisreach
fir 'ga freasdal an am an fheasgair
mnà Còmhnaill a' tighinn dhachaidh
's na Catanaich ag cur sìl.[108]

> I wish I could see your fold, high up on the
> summit of a moor . . . I wish I could see
> your team of six horses and men serving
> them, the women of Comhnall going home-
> ward and the Catanaich sowing seed.

Numerous laments are found in the cradle song tradition.
They are normally by a widowed father or mother. The
lament attributed to the widow of MacGregor of Glenstrae (*ob.*
1570) is now popularly known from various published sources
but traditional versions can still be obtained.[109] Besides these,
a number of laments with a supernatural background are
found. Both laments discussed below in the Fairy Song section
are sung as lullabies. A similar tradition exists concerning the
song *Chi mi'n toman caoruinn cuilinn*. In this case it is the woman's
fairy lover who has been slain by her brothers. In her lament
for him she reveals her attachment to the fairy world.

Chi mi mo thriuir bhràithrean thall ud
air an eachaibh loma luath;
sgianan beaga aca ri'n taobh
's fuil mo ghaoil a' sileadh uath.

.   .   .   .   .   .

'S a chraobh chaoruinn a tha thall ud
ma's ann ort a theid mi chill
tionndaidh m'aghaidh ri Dùn-tealbhaig
's bheirear dhomhsa carbad grinn.[110]

> I see my three brothers yonder on their
> bare swift horses; they have little knives
> by their sides and the blood of my darling
> drips from them.
>
> .   .   .   .   .   .
>
> O rowan tree over yonder, if it is upon
> you that I am to be borne to the grave-
> yard, turn my face to Dun-tealbhaig and
> I shall be given a fine chariot.

There are also lullabies with a more general supernatural
background which would have been included in the Fairy

Song section. The song *A Mhór, a Mhór till gu d'mhacan* [111] is supposed to have been composed by a water horse (in some districts a fairy) to a mortal woman who had borne him a child and had exposed it. The father pleads with the mother to return to her child and promises her every reward except a normal married life.

There are other songs which are used as lullabies and selections of them are to be found in Frances Tolmie's Collection and in Margaret Fay Shaw's *Folksongs and Folklore of South Uist*. Most of the texts consist of endearments and references to the nursing or rearing of the child.

4.2.2. *Milking Songs*

The majority of songs which can be shown to have, or to have had this function, are eulogies of favourite cows or heifers. The following two verses are from such a eulogy.

Faic an dris air an lionaig
's i a lùbadh leis na smiaran
's amhuill siod agus m'aghan ciad-laoigh
an t-agh is ciatach de chrodh na buaile.

'S i mo rùn-sa an t-aghan caisfhionn
chan iarr i buarach a chur ma casan
nuair bhiodh càch anns na siomain naisgte
's sìod a Sasunn bhiodh air mo ghuailfhionn. [112]

See the blackberry bush in the field, bending low with berries; that is the likeness of my first-calved heifer, the finest of all the cattle of the fold.

The little white-hooved heifer is my love, she needs no cow fetter; when the rest are entwined in their strawropes, my white-shouldered one will have silk from England.

A similar image is found in another song.

Ged bhiodh na sìomain
air crodh na tìre
bidh buarach shìoda
air m'aghan donn. [113]

Though the cattle of the land be in straw ropes, there will be a silken fetter on my little brown heifer.

Besides being eulogistic, milking songs are also exhortatory. The main element of the refrain may be a request for milk.

> Och a Mhaol thoir am bainne
> 's e do laogh tha thu gearain
> och a Mhaol thoir am bainne.[114]

> Give milk hornless one, it is
> your calf that you lament,
> give milk hornless one.

In another song in *Carmina Gadelica* the repetition of the line *Thoir am bainne bho dhonn* [115] (give the milk brown cow) constitutes most of the text.

Stories of fairy authorship can be found with some milking songs and some songs normally found as lullabies have also been used in this function.[116]

4.2.3. *Orain Basaidh (Palming or Clapping Songs)*

Reference has already been made to the practice of singing while the cloth was being folded and palmed at the conclusion of a waulking (*v.* ST 1.1.2). In that section the improvisatory dialogue songs commonly associated with this occupation were described. Little remains to be said here except that at the folding stage of the waulking as well as during the fulling process, songs of a general kind were used. The palming songs were of a quicker tempo and tended to be simpler in melody and refrain. The following text is a portion of a song which was used in Barra in this occupation. It has the following three-phased refrain sung after each half-line—*ho hà mo rùn Ailein ho hà.*

Dh'eirich mi moch	maduinn earraich
dhìrich mi suas	gual a' bhealaich
dh'amhairc mi bhuam	fad mo sheallaidh
'S chunna mi long	mhór 'san t-seanail
có bh'air a stiùir	ach mo leannan
's mi gun earbadh	siod ri'd dheagh làimh
fad 'sa mhaireadh	stagh na tarruing.[117]

> I rose early on a spring morning; I climbed the shoulder of a pass, gazed into the distance and saw a great ship in the channel; who was steering her but my lover; that I would entrust to you as long as a stay or pulley would endure.

4.2.4. *Rowing Songs* (*Iorram*)

We have no songs which we can definitely associate with rowing song tradition by means of a textual analysis.[118] Information is sometimes obtained along with a given song to the effect that it was a rowing song, but the few examples studied reveal no continuity of theme or structure. As a living functional type it appears to be quite extinct in the areas so far studied although it must have been well known in the recent past. A number of rowing songs found their way into the waulking culture but their identification is complicated by the fact that the word *iomair*—"row", which would probably figure in exhortatory refrains, also means "drive" or "push", and is used as an exhortation to strike the cloth in waulking songs.[119]

Frances Tolmie recognised the tendency for the same song to be used for both waulking and rowing.[120] Of the four examples of *Iorram* which she prints and which she states were also used for waulking, three can be heard from oral tradition at the present time, one as a waulking song, one as a cradle song, and one as a spinning song.

4.2.5. *Spinning Songs* (*Orain Sniomhaidh*)

A number of spinning songs are easily identifiable by textual allusions to the work of spinning. The examples of this kind examined are meagre in text and contain little besides these allusions and praise of the thread. There is evidence that songs of indefinite types have been used for spinning as for waulking. Information about this type is, however, very meagre and until more research is done in the field no definite conclusions can be reached.[121]

5. MISCELLANEOUS TYPES AND TRAITS

It is only to be expected that a rich and varied song culture cannot be comfortably contained within the confines of a classificatory system. In addition to the considerable proportion of songs that can be described in terms of the above thirty-three groupings, there is a rich deposit which is largely intractable.

It is difficult to comment briefly on this residue. It may well be that although we cannot sub-divide further this considerable remnant into distinctive recurring types by internal reference to Gaelic culture, it may be found to contain examples of types which are more prolific in other song cultures. This

description of Gaelic song would thus tend to be more exhaustive if it were possible to work on a comparative basis, using classificatory analyses of other representative groups.

A song-type is found in collections made in the recent past which have not so far been found in the present-day tradition. Its main purpose is to enumerate the ideal attributes of a given subject. Examples are found in published sources which describe the good points of a Highland cow, *Dh'aithnichinn an t-agh dubh no ruadh* [122] and *Ged bha barail uil aig càch*,[123] on the choice of a good companion *Mo roghainn companaich*,[124] and on the choice of a good wife, *Nam biodh agam bàta biorach*.[125]

Among the songs of a general kind are didactic songs, songs about the proscription of Highland dress, fugitives' songs, songs about cattle raiding, and a song which is entirely composed of false statements.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

It is hoped that the above classification represents reasonably accurately the song-tradition of Gaelic Scotland. Since no fully representative collection has yet been made, the system may have to undergo some changes before it is made the final basis of a song archive. It is hoped, however, that these changes will be more by way of elaboration and enriching of groups rather than alteration of the system itself. Certain groups could be sub-divided further. ST 3.1 (*Fairy Songs*) could be elaborated by reference to the kind of supernatural being associated with the origin of a given example such as the water-horse or the *gruagach*. More sub-division could be undertaken with reference to ST 4.1.2 (*Eòlais*), and the thematic content of some of the structural types could be analysed further.

It was decided that a systematic count of the various types might be misleading at this stage since collection and examination is still proceeding.

It has not been possible to do more than touch upon the historical background of the songs. While numbers of them are dateable by internal evidence and refer to historical happenings it is not possible to make a distinct class of "Historical Songs". A grouping such as this would imply narrative songs with certain historical events as subject, whereas reference to historical events in the songs is in fact incidental and always subordinate to the subject.

The meagreness of the information given about functional

types may be regretted by students of folk-life. That information, however, must be obtained by systematic research in the field into the social background of these types since it is not enough to get texts and melodies alone. While the questionnaire method is on the whole unsuitable for song collecting it could be used with advantage to document the peculiar part songs play in the material life of the people. It is clear that the analysis of functional songs such as *Eòlais, Cradle Songs,* etc. is largely an investigation into custom and belief, and indeed no questionnaire on folk-life can be complete without reference to them.

REFERENCES

1. Seán Ó Súilleabháin gives a short list of Irish song types in his *Handbook of Irish Folklore* but no examples are given.
2. Folklore Fellows Communications, 1910.
3. Motif Index of Folk Literature. FF Communications, Nos. 106-9, 116, 117.
4. These include copies of his own recordings generously given by John Lorne Campbell of Canna. Valuable copies of recordings are also being received from Dr. Alasdair MacLean of Loch Boisdale. All the MSS. quoted have been compiled from current local tradition by Donald John MacDonald of South Uist, and are lodged in the School of Scottish Studies' archives. All log and RL references are to sound recordings in the School's archives.
5. Log 265, MS. 20.109, K. C. Craig, Orain Luaidh (O.L.) p. 8.
6. MS. 6.545.
7. MS. 25.2306.
8. *Cuachag nan Craobh,* Log 194; Log 1679, RL 426.1; *A Mhàiri Bhàn Òg,* RL 593A12, and other examples.
9. Uncatalogued recorded version; *Sar Obair* p. 385.
10. Log 337/8; RL 242.2; *Sàr Obair,* RL 593A12.
11. Log 1666.
12. This type has already been described in an article by the present writer—*The Sub-literary tradition in Scottish Gaelic Song-poetry,* II, Eigse: A Journal of Irish Studies Vol. VIII pp. 1-17.
13. Text given to me by Rev. William Matheson; variant published with air by Otto Andersson, *Folk Songs from the Isle of Lewis,* Budkavlen, 1952.
14. Log 1577. Other examples of this type are *Their mi'n fhìrinn gur h-i,* Log 1577; *Cò bheir mi leam air an luing Eireannach* and *Mhile mhìle mhìle bhogu,* Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness XIII. See also Margaret Fay Shaw, *Folksongs and Folklore of South Uist,* Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1955, pp. 227-8.
15. Publications of the Modern Language Association of America, 1921.
16. O.L. p. 7; for similar passage *v.* Margaret Fay Shaw, op. cit. p. 219.
17. MS. 22.2077.
18. O.L. p. 84.
19. Log 1065; Turner Collection, 1813, p. 293.

20. Text given to me by Rev. William Matheson; RL 594 A1. A similar type of song has been recorded which is an invitation to the lover to enter.
21. *Ancient Ballads of the North*, 1875 ed., Vol. II p. 221.
22. *Sacred Parodies of Secular Folksongs*, Vol. III pp. 157-83.
23. RL 626A; O.L. p. 13, MS. 23.2150.
24. O.L. p. 56, MS. 22.2028.
25. Further examples of this trait in MSS. 19.1794; 22.2028; O.L. pp. 17, 57.
26. RL 751A2.
27. *Eilean Fraoich*, Comunn Gaidhealach Leodhais, Stornoway, 1938, p. 66.
28. T.G.S. XVI p. 103.
29. Op cit. p. 100.
30. For further examples *v.* Log 90; Log 94; *A ghaoil saoil a faigh mi thu.* (Uncatalogued recording); O.L. pp. 15, 17, 19, 28, 39, 42.
31. J. C. Watson, *Songs of Mary MacLeod*, pp. 12 and 112.
32. O.L. p. 20; MS. 19.1784.
33. MS. 20.1921; O.L. p. 31.
34. MSS. 20.1898, 24.2296; O.L. p. 27; MS. 22.2083, O.L. p. 78.
35. Some of the incidental poetry in the mediæval tale *Buile Shuibhne*, edited J. G. O'Keeffe, London, 1913, is of this type; see also T. F. O'Rahilly, *Measgra Dánta*, Cork, 1927, especially Nos. 41 to 52.
36. O.L. p. 31; variants of some formula in O.L. pp. 8, 28, 66, 83 and 92. Variants also in S.S.S. MS. and sound recordings.
37. Log 50, 52, 105, RL 131.6, RL 135.3; numerous recorded and published examples.
38. Also numerous; Log 108, Log 1005, RL 190.2.
39. Published by *Sgoil Eòlais na h-Alba*, Glasgow 1946, edited by John MacKenchie.
40. Log 4/2480; T.G.S. VIII p. 113.
41. O.L. p. 40, a variant also heard in Skye; for another example showing a gnomic trait see RL 626B15.
42. Op cit. pp. 29-32.
43. Log 1497; Sinclair, *An t-Oranaiche*, 1879, p. 491.
44. T.G.S. VII p. 7.
45. T.G.S. XII p. 159.
46. *Oran a' gheamhraidh*, Log 1669/70; *Allt an t-Siùcair*, Log 1763; *Cead Deireannach nam Beann*, RL 629 B1, and others.
47. MS. 23, 2125, O.L. p. 2.
48. RL 629 A2. Version published by the Linguaphone Institute for the Folklore Institute of Scotland.
49. The best published sources for texts of this general type are, K. C. Craig, op. cit. and the *MacDonald Collection*. Variants of most of the songs included in these works are in S.S.S. archives.
50. James Ross, op. cit. Part II, Eigse Vol. VIII Part I.
51. Log 1662.
52. Log 2277, RL 593 B1; Mackenzie, *Sàr Obair nam Bàrd Gàidhealach*, p. 373. Published by the Linguaphone Institute for the Folklore Institute of Scotland.
53. For a detailed discussion of this metre *v.* James Ross, op. cit. Part I, Eigse Vol. VII pp. 217-39.

54. Log 1674.

55. Log 266.

56. Log 1493.

57. Several examples of this type may be found in O.L., particularly pp. 4, 5, 22, 41, 51, 74, 76, 89, 96, 105; also in some other published collections such as the *MacDonald Collection*; Sinclair, op. cit.; Margaret Fay Shaw, op. cit.; Tolmie Collection, J.E.F.S.S. Vol. 16; Carmichael, *Carmina Gadelica*, Vol. V, Edinburgh 1954.

58. Recorded examples on Log 1041*b*; 1042*b*; 1103; 1129; 1131; and others; most of *The Flyting of Dunbar and Kennedie* is as typical of the *aoir* as any Gaelic example could be. The antiquity of the type in Celtic tradition is verified by Diodorus Siculas. Speaking of the Gauls, he says—"And there are among them composers of verses whom they call Bards; these, singing to instruments similar to a lyre, applaud some, while they vituperate others." *Histories*, V, 31, 2.

59. For notes of the flyting tradition in Scots *v*. W. MacKay MacKenzie: *The Poems of William Dunbar* p. xxxii.

60. *Cha teid Mór a Bharraidh bhrònach*, Log 455; MS. 23.2182, O.L. p. 20.

61. O.L. p. 1; MS. 24.2262.

62. This part is more widely known than the former; *v*. Marjory Kennedy Fraser, *Songs of the Hebrides*, Vol. I p. 2; Log 452, RL 205B7; for further examples of the type *v*. Log 93, MS. 20.1854, O.L. p. 80; Duanaire p. 42.

63. RL 754/758.

64. Log 219/220.

65. Op. cit. Vol. I-V; no clear dividing line is possible between some of the metrical prayers given by Carmichael and the *Eòlais* group.

66. RL 1089.2; other versions, Log 175, 1042, 1092, 1125.

67. Log 2276.

68. RL 592A16.

69. RL 592A18, *Sàr Obair*, p. 372.

70. Log 1101.

71. Uncatalogued version.

72. Log 1634*b*, Log 89, RL 31.

73. *The Ballad of Tradition*, Oxford, The Clarendon Press, 1932, p. 11.

74. RL 750B10; K. C. Craig *Orain Luaidh*, p. 1; Margaret Fay Shaw op. cit. p. 254 (with references). For a study of the Two Sisters Ballad as it occurs in Western Europe see Folklore Fellows Communications No. 147, by Paul Brewster.

75. Neil Ross, *Heroic Poetry from the Book of the Dean of Lismore*, Scottish Gaelic Texts Society, 1939; *Duanaire Finn*, Vols. I-III, Irish Texts Society VII, XXVIII, XLIII, Vol. I edited by Eoin MacNeill, Vols. II and III by Gerard Murphy; J. F. Campbell, *Leabhar na Féinne*, 1872; Alexander Cameron, *Reliquiae Celticae*, Vol. I 1892, Vol. II 1894.

76. Log 233.

77. RL 932.

78. RL 625A11.

79. Log 1657.

80. For other examples *v*. RL 51; Log 1109; Log 1136; T.G.S. Vol. XII p. 225.

81. T.G.S. XX p. 191.

82. RL 833.1; other examples Log 1562; Log 1509, O.L. pp. 49, 110; T.G.S. Vol. VII p. 52; Vol. VIII p. 116.
83. Log 71.
84. RL 625A9.
85. Log 1090*b*; another homeland macaronic, Log, 367; macaronic love song, Log 1111.
86. RL 626A.
87. RL 600A6; for further examples of pibroch songs *v.* RL 626A, RL 592B17; Margaret Fay Shaw, op. cit. Nos. 27, 28, 30.
88. Log 1599.
89. V. Carmichael, op. cit. Vol. I Introduction.
90. RL 629A9; *v.* Carmichael op. cit. Vol. V for more elaborate version of the story and text.
91. RL 629A5.
92. For further examples of this type see *Cradle Song* section; also MacDougal and Calder, op. cit. p. 110, *Gael*, 1877, p. 112, T.G.S. XIX p. 42.
93. RL 594B2; Rev. William Matheson, *Songs of John MacCodrum*, Scottish Gaelic Texts Society, 1938 Introduction, p. xxxvii.
94. Log 1487, RL 192.3, T.G.S. Vol. XIX, p. 42.
95. T.G.S. Vol. XVI p. 106.
96. For instance *Eòlas a' Chrannachain* Log 85/2092. Other examples in Carmichael op. cit, particularly Vol. 1.
97. Vol. 1, p. 148, Oliver and Boyd, Edinburgh.
98. Celtic Review II p. 8; *Carmina Gadelica*, I pp. 150, 152; Margaret Fay Shaw, op. cit. p. 24.
99. Got from Mr. Donald MacDonald of North Tolsta.
100. Op cit. pp. 126, 132.
101. Log 223, version with Hogmanay allusion.
102. T.G.S. VIII p. 123; XIX p. 46; *Carmina Gadelica*, II pp. 14-20. This particular charm is known internationally and may be compared in particular to a ninth century German version invoking Balder and Woden quoted by Grattan and Singer, *Anglo-Saxon Magic and Medicine*, Oxford 1952, p. 53.
103. T.G.S. VIII p. 127. St. Bride appears frequently in similar contexts, *v.* Carmichael, op. cit. II pp. 10, 14, 18, 24, 28, and elsewhere. Both these saints are invoked in Anglo-Saxon charms, *v.* Grattan and Singer op. cit. p. 66.
104. Log 85/2092.
105. Log 88/2094.
106. Log 88/2094.
107. Watson, *Bardachd Ghàidhlig*, p. 246; *Gael*, V p. 68; O.L. p. 11; *MacDonald Collection*, p. 35; RL 898B1.
108. MS. 6.561; MacDougal and Calder, *Folk Tales and Fairy Lore*; p. 108, called *Oran Sithe*; Tolmie Collection No. 20; Carmichael, op. cit. p. 184; for a similar lullaby with a fairy etymology *v.* MacDougal and Calder, op. cit. p. 104; other examples of cradle eulogies, *Eisd a chuilein laoigh 's a lurain*, RL626B; *Hi hà hó mo leanabh*; T.G.S. Vol. XII p. 212, and Vol. IX p. 63.
109. RL 626 B″, RL 882 B3.
110. T.G.S. XV p. 156.
111. RL 524, T.G.S. XV p. 154.

112. T.G.S. XV p. 163.
113. RL 481 A18, T.G.S. XV p. 169.
114. Carmichael, op. cit. Vol. IV p. 76.
115. Op. cit. p. 71.
116. For further examples of Milking Songs and references *v.* Margaret
    Fay Shaw, op. cit. pp. 157-164. A milking song has been recorded
    in Skye which was specifically used for illicit milking, *Mo chuilein
    bó Raghaill*, RL 626.
117. RL 629 A8.
118. Except *An t-Iorram Niseach*, RL 724 A4.
119. Particularly in *Iomairibh Eutrom hó ró*, Log 1587; and *Clò nan Gillean*,
    RL 629 A7.
120. Tolmie op. cit. Nos. 75-8.
121. *v.* Log 1650, also used for waulking. For three spinning songs *v.*
    Margaret Fay Shaw, op. cit. pp. 202-5.
122. T.G.S. XV p. 108.
123. Op. cit. IX p. 107.
124. Op. cit. VIII p. 25.
125. Op. cit. XII p. 120.