PROCEEDINGS OF THE
THIRD INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF CELTIC STUDIES

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12

PART ONE

1968

Proceedings of the Third International
Congress of Celtic Studies, Edinburgh
July 23-29, 1967

SCHOOL OF SCOTTISH STUDIES
UNIVERSITY OF EDINBURGH

Members of the Third International Congress of Celtic Studies at the foot of the David Hume Tower of the University of Edinburgh, venue of the Congress in July 1967. (Photograph: John K. Wilkie.)

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PART 1

Proceedings of the Third International Congress of Celtic Studies

W. F. H. Nicolaisen	Foreword	1
	Congress Programme and Membership List	3
Thomas Jones	Historical Writing in Medieval Welsh	15
John MacInnes	The Oral Tradition in Scottish Gaelic Poetry	29
Wolfgang Meid	Indo-European and Celtic	45
Derick S. Thomson	Gaelic Learned Orders and Literati in Medieval Scotland	57
	Information about Papers Read at Sectional Meetings	79

PART 2

Alan G. MacPherson	An Old Highland Parish Register: Survivals of Clanship and Social Change in Laggan, Inverness-shire, 1775–1869 (Part 2)	81
Herschel Gower	Jeannie Robertson: Portrait of a Traditional Singer	113
Michael Ryder	The Evolution of Scottish Breeds of Sheep	127
James Porter	Problems and Experiments in the Notional Method of Vocal Transcription	169
NOTES ON COLLECTION AND RESEARCH		
W. F. H. Nicolaisen	Scottish Place-Names: (30) *Fintry*	179
Horace Fairhurst	An Old Estate Plan of Auchindrain, Mid-Argyll	183
Ian A. G. Kinniburgh	A Note on Timothy Pont's Survey of Scotland	187
Alan Bruford	*Logaidh Longsach*	190
Alan Bruford	Two More Stories from Atholl: Addenda	193
BOOK REVIEWS	Myles Dillon: *Celtica*; Basil Skinner : John Strawhorn, *The New History of Cumnock*; Richard Dorson: Paul Delarue and Marie-Louise Tenèze*, Le Conte Populaire Français,* I and II; Alexander Fenton: R. G. Cant, *Central and North Fife*; Margaret D. Young: R. S. Barclay (ed.), *The Court Books of Orkney and Shetland 1614–1615*; A. B. Taylor: John Robertson, *Uppies and Doonies: The Story of the Kirkwall Ba' Game*	194
	Books Received	205
W. F. H. Nicolaisen	Scottish Studies in 1967: An Annual Bibliography	207
INDEX		219

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FOREWORD

The First International Congress of Celtic Studies was held in Dublin from 6–10 July 1959. This was followed four years later by the Second Congress which took place in Cardiff from 6–13 July 1963. It was at the latter meeting that Edinburgh was suggested as the venue for the Third Congress and as a four-year interval had been found to be suitable, this further international gathering of Celtic scholars was scheduled for 1967, later to be more precisely limited to the week from 23–29 July of that year.

When the University of Edinburgh had kindly agreed to act as host to the Congress, an Organising Committee was formed under the Chairmanship of Professor Kenneth Jackson. This Committee entrusted the Secretaryship to Dr W. F. H. Nicolaisen; the other members were the Rev. William Matheson, Mr B. R. S. Megaw and Mr Charles Thomas. The Chairman and Secretary had the additional support of an Advisory Committee consisting of Professors Gordon Donaldson, John MacQueen, and Stuart Piggott, and Mr D. Myrddin Lloyd. The Secretary of State for Scotland, The Right Hon. William Ross, MBE, MP, graciously agreed that the Congress should be held under his patronage; and Professor Michael Swann, Principal of the University of Edinburgh, kindly consented to act as President, and Dr. William Beattie, Librarian of the National Library of Scotland, Major-General J. Scott-Elliot, President of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, and Mr R. B. K. Stevenson, Keeper of the National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland, as Vice-Presidents.

It was decided to arrange five plenary sessions and thirty sectional meetings, with no more than two of the latter running concurrently, in order to avoid annoying clashes of interest and to increase audiences at the individual meetings. A special discussion was to deal, from as many angles as possible, with the very real problems of bilingualism in all Celtic-speaking countries. One half-day and one full-day excursion were organised, and a lecture recital of Gaelic traditional song was to be offered one evening for the enjoyment and instruction of members, at which the Rev. William Matheson was to have the able help of the Edin Singers. Receptions to be given by the Secretary of State for Scotland, the Lord Provost and Council of the City of Edinburgh, and the National Library of Scotland, as well as a Banquet offered by the University of Edinburgh, provided the generous hospitality which has so notably marked the previous meetings of the Congress.

The Congress was attended by members from 16 countries, and for the first time a conference of this kind was able to welcome scholars from Roumania. Representatives from most of the academic centres in which Celtic linguistics, literature, art, and archaeology are taught and studied to-day, gave it an internationality far beyond the countries in which Celtic languages are still a living means of daily communication. The range of topics examined in the papers offered was similar to that of the two previous

gatherings, and the standard was equally high. Particularly impressive was the comparatively high proportion of young scholars present and the contributions they made to lectures and discussions.

When the question arose as to the possibility of publishing 'Proceedings' of the Congress, it became clear that the publication of *all* papers presented would not be feasible. The Organising Committee therefore considered following the example of the first two Congresses which had selected for publication only papers read at plenary sessions* whereas lecturers had been left a free hand in placing for publication papers presented at the sectional meetings. This volume is the result of that decision; it is also the outcome of the kind offer of the Editor of *Scottish Studies*, Mr B. R. S. Megaw, to make available one bi-annual issue of that journal for this purpose. Without this offer it would have been difficult, if not impossible, to finance this particular publication, and to make it available so soon after the end of the Congress, and the Organising Committee is very much indebted to the Editor and to the School of Scottish Studies of the University of Edinburgh for its kind willingness to help. The special scope of this issue may mean that regular subscribers to *Scottish Studies* will miss a number of features to which they are accustomed, but it is hoped that they will be amply compensated by the contents of the Proceedings, even if these can perhaps be interpreted as appealing to the Celt first, and only second to the Scot. A special hard-cover edition enables the members of the Congress and others to obtain as a separate volume a publication which is more than just a number of a journal. In contents, both the hard-cover and the journal editions are identical.

At the end of the Third Congress it was announced that there was some hope that the Fourth Congress might be held in Rennes in 1971, and at the time when these Proceedings are going to press it appears as if this hope will be fulfilled, and that after Ireland, Wales and Scotland, Brittany will act as host to Celtic scholars from all over the world. We are looking forward to meeting these scholars in Rennes and we wish our Breton friends as much enjoyment and satisfaction as we have had in the organisation of the Edinburgh Congress.

W. F. H. NICOLAISEN

* Unfortunately Professor Hamp's paper on 'Celtic Phonology and Grammar in Changing Linguistic Theory' is not available for publication.

THIRD INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF CELTIC STUDIES

EDINBURGH, 23–29 July 1967

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PROGRAMME

Sunday, 23 July

3.00 pm–6.00 pm Registration at Lee House, Dalkeith Road, Edinburgh

Monday, 24 July

9.00 am–10.15 am Registration at the Congress Office in the David Hume Tower, George Square, Edinburgh

10.30 am–11.00 am Official Opening of the Congress by the Lord Advocate, Mr Gordon Stott, QC, on behalf of the Secretary of State for Scotland

11.00 am–11.20 am Coffee Break

11.30 am–12.30 pm FIRST PLENARY SESSION
Eric Hamp, *Celtic Phonology and Grammar in Changing Linguistic Theory*
Chairman: Myles Dillon

2.30 pm–3.15 pm Sectional Meetings
(A) David Greene, *The Twinkling of an Eye, some Irish Parallels*
Chairman: K. H. Schmidt
(B) A. O. H. Jarman, *The Heroic Ideal of Early Welsh Verse*
Chairman: Nils Holmer

3.30 pm–4.15 pm Sectional Meetings
(A) H. Wagner, *Irish* fāith, *Welsh* gwawd, *Old Norse* óðr
Chairman: A. M. E. Draak
(B) Patrick Henry, *Culhwch and Olwen, Some Aspects of Style and Structure*
Chairman: Idris Ll. Foster

5.00 pm–6.00 pm RECEPTION by the National Library of Scotland, George IV Bridge, Edinburgh

8.00 pm–9.30 pm RECEPTION by the Solicitor-General for Scotland, Mr H. Wilson, QC, on behalf of the Secretary of State for Scotland, in the Banqueting Hall of Edinburgh Castle

Tuesday, 25 July

9.30 am–10.15 am Sectional Meetings
(A) Fr. F. Shaw, *Irish Adjectives in* -(a)id. Chairman: C. Ní Mhaol-Chróin
(B) D. M. Lloyd, *Some Metrical Features in Gogynfeirdd Poetry*
Chairman: T. Ó Máille

10.15 am–11 am Sectional Meetings
(A) Magne Oftedal, *Some New Observations on North Welsh* u.
Chairman: Vincent Phillips
(B) Brian Ó Cuív, *Some Developments in Irish Metrics* Chairman: E. G. Quin

11.00 am–11.20 am Coffee Break

11.30 am–12.30 pm SECOND PLENARY SESSION
Thomas Jones, *Historical Writing in Mediaeval Welsh* Chairman: Henry Lewis

2.30 pm–3.15 pm Sectional Meetings
(A) Donald Macaulay, *On Some Gaelic Sentences with the Verb 'to do' and the Status of* tha Chairman: Annie Mackenzie
(B) A. Le Berre, *Influence du nom des algues marines en breton, sur la toponymie nautique des côtes du Léon* Chairman: Jean Perrot

3.30 pm–4.15 pm Sectional Meetings
(A) L. Fleuriot, *Researches on Loanwords of Germanic Origin in Breton* Chairman: C. W. Lewis
(B) G. MacEóin, *Mac Dá Cherda and Cuimíne Fota; more about the Geilt Problem* Chairman: P. Ó Fiannachta

2.30 pm–6.00 pm LADIES' EXCURSION to a Border Woollen Mill

4.45 pm–6.00 pm VISITS to the Gaelic Linguistic Survey and the School of Scottish Studies, 27 George Square, Edinburgh

8.30 pm–10.30 pm RECEPTION by the Lord Provost and Council of the City of Edinburgh in the City Chambers, High Street, Edinburgh

Wednesday, 26 July

9.30 am–10.15 am Sectional Meetings
(A) Julius Pokorny, *Goethe as a Celtic scholar* Chairman: Édouard Bachellery
(B) Alan Bruford, *Native and Literary Elements in Gaelic Folktales* Chairman: John Mackechnie

10.15 am–11.00 am Sectional Meetings
(A) H. Pilch, *Studying the Syntax of Colloquial Welsh* Chairman: T. Arwyn Watkins
(B) R. T. Meyer, *Mediaeval Cornish Drama and Liturgy* Chairman: Anne O'Sullivan

11.00 am–11.20 am Coffee Break

11.30 am–12.30 pm THIRD PLENARY SESSION
John MacInnes, *The Oral Tradition in Scottish Gaelic Poetry*
Chairman: John MacQueen

2.00 pm–6.00 pm EXCURSION to East Lothian

8.00 pm–10.00 pm CEILIDH, David Hume Tower Introduced by William Matheson

Thursday, 27 July

9.30 am–10.15 am Sectional Meetings
(A) Proinsias MacCana, *Correspondences between the Learned Traditions of Ireland and Wales* Chairman: Breandán Ó Buachalla
(B) D. Kirby, *Vortigern* Chairman: P. C. Bartrum

10.15 am–11.00 am Sectional Meetings
(A) C. Bărbulescu, *Motifs concordants dans les narrations populaires celtiques et roumaines*
Chairman: Ian Campbell
(B) Kathleen Hughes, *The Impact of the Vikings in Ireland: a Historical Revision*
Chairman: A. T. Lucas

11.00 am–11.20 am	Coffee Break
11.30 am–12.30 pm	FOURTH PLENARY SESSION Wolfgang Meid, *Indo-European and Celtic* Chairman: D. A. Binchy
2.30 pm–3.15 pm	Sectional Meetings (A) J. Piette, *French Loanwords in Middle Breton* Chairman: J. L. W. L. Bloklander (B) Melville Richards, *Ecclesiastical and Secular in Mediaeval Welsh Settlement* Chairman: R. L. Thomson
3.30 pm–4.15 pm	Sectional Meetings (A) Francis J. Byrne, *Tribes and Tribalism in Early Ireland* Chairman: Éamonn de hÓir (B) William W. Heist, *Myths and Folklore in the Lives of the Irish Saints* Chairman: B. R. S. Megaw
5.00 pm	HONORARY GRADUATION, Faculty Room, David Hume Tower; conferment of the Honorary Degree of D.Litt. on Professors Myles Dillon and Julius Pokorny
8.00 pm	BANQUET given by the University of Edinburgh in the Upper Library Hall, Old College, South Bridge, Edinburgh

Friday, 28 July

9.30 am–10.15 am	Sectional Meetings (A) H. Pálsson, *Some Irish Themes in Icelandic Sagas* Chairman: Máirín bean Uí Dhálaigh (B) Glanmor Williams, *Prophecy, Poetry, and Politics in Mediaeval Wales* Chairman: Rachel Bromwich
10.15 am–11.00 am	Sectional Meetings (A) Charles Thomas, *Pre-Norman Chapels in Cornwall* Chairman: C. A. Ralegh Radford (B) Emrys Evans, *East Ulster Features in the Inishowen Dialect* Chairman: T. J. Morgan
11.00 am–11.20 am	Coffee Break
11.30 am–12.130 pm	FIFTH PLENARY SESSION Derick S. Thomson, *Gaelic Learned Orders and Literati in Mediaeval Scotland* Chairman: Gordon Donaldson
2.30 pm–3.15 pm	Sectional Meetings (A) Charles Dunn, *The Present State of Celtic Studies in North American Universities* Chairman: Terence McCaughey (B) Geraint Gruffydd, '*Yn y Lhyvyr Hwnn*' (*1526*), *the Earliest Welsh Printed Book* Chairman: E. D. Jones
3.15 pm–4.45 pm	DISCUSSION on Bilingualism in Celtic Countries Chairman: John A. Smith

Saturday, 29 July

9.00 am–5.30 pm	EXCURSION to the Celtic Monuments of Pictland

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Historical Writing in Medieval Welsh

THOMAS JONES

Professor A. H. Dodd, writing on 'Welsh History and Historians in the Twentieth Century' (Davies 1963: 49-70) has a sentence which would appear to suggest that there is not much that can be said on my subject. Professor Dodd writes:

> To write of Welsh historiography in the present century is virtually to cover the whole subject for it is only here that the serious writing of Welsh history begins.

In this context 'serious' means 'serious in the opinion of the twentieth century historian'. The medieval historian, however, was equally serious in what he believed to be the past history of the world and the place of the Britons in that history. This means that I must devote some attention to certain texts which modern criticism has refused to accept as embodying authentic history.

The editors of the *Myvyrian Archaiology of Wales*, of which the first two volumes were published in 1801 and the third in 1807, would have been at a loss to understand Professor Dodd's statement. In their second volume they brought together what they described as 'a collection of historical documents', of which the most important are the following: the so-called *Brut Tysilio* and *Brut Gruffudd ab Arthur*, which represent two Welsh versions of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum Britanniae; Brut y Tywysogion* (*The Chronicle of the Princes* [*of Wales*]) from the Red Book of Hergest; *Brenhinedd y Saesson* (*The Kings of the Saxons*), wrongly entitled *Brut y Saesson* in the printed volume, from British Museum Cotton MS. Cleopatra B v; another version of *Brut y Tywysogion* allegedly from a transcript made in 1770 by Iorwerth ab Iorwerth Gwilym (better known as Iolo Morganwg) from a text copied in 1764 by Thomas Richards, curate of Coychurch, 'from the book of George Williams, squire of Aberpergwm'—hence this *Brut* is known as 'the Aberpergwm *Brut*'; *Brut Ieuan Brechfa* transcribed in 1780, so it is claimed, from a manuscript known as 'The Book of Ieuan Brechfa'; *Buchedd neu Hanes Gruffudd ap Cynan* (*The Life or History of Gruffudd ap Cynan*). All these texts and certain others the editors of the *Myvyrian Archaiology* describe as 'such materials as were deemed . . . most important towards the elucidation of British history'. Some of them are certainly irrelevant to my subject. These are the Triads, the Saints' Genealogies and the two tracts which list respectively the cantrefs and commots, and the parishes of Wales. *Hanes Gruffudd ap Cynan* is unique as the biography of a Welsh prince, but its very

uniqueness makes it of less importance to the central theme of my paper, which is to say something of those texts which together represent the medieval view of world history and of the history of the Britons in particular. *Brut Tysilio*, however, *Brut Gruffudd ab Arthur*, *Brut y Tywysogion* from the Red Book of Hergest, and *Brenhinedd y Saesson* are relevant to my subject. The remaining two texts—the Aberpergwm *Brut* and the *Brut* of Ieuan Brechfa—have long been recognised as forgeries and do not merit our attention (T. Jones 1952: xxviii–xxx).

The texts with which I propose to deal are four in number: *Y Bibyl Ynghymraec*, *Ystorya Daret*, *Brut y Brenhinedd* and variant forms of *Brut y Tywysogion*. Of these texts the only one which contains history in the modern sense of the word is the last named, but the four together formed a series of texts which covered the period from the Creation to the end of the thirteenth century. It is significant that in two of the texts the word *brut* forms part of the title in the sense of 'history', 'story': the word derives from the name of Brutus who was, according to Geoffrey of Monmouth, a great-grand-son of Aeneas and the founder of the British people. Geoffrey's *Historia Regum Britanniae* appeared about 1136 and it purported to trace the history of the Britons from Brutus down to Cadwaladr the Blessed, their last independent ruler. The work won immediate popularity in Wales and those who thought—as Giraldus Cambrensis did—that the book owed more to the author's imagination than to true history were but few in number. The *Historia* was soon translated into Welsh, and that more than once. Today there are extant about sixty manuscripts which contain Welsh texts variously related to Geoffrey's Latin text. My colleague in the Department of Welsh at Aberystwyth, Mr Brynley F. Roberts, has undertaken a survey of these manuscripts and his researches have already made some things fairly certain. There is not a single text which can represent an earlier Welsh text on which Geoffrey's Latin *Historia* could have been based. There are six Welsh versions of the *Historia*, three of which are independent translations produced in the thirteenth century. One of these, *Brut Dingestow*, was edited by Professor Henry Lewis in 1942, and Mr Brynley F. Roberts has editions of the other two in preparation. Geoffrey's scheme of British history, with the reign of Arthur as its glorious climax, was generally accepted in Wales right down to the early nineteenth century, as is illustrated by the inclusion of *Brut Tysilio* and *Brut Gruffudd ab Arthur* amongst 'the materials deemed by the editors' of the *Myvyrian Archaiology* as 'most important towards the elucidation of British History'. *Brut Tysilio*, it was thought at the time, was the original Welsh text, the 'Britannici sermonis librum vetustissimum', which Geoffrey claimed to have translated, and *Brut Gruffudd ab Arthur* a Welsh translation of Geoffrey's Latin text. It is this which explains the inclusion in the *Myvyrian Archaiology* of these two texts, in that order, both of which we now know to be derived from the *Historia*.

Fiction though it be for the greater part, the *Historia*, in its Welsh translations, formed the foundation of medieval historiography in Wales. To it were added three other

texts, two of them together covering the period from the Creation to the fall of Troy, the arrival of Brutus in the island that was to bear his name and the story of his descendants down to the sixth century, and the third tracing the fortunes of the Britons from the death of Cadwaladr the Blessed, with which the *Historia* closes, down to the late thirteenth century. These three texts also are translations from Latin. My remarks on the first two will be brief for the reason that they can no longer qualify as historical texts. The third text deserves a more detailed discussion.

Through the story of Brutus Geoffrey linked British history with the fortunes of Troy and the foundation of Rome. Every now and then he refers to events not only in the classical world but also in the story of the Jewish people. It is through these references that Geoffrey seeks to place his British history within the wider framework of world history accepted in his day. This medieval conception of universal history derived ultimately from St Jerome's Latin translation of Eusebius's 'Chronological Tables'. As C. H. Haskins (1927: 227) put it, 'Christian Europe, far down into modern times, took its philosophy of history from Augustine and its chronological system from Eusebius, and the two were combined in the medieval chronicle on general history'. The combination was also found in the many Bible-histories which existed alongside the Bible, and of which the most influential was the *Historia Scholastica* compiled in the second half of the twelfth century (before 1176) by Peter Comestor of Paris. In it the 'history' begins with the Creation and continues in the order of the Biblical books—omitting such as do not record events—to the martyrdom of Peter and Paul. This is essentially sacred history, but at the end of certain sections a few 'pagan' contemporary events are recorded as 'Incidentia'. Although no Welsh translation of the *Historia Scholastica* appeared it must have been well-known in the monasteries of Wales. In any case it wielded an influence on the medieval conception of history, as expressed in Welsh, in an indirect way. The very size of the *Historia Scholastica* made it a very expensive volume, and other less expensive and shorter texts were compiled with the aim of presenting with conciseness the historical content of the Bible. In the main these texts, some in prose and others in verse, were synopses of the *Historia Scholastica* and were known as 'Bibles of the Poor', the poor being the poor clerks or students who could not afford to buy either the *Historia Scholastica* or the Bible itself. One of the best known of these 'Bibles of the Poor' was the *Promptuarium Bibliae*, a synopsis of the *Historia Scholastica* compiled by Peter of Poitiers who was Peter Comestor's successor as Chancellor of the Church of Paris (Vollmer 1931). This *Promptuarium Bibliae* was translated into Welsh, by an anonymous monk or parish priest, towards the end of the thirteenth or the beginning of the fourteenth century, under the title 'Y Bibyl Ynghymraec' ('The Bible in Welsh'). Unlike the main text of the *Promptuarium*, which deals almost exclusively with the descendants of Shem son of Noah, the Welsh version has, towards the end, an addition which reverts to Noah and lists the descendants of Japhet right down to Anchises and his son Aeneas Whiteshield (T. Jones 1940: 63). 'And of him and his progeny', the text says, 'an account is given in *The Story of*

Brute.' In the same text Priam of Troy is named as a descendant of Japhet. 'And of him (*sc.* Priam) and his progeny an account is given in *The Story of Daret*', by which is meant the very popular medieval text describing the fall of Troy which was attributed to Dares Phrygius. This work was as well-known in Wales as in other countries and six Welsh versions of it—not all complete—have been identified (Owens 1952). Very often in the Welsh manuscripts the *Ystorya Daret* forms a kind of introduction to *Brut y Brenhinedd*, and the latter in turn is followed by *Brut y Tywysogion*, of which I propose to speak presently. The purpose of the addition at the end of the Welsh version of the *Promptuarium Bibliae* was to link Biblical history with both the *Ystorya Daret* and *Brut y Brenhinedd*. Together these three texts supplied a general history of the world and a history of the Britons from the Creation to the death of Cadwaladr the Blessed.

Let us now turn to *Brut y Tywysogion*. In purpose as well as in effect it is a continuation of Geoffrey's *Historia*. It was originally written in Latin, but not one copy of the complete Latin text has survived, and this is also true of the Latin original of *Buchedd Gruffudd ap Cynan* (A. Jones 1910: 14–16). However, three independent Welsh versions of the *Brut* have survived along with four related sets of Latin annals which record events in Wales and elsewhere. By a careful comparison of the three Welsh versions, one with another, and with the pertinent sections of the Latin annals, much of the lost Latin chronicle can be reconstructed.

What was it that prompted the compilation of this chronicle, one of the many continuations of Geoffrey's *Historia*? Let me remind you of one sentence in the colophon to the latter. Geoffrey, with his tongue in his cheek (as it appears to me) writes:

> I remit as subject matter to Caradog of Llancarfan, my contemporary, the kings of the Britons who since the time of Cadwaladr have succeeded in Wales.

It is these words that suggested to someone that he should compile a chronicle of the princes of Wales and it is the reference to Caradog of Llancarfan, a known contemporary of Geoffrey's, that made later scholars attribute the chronicle, in its Welsh forms, to this Caradog. Many years ago Sir John Edward Lloyd (1927) advanced cogent reasons, which I need not repeat, why Caradog of Llancarfan could not have been either the compiler of the original Latin chronicle (now lost) or the translator of any one of the three Welsh versions. Whosoever the true compiler was, his conception of the historian's role and methods was very different from that of Geoffrey. Whereas the latter wrote romance in the guise of history his unknown continuator recorded authentic historical events although he sometimes felt the urge to emulate the literary quality of Geoffrey's compilation.

I must say something about the three Welsh versions. Of the several texts included from time to time under the generic term 'Brut y Tywysogion' two only are so called in the manuscripts. The first is the 'Brut y Tywysogion' which is found complete in the Red Book of Hergest, incomplete in two earlier manuscripts, *viz.* Peniarth MS. 18,

written *circa* 1330, and Mostyn MS. 116, written later in the same century, and complete or incomplete in about twenty-five later manuscripts. This version is known as the Red Book of Hergest version, and covers the period from the year 682 to the year 1282 (T. Jones 1955).

The second version is that generally referred to as the 'Peniarth MS. 20 version'. Complete or incomplete copies of this version are extant in about fifteen manuscripts of various dates, but the only manuscript of importance for textual purposes is Peniarth MS. 20 itself, written towards the middle of the fourteenth century. The Peniarth MS. 20 version originally ended, like the Red Book of Hergest version, with the year 1282, but it contains a continuation, by more than one hand, down to the year 1332 (T. Jones, 1941 and 1952). Brief mention must be made of certain other differences between the two versions. There is a lacuna for the years 900–49 in the Peniarth MS. 20 text due to the loss of a leaf from the manuscript, and this lacuna occurs in all other copies of this version except for those manuscripts in which the missing section has been supplied from a different version. The Peniarth MS. 20 version provides fuller chronological data than the Red Book of Hergest version, and the set rhetorical passages in praise of princes and clerics are longer and more fulsome in the former than in the latter. The Peniarth MS. 20 version alone contains the Latin poem of eighteen elegiac couplets 'composed', as the text says, 'when the Lord Rhys died' and another set of five elegiac Latin couplets and a concluding hexameter which formed the epitaph on Rhys's sepulchre. Except for these major differences and many other minor ones, most of which can be explained in various ways, the Peniarth MS. 20 version and the Red Book of Hergest version agree in substance down to the year 1282, the original terminal point of both versions. Yet they are different in phraseology.

This brings me to what is in effect a third version, although it goes under a title other than 'Brut y Tywysogion' and does not agree in substance with the two versions already discussed. In the manuscripts the title of this third version is 'Brenhinedd y Saesson' ('The Kings of the Saxons'). It is only two of the several manuscript copies extant that are important for textual purposes, that of British Museum Cotton MS. Cleopatra B v (first half of the fourteenth century) and National Library of Wales MS. 7006 (The Black Book of Basingwerk), a considerable portion of which, including our text, was probably copied by the poet Gutun Owain in the second half of the fifteenth century. The former text, beginning with the year 682, is incomplete and ends with the year 1197, but the latter continues down to the year 1461. For the years 1198 to 1282, however, it appears to represent a compressed conflation of the Red Book and Peniarth MS. 20 versions of 'Brut y Tywysogion'; the entries for the years 1283 to 1332 derive from the continuation in the Peniarth MS. 20 version; and those for the period 1333–1461 are uneven, disjointed and generally unimportant. Hence the only section of *Brenhinedd y Saesson* which is of any importance as a historical source is that for the years 682 to 1197, that is, the incomplete text of the British Museum Cotton MS. Cleopatra B v. It is closely related to the two versions of *Brut y Tywysogion* proper.

Although it is not in substantial agreement with them, many of its entries agree closely with the corresponding ones in the Red Book of Hergest and the Peniarth MS. 20 versions of the *Brut*, but the phraseology is again different. The two versions of the *Brut* record many events in the history of England, but in the *Kings of the Saxons* an attempt has been made to combine and to synchronise Welsh and English history, at least down to the year 1090, although the entries which record events in Wales, whilst agreeing in substance with the corresponding entries in the two versions of the 'Brut', are in general considerably shorter.

In the two manuscripts already mentioned—British Museum Cotton MS. Cleopatra B v and the Black Book of Basingwerk (National Library of Wales MS. 7006)—*Brenhinedd y Saesson* follows immediately after a Welsh version of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia* entitled *Brut y Brenhinedd*, and its original Latin text appears to have been compiled as a continuation of the Galfridian *History*. Let us remind ourselves of what Geoffrey said in his colophon. He is leaving, so he tells us, two tasks to three of his literary contemporaries: to Caradog of Llancarfan, that of writing of the rulers of Wales after Cadwaladr the Blessed—as we have already noted—and to William of Malmesbury and Henry of Huntingdon that of writing of the kings of the Saxons. The Latin original of *Brut y Tywysogion* appears to have been compiled, though not by Caradog of Llancarfan, as a fulfilment of the first of these two tasks. The second task bequeathed by Geoffrey, that of writing of 'the kings of the Saxons' appears to have suggested the compilation of *Brenhinedd y Saesson*, the very title of which reproduces the words *reges . . . Saxonum* of Geoffrey's colophon. *Brenhinedd y Saesson*, however, does not confine itself to 'the kings of the Saxons'. Down to the year 1090 it combines entries relating to the princes of Wales with those relating to the Saxon kings, and so in a way it attempts to fulfil, in one and the same text, the two tasks which Geoffrey had left to other writers. The source of the entries relating to Wales, it is clear, was a variant version of the Latin original of *Brut y Tywysogion*, but what was the source of the entries which relate to England? Aneurin Owen in his edition of *Brut y Tywysogion* down to 1066 in the *Monumenta Historica Britannica* (1848: 841, footnote *a*) expressed the following opinion:

> It may be noted that this MS. [i.e. British Museum Cotton Cleopatra B v] . . . consists of the usual Welsh text, mixed with a Welsh version of considerable portions of the Winchester Annals of Ricardus Divisiensis and of a few excerpts from other English writers.

This opinion was repeated by the Rev. John Williams ab Ithel in his edition of *Brut y Tywysogion* (1860: xlvi), but as late as 1928 Sir John Edward Lloyd was loth to commit himself to the view that the notices on the Saxon kings derived from the *Annals of Winchester* (Lloyd 1928: 10), although he quoted one example of close agreement between the latter and *Brenhinedd y Saesson*. The frequent references to Winchester suggest a source connected with, if not emanating from, that city and the *Annales de Wintonia* appear to be a likely source. They need not have been the immediate source

used in the compilation of *Brenhinedd y Saesson.* It is more probable that the Welsh translator of the text had before him, as a continuation of the *Historia Regum Britanniae*, a complete Latin text in which the original of *Brut y Tywysogion* had already been combined with the sections on the Saxon kings, most of which, but not all, ultimately derived from the *Annals of Winchester*, the authorship of which has been attributed, probably correctly, to Richard of Devizes (Appleby 1963*a*,*b*). Our main concern, however, is with the sections which relate primarily to Welsh history. Allowing for their greater conciseness as well as for a greater number of palpable errors, they are in substantial agreement with the two versions of *Brut y Tywysogion* down to the year 1197.

We can now attempt a closer definition of the relationship between the three Welsh texts. All three derive from a Latin original. The Red Book *Brut* and the Peniarth MS. 20 *Brut* are two independent translations of two slightly different copies of the complete original Latin chronicle which was probably entitled *Cronica* (or *Historia*) *Principum Walliae* (or *Britanniae*). *The Kings of the Saxons*, on the other hand, appears to be a translation of another Latin chronicle in which a more concise version of the Latin text underlying the two versions of the *Brut* proper had been combined with excerpts from the *Annals of Winchester* and certain other chronicles to supply another continuation, embracing both Welsh and English history, to Geoffrey's *Historia*. No copy has been traced either of the conflated Latin text underlying *Brenhinedd y Saesson* or of the complete Latin chronicle on which it was partly based and which was the original of *Brut y Tywysogion*. It is to be noted, however, that textual variations between the three Welsh texts show that each is derived from a different copy of the original Latin chronicle, thus proving that at least three copies of it were once in existence. Moreover, the lost Latin original was closely related to four sets of Latin annals still extant—the three sets published in the Rolls *Annales Cambriae* (Williams ab Ithel 1860) and the *Cronica de Wallia* (T. Jones, 1946, Smith 1963). Each of these sets of annals contains passages which, so far as they go, may be regarded as the Latin original of sections of the three Welsh texts. Where the Welsh texts differ in detail, as they often do, the evidence of one or more of the Latin annals can decide which version is correct. *S.a.* 1195 (= 1196), for example, we are told in the Red Book *Brut* (T. Jones, 1955; 176–7) that the Lord Rhys 'attacked Carmarthen and burned it to the ground *except for the castle alone*' (*eithyr y castell ehun*), but in the Peniarth MS. 20 version (T. Jones, 1952: 75–76) we read that Rhys 'fell upon Carmarthen and destroyed it and burned it to the ground *after the constable of the castle alone had escaped*' (*wedy diang kwnstabyl y kastell ehun*). *Brenhinedd y Saesson* (T. Jones [1968]: 190–1) records briefly that Rhys 'gathered a host against Carmarthen, and he burned it and ravaged it'. The evidence of the *Cronica de Wallia* (T. Jones 1946: 47) shows that the text of the Red Book version is here more correct than that of Peniarth MS. 20. It reads: eamque (*sc.* Kaermerdin) incendio solotenus destruxit, *tantum castelli apice euaso.* It is clear that in this context *castelli apice* refers to the keep and that the Red Book version is tolerably correct. The translator of the Peniarth MS. 20 version has gone astray by taking *apex* to mean 'head' or

'chief', a meaning which it could have in certain contexts and which in the case of a castle would refer to its constable. Again *s.a.* 1201 the Peniarth MS. 20 version (T. Jones, 1952: 81) says of Gruffudd son of the Lord Rhys:

> He was a *wise* (*doeth*), prudent man and, as was hoped, he would in a short while have restored the *march* (*ardal*) of all Wales if only envious fate had not snatched him away on the feast of James the Apostle after that. . . .

No parallel entry is found in the Red Book *Brut* or in *Brenhinedd y Saesson*, but the *Cronica de Wallia* (T. Jones 1946: 49) supplies the original Latin:

> . . . uir *magnus* et prudens nimirum . . . et, ut sperabatur, Kambrie *monarchiam* in breui reformasset si non prepropere, tam premature, tam inopinate eum sequenti festiuitate Sancti Jacobi Apostoli inuida fatorum series rapuisset.

For *magnus* and *monarchiam* the Welsh translator must have read *magus* and *marchiam*. Errors found in any one of the Welsh versions are either errors of translation or the result of textual errors in the particular copy that was used of the original Latin, whereas errors common to all three versions, as many of them are, must derive from the Latin chronicle as compiled by the final redactor.

Let us turn from problems of textual detail to more general questions relating to the chronicle. Like most medieval chronicles of its kind the *Chronicle of the Princes* is in the form of annals, and major and minor events are often recorded together in a way which does not suggest much appreciation of their relative importance. The chronicle shows great unevenness in its treatment of the various parts of the six-hundred year period which it covers: in some places the narrative is full and detailed, in other places we have to be content with a long series of bare entries. The varying meagreness and fullness of the compilation, it need hardly be stressed, reflects the original sources which were at the disposal of the compiler. One prominent feature of the chronicle are the set eulogies of princes and churchmen, which generally accompany the notices of their death. Some of these eulogies, it must be admitted, are often not very consistent with the previous recital of the deeds committed by the persons eulogised; but we must bear in mind that the medieval chronicler, like the contemporary bards, eulogised not so much individual persons and their deeds as the abstract virtues which were regarded as their natural endowment by virtue of their high station in society. The most ambitious and fulsome of these formal eulogies is that of the Lord Rhys, which follows the notice of his death in 1197, but it is too long for quotation. Let me quote, from the Peniarth MS. 20 version, the shorter and more typical passage in praise of Gruffudd ap Cynan (T. Jones, 1952: 52):

> In that year (*sc.* 1136=1137) Gruffudd ap Cynan, prince of Gwynedd and head and king and defender and pacifier of all Wales, ended his temporal life in Christ and died after many perils by sea and land and after innumerable victories in wars and the winning of spoils, after great wealth of gold and silver, after gathering [the men of] Gwynedd together from the several lands whither the Normans had dispersed them, after building many churches

and consecrating them to God and the saints, after receiving extreme unction and communion and confession and repentance for his sins, and becoming a monk and making a good end in his perfect old age.

Yet despite its annalistic arrangement, its unevenness and the occasional display of rhetoric in which the compiler indulged, in its own way and within the imposed limitations of its form and content, the chronicle succeeds in presenting not unfairly the development of the Welsh people and their vicissitudes during the years from 682 to 1282. In the early sections there are frequent references to the old British kingdom in North Britain and to the many petty kings who held sway, each over his own land, in various parts of Wales. Gradually among all the events recorded—battles, deaths, plagues and acts of treachery—we see the emergence of Gwynedd, Powys and Deheubarth as the three supreme kingdoms in Wales. Then follows the rivalry between them, the gradual eclipse of Powys, the consequent struggle between Gwynedd and Deheubarth, the supremacy of Gwynedd under the two Llywelyns and the near unification of all Wales into a state which might almost be described as feudal despite the survival of many earlier customs and usages which were anything but feudal in origin. The chronicler conveys his awareness of the greatness of leaders like Gruffudd ap Llywelyn ap Seisyll, Gruffudd ap Rhys ap Tewdwr, Gruffudd ap Cynan, Owain Gwynedd, the Lord Rhys ap Gruffudd, Llywelyn ap Iorwerth and Llywelyn ap Gruffudd, and of the role they played in the development of the nation. In recording their deeds the chronicler's style often has a heroic ring, especially when there is mention of the exploits of the loyal war-bands in fulfilment of their lords' command. His 'philosophy of history' re-echoes that of Gildas, Geoffrey of Monmouth and Giraldus Cambrensis: in the constant disunity of the Welsh, ever wrangling amongst themselves, and in the defeats inflicted upon them by the Irish, Saxons, Scandinavians and Normans he sees the hand of God dispensing punishment for their sins in the past.

Who the compiler of the original Latin chronicle was, we do not know, but there are certain things we can learn about him from a careful examination of the Welsh versions. It is clear that he intended his chronicle to be a continuation of Geoffrey's *Historia* for he begins with the death of Cadwaladr the Blessed, although one of his main sources, the British Museum Harleian MS. 3859 annals, begins about 240 years earlier. The terminal date of the chronicle is the year 1282, and so it must have been compiled either in that year or fairly soon afterwards. There is one reference, found in both versions of the *Brut* and therefore in the original Latin, which would appear to show that the chronicle could not have been written before the year 1286. *S.a.* 1280 the following entry occurs (T. Jones 1952: 120; 1955: 268–9):

That year died Phylip Goch, abbot of Strata Florida. And after him came Einion Sais, under whom the monastery was thereafter burnt.

We know that the fire to which the entry refers, took place in 1286, as is recorded in the Breviate of Domesday annals. However, since there is no reference to the death of

Llywelyn, the 'last prince', in December 1282, except in the Peniarth MS. 20 continuation, it can be argued that the original Latin was compiled before that event and that the second sentence in the entry quoted above was a gloss added after the year 1286.

In two places the compiler has quoted Welsh proverbs; and this, together with his general sympathy towards the Welsh, proves him to have been, unlike Geoffrey of Monmouth who was a Breton settled in Wales, a Welshman. He can quote Scripture, and he has borrowed one simile from the *De Excidio Britanniae* of Gildas. He knows of Gawain, the hero of medieval romance, of Merlin and his prophecies, of the classical heroes Achilles, Hector, Nestor and others, and he can refer to 'the songs of Virgil' and 'the histories of Statius the historian'. All this points to a historiographer writing in a monastery; and it is not difficult to identify the monastery in which he worked. Once only is there a specific mention of a source drawn upon by the compiler, the mention of the 'Annals of Strata Florida' *s.a.* 1248 (T. Jones 1952: 108; 1955: 240-1):

> In that year, in the month of July, Gruffudd, abbot of Strata Florida, made a settlement with king Henry concerning a debt which the king had demanded of the monastery a long time before that, with half the debt, that is, three hundred and fifty marks, being remitted to the abbot and the convent and it being taken at fixed intervals, as is recorded in the *Annals* of the monastery.

It is probable that the same annals were the chronicler's source for records of other events at Strata Florida: the monks' entering their new church in 1201, the purchase of a new bell in 1255, and the appointment and death of many of the abbots. All this makes it fairly certain that the chronicle was compiled at the Cistercian monastery of Strata Florida.

The compiler reveals his sympathy with the Welsh in their struggle against the Normans, whose avowed aim, so he says, was 'to annihilate all the Britons so that the name of the Britons should nevermore be remembered'. He commends Einion ab Anarawd, for example, for his readiness 'to abolish his people's bondage' and condemns the unfair trial of Iorwerth ap Bleddyn at Shrewsbury in 1103, when judgment was given 'not by law but through might and power and violation of the law'. 'And then', he adds, 'there was great lamentation amongst all the Britons for their hope and strength and safety and splendour and comfort.' As an example of the same sympathy expressed in words composed for delivery by one of the Welsh leaders, let me quote the plea made by Iorwerth ap Bleddyn in 1110 to Owain ap Cadwgan and Madog ap Rhiryd (T. Jones 1952: 32):

> God has placed us in the midst and in the hands of our enemies and has brought us so low that we cannot do aught according to our will. And frequently it happens to us Britons that no one will associate with us in food or drink or counsel or help, but that we are sought and hunted from place to place and are at last placed in the hands of the king to be imprisoned or put to death or to do whatever is willed with us. And, above all, we have been commanded not to enter into agreement with anyone, because of distrust in us. . . . And therefore if we were to enter into an agreement with you in a small matter, we would be

accused of violating the king's command, and our territory would be taken from us, and we ourselves would be imprisoned or put to death. Therefore, as friend I beseech you, and as lord I command you, and as kinsman I pray you, that you come not henceforth into my territory nor into Cadwgan's territory, any more than into other land which lies around it. For there is greater enmity towards us than towards others, and it is easier to bring a charge against us.

Sympathetic though he is towards the Welsh, the chronicler notes their faults: their rashness in action, their constant internecine quarrels, and their failure to turn plans into effective deeds. On the other hand, his general prejudice against the Normans and his many references to their treachery and deceit are tempered by praise for their ingenuity and circumspection.

What of the compiler's sources? Reference has already been made to the only source which is mentioned by name, the 'Annals of Strata Florida'. Down to the year 953 the chronicler's main source was some version of the annals now extant in British Museum Harleian MS. 3859. There are only twelve very short entries in the 'Brut' which are not in the Harleian annals; and there is only a single entry in the latter, the mention of the death of Edmund, king of the Saxons, which is not in the 'Brut'. For the period after 953 he used many sources including some forms of the Public Record Office Breviate of Domesday Annals and the British Museum Domitian MS. A. I annals, often combining the evidence of the two. It is certain that he also used annalistic records, many of them more or less contemporary with the events, kept at the *clasau* of St David's, Llanbadarn and possibly Tywyn in Merionethshire, at Cistercian houses such as Whitland, Cwm-hir, Llantarnam, Valle Crucis, Basingwerk and Strata Marcella, and at the Premonstratensian house at Talley. Once or twice he mentions oral tradition, and there is reason to believe that this is the source of some of his best told tales. Such is the story of the abduction of Nest, the beautiful daughter of Rhys ap Tewdwr and, at that time, wife of the Norman Gerald de Windsor, by the impetuous Owain ap Cadwgan of Powys (T. Jones 1952: 28; 1955: 54–57), and that of the brave youths sent by Maredudd ap Bleddyn to harass the king's forces during his expedition against the Welsh in 1121 (T. Jones 1952: 48, 1955: 106–8). It is not without significance that neither of these tales is so much as mentioned in the Breviate of Domesday and Domitian MS. annals.

There is another element in the composition of the chronicle which we must briefly consider. Within the annalistic framework of his compilation the chronicler often aims at literary effect. Hence his frequent attempts to dramatise events, to attribute speeches to some of the characters, the heroic quality of his narrative in places, and the many set rhetorical panegyrics. Sometimes we can point to his very source for a particular entry and show that he has transformed bare statements of fact into narrative passages which reflect a conscious, if modest, literary effort, but in which the truth has not been seriously distorted. Let me quote one example. The chronicler's only sources for his account, *s.a.* 1022, of the uprising and defeat of the Irish pretender Rhain were the

parallel entries in the Breviate of Domesday and the Domitian MS. annals, which are as follows:

Breviate of Domesday Annals	*Domitian MS. A. 1. Annals*
Reyn Scotus mentitus est se esse filium Mareduc qui obtinuit dextrales Britones; quem Seisil rex Venedocie in hostio Guili expugnavit, et occisus est Reyn.	Lewelin filius Seissil, rex Uenedotie, pugnauit contra Reyn, qui dicebat se esse filium Maredut; et deuictus est Reyn in ostio Guili.
Eilaf uastauit Demetiam. Meneuia fracta est.	Eilaph uenit in Britanniam et uastauit Dyuet et Meneuiam.

In these bald entries there is no attempt at literary presentation. Let me quote the corresponding passage in the *Brut* (T. Jones 1952: 12; 1955: 20–23):

> One thousand and twenty was the year of Christ when a certain Irishman lied in saying that he was son to king Maredudd. And he would have himself called Rhain. And he was accepted by the men of the South and he held territory. And against him rose up Llywelyn ap Seisyll, king of Gwynedd, and the supreme and most praiseworthy king of all Britain. And in his time, as the old men were wont to say, the whole land from the one sea to the other was fruitful in men and in every kind of wealth, so that there was no one in want nor any one in need within his territory; and there was not one township empty or desolate.
>
> And Rhain weakly and feebly gathered a host; and, as is the custom with the Irish, he boastfully incited his men and he promised them that he would prevail. And he confidently encountered his enemies. But the latter, calm and steady, awaited that presumptuous inciter. And he made for the battle bravely and fearlessly. And after there had been great slaughter on either side equally, with men of Gwynedd fighting steadily, Rhain the Irishman and his host were defeated. For, as is said in the Welsh proverb, 'Urge on thy dog, but go not with him', so was he a lion in attack but fox-like in flight. And the men of Gwynedd in cruel and vengeful pursuit of them slaughtered them and ravaged the whole land and carried off all the chattels. And he was never seen again. That battle was at the mouth of the river Gwili at Abergwili.
>
> And thereupon Eilaf came to the island of Britain. And he ravaged Dyfed. And Menevia was destroyed.

This passage, obviously a conscious literary effort by the compiler, does not contain a single fact that is not already in the two sources which I have quoted above. What makes the passage longer than either of its sources are the studied embellishments: the conventional praise of Llywelyn ap Seisyll as a good king, the deliberate and balanced contrast between Rhain's confident attack and his ignominious retreat, the Welsh proverb quoted, and the stock description of the battle. In all this the chronicler is a conscious literary artist who gives us at the same time more than a hint of his acquaintance with historical texts which placed some emphasis on literary presentation and style. One small point shows that he was not prepared to allow his imagination to distort the facts. The Breviate of Domesday Annals state that Rhain was slain in the battle (*occisus est*), whereas the Domitian MS. Annals merely say that he was defeated

(*deuictus est*). One can almost see the compiler pause and ponder over this discrepancy; and then, like any cautious modern historian, he arrived at a happy compromise with the ambiguous statement that Rhain 'was never seen again'. There is reason to believe that the same care was exercised throughout the compilation of the chronicle—a chronicle which has long been recognised and used as a source of major importance for the history of medieval Wales.

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The Oral Tradition in Scottish Gaelic Poetry

JOHN MACINNES

During the last few decades, the term Oral Poetry has gained considerable currency among literary historians. Research on the poetry and song of preliterate communities in various parts of the world has produced its own crop of theories and dogmas to add to an older body of scholarship based on the study of the Ballad and the Folksong.

For this reason alone, it might be of interest to examine at some length a poetic tradition—such as we have in Gaelic—in the shaping of which oral composition and transmission have at all stages played an important part.

But clearly in the time at my disposal, and in a paper which is meant to be no more than a general review, I cannot afford to subject even the most egregious current dogma to a detailed examination. Still, I hope it will emerge from what I have to say that the Gaelic oral tradition has its own distinctive features; and that, by implication, propositions which may be valid in respect of one tradition are not necessarily so for oral poetry in general.

I propose to use the term Oral Poetry here as no more than a convenient label to describe both composition by unlettered poets and transmission by unlettered singers—even if some of what is so transmitted may actually have its genesis in writing. The fact of the matter is that in any society in which the art of writing is securely established, the purely oral is a very elusive creature indeed.

Naturally this makes it extremely difficult to define the area of discussion. In some sectors of it, the apparent opposition of 'oral' and 'written' may indeed be quite meaningless: a literate poet may, deliberately or not, produce poetry which is undistinguishable from the compositions of his unlettered brethren. What we can say, however, is that in Scottish Gaelic a body of poems exist which, as a matter of historical fact, have taken the form in which we know them in an environment in which oral poetry (as I have defined it) is at least the norm—and it is with this *shaping* of the tradition that I shall mostly concern myself.

But it may help to point the entanglement of 'oral' and 'written' if I cite the poetry of Duncan Bàn Macintyre, who lived from 1724 to 1812. Macintyre, who was illiterate, dictated his poems to the Rev. Donald MacNicol, an Argyllshire minister who was himself a noted collector of poetry. This formed the basis of printed editions of the poet's work, of which Duncan Bàn saw three in his own lifetime.

But meantime these same poems, or at least some of them, were circulating as songs in the Highlands and Islands, perhaps already developing variants. It is possible that

there were other songs—there were certainly some impromptu compositions—also in circulation, which never found their way into the editions, either because the bard did not dictate them, or because his editors rejected them.

We are still able to record certain of Duncan Bàn's songs, but when we come to examine the texts of these we find that while some are considerably developed variants, others follow the book with extraordinary fidelity. What has happened there, of course, is that the printed text has stabilised the oral version.

Yet we would be completely unjustified in grounding a general proposition on that, for it also possible to cite songs of which there are twentieth-century oral versions and eighteenth-century MS versions that are almost identical. Even at this level of analysis, then, we can trace more than one current in the stream of oral verse. Nor is it only the actual poetry which is influenced by the written tradition. Duncan Bàn is frequently cited as the most popular Gaelic poet—cited, that is to say, by contemporary singers. Yet the number of the songs that have had the quality to survive, out of the total that were once known, is comparatively small. It would seem as if the unlettered singers are to some extent expressing a value judgment formed outside the tradition and communicated to them with the authority of the written word behind it. Much the same could be said of other 'names' that people quote. I think it is true to say that unless we exercise caution we may be in danger both of seeing Gaelic oral poetry as more homogeneous than it in fact is, and of seeing it in terms of the predilections of eighteenth-century collectors, most of whom belonged to the upper stratum of Gaelic society, and all of whom collected selectively.

With the eighteenth century, our materials for the study of Gaelic oral poetry really emerge. Setting aside two very interesting but rather special collections—the Book of the Dean of Lismore (from the early part of the sixteenth century) and Duncan MacRae's *Dorlach Laoidhean*—known as the Fernaig MS (from the end of the seventeenth)—our sources go back no further than the eighteenth century, and the bulk of the material is from mid-century, or later.

Of these, the first to be printed is Ranald MacDonald's anthology of 1776, commonly known nowadays as the Eigg Collection. Ranald was a son of Mac Mhaighstir Alasdair, the poet whose name is always linked with the Rising of 1745, and as such was a scion of the Macdonalds of Clanranald. I select this anthology not only because it affords evidence of the tastes of an eighteenth-century gentleman, but because the introduction, which is in English, gives us an insight to the motives which inspired the work.

'The Gaelic language,' it begins, 'now struggling for existence in a narrow corner, was once the mother tongue of the principal states of Europe. It was in particular, and for a considerable length of time, the only language spoken by our ancestors, the ancient Caledonians.'

MacDonald then goes on to trace the decline in the fortunes of the language, and the political causes behind this, until it was at last 'in danger of being entirely obliterated'. But

'at this critical period a fortunate event happened. . . . Some individuals, animated with the love of their native language, regretted the danger to which they saw it exposed. Compositions of great merit in the language were known to exist. Inquiry was made after these, with a view to publish them; and this was esteemed the best method of preserving the language itself. The inquiry was attended with considerable success; and a few years ago, some fragments of the best and most ancient Gaelic Poetry were offered to the public in an English translation, inspired with a considerable share of the majesty, simplicity, and elegance of the original composition.

The appearance of these Poems excited universal attention. The Highlanders, perhaps, were the only people in Europe whom they did not astonish. Independent of the beauty of their composition, they served to exhibit a picture of human manners so exalted and refined, that some persons, judging from their own depravity, could not believe the existence of the state it described. The general voice, however, declared in favour of the authenticity of the Poems; and the general voice has been supported by the opinions of men of genius and extensive learning. The delineation of Caledonian manners, exhibited in these poems, while it gratified the curiosity, commanded likewise the admiration of Europe. Men of taste and genius, in all parts have coveted an acquaintance with a language which could boast of the name of Ossian; and could triumph, almost unrivaled, in the exalted character of Fingal. Thus the love of the Gaelic has been revived; and a taste for Gaelic compositions has become general.

The Editor, moved by these considerations, and desirous to preserve his mother tongue, has bestowed much labour and expence, during the course of two years, in collecting the poems now offered to the public (MacDhomhnuill 1776:v-viii).

Such an explicit declaration needs no analysis. We may, in passing, note the importance of the Ossianic controversy as a stimulus to further collecting, and go on to observe that the urge to prove to the world at large—in the first instance, no doubt to the English speaking world—that Gaelic possessed an ancient and civilised poetic tradition may be read in, or from, other contemporary writings. It is, in fact, a manifestation, in the special circumstances of a minority culture, of one of the aspects of European Romanticism.

MacDonald intended his second volume, which never appeared, to demonstrate the antiquity of the tradition. 'Most of the pieces in the first volume', he writes, 'have been composed within the last two hundred years.'

There are 106 poems in all in the book, and not all of them are oral compositions. Some which are not may have entered oral tradition; others, which are, may have come to Ranald in writing. It would be tedious, and I hope unnecessary for our present purpose, to stop to prove that most of them, however, derive ultimately from oral sources of one kind or another. All in all—and including the uncertainties—one may claim that the contents of the Eigg Collection are not unrepresentative of the poetry gathered in that epoch.

The social ambience of much of the verse may be illustrated by a few titles taken almost at random from the first page of the Table of Contents. 'An Elegy to Sir James MacDonald; an Elegy to MacDougall of Dunolly; a Song to MacDonald of Clanranald who was killed in 1715; a song to Sir Lachlan Maclean of Duart'—and so on.

This is clearly a poetic tradition firmly set in the upper echelons of Gaelic society. It is to some extent what we might call a bardic tradition—a tradition of encomia: MacDonald himself expressly mentions 'the elegies on the deaths of prominent men'. But although authors are named who probably held bardic offices under clan chiefs, the focus of the verse as a whole is not so much on the relationship between bard and patron as on the the *set* of relationships which constitute the *fine*—the relatively small aristocratic group which forms the upper stratum of Gaelic society in the later Middle Ages and down to the eighteenth century. This invests even the narrower bardic poetry with a certain humanity; but in any case the bardic is only one strain among many, and by the eighteenth century it is already on the decline. Indeed, it is only by emphasising—perhaps over-emphasising—a superficial stylistic uniformity, little greater than persists in many a written tradition over the same length of time, that I am at all able to present this body of poetry as belonging to one category. Divisions could be made in numerous ways, but here I shall merely indicate the scope of the verse by observing that the commonplace kinds—religious or moralistic, satirical, political, convivial, amatory, etc.—are all represented. One may add, however, metrical range as a factor in the variety, and that astonishing rhythmical subtlety that confers an individual distinction on poems composed in the same basic form, for this too is part of the total statement that a poem makes.

From the eighteenth century to the present day, this poetry that we are considering can be seen filling a double role in Gaelic society. One the one hand, simply by having them written down on a page, and by neglecting the musical component of the tradition—for all these poems were sung or chanted—because of these accidents of history, we can regard them as the first phase of our written, vernacular literature. (But the part they play there does not, of course, concern us now.)

On the other hand, they continue in oral circulation—although the tradition is a progressively diminishing one—down to our own time. These examples from modern tradition vary a great deal textually, depending on the lines and circumstances of transmission. While Gaelic society remained stratified, what we may call primary transmission would probably be largely confined to a well knit group of native aristocracy and minor gentry, and to their immediate dependants, who sat in the *sreath* or circle with them. Transmission among the common people would no doubt vary, but one might expect a freer growth of variant versions at that level. One can certainly cite modern variants that show a high degree of mutation which seem to have had a long transmission in that form, *e.g.* a composite text based on a eulogy by Iain Lom to MacDonald of Sleat, composed perhaps in the sixteen sixties, and an elegy by Niall MhacMhuirich to Alan of Clanranald, who was killed at Sheriffmuir, in 1715. Yet one may also recover texts that are strikingly conservative, although it is not bookish influence that accounts for that, but the fact that the singers are descendants of bards, or of the gentry, or have had access to sources controlled by such people. The situation, however, is so complicated that no short formula can sum it up.

A Highland *seanchaidh* recites the descent of the boy king Alexander III at his inauguration at the Moot Hill of Scone, 1249. (From the MS of Fordun's History, early 15c.; Corpus Christi College Cambridge MS 171. By permission of the Masters and Fellows of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge). See p. 33.

The staple of the major collections, then, is a vernacular, oral, but 'official' poetry. And from internal evidence, from attributions of authorship—which are transmitted concurrently—and from an appeal to records, public and private, against which these facts can be checked, we can plot its history back into the sixteenth century. Now, very interestingly even our earliest poems display all the security of established practice. The tradition is clearly very much older than the sixteenth century. Sheer lack of evidence makes it improbable that we shall ever solve this question to our entire satisfaction; nevertheless, it is possible to lay down some guiding lines.

It can hardly be irrelevant to the issue that classical bardic poetry is much less strongly attested in Scotland than it is in Ireland. It is possible to think of several reasons for this.

Whatever orders of poet practised their art in very early Gaelic Scotland, the turbulence of events contingent on the founding of the early kingdom of Scotia, the long conflict with the Norsemen, and the aggressive Anglicising policy of the sons of Malcolm III can hardly have provided the ideal milieu for the high caste *filidh*. It is perhaps worth noting here that Anglicisation, or partial Anglicisation, of the eastern and north-eastern areas of the kingdom is reflected also in the distribution of later vernacular poetry.

Be that as it may, full court patronage must have been at least an uncertain thing as early as the twelfth century. We have one glimpse of what may well have been the last official appearance of a *seanchaidh* at the Scottish court—at the inauguration of the boy king Alexander III, in 1249. It is true that some of the Scottish authors named in the Book of Dean of Lismore may be descendants of families who flourished under court patronage, or under that of the great magnates of the kingdom, at an earlier date. But of the three families of professional composers of *dán díreach* who are most prominent in Scotland, and who survived longest, two—the MacMhuirichs and the O Muirgheasans—are in the nature of reinforcements from Ireland. And the late Professor Angus Matheson has shown that the ancestry of the third—the MacEwens—may be Irish as well (Matheson 1953–1959:203).

The emergence of the clan system as we know it in the later Middle Ages included a considerable number of units whose economic power was extremely limited. A clan chief who could not maintain a *filidh* might well be able, however, to maintain a bard—representative of a lower and less demanding order. And we know that there *were* clan bards who composed in vernacular Gaelic.

But they were not necessarily all of the same order. Just as 'clan' does not always and everywhere in Scotland denote the same territorial and social unit, neither, one may suggest, does 'bard' always imply the same status. I think it is a reasonable inference that clan bards varied both in their functions and in the kinds of verse in which they specialised.

Where a bard acted as a reciter to a *filidh* he would be in a particularly advantageous position to fill the role of middle-man between the classical and vernacular traditions. His métier was in the vernacular; but he would be sufficiently conversant with classical poetry to draw on some of its resources and employ them in his own craft.

These resources would naturally include the rhetorical techniques, and the imagery, of encomiastic verse; but just as important is the establishment of a syllabic metric in vernacular Gaelic. By the sixteenth century Gaelic poets were already using syllabic metres in the vernacular with subtlety and ease.

In talking of syllabic metres, one ought perhaps to add that the multiplicity of syllabic forms in Gaelic is not necessarily to be derived direct from *dán díreach*. There are songs that probably derive from other sources, which are nevertheless sung with the same speech rhythm as *dán* is : a pattern that derives ultimately from classical poetry having perhaps been imposed upon them. The point is, however, that a feel for speech rhythm in verse is a very marked feature of Gaelic poetry—constitutes, in fact, one of its major and most sensitive graces.

To return to the bard. I am not suggesting that only professionals cultivated these and other forms. Indeed, it could be argued that it was only when they were taken up generally by lay poets of the *fine* that they developed their full potential. But the bard as intermediary between classical and vernacular must be given his own place. Other bards, free of the tutelage of any *filidh*, would have practised other forms, of which one was no doubt the metre that lies closest to the centre of the panegyric tradition—the unequivocally stressed verse that W. J. Watson called 'strophic'.

I have elsewhere speculated on a formal connection between the strophic poems and passages of *rosg* such as we find in *Scéla Mucce Meic Dathó* and in *Serglige Con Culainn*.

Such a connection would accord well with the facts on other grounds. Professor Calvert Watkins has shown in his paper on *Indo-European Metrics and Archaic Irish Verse* (Watkins 1963:238) that short lined verse of this kind tended to be used for more popular types of composition; and such is what we would *a priori* associate with some of the lower orders of bard.

Recently the Rev. William Matheson has drawn my attention to the verses on Brigit in the *Book of Leinster* (Best *et al.* 1954:175–6) illustrating *dían brecta centromm*.

Brigit buadach
buaid na fine
siúr Ríg nime
nar in duine
eslind luige
  lethan breo

rosiacht naemnem
mumi Gaedel
riar na n-aiged
aebel ecnae
ingen Dubthaig
duine uallach
Brigit buadach
  bethad beo.

It is significant that the two stanzas given here are of different lengths: this is a feature of strophic poetry. Moreover, Mr Matheson also points out, the Irish poem can be sung to one of the known Scottish melodies.

I consider this an important link in the chain of evidence: we can claim, I think, that we have at least a *prima facie* case for regarding strophic poetry as a peripheral survival of a very ancient form.

It is not, I believe, any longer used by traditional bards. It was closely connected with clan panegyric, which helps to explain its disappearance. It is rather interesting to observe how seldom it was employed for occasional verse—love poetry, for instance; and most religious poets, of whatever persuasion, took good care to avoid it.

The strolling bards, *A' Chliar Sheanchain*, as they are still known in the many anecdotes, printable and otherwise, that circulate about them, survived as an institution in Scotland at least as late as the seventeenth century, and probably in certain areas well into the eighteenth. In oral tradition they appear simply as a degenerate rabble, but here again there was variation in status. Some of their store of poetry seems to have been drawn on by the Dean of Lismore, and we may glance briefly now at the form in which this poetry appears.

The transliteration of the contents of the Book of the Dean by editors such as Watson and Ross show that the verse is *dán díreach*, though of varying degrees of strictness. But editorial reconstructions perhaps slightly obscure the fact that the verse, as presented by the Dean, is demotic *dán díreach*, considerably influenced by the vernacular. Now, if Watson is correct in his view that the Dean's poet brother Duncan MacGregor had a good knowledge of the classical tradition, it is difficult to see why he and his brother should have so altered his poetry, unless they were bringing it into line with an existing tradition of 'vernacularised' verse. I realise, of course, that other points of view are possible on this, but the problem is far too complex to tackle here. We can at least suggest that the Book of the Dean represents the confluence of two streams of tradition, oral and written, and that, in the form in which we have it, it looks almost like an early precursor of the popular paper-back.

I should like to turn now to consider other aspects of the oral tradition, of which the early major collections give us little or no account. It is quite clear that at least in the last two hundred years a great deal of ephermeral verse was composed—it was designed as such, and filled the need that was later provided for by mass media. One may believe that such a need always existed, even in heroic societies. We know from what Martin Martin has to say in the seventeenth century that the common people of the Isles were greatly given to composing—had, as he puts it, 'a quick vein of poesy' in them (Martin 1884:200).

But of all the kinds of song that the early collectors neglected or paid only little attention to, by far the biggest and the most interesting from any viewpoint is the category which nowadays appears to be centred on work. The connection with work,

however, is almost wholly a functional one: very few pieces indeed would require from the evidence of their content to be classified as work-songs.

I shall call them here, generically, choral songs: the refrain, which is a distinctive feature, and which may consist of words (at least in the more modern examples) or of semantically meaningless vocables, or of a mixture of both, demands participation by a group. We have evidence that communal labour, of more than one kind, was in the past accompanied by choral song; in our own time, it is as an accompaniment to the task of 'waulking' or fulling cloth that they have best survived.

But we have evidence that they were used as entertainment as well. 'When the same airs are sung in their hours of relaxation', writes the Rev. Patrick MacDonald in the preface to his *Collection of Highland Vocal Airs* of 1781, '. . . one person leads the band; the rest strike in and complete the air to a chorus of words and syllables generally of no signification' (MacDonald 1781: 10).

Both men and women joined in this; and although MacDonald distinguished between songs used for male and female occupations, it is clear that he is thinking in terms of one broad category. These choral songs are all short lyrics composed mostly by women.

The refrains, especially the meaningless vocable refrains, may well be the most primitive part of them—they are certainly a relatively stable element in a very unstable body of texts. At anyrate, we seem to have here an obscure core of song round which there have gathered various crusts of accretion. Indeed, one may even find Ossianic ballads broken up into the requisite metrical units, interrupted by refrains.

In an interesting paper which appeared some years ago in *Éigse*, Mr James Ross discusses some of the peculiarities of this tradition. Mr Ross distinguishes between 'the poetic metre and the song metre (Ross 1953–55: 219 ff), and is concerned to show that the song metres simply deploy literary metres in a different arrangement. Without going into the various permutations, one may say that the literary metres appear in song as couplets, single lines, or even half-lines.

The most arresting literary form which this study reconstructs is an irregular stanzaic form; when it is written out without the refrains, one could describe it as a paragraphic structure. Mr Ross draws a comparison between this and the structure of the *Gododdin*, and adds: 'This relationship between Welsh medieval poetry and Scottish Gaelic folk poetry is made more striking by the fact that the . . . metre . . . seems to be unknown in Ireland' (Ross *ibid.*).

This most interesting suggestion deserves to be taken out of the realm of conjecture; but my concern at the moment is with the structure of the songs as they are sung. There are doubtless a variety of ways in which the introduction of refrains into poetic metres could be accounted for—in the Eigg Collection there is an example of a syllabic quatrain poem with a refrain of vocables inserted where there may originally have been an instrumental accompaniment—but in the present context, we must surely posit the existence of presumably autonomous metrical units, which are prior to the division of literary structures and which provide the informative principle on which that division is made.

In other words, where we find a line of poem broken up into, say, half-lines for singing, we must posit a prior song form with self-contained metrical units which correspond syllabically or in stress timing with half the line of the literary poem. It is, of course, rather intriguing and suggestive of a certain involution so far as origins are concerned, that some of the literary forms can be divided precisely in this way; in some instances, it is clearly possible because of a caesura in the line; but it must be added that some lines can be divided only by violating the syntax. Now, each of these half lines either contains two stresses or is capable of bearing two metrical accents. It is tempting, therefore, to see behind this form, too, what Professor Watkins calls the Indo-European shorter line—what I have already alluded to in connection with the strophic metres. To suggest an ultimate connection between fairly humble work songs and socially much higher praise poems may seem incongruous, but in fact certain sophisticated, bardic compositions involving descriptions of travel by sea are actually called *iorram*—'rowing-song'. It is unthinkable, to my mind, that these panegyrics actually functioned as rowing-songs, but the use of the term *iorram* may reflect an earlier function of the metre or metres on which they are based.

Interestingly enough, one instance of the 'IE shorter line', which Professor Watkins cites, to show its association with an informal style of composition, is a work song—a song no doubt based upon mundane usage, though in the saga context attributed to the *áes-síde*.

Now, we know that rowing was *the* male occupation accompanied by choral song. In fact, the word *iorram* is occasionally used as a generic name for choral song.

This theory, that one strain in the choral songs may be connected formally with vernacular panegyrics, and that both go back to a common origin, may always remain conjectural; but so far as the bard's part in shaping the tradition is concerned, we have still one more fragment of evidence. In a poem traditionally ascribed to one Mac Beathaig, piper and bard—a low grade, clearly—to Mac Donald of Sleat, there occurs a passage in short double-stressed lines, the content of which is exactly the kind of informal praise poetry in which the choral songs abound.

We may now look beyond the work-song ambience, and ask if there is evidence of any other function for choral songs.

The oral tradition of Uist has preserved the memory of a small clan battle fought in North Uist in 1601. In the battle, Domhnall mac Iain 'ic Sheumais, the leader of the victorious side, was wounded. His foster-mother, so it is said, gathered a band of girls and set off for the scene of the battle, composing a panegyric on the way. This she sang to the wounded man, while the girls sang the refrain. (There are slight variations in tradition—I have given only an outline here.) The song which she is said to have composed is still known and it is a choral song.

Now, this isolated fragment of tradition, transmitted merely as an incidental item in the account of a clan battle, would seem to be the only circumstantial description we have in Scottish Gaelic of the widespread practice of women singing a praise song

to a victorious warrior. But from Ireland we seem to have in the tantalisingly brief reference to the *cepóc* mentioned in *Scéla Mucce Meic Dathó* an allusion to the same type of composition. We may also notice here an interesting entry in the Wardrobe Accounts of Edward I of England, detailing a payment made to seven women in Strathearn during the King's journey through Scotland in 1296. These women, who 'came out to meet the king . . . and sang before him, as they used to do according to the custom of the time of the Lord Alexander, late King of Scotland' (Bain 1888:475), were almost certainly the same kind of *bannal*—the band of girls—as sang for Domhnull mac Iain 'ic Sheumais in Uist 300 years later. The word *cepóc* survives in at least one dialect of Scottish Gaelic in the form *ceapag*, 'am improvised song, a ditty'; such panegyrics might well have been partly improvised. It is interesting that, as O'Curry pointed out long ago, the *cepóc* may indeed have been regarded at one time as specifically Scottish. However that may be, the singing of such groups would naturally be choral. Is it a complete coincidence that the line of the *cepóc* quoted in *Scéla Mucce—Fer Loga mo leman-sa*—can be fitted quite easily into the metrical scheme of Gaelic choral songs?

The erotic strain in the choral tradition is so dominant as to demand some attention. Now, a connection between erotic, lyrical songs and the dance is a very old and well canvassed one, although the theory is nowadays largely out of fashion. The reaction against the 'danced-song seasonal festival' theories which culminates in Louise Pound's *Poetic Origins and the Ballad* has influenced areas of scholarship far beyond the scope of Miss Pound's thesis, which is concerned primarily with the origins of the medieval and later narrative ballad in the Germanic languages. It would be idle to deny—and Louise Pound herself never attempted to deny it—the connection between dance and song: it is a widely distributed, and perfectly authenticated phenomenon. But so far as Gaelic is concerned there are two problems to be faced.

1. There is no evidence of native choral songs accompanying indigenous dances; for instance, seasonal or fertility dances such as *Cailleach an Dùdain* appears to be.
2. There is no native word for 'dance'.

The second objection can partly be countered simply by pointing to the existence of a dance like *Cailleach an Dùdain* or of solo dances like *Mac Iain Dhìrich*. If these were borrowed, where were they borrowed from? Certainly not from England or France.

Dancing is a fundamental human activity and it seems unlikely that the one or two indigenous dances that we have comprise the sum total of all that existed. It is much more reasonable to suppose that old forms were displaced by new, and that *dannsa* supplanted the native word or caused it to shift in meaning.

If there really was a tradition of danced song in Gaelic, we would expect it—at least if we follow the old theory—to be connected with seasonal and other festivals. It is significant in this connection that the material gathered by Miss MacNeill in *The Festival of Lughnasa* shows us that dancing and match-making were constants of these festivals, at least in modern times. Now even if the forms of dance that are described are modern, can anyone believe that this is not a very ancient practice?

Match-making choral songs, as it happens, are of central importance in the modern *luadh*. It could be argued that this is, as it were, their proper environment, but it seems to me more natural to explain them as one of the accretions.

Now, Dr Ó Tuama in his brilliant book *An Grá in Amhráin na nDaoine* doubts if the idea of a 'chorus' is native to Gaelic. For Irish he points out that only in Ulster is there a Gaelic word that expresses *burden* or *chorus*—the word *luinneog*, Scottish Gaelic *luinneag* (1960:215).

In Scotland *luinneag* nowadays means little more than 'a ditty, a light song'; but it is clear that earlier it did denote a refrain, and particularly a refrain involving meaningless vocables, which points to a choral refrain. And the Rev. Patrick MacDonald in the preface to his *Highland Airs* uses *luinneag* as the generic term for women's choral songs. All this shows that for Scotland at least the idea of chorus is deep rooted and suggests that it may indeed be a native one. At all events, the alternative theory raises more problems than it solves. I would like to suggest, very tentatively, that *luinneag* is to be connected with *luinne*—'vehemence, ferocity,' etc.—and as such could conceivably denote the performance of a song in a situation such as the dance would provide. Professor Jackson has argued that, in the early Welsh *englyn*, incremental repetition can best be explained by the old dance theory, or at least by a theory such as improvisation between two individuals or groups (1941:315). Verse contests, which feature in Gaelic choral song, and are explained as improvisations at an actual *luadh* are much more likely to have been composed outside the work-song tradition altogether.

In one or two places, one finds that a chorus of vocables is called *Tuireadh*, 'lamenting', which suggests perhaps that keening, or some form of keening, employed choral refrains. A large number of choral songs are laments: many of them, as is natural in maritime communities, laments for men lost at sea. But both the evidence about professional keening in the past and the apparently spontaneous performances of a more recent time force one to put keening, if only provisionally, in a separate class. (Where keening has survived until recent times, the word, incidentally, is not *caoineadh*, but *caoidh*.)

Are the love themes, one may now ask, derived from early French in the manner that Dr Ó Tuama has argued so persuasively for Irish popular love poetry? Personally, I am inclined to think not, on the whole, and that any influence from medieval French—or English—lyric poetry is secondary.

W. P. Ker, writing on the Danish Ballads at a time when it was believed that the *carole* was the only progenitor of lyrical poetry and narrative ballad alike in the whole of north-western Europe, was slightly puzzled. The ballads, he says, have discovered a form of poetry which is alive. 'It is a lyrical form, and, though it was a borrowed form from France, it seems to have taken up, like a graft rose on a briar, the strength of an obscure primitive stock of life, so that the English and the Danes and their kindred were able to sing their own native thoughts and fancies to the French tunes. This may sound mysterious, but it cannot be helped. A mystery may be a positive fact, like any other' (Whibley 1925:95).

It seems to me more than likely that these Scottish Gaelic songs present us with at least part of that stock on to which the French rose was grafted.

I must now turn to consider a less delicate flower. There are in Gaelic verse two distinct strains of bawdry. One, curiously enough, is associated with the words of dance tunes, and though the melodic forms are modern, one wonders if this is not an old tradition of *erotica*, but one which exists now in caricature. If so, we do not know what the models were.

Although there are numerous declarations and prohibitions by the Church all over Europe against *cantilenae* and the like, we seldom or never have any evidence of what the actual songs were. For instance, in 1596 the Kirk Session of Elgin records that 'Magie Tailzeour . . . Elspet Beig . . . Magie Thomsoune . . . confessit thame to be in ane dance callit gillatrype, singing a foull hieland sang . . .' (Cramond 1908:40). But, naturally enough, it is not transcribed.

The other repository of bawdry is the verse contest, sometimes represented as being between the *Cliar Sheanchain* and a known poet, sometimes between two named poets. This can hardly be unconnected with the literary 'flyghtings' of Lowland Scots, of which the most famous is the Flyghting of Dunbar and Kennedy. And Kennedy, it should be noted, is regarded in the flyghting as a Gaelic speaker, which he probably was, being a native of Carrick in Ayrshire.

The contests are also examples of spoken, not sung poetry, and traditionally they are said to be *ex tempore* compositions. No bard was worth his salt who could not improvise at least a quatrain. But it is important to stress, particularly in view of the oral formulaic theory, that Gaelic oral poetry is not markedly formulaic and that what is represented as *ex tempore* composition is perhaps the least formulaic of all. This is not to deny the existence of rhetorical techniques that employ an inherited store of imagery—but that is another matter. I suggest that a good deal of work still needs to be done on the oral formula; and, in this connection, I welcome the severely sceptical approach adopted by Dr Douglas Young (1965:*passim*). Any modern unlettered bard will very quickly point out the short-comings of the theory to an interested listener, either by precept or example. Recently, a colleague and I had the somewhat startling experience of being addressed for the best part of twenty minutes in impromptu song by a man at whose home we had both called unexpectedly, and for the first time. Yet even this composition was not conspicuously formulaic, let alone made up of formulas.

The ability to improvise verse in this manner is explained by the composers themselves simply as a hereditary gift. The belief that a poet is born, not made, is extremely strong, and a curious aspect of the belief is that very often a bard will stress the fact that his gift comes to him from his mother, or from his mother's people, sometimes even when his father's family seems also to have included bards. The instances of this that I have noted may, of course, be of no special significance; on the other hand they may be related to the belief that transmission of charms, and possibly occult knowledge in general, ought not to be transmitted by the initiate to a person of his or her own sex.

Apart from this possible mystique, however, there is nothing particularly esoteric

about transmission. But there is one curious and well-established belief which may be worth mentioning: that is, that a bard cannot be sued for slander or libel uttered in his poetry, provided his name is in the 'Book of the Bards', *Leabhar nam Bard.* This term, however, has no denotation. The idea is simply that the bard must have been officially recognised as a poet: for example, if he had been charged with some crime, and had had his profession entered in court records as 'Poet', he would from then on enjoy a kind of diplomatic immunity. There are numerous anecdotes told in connection with this—always involving the composition of satires, frequently addressed to girls who had spurned the bard's advances. One of these stories relates how a bard from the island of Mull, hearing that he was about to be served with a summons, came to Edinburgh and proclaimed himself publicly at the Mercat Cross as a poet. As soon as this news reached Mull the case was dropped.

This notion of immunity in regard to satire is probably the last reflection in Scottish oral tradition of the privileges of the poets.

At least, if there are other beliefs still current that invest the bard with powers other than those of skill in language, we have not so far recovered them, with perhaps one possible exception. Among a number of outstanding poetesses in Gaelic, there are two, both of whom were born in the seventeenth century and died in the eighteenth, in whose legends there seems to be a slightly sinister element. One is Mairi Nighean Alasdair Ruaidh, the other is Maighread Ni Lachainn. Mairi never married; nor, according to some traditions, did Maighread. This in itself is at least eccentric in that kind of society. Both of them, it is said, went around accompanied by a woman who seems to have acted as an assistant, one of whose functions was to make up choruses of vocables or to set her mistress' song to a melody. Both women, it is said, too, were buried face downwards.

These are the legends, but no contemporary *seanchaidh*, so far as I know, can explain them further. There is, however, another tradition which may have a bearing on the matter. Long ago in the Islands, it is said, if a boat went missing, a wise woman was consulted. She was of mature years, unmarried, strong-minded, and she, too, had an assistant. The woman went to sleep, and while she slept, her spirit went out to search for the missing boat. But, if the wind changed while she was asleep, she lost her reason.

Now, this seems to me to be a fairly straightforward description of shamanistic trance and the recovery of hidden knowledge. May it be that some vestige of the poet-seer's practices lingered on in Scotland into the eighteenth century?

I cannot dismiss Maighread Ni Lachainn without mentioning the circumstances in which she composed her poems. Not with eyes covered, and a stone on the belly, as the *filidh* (according to Martin Martin) composed, but indoors, nonetheless—she simply could not compose out of doors. And at the proper moment, she *saw* her poems running along the green turves that formed the intersection of wall and roof. The phrase used by the *seanchaidh* who supplied me with this information was: *A' feitheamh na bardachd a' ruith air na glasfhadan.*

The oral tradition covers all this, and much more. In this brief survey, the actual

poetry itself has rather been lost sight of. It would take a great deal of time to demonstrate its qualities, for it enshrines the experience of a whole people. One would like to show that even bardic poetry is not necessarily dull, no matter how circumscribed its basic themes may be. It can sometimes have a laconic arrogance that is quite delightful.

From Diarmad have all of you come—
An ancient line:
A clan who are most deserving of praise
That *we* have heard of.[1]

Almost at the opposite pole stands the beautiful death-bed hymn of Duncan MacRury, the piety of which is not diminished by its delicate nostalgia for the flesh-pots.

Forgive us our sins—
We shall not be committing any more[2]

There is a good deal of what may, broadly speaking, be called satirical poetry in Scottish Gaelic. At one end of the scale there are flights of passionate invective; at the other one finds the true satiric humour of Rob Donn's elegy for the respectable misers, two brothers who died in the same week, a few days after turning away a poor person from their door, and who were laid in the same grave.

They were men who caused no dissension—
So far as anyone knew—
Not did they perform one act
That the world calls grace:
But they were conceived and born
They were reared and they grew
A sweep of life passed over them
And in the end they died.[3]

But these are qualities that are to be distinguished by terms to which in the last analysis labels such as 'written' and 'oral' are irrelevant.

NOTES

1 See Watson 1932:172.
2 See Watson *op. cit*:236.
3 See Morrison 1899:50—

Daoine nach d'rinn briseadh iad,
Is e fiosrachal [sic] do chàch;
'S cha mhò a' rinn iad aon dad,
Ris an can an saoghal gràs;
Ach ghineadh iad, is rugadh iad,
Is thogadh iad, is dh' fhàs—
Chaidh stràchd d'an t-saoghal thairis orr',
'S mu dheireadh fhuair iad bàs.

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Indo-European and Celtic

WOLFGANG MEID

A group of languages like the Celtic ones can be studied in various ways. We can take these languages by themselves and ask for their structural properties; we can take them together with other languages spoken in the same area, such as English, French or Basque, and ask for the typological similarities of these languages; we may finally look at them from a historical point of view and ask for their origin and for the various circumstances that formed them. None of these possible approaches will give a complete and satisfactory picture of the Celtic languages—a fact of which every sensible person is aware—but they all cover important aspects of the overall linguistic situation and so play essential parts in the comprehensive understanding of Celtic. Although they sometimes seem to overlap or even produce contradictory results they should be used to supplement rather than to exclude each other. But I do not wish to dwell on the respective merits (or demerits) of these various methods; I only wish—by way of introduction—to warn my audience in advance that what I am going to present now may seem—and, in fact, is—a very one-sided approach to Celtic, that of the comparative linguist whose main interest even lies outside Celtic, but who hopes that his incursions into Celtic, and vice-versa his excursions from Celtic into Indo-European,[1] will not be wholly without profit for both subjects concerned. And with this I turn to the subject of my paper, 'Indo-European and Celtic'.

In this paper I propose to deal with the mutual relationship between IE and Celtic. Celtic is one of the daughter-languages of IE. IE, as we can reconstruct it from the corresponding traits of the attested daughter-languages such as Indic, Greek, Latin, Germanic, Slavic, etc., and also Celtic, can shed some light on Celtic and illuminate to some extent the darkness out of which these languages emerge into the light of history. On the other hand, Celtic is likely to tell us something about IE, too; something perhaps which no other IE language can. We shall try, therefore, to go into this complicated business of reconstruction; we shall try to illustrate, by the example of one particular IE language, even Celtic, this precarious, collapsible state of mutual dependence which exists between the constructed model of the proto-language and the attested languages on which it is based.

I may presume that we are agreed, at least for the moment, on the definition of IE and also on that of Celtic, although in the latter case things are by no means as easy as they may seem from the point of Insular Celtic. We know desperately little about ancient Continental Celtic, and what, in certain areas of Gaul and elsewhere, appear to be dialects of Celtic may in fact be indications of different languages. Thus the

language called Celt-Iberian may or may not be Celtic—I am by no means certain that it is; I rather think that it is not. The same applies to areas in Eastern Gaul, Belgica, Germania Superior and Inferior where scholars, on the whole, have been somewhat over-confident about the Gaulish character of certain linguistic materials.

However, the fact that we know so little about Continental Celtic need not really cause us concern, because Insular Celtic, and especially Old Irish, is not at all a bad substitute. Indeed, in many respects, owing to its remote position, Old Irish appears to be more conservative than Gaulish which most certainly was influenced by the various linguistic currents of ancient Central Europe as well as by direct contacts with Latin, Greek and Germanic, and thus was liable to be more easily and rapidly transformed in accordance with the general pattern of these languages. We may concentrate therefore, as far as morphological structure is concerned, on Old Irish, which, if it cannot testify for the whole of ancient Celtic, at least can testify for itself.

The reconstruction of previous stages of a language presents us with difficult problems. We are inclined to think of a reconstructed or even merely posited entity such as Proto-Celtic in terms of a uniform language spoken at a particular time in a particular area by a particular people. But this is a gross over-simplification which is especially apparent in the case of Celtic where we have practically no means of reconstructing such a proto-language except in a most rudimentary way and where it is more realistic to operate with dialect areas within an as yet undelimited Celtic, such as Insular Celtic, *p*-Celtic, Celt-Iberian, and so on.

The uncertainties multiply as we move on to IE, the proto-language and supposed ancestor of all the IE languages. It is often stated, or tacitly assumed, that IE has been, or can be reconstructed, with a high degree of certainty and completeness especially on the phonological and morphological levels. This view, however, is not, or no longer, correct. It is true that the reconstruction of IE seemed to be complete at the end of last century, but since the beginning of this century the discovery of previously unknown IE languages, Hittite and Tocharian, as well as general advances in knowledge and method, or revolutionary theories such as the so-called laryngeal theory, have completely changed our outlook, and what used to be the 'classic' model of IE is valid today only in a restricted sense, as a sort of dialect model at a particular stage of the internal history of IE; and it is only because Indo-Europeanists are somewhat at a loss as to how to replace it by a more adequate model of reconstruction, that the old idea of IE still prevails.

The main difficulty is this: We realise (or at least any sensible linguist does) that IE must have been a real language; and like any other real language it had a history of its own; and before it finally disintegrated, its area had probably been expanding for a long time, so that we may confidently say that IE was a language which had dimensions in space and time, in other words: that it was not always and everywhere the same, that it had periods and dialects. Our reconstructions, however, which are by themselves isolated bits and which we must try to arrange into coherent systems, have one great disadvantage: they lack dimension. They aim—so to speak—into empty space, and we

do not know at what place or at what time of prehistoric reality we may assemble them. It may happen that we construct a system from pieces which in reality were parts of different systems, or that we assemble pieces from different periods or from different areas, or that we attribute some feature to Common IE which perhaps was only a dialect feature (such as, for example, the so-called augment *e-* in past-tense formations which is attested only by Indo-Iranian, Armenian and Greek). And often enough we find it difficult to make up our minds about the relation of certain features within IE, about which the IE languages offer conflicting evidence. So, for instance, we have two IE words for 'man' (Greek *ἀνήρ*, Latin *vir*), two for 'fire' (Gr. *πῦρ*, Lat. *ignis*), several forms of the Gen.Sg. of *o*-stems, two sets of terminations for the middle (Gr. *ἕπεται*, Lat. *sequitur*), and much else of this kind. These problems, ever present, have increased in number and, indeed, have become acute to the point of tantalizing us ever since the discovery of Hittite. This language, the earliest recorded of all the IE languages (records date almost from the beginning of the second millennium B.C. and are thus considerably older than those of Greek and Sanskrit on which the traditional reconstruction of IE is mainly based), this language which one would have expected to be closer to reconstructed IE than any other IE language, was quite unexpectedly found to differ so considerably from the model of IE (and also, of course, from all the other IE languages) that it could be, and indeed was, very much doubted if an adequate reconstruction of IE was now possible at all.

This is a real dilemma out of which only a new method of reconstruction can lead us. Such a method must be at once dynamic and complex, it must provide for the chronological and spatial stratification of IE and must, with the help of both external and internal criteria, set up a framework of the *relative chronology and topography of IE*, a model of IE in space and time. This sort of reconstruction will reveal terrible gaps which must be bridged by constructive thinking; it will therefore be more hypothetic than ever, but that cannot be helped. An attempt must be made.

The first step would be to break down the present concept of 'IE'. What is commonly termed IE, ranges from the most archaic primitive IE to those late dialect stages which are the immediate precursors of the attested IE languages. Thus IE spans a period of at least 3,000, perhaps 5,000 years. Think of Greek, which has a known history up to the present day of more than 3,000 years, press all this together into one undifferentiated mass and call it just Greek, and you have an illustration of what IE means. What we must do then, is to distinguish Primitive, Archaic, Early, Middle and Late IE, and also make distinctions according to geographical position which can be combined with the temporal ones, with resulting subdivisions like Early, Middle or Late Western IE, which then would have to be further differentiated according to the evidence. This is what archeology and prehistory do, and I do not see why Comparative IE Linguistics should not do the same.

It is obvious—to give just a few illustrations—that a reconstruction on the basis of Celtic, Latin and Sanskrit as in the case of *rēx* 'king' aims at a much earlier stage of IE

and may be said to have had a much wider currency in IE than that of **teutonos* (same meaning) which can be reconstructed on the basis of Germanic and Illyrian and where even the concept from which it is derived, the word **teutā* (meaning 'a small political unit', Old Irish *túath*), is of limited occurrence; so that all we can say about **teutonos* is that it belongs to a subdialect of Late Western IE.

Or the word *īsarnom* 'iron' which we can posit on the basis of Celtic and Germanic and which even has post-IE phonological features, is no doubt of later origin and of more restricted occurrence than the word **ayos* which meant 'copper' or 'bronze' and which is attested by Indo-Iranian, Italic and Germanic. Here we also have the assistance of the prehistorian who tells us that the use of iron is not very old; it arises in Europe with the so-called Hallstatt and La Tène cultures (from about 800 B.C.) whereas the use of bronze goes back into the third millennium B.C., about which time therefore the unity of IE seems to have been still relatively intact. Reconstructing solely on the basis of some Western IE languages (most of which are attested only late) will lead us normally not further than the second millennium B.C., a period in which Old Indic, Greek, Hittite were already very individual languages. This late, or rather post-, IE period in Central Europe has been termed 'Ancient European' (*Alteuropäisch*) by Hans Krahe who considered it—on the evidence of a uniform system of hydronymy—to be an intermediate stage between IE and the Western IE languages, a stage at which at least the phonological appearance of the language was still rather uniform and where there could not yet be any question of individual languages such as Celtic or Germanic, nor even of dialects with potential Celtic or Germanic features. Everything was in a fluid state and open to various possibilities of development.[2]

This view has met with some challenge, justly so. For already at this stage there must have been considerable differences in morphology (especially of pronouns and verbs) and in vocabulary, so that one is not justified in thinking only in terms of dialects. There must already have existed individual languages, and the fact that the Western IE languages, apart from the aforementioned system of hydronymy, the spread of which may at least be partly attributed to migrations, do not show any common innovations of importance, is sufficient proof that there never existed anything like a Western IE or Ancient European linguistic unity. This period is rather one of dissolution and rearrangement; and it is only on the outer fringe of Western IE, in Celtic, that the remains of the older linguistic order are more numerous than elsewhere, so that it is from here that we can connect up with Greek, Hittite, or Indo-Iranian on the opposite side of the IE territory.

I shall now try to point out the various stages of the internal linguistic history of IE as they are reflected in Celtic. But let me first say a word about some of the outward characteristics of Celtic. As everyone knows, Celtic is characterised by the loss of IE *p* (O.Ir. *athir*, Lat. *pater*) which was subsequently compensated on part of its territory by the transition of the IE labiovelar q^w into *p* (Welsh *pedwar*, compare Lat. *quattuor*); hence the traditional division into *q*-Celtic (which has preserved the labiovelar or at

least its guttural component) and *p*-Celtic (which has innovated). We see that Irish, although later attested, is more conservative than Ancient Continental Celtic which, for the most part, is *p*-Celtic.

It is a well-known fact that the Italic languages show a similar behaviour with regard to IE q^w: retention in Latin, change into *p* in Osco-Umbrian; but it would be rash to think of a prehistoric connection between *p*-Italic and *p*-Celtic, for the simple reason that the change from q^w to *p* in Celtic cannot be earlier than the loss of IE *p*, and this loss of *p* can itself be hardly earlier than the fifth century B.C., for the following reason: the huge expanse of dense mountainous forest which in ancient times separated Northern from Southern Germany, is known to us by two names, one Celtic, one Germanic. *Hercynia silva*, or Ἀρκύνια ὄρη, Ἑρκύνιος δρυμός (attested since Aristotele) is the Celtic form, Old High German *Firgunna* (further connected with Gothic *fairguni* 'mountain') is the Germanic form. They can only be derived from an original form **perkunyā* with retention of IE *p*. This name (the etymon of which is IE **perkus* 'oak'[3]) must have been common to Celtic and Germanic people (or their respective ancestors), who lived in neighbourly contact in that region; and it must have undergone the respective sound-changes of their languages, that is, the loss of *p* in Celtic and the change of *p* to *f* in Germanic (as part of the so-called Germanic sound-shift). The latter can hardly be earlier than 500 B.C., and the same may be said about the presence of Celts in those regions (if we may believe the prehistorians). Therefore we must conclude that—at least in this part of the Celtic territories—IE *p* was not lost before the fifth or fourth centuries. In other words: Proto-Celtic still had IE *p* as well as IE q^w.

The same applies to other distinctive phonological features of Common Celtic. IE *ē* which became *ī* (*rīx* 'king') is at least partially preserved (thus in Celtiberian). The different treatment of IE g^w and g^wh in Insular Celtic shows that at an early stage Celtic still distinguished the IE mediae and the mediae aspiratae which in historical times have fallen together. We can see therefore that what is Common Celtic, is not necessarily Proto-Celtic, too. The farther we go back, the more IE Celtic becomes; which is only natural.

Turning now to morphology, we see that a great number of features, indeed the whole basic formal structure, is inherited from IE. Thus, in the field of word-formation, Celtic preserves most of the devices of composition and derivation current in IE; the system of nominal declension is virtually that of IE; there are even remains of heteroclitic inflection (which was already an archaism in IE time, having remained productive only in Hittite). It is true, the eight-case-system of IE seems to have been reduced already to five cases in Gaulish, but the presence of the variants *-bo* and *-bi* (*matrebo/ gobedbi*, cf. also Old Irish *-aib*) both functioning as dative plurals, shows that dative (IE *-bhos*) and instrumental (IE *-bhis*) were originally kept apart. The locative case seems to have existed in Celtiberian; Old Irish, too, has preserved forms of the locative, but again functioning as datives.

In the domain of the verb, we find the reflexes of most of the important IE present-stem formations, for instance that in *-nā-/-nə-* (O. Ir. *crenaid* 'he buys' = Old Indic

k r i ṇ ā t i). The preterite comprises IE perfect and aorist formations. The original perfect formations are partly reduplicated (O.Ir. *cechan* 'I sang', Lat. *cecini*), partly unreduplicated, but with lengthened root-vowel (O.Ir. *ráith* 'he ran', from *rethid*). There is a similar formation in Germanic in the so-called sixth class of strong verbs (Goth. *faran*, *fōr*). The original aorist formations are, for the minor part, isolated forms of the thematic (or 'strong') aorist (O.Ir. *luid* 'he went', Gr. ἤλυθε); the dominant role, however, is played by the *s*-aorist which in Insular Celtic is the regular formation of the weak verbs and which is also attested in Gaulish (*legasit*). The origin of the *t*-preterite is disputed; a form resembling O.Ir. *do-bert* is attested in Gaulish (*toberte*); but of course this third person singular form does not tell us anything about the Gaulish paradigm. Besides the *s*-subjunctive which is an offshoot of the *s*-aorist there is an *ā*-subjunctive with cognates in Latin and Tocharian.

Of special interest is the deponent with its terminations characterised by *r*. This has its nearest parallel in Italic (O.Ir. *-sechethar*, Lat. *sequitur*) but again is also known from Tocharian and, in addition, from the languages of Asia Minor, *i.e.* from Phrygian (αββερετορ) and particularly from Hittite. This *r*-middle is an IE dialect variant of the type which we have in Indo-Iranian and Greek (Gr. ἕπεται, O.Ind. *sácate*) and also in Germanic, where it functions as a passive (Goth. *bairada*). Note that the *ā*-subjunctive is attested from partly the same area as the *r*-middle.

As regards other verbal endings, we note that the distinction between IE primary and secondary endings (*-ti*/*-t*) is reflected in Celtic (albeit in a different manner). There are also reflexes of the separate class of perfect endings.

Of Celtic syntax it is claimed that it is largely influenced by non-IE substratum languages, an influence which would seem even more marked today than it was in early times. While conceding that this substratum influence, or rather the prevailing mentality of the population whose ancestors spoke non-IE languages, may be in large measure responsible for the transformation of the Celtic languages (and also of English) into the state in which we see them today, I am not convinced that this influence was already predominant at the time of Old Irish or even Common Insular Celtic. I would say it had only just begun to show its effects. Old Irish, and especially Archaic Old Irish, still have many traits which are definitely IE in origin. Thus, the phenomenon called 'tmesis'—that is, separation of preverb and verb by other parts of the sentence—, well known from ancient IE languages such as Greek, Sanskrit and Hittite, is still common in early Irish poetry and in the Laws. A very common feature of IE languages is the tendency of unaccented elements to occupy second place in the sentence—a phenomenon called 'Wackernagel's Law'. In Celtic, this law governs the use of infixed and suffixed pronouns with verbal forms: the pronoun, being unstressed, takes second place; it is thus either put in after the preverb (*do-s-beir* 'he brings them', from **to sons bheret*), or placed after the verb itself, if this opens the sentence (*beirthius*, from **bhereti sons*). Compare the following constructions from other languages:

Type *do-s-beir*	Type *beirthius*
Goth. *ga*-u-hva-*sēƕ* ('if he saw something')	Goth. *qiþ*-uh-þan ('but I tell you')
Hitt. *n*(u)-an-kan *kuenun* ('and I killed him')	Hitt. *uizzi*-ma-uar-as ('but he comes')

(Compare also Gaulish *to-med-eclai*, comparable in structure to O.Ir. *do-m-essoirc*, *do-m-adbat.*)

Let me now point out some of the *archaisms* of Celtic. Where Celtic agrees with Indo-Iranian or Sanskrit, and particularly where there are exclusive correspondences between these two groups which in historical times are in such extreme positions, such features must necessarily be of great antiquity. They must belong to the earliest stage of IE which is reconstructible by external comparison. To this class belong:

(1) A particular type of *dvandva* (or 'copulative') compound which grammatically appears as neuter singular. This type is common in Sanskrit, and there is at least one example from Old Irish: *gaisced*, meaning *gaí ocus sciath* 'spear and shield' and representing earlier **gaiso-skēto-n.*
(2) The formation Skt. *rāj-ñī*, Old Irish *rígain* 'queen'; IE **rēĝ-nī.*
(3) The use of simple *s* (without preceding vowel) as the ending of the genitive singular of neuter *n*-stems, which is quite regular in Old Irish (*anme* 'of the name' from **an-men-s*) but already archaic in Indo-Iranian.
(4) Special feminine forms of the numerals '3' and '4'.
(5) The Old Irish reduplicated and *s*-future which has its exact counter-part in the Indo-Iranian desiderative formation characterised by reduplication and an *s*-suffix.
(6) The peculiar perfect-formation Old Irish *-ánaicc*, Skr. *ānáṃśa* from IE **ōn-onk̂-e.*
(7) From the field of syntax the elliptical construction *conráncatar ocus Dubthach* 'they met, (he) and Dubthach' which has striking parallels in Vedic Indic, besides being attested also from Old Norse.

To sum up: these features, and many others, show that Celtic is firmly established within IE; it reflects for the greater part the more recent stage of Common IE, but at the same time it is deeply rooted in early or even archaic IE. In addition and more specifically, Celtic participates with the *r*-medium in a greater dialect area of IE to which also belonged the ancestors of the Italic languages, of Hittite and Tocharian. This area seems to have been in a somewhat central position; it separated Germanic from Indo-Iranian and Greek which have the other type of middle. I would like to call this dialect area 'Middle IE', both as regards position and time.

Let us now have a look at the European connections of Celtic. Here we can see Celtic-Germanic relations mainly in the field of vocabulary, which for this and other reasons must be quite recent. Older are the Italo-Celtic relations because they have left their traces in grammar. Other features are common to Celtic, Italic and Germanic (such as the prepositions *ad* and *kom*, the abstract suffix *-tūt-* or lexical items such as Lat. *caecus*,

O.Ir. *cáech*, Goth. *haihs*, Lat. *vērus*, O. Ir. *fír*, Germ. *wahr*). There are also connections with Baltic, Slavic and Illyrian. Celtic has part in the above mentioned system of hydronymy which is an innovation of Late Western IE; it also shares with the other western languages the term **teutā* which had acquired a political meaning in Western IE (O. Ir. *túath*, Goth. *þiuda*, Oscan *touto* etc.)

It will be necessary here to say a few words about the Italo-Celtic relationship. The term 'Italo-Celtic', at the time when it was first coined, was conceived as a genealogical term, implying an original Italo-Celtic unity as a subdivision of the genealogical tree, a unity which was subsequently broken up into Celtic and Italic, Celtic being then further divided into *q*- and *p*-Celtic, and so on. Today we do no longer visualize linguistic relationship exclusively in terms of pedigree, but also, or rather, as the result of very complex and ever varying processes of assimilation and differentiation within a given area. Admittedly, the linguistic evidence for Italo-Celtic may have been sufficient at the time. It included the deponent with *r*-endings and the genitive singular of *o*-stems in *ī* both of which were *then* known only from Italic and Celtic, but which afterwards turned up in other languages as well, the *r*-medium in Tocharian and Hittite, the *ī*-genitive in Messapic, a dialect or sister-language of Illyrian. These features are therefore now proof *against* an Italo-Celtic unity; but they still show that both languages were closely related. Only this relationship must be seen against a wider background, each feature having its own individual distribution. Thus, the *ī*-genitive is attested, on the Italic part, only from Latin, on the Celtic part it occurs in Insular Celtic and in Gaulish, but *not* in Celt-Iberian where the genitive singular ending of *o*-stems is -*o* of which there is as yet no satisfactory explanation.[4] (This is, by the way, one of the points which raise doubt as to the celticity of so-called Celt-Iberian). The *ī*-genitive, as such, is an innovation of this particular western area which included Celtic, Italic and Illyrian and possibly also other dialects about which we have no information; but the morpheme *ī* is deeply rooted in IE where it was used to express relation in word-formation. Compare with Lat. *lupus*, *lupī* the derivational relation of Skt. *vṛka*- 'wolf', *vṛkī*- 'she-wolf', that is 'one who belongs to the wolf'. *vṛkī*- is a separate word which can be inflected (gen. *vṛkíyas* etc.) while Lat. *lupī* 'belonging to the wolf' has been taken into the paradigm of *lupus* to supply the missing genitive.

A very vexing question is whether the *b*- or *f*-future attested by Latino-Faliscan on the one hand and Old Irish on the other, has a common origin. The arguments in favour or against are almost equally balanced. The point usually made is that Old Irish *f* could not be the result of IE *bh* (as it should if the equation was to be upheld). But I would not regard this as the main difficulty; actually the problem was solved along ago.[5] More difficult to account for is the difference in stem formation: thematic formation in Latino-Faliscan (-*bhw-e/o*-), *ā*-formation in Old Irish (-*bhw-ā*-). Old Irish -*labrafammar* 'we shall speak' resembles the Latin imperfect (*hortabāmur*) rather than the future (*hortabimur*). Whatever the solution (and I suggest that it may lie in the missing links between Italic and Celtic) I think there is undeniably an obvious connection between

the two formations. In this case, Latin is nearer to Irish than is Sanskrit; and in my opinion Watkins' recent attempt[6] to explain the Old Irish *f*-future as derived from a desiderative adjective in *-su-* attested in Sanskrit is too artificial to be of any merit.

In another paper,[7] Watkins, in his endeavour to demonstrate that Italo-Celtic unity is a myth, has taken great pains to show that the assimilation of the sequence p–q^w to q^w–q^w which we must assume for Italic (or at least Latin, because the position of Osco-Umbrian is not clear) and Celtic and of which the numeral '5' (IE * *penq*^{w}*e*) is an example (Lat. *quinque*, O.Ir. *coïc*, Welsh *pymp*)—that this assimilation is independent in both groups. I, for one, do not think he has succeeded; in any case this point has no relevance for Italo-Celtic. The assimilation of p–q^w to q^w–q^w is attested from a much wider area occurring in a great number of geographical and tribal names derived from IE **perq*^{w}*us* 'oak' which are distributed over Central, South-Eastern and Southern Europe, names such as *Quarquerni*, *Κορκοντοί*, *Κερκίνη*, *Κόρκυρα*, etc. There is also the reverse assimilation of p–q^w to p–p in Proto-Germanic (Engl. *five*, Germ. *fünf*, from **pempe*) to show that there was once a large assimilation area with varying conditions and results, of which Italic and Celtic were only a part.

Thus we may finally agree with C. Watkins 'that Italo-Celtic is a myth', but his other statement that 'the only common language from which both Italic and Celtic can be derived is Indo-European itself' requires modification. The general structure of course is Common IE, but the special affinities of Italic and Celtic have their basis in Late Western IE, or rather in a post-IE dialect of that area.

We have dealt so far with the contribution of IE and the IE languages to a better understanding of Celtic. Let us now finally ask what special contribution Celtic can make towards the reconstruction of IE, or rather of IE linguistic history.

The importance of Celtic in this respect lies in its archaism. Celtic, and especially Old Irish, preserves—embedded in more recent structures—petrifacts from earliest times which, if freed from their later accretions and placed into their original context, can tell us a great deal about archaic IE linguistic structure.

I wish to illustrate these possibilities by briefly touching upon one rather complex problem, that of the Old Irish absolute and conjunct inflexion which both Watkins and myself have been working upon in recent years.[8]

As is well-known, the Old Irish verb is characterised by two parallel sets of endings which are in complementary distribution according to whether the verb itself is prefixed or not (*berid: do-beir*). This distinction goes through the entire verbal system with the exception of the original perfect formations (which is significant). By both external and internal comparison it can be established that the system of absolute and conjunct inflexion has spread from the present active, and that the absolute and conjunct endings are equivalent to the IE primary and secondary endings which in 'classical' IE are associated with the distinction of present (**bhére-ti*) and imperfect (**é-bhere-t*) or aorist.

We may therefore equate structurally Old Irish *berid* and *do-beir* (representing **bhereti*

and **to-bheret*) with Skt. *bhárati* and *ábharat* (representing IE **bhéreti* and *ébheret*). It would seem therefore, that the use of secondary endings (here *-t*) had something to do with prefixation. But this is only so in Celtic; from all other IE languages we have compounded present forms which like the uncompounded ones show primary endings (Skt. *pra-bharati*), and it is only in the imperfect and aorist with 'augment' *e-* that a prefix goes together with secondary endings. Thus it is obvious that the reconstruction based on Celtic which posits an alternation **bhereti/to-bheret* and the reconstruction based on the other IE languages which does not show any such difference, yielding a uniform couple **bhereti/tobhereti*, do not agree. But that does not mean that one is correct and the other not. It would be too easy to apply the majority test and rule out Old Irish. Both reconstructions are correct, but—and this is the point—at different levels of IE linguistic history.

Fortunately we have the clue to this matter. It is preserved in Indo-Iranian, specifically in Vedic Indic, in the form of an obviously archaic verbal category which is usually, but not very fortunately, called 'injunctive'. It would be better called 'primitive', because this formation is the basis of all other formations within the present/aorist-system. This injunctive is a verbal form of the type *bharat*, that is with secondary endings. The important thing is that it can refer to almost any situation in temporal or modal contexts without actually denoting tense or mood. It is a *general* form. Thus, in the Ṛg-Veda, we have oppositions of the type

bharati : bharat	actual present—general present
abharat : bharat	actual past—general past,

and it is obvious from such comparisons that *bharati* is composed of *bharat+i* as is *abharat* of *a+bharat*, *i* and *a* being the distinguishing temporal marks of actual present and past. Similarly the Sanskrit imperative third sg. *bharatu* and the prohibitive *mā bharat* may analysed as the general form *bharat* and the respective particles as the semantic exponents.

If we transpose this into IE we can posit an original injunctive **bheret* which could be either used by itself or which could combine with prefixes or particles to express certain semantic notions. These particles would later become firmly attached to the injunctive and would thus give rise to new, better marked categories: a 'present' **bhereti*, an 'imperative' **bheretu*, an 'imperfect' **ebheret*, and so on. This is the stage which Sanskrit, Greek and other IE languages attest and which therefore must be IE, though probably not early nor even common IE, especially as regards the 'imperfect' **ebheret* which seems of limited occurrence.

The Old Irish distribution of **bhereti*/**to-bheret* however derives from the earlier stage of IE when the only verbal category was that of the injunctive and when the only existing endings were the secondary ones. To this verbal form prefixes and other particles could be loosely attached. Their use would be governed by rules of position and stress.

Watkins has shown in a brilliant paper,[9] that in IE the position of the verb with regard to its satellites was either in front or after these elements. If we tabulate this in a very simplified fashion, allowing for one or two such elements, we get the following pattern (P = preverb, E = enclitic, V = verb):

P V
P E V
V E
V E E.

This pattern is valid at all periods of IE and can be traced into most of the historical IE languages. If we apply it, as we may, to the injunctival period of IE where V (the verb) is the injunctive of the type **bheret*, we can say, quite simply, that the injunctive could either be preceded or followed by particles, but not both. Thus we could have

**to bheret*	(*do-beir*)
**to me bheret*	(*do-m-beir*)
**bheret i*	(*berid*)
**bheret i me*	(*beirthium*) etc.,

but not

**to bheret i.*

The IE dialect which was to become Old Irish has stopped at that; it has clung to this old distribution on the basis of the injunctive, whereas the other IE dialects, after running together **bheret i* into a new form **bhereti*, would now simply add prefixes to this new form instead of the older **bheret*; the result (Skt. *pra-bharati*) would still fall under the formula PV.

Outside Celtic the old injunctival principle has but left few morphological traces, such as the already mentioned opposition of present **bheret-i* and imperfect **e-bheret* which also applies to the middle endings:

middle injunctive *$seq^{w}eto$	pres. *$seq^{w}eto$-i	imperf. *e-$seq^{w}eto$, or
	*$seq^{w}eto$-r	*nu-$seq^{w}eto$;

thus exemplified by Gr. ἕπεται/εἵπετο and Lat. *sequitur*, O. Ir. *-sechethar/no-seched*. More could be said about Hittite and Tocharian, but I must leave it at that. What I wanted to show was that Celtic, and by this I mean particularly Old Irish, almost by its sole testimony helps to reconstruct an earlier stage of the IE verbal system and of IE verbal syntax than is possible on the basis of any of the other IE languages. Celtic is therefore of unique importance for the reconstruction of internal IE linguistic history.

NOTES

1 Henceforth abbreviated IE.

2 Of the numerous publications by Krahe dealing with these problems I shall mention only those addressing themselves primarily to the non-specialist: *Sprache und Vorzeit* (Heidelberg 1954), especially pp. 48–71; *Unsere ältesten Flussnamen* (Wiesbaden 1964), especially pp. 32–86) where further references can be found. For an account of British river-names possibly belonging to this stratum see W. Nicolaisen, "Die alteuropäischen Gewässernamen der britischen Hauptinsel". *Beiträge zur Namenforschung* 8 (1957) 211–68.

3 A by-form of, and developed from, *$perq^{w}us$* (attested by Latin *quercus*, about which see below).

4 On this genitive ending see J. Untermann in: *Beiträge zur Indogermanistik und Keltologie, Julius Pokorny zum 80. Geburtstag gewidmet* (Innsbruck 1967) 281–8.

5 See A. Walde, *Über älteste sprachliche Beziehungen zwischen Kelten und Italikern* (Innsbruck 1917) 30–31, and—more recently—J. Kuryłowicz, *The Inflectional Categories of Indo-European* (Heidelberg 1964) 48–9.

6 *Ériu* 20 (1967) 67–81.

7 'Italo-Celtic Revisited', in: *Ancient Indo-European Dialects* (University of California 1966) 29–50. See my review in *Die Sprache* 13 (1967); 70–73.

8 See my monograph *Die indogermanischen Grundlagen der altirischen absoluten und konjunkten Verbalflexion* (Wiesbaden 1963) and Watkins in *Celtica* 6 (1963): 41–8.

9 "Preliminaries to a Historical and Comparative Analysis of the Syntax of the Old Irish Verb." *Celtica* 6 (1963): 1-49.

Gaelic Learned Orders and Literati in Medieval Scotland

DERICK S. THOMSON

It would be false to suggest that in medieval Scottish sources there is much deliberate repression of information about the Gaelic area of Scotland. On the contrary, where officials or chroniclers have occasion to deal with the affairs of this area they seem to accept its conventions in a matter-of-fact way, often borrowing Gaelic technical terms, and in their translations of names and titles (whether into Latin or into Scots) often retaining Gaelic syntax. This is particularly noticeable in the records of Scottish supplications to Rome, and here presumably the drafters of supplications were bilingual in Latin and Gaelic. In other bilingual situations, such as the English/Gaelic and the Norman French/Gaelic ones, and earlier the Norse/Gaelic one, we must assume the presence of interpreters and translators, as Miss Constance Bullock-Davies (1966) has demonstrated for the English/Norman French/Welsh situation in the twelfth century, but I am not at present able to produce evidence of a specific class of latimers on the Gaelic border in Scotland.

These remarks are well enough illustrated by the compilation *Regiam Majestatem*, an account of medieval Scots law, reflecting the process whereby, in the fourteenth century, indigenous and foreign elements were used to rebuild a system which had been partly shattered during the struggle for independence (see Duncan 1961). Some of the indigenous material used came from a source close to the Leges Scotie, which form a section of the Berne MS, written between 1267 and 1272, and close to the Ayr Miscellany, a MS of the earlier fourteenth century. This native material is entitled 'Leges inter Brettos et Scotos', the Bretti presumably being the British or Welsh-speaking people of Strathclyde, and the Scoti the Gaelic-speaking people north of the Forth and Clyde. It appears, then, that some of the traditional Celtic legal terminology was considered relevant in a fourteenth-century law treatise compiled in Lowland Scotland, although the Scottish definitions, explicit or implicit, do not always square with the Irish evidence. Thus *cro* is used in the sense of a fine paid in compensation for slaughter. The *cro* of the King of Scotland is said to be 1,000 ky or 3,000 ounces of gold, the *cro* of the son of an earl or of a thane was 100 ky, and that of a carl 16 ky. Sir John Skene, in his interpretation of terms in the *Regiam Majestatem* (1597), defines *cro* as 'ane satisfaction or assithment for slauchter of ony man. The quhilk the judge suld paie to the

narrest of his kin . . .'. In the tenth-century Irish tract on *cró* and *díbad* (Meyer 1904: 109–15) on the other hand, the reference seems to be more to the property of the dead man than to the fine or compensation.

Again, *enach/enauch* is used imprecisely in the Scots laws, but in such a way as to leave no doubt as to its proper origin and affiliations. Sir John Skene defines it as 'satisfaction for ane fault, crime, or trespasse', which would define *lóg n-enech*, *eneclann* or one of the related Irish terms.

Two other terms used in the *Regiam Majestatem* are (1) *culreach*, defined by Sir John Skene as 'backborgh or cationer' (John Fraser [1928: 233–4] took this to be the equivalent of an Irish form *cúlráith*, a compound of *ráth*, surety) and (2) *colpindach* (*hodie corrupte Quyach*—Reg. Maj. ii, 7, 3), which represents the Irish *colpthoch/colpdach*, a yearling calf. Sir John Skene defines it as 'ane young cow'.

It might indeed be argued that there was a deliberate archaising tendency at work in the *Regiam Majestatem*, fortified perhaps by novel nationalistic sentiment in fourteenth century Scotland. This cannot be said of other Gaelic terms in common use in Acts of Parliament and in charters then and later, such as *cain/can/cane*, used of a payment in kind, often of a burden on land, though later of the custom duty on merchandise carried aboard ship; *conveth*, used of a night's refection given by the occupiers of land to their superior, and later commuted to a fixed food contribution or payment in kind; and *cuddiche* (*cuid-oidhche*), in Scottish usage similar to *conveth*. Both *conveth* and *cuddiche* are charged in the Western Isles in the late sixteenth century, and as late as 1719–20 tenants in Atholl were paying *cudeichs* of corn and straw. Clearly *conveth* was borrowed into Scots early, for the final lenited *d* of Gaelic *coindmed* became a guttural spirant (*gh*) or occasionally *v*, in the thirteenth century.

The survival of even this attenuated body of Gaelic legal and administrative terminology in medieval Scotland would in itself argue the existence at one time in the country of officers to administer the Gaelic system. One of the earliest references to these is in the third grant in the notitiae in the Book of Deer, a grant made in 1131–2, and witnessed among others by Ruadhri Mormaer of Mar and *Matadin brithem* or Matadin the judge. Much later, in a charter of Aonghas Óg of the Isles, granted in 1485, one of the witnesses is *Hullialmus archiiudex*. One of his fellow testators is *Lacclanus McMurghaich archipoeta*, and we can fairly safely deduce that just as MacMhuirich was the chief poet in the Lordship, so Hullialmus was the leading brehon. More surprising is the evidence of a widespread retention of the native office of judge elsewhere in Scotland. This evidence has been assembled for the twelfth and thirteenth centuries in a recent paper by Professor G. W. S. Barrow, 'The Scottish *judex* in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries'. 'It has long been recognised', says Barrow, 'that the *judex* represented a survival from pre-twelfth century Scotland, that he formed a part of the older Celtic order of society. It has also long been known that gradually the *judex*, under his more familiar title of "dempster", sank from a prominent to a subordinate, eventually to an insignificant, position. . . . A long series of personal names can be established, running

from the reign of David I to that of Robert I, among which names of an archaic or vernacular type show a notable predominance. The conservatism of which this is evidence suggests nothing less than the tenacious survival of an ancient judicial caste' (1966:16).

To summarise some of Barrow's conclusions, the *judices* were normally attached to a province, not necessarily singly. We find them specifically attached to the provinces of Caithness, Buchan, Mearns, Angus, Gowrie, Fife, Strathearn, Lennox and Strathnith. Also some are attached to the King, bearing the title *judex regis*. They often appear as witnesses to charters, in the twelfth century high up in the witness list, towards the end of the thirteenth century usually in a distinctly subordinate position. In the surviving records, the commonest activity of the judex is the formal perambulation of marches, but this is perhaps because documents recording decisions of this kind are the most likely to have been preserved. The lists of names given by Barrow show decisively that the Celtic population was still keeping a firm hold on such offices: *e.g.* Farhard in Buchan (between 1211 and 1233), Kineth in Mar (1187×1207), Boli Mac Gillerachcah (Gille Fhearchair?) in Mearns (1199×1214), MacBeth in Gowrie (1189×1197), Meldrinneth son of Machedath or MacBead in Fife and Fothrif (*c.* 1128×*c.* 1136), Gillecrist in Lennox (*c.* 1208–34), and so on. Barrow also draws attention to 'a Lennox man named as excommunicate in a document of 1294 (Paisley Reg., 203), Gillecolm son of Dovenald Macbref', and suggests that this 'may give the names of a son and grandson of a Lennox *judex*', or, in Gaelic terminology, a *brithem*. We can probably conclude that the office of *brithem*, translated *judex* in the documents of the time, survived well into the thirteenth century, held by persons of Gaelic race to a large extent, and over much of Scotland. But apart from their function in cases of determining boundaries, we have as yet little clear evidence of what they did, or how large a body of law they administered.

The evidence of later antiquarian writers, purveying mainly the traditional accounts current in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, throws some additional light, of a general kind, on the activities and status of the legal order of *brehons* or *breves*. Hugh MacDonald, the seventeenth-century historian of Sleat in Skye, says: 'Moreover, there was a judge in every isle for the discussion of all controversies, who had land from MacDonald (*i.e.* of the Isles) for their trouble, and likewise the eleventh part of every action decided. But there might still be an appeal to the Council of the Isles' (Macphail 1914:24–25). Sir Robert Gordon, in the mid-seventeenth century, refers to the 'Brieve' as 'A kind of Judge among the Islanders who hath an absolute Judicatory, and unto whose authority and censure they willingly submit themselves (R. Gordon 1813). Sir Robert Gordon appears to be describing the contemporary situation, and confines the system to which he refers to the Islands. The office of Breve seems to have survived longest in Lewis. We catch a tantalising glimpse of Hucheoun Breve of Lewess on his death-bed on 22 August 1566 (Macphail 1916:180–1), when he confessed to Sir Patrick McMaister Mairtin, Persoun of Barvas, that he was the father of Torquil, reputed son of McLeod of Lewis, but there is no reference to more judicial activities. The descendants of this Hucheoun Morrison seem to have exercised the office of Breve for some

generations after this time, and curiously enough one of them, who flourished in the seventeenth century, is still quoted as the author of succinct and pithy verses which define the boundaries of lands on the West Side of Lewis. It looks, in fact, as if in Lewis a Breve was still perambulating the marches some four or five centuries after the practice was common on the Scottish mainland. And it is probable that the connection of verse with legal practice is not fortuitous.

Dean Munro, writing in 1549, describes the composition of the Council of the Isles, and adds: 'Thir 14 persons sat down into the Counsell-Ile, and decernit, decreitit and gave suits furth upon all debaitable matters according to the Laws made be Renald McSomharkle callit in his time King of the Occident Iles . . .' (Munro 1961:57), but if this son of Somerled in the twelfth century emulated the example of the earlier Welsh king Hywel Dda, or other royal law-givers, his code is lost.

We need not doubt that the office of Brehon or Breve was hereditary, like so many other Gaelic offices. This is clear from the example of the Lewis Breves, and Dr John Macpherson of Sleat states in the mid-eighteenth century that 'The office belonged to certain families, and was transmitted like every other inheritance from father to son. Their stated salaries were farms of considerable value' (1768:187). The system was clearly similar to that obtaining in Ireland, where, for example, MacCarthy Mór's brehon, MacEgan, had lands set apart for his support, as well as having various other emoluments (Butler 1925:68).

It may be that legal traditions were reinforced in the Islands, although no doubt modified also, by the admixture of a legally-conscious, if not indeed litigious, people, the Norse. The Norse of course had their own lawmen, and one such gave his name to a once-influential Argyllshire clan, the Lamonts. In 1358 we find one of this clan, retaining a name-form closer to Norse, Duncan son of John McLagmanid, entering into a bond with Colin son of Gillesbuig Cambel, the representative of another family which acquired great skill in manipulating the law (Macphail 1916:143).

Despite this long history of Gaelic legal officers in Scotland, there is a disappointing scarcity of Gaelic legal MSS: little beyond some stray paragraphs in MS II (Nat. Lib. of Scot.) on the rights and responsibilities of the physician, a tract on the Law of Sunday, comment on the privileges of poets (MS VII), one Gaelic charter, a contract of fosterage, and an agreement between a Scottish and an Irish chief in the mid-sixteenth century. No copies seem to have survived in Scotland of the Law treatises and commentaries.

The natural survival of earlier Gaelic terminology and offices in the Gaelic West is illustrated in an interesting way by the history of the office of *rannaire* (quartermaster or steward). Professor Barrow, in his book on *The Acts of Malcolm IV*, draws attention to twelfth-century witnesses of acts who bear the title *renner(e)* or *renner(i)us*, and this evidence suggests that the office was hereditary. These witnesses appear at various dates from *c.* 1128 to *c.* 1178, and the office seems to have been discontinued in the royal household before the end of the twelfth century (Barrow 1960:32–33). It survives later in the household of a Celtic earl, and it is interesting to note a comparatively late

occurrence of the term in fifteenth century Skye: in a supplication to Rome in 1428 it is stated that 'a certain Molcolmus McGillebride rannarc, alleged priest, has detained the rectory of Crist de Strathsowradyl' (Dunlop 1956:203–4).

Medical Families

Outside the specifically literary profession, the native Gaelic learning in Scotland seems to have been brought to bear most markedly on medical topics, and there is evidence of the hereditary medical families becoming almost the ultimate custodians of the old learning and the old libraries. This can be partly accounted for by the differing rates of change in various official functions. The loss of temporal power by a great chief or noble, such as the Lord of the Isles, limited his need for an official archivist or judge, but left him no less dependent than before on a physician. The prosperity of these officials, then, seems to have lasted rather longer than that of their fellow court officers. This prosperity made for more settled living conditions, more substantial houses in which MSS could be decently kept, a greater sense of pride and continuity in a crumbling society. This respite was only temporary, but it lasted long enough to enable at least a few of the Gaelic MSS to be gathered into institutional libraries.

There appear to have been at least three main medical dynasties in Gaelic Scotland, and several lesser ones. The chief one, both numerically and in terms of length of service, was that of the Beatons, MacBeths or Bethunes. In length and width of service this dynasty comes nearest to rivalling the record of the MacMhuirich poets. The traditional account of the origin of this family in Scotland is that its founder came in the retinue of the daughter of Ó Catháin or O'Kane, who married Aonghus Òg of the Isles about the year 1300. The earliest probable reference to a member of the family known to me is in the grant of lands in Melness and Hope in Sutherland in 1379. This grant was made by the Wolf of Badenoch to Ferchar Lighiche, and confirmed by King Robert II in 1379. In 1386 the same King granted to Ferchar (*nostro Ferchardo leche*) the islands of Jura, Calwa and Sanda, together with a large group of small islands lying off the north-west and north coasts of Scotland (Mackay 1906: 371–2). In 1408 a Fercos MacBetha appears as a witness to a Gaelic charter granted in Islay by John of the Isles, and as he is the only one of the witnesses to sign his name it has been deduced that he was also the writer of the document. There is no indication here that he was a medical man, but later pedigrees suggest that he was an ancestor, direct or collateral, of the medical MacBeths or Beatons in Islay. The earliest recorded grant of land to a MacBeth in Islay is in 1506: 'Gilcristo McVaig, surrigico' (ER XII: 709). Hugh MacDonald of Sleat reports the tradition that 'Beatton', the principal physician, was one of few guests given precedence in the seating arrangements at Domhnall Ballach's feast in Aros, Mull, in *c.* 1451 (Macphail 1914:45).

Branches of the MacBeth medical family appear in various parts of Gaelic Scotland, mainly in territories once controlled by the Lords of the Isles, but these physicians

seem to owe a more direct allegiance to the chiefs of other clans than the poets did. One of the Mull branch, described as 'Joannes Betonus MacLenorum familiae medicus', died in 1657. This specific connection with the family of MacLean is underlined by John Maclean, writing to Robert Wodrow in 1701 (Analecta Scotica 1834:124). Fraser of Wardlaw, in the second half of the seventeenth century, refers to a son of Lord Lovat being 'cut of a stone by Gilleandris Beatton in 1612', and implies that Beatons had been living, and practising as leeches, in Glenconvinth in the Aird of Inverness-shire, for 'time out of mind' (Mackay 1905:242, 185).

Martin Martin, *c.* 1695, writing of S. Uist, refers to a Fergus Beaton living there, still in possession of a traditional medical library in MS form. He says: 'Fergus Beaton hath the following ancient Irish manuscripts in the Irish character: to wit, Avicenna, Averroes, Joannes de Vigo, Bernardus Gordonus, and several volumes of Hippocrates' (Macleod 1934:155). Martin evidently had a less high opinion of his fellow-islander whom he refers to as 'the illiterate empiric Neil Beaton in Skye' (*ibid.*:238). Martin was a university-trained physician, and perhaps as such would tend to underate the empiric, but there may well be a justifiable value judgment in his differing descriptions of two of the Beatons of his own time. At any rate, there are other indications that the Clanranald branch of the MacDonalds inherited a richer strain of the old culture than did other branches. Skye, however, can lay some claim to the largest of the Gaelic medical MSS in Scotland, the copy of the translation of Bernard Gordon's *Lilium Medicinae* which was sent to the Society of Scottish Antiquaries by the Rev. Donald MacQueen of Kilmuir in 1784. MacQueen's Memorandum says that it belonged to Farchar Beaton of Husibost five generations earlier, *i.e. circa* 1630, and that it was 'of such value in his estimation that when he trusted himself to a boat, in passing an arm of the sea, to attend any patient at Dunvegan, the seat of MacLeod, he sent his servant by land, for the greater security, with the *Lilium Medicanum*' (see Mackinnon 1912:298).

Information about the library of another member of the Beaton family came to light only a few years ago, with the publication of Edward Lhuyd's notes on the books possessed by the Mull clergyman John Beaton at the very end of the seventeenth century. John Maclean, writing in 1701 to Wodrow says: 'Our Physicians were Beatons both in Mull and Ilay, of whose skill and acts they talk great things. They were expert schollars both in Irish and Latine, but had English ne'er a word. They had an heritable right to so much land while they could so much as draw blood, which they yet enjoy. Mr John Beaton being the only scholar of their race, has fallen to all their books and manuscripts' (Analecta Scotica 1834:124). The details which Lhuyd recorded of this library show at least a modest attempt to straddle the two cultures. The library included anthologies of Irish verse, a good selection of Irish sagas and romances, historical and pseudo-historical MSS, genealogical tracts, a tract on grammar and prosody, and of course medical MSS. Beaton lists a number of books which he had lost, and the list is probably not exhaustive. He told Lhuyd that he thought he had some pages of parchment concerning the laws of the Irish (Campbell and Thomson 1963:37–46).

John Beaton, it is relevant to add, was not a medical man, nor a professional Gaelic scholar, but an Episcopalian minister. He was the second son of John Beaton who died in 1657, and who was probably the last of the Mull family of hereditary physicians. Learning that is transmitted by a hereditary arrangement is vulnerable when a new set of values and conditions is created in society, and the Beaton library does not seem to have remained intact for long after the practical reason for its existence was removed. Fortunately some of it survived through the good offices of another Argyllshire family with strong medical and antiquarian interests, but much of it appears to have been lost.

This family which provided the vital link between us and a number of the Gaelic MSS of the Beatons and others was that of the MacLachlans of Kilbride. They possessed Gaelic MS XXXIII in the National Library, to take one instance, a MS which has signed memoranda by various members of the Beaton family. According to eighteenth-century accounts by Lord Bannatyne and the Rev. Dr John Smith, the family of the MacLachlans of Kilbride 'had once possessed a very large collection of Gaelic manuscripts' (Highland Society's Report 1805: App. 282). It is known that several of these MSS were loaned to named individuals in the mid-eighteenth century, some were gifted by Major MacLachlan to the Highland Society of Scotland, others were recovered after his death from a law-agent in Glasgow. Dr John Smith wrote in 1797: 'I have seen some myself, which was part of a large treasure left by a gentleman who died 30 or 40 years ago. Much of it was scattered before I saw it, and more of it I suppose since, after a lapse of twenty years' (*ibid.*: App. 72–73).

It was reported to Lord Bannatyne that an ancestor of Major MacLachlan had been 'a dignified Ecclesiastic, I think one of the Deans of Argyll about the time of the Reformation, and whose family were said to have retained for a considerable time, a peculiar taste for Gaelic antiquities . . .' (*ibid.*: 282). The reference is to 'Farquhardus episcopus insularum et commendatarius Ione' who appears as signatory to a charter of 1532 (Innes 1859: 156–8). It is said that the MacLachlans of Craiginterve were leeches and hereditary doctors to the Argylls, and that a related branch were hereditary Captains of Innischonnel Castle to the Argylls, replacing MacArthurs in that office from the year 1613 (Macphail 1934: 26, 53). In a charter of confirmation dated 1562 there appear among the witnesses 'John Makclauchane and John Makallaster clauchane servitors to Archibald Earl of Argyll', and also 'Colin leiche' (*ibid.*: 34). Although the evidence here is shadowy, due to lack of sufficient research, it is suggestive of the characteristic combination of (1) traditional learned office (in this case of physician), (2) secretarial function (servitor), (3) ecclesiastical connections. This is a pattern which recurs regularly whichever branch of the Gaelic learned orders is investigated.

But the MacLachlans of Kilbride act as a link also with another notable medical family, that of the O'Conachers or MacConachers of Lorn. Some of the MSS in the Kilbride Collection were written for or by members of the family of Lorn physicians. In 1530 there is record of John McConchra of Stronecormik (*i.e.* Sròn Chormaig, at

the head of Loch Feochan) who pays 40 merks 'for ye grassum of ye office of chirurgeon' (Mackinnon 1912:63). The dated MSS associated with this family belong mainly to the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Thus there is a large medical MS written in Ireland about 1596–7 by Donnchadh ua Concubhair, who was born in 1571, and died at Dunstaffnage in 1647 (*ibid.*:273–7). In MS XXXIV (No. 3 of the Kilbride Collection), a MS containing some Gaelic verses and two romantic Irish tales, there is a greeting, dated 1603, from the scribe 'Eomuin McPhaill' to John O'Conchubhar (*ibid.*:139).[1] MS II was written by John son of Donald McConacher, in the sixteenth century, but is later found in the possession of Malcolm McBeath, probably one of the Skye MacBeths or Bethunes (*ibid.*:5). MS LX was written, between 1611 and 1614, for Duncan son of John son of Donald son of Duncan McConacher (*ibid.*:63). This is the MS of the Lorn physicians mentioned by the Rev. Donald MacNicol in his rumbustious rejoinder to Dr Johnson. The scribe of this MS is, for the main part, Angus son of Farquhar son of Angus, presumably a MacBeth. It is clear from this and many other instances that there was a notable degree of co-operation and collaboration between the members of different medical families.

It seems likely, from what has been said, that the O'Conachers or MacConachers appeared comparatively late on the Scottish scene. The founder of the Scottish family may have been brought over on the recommendation of a Beaton, sojourning at the schools in Ireland. The fluctuation in the form of the name, between Ó and *Mac*, suggests such a late arrival. This would explain also the restricted area of the family's influence. Some of their MSS strayed further afield. The Rev. James McLagan, the eighteenth-century collector, has a note: 'Thos. Fraser of Gortleg in Stratharig knows of Lord Lovat's papers [and among them] a Treatise of Physick wrote by Conchar of Ardoran in the Gaelic Language' (McLagan MS 122). This could well be explained by a close association with the Beatons, of whom a branch was settled in the Aird of Inverness-shire. But the O'Conacher family does not itself seem to have established off-shoots as the Beaton one did. They are associated with Lorn, and in particular with Airdoran on the northern shore of Loch Feochan, in the parish of Kilbride. In 1650 'Donald O'conochar phisitiane' was brought from Argyll to Irvine to attend to Campbell of Cawdor's son, and in 1652 he was brought from Lorn to Islay to attend the Laird himself (Innes 1859:303, 304). In 1715 Duncan Oconachie of Ardeorans came to Inveraray to consult regarding measures to be taken on behalf of the government, suggesting that by this time the family was 'in the pocket' of the Campbells (Lamont 1944:333). In 1730 Duncan Oconochar of Ardeirans features in the Commissariot Records of Argyll (Grant 1902:44), and in 1760 McConacher is described as 'heritor in Kilmore' (Mackinnon 1912:64). The 'Doctor's house' was still standing in the middle of the nineteenth century.

Another Irish medical family which appears to have established branches in Gaelic Scotland is that of O'Donlevy. A notable medical scribe of this name was Cormac Ó Duinnshléibhe, 'batchelor of physic', who translated Bernard Gordon's *Lilium Medicinae*

into Irish *c.* 1450, and in 1459 wrote parts of the British Museum MSS Harley 546 and Arundel 333 (O'Grady 1926:171, 257). He was also the translator of a tractate by Thomas Aquinas, which is in MS XII in the Gaelic Collection of the National Library of Scotland, a MS which belonged at one time to the Kilbride Collection (Mackinnon 1912: 38). An earlier MacDonlevy, who died in 1395, had been described as chief physician of Ulster. The hereditary surgeons to MacCarthy Mór were of this name, and held three ploughgates in Muskerry in 1600 (Butler 1925:117), when they are referred to as 'Aulyves als O'Leavies'. It may have been a member of the Scottish branch of the O'Donlevy's who wrote part of Gaelic MS LX ('O'Conacher of Lorn's MS'), signing himself 'Donnchadh mac dubhsleibhte' (Mackinnon 1912:64).

Writing at some time before his death in 1749, Duncan McLea, Minister of Dull in Perthshire, gives an account of the name McLea, saying that one of his ancestors was McLea a surgeon, who himself and his forebears for several generations had been Physician in Ordinary to the Family of Lamont at Inveryn, and had the five merk land of Achnaskioch. McLea says that the present (*i.e.* mid-eighteenth century) Lamont's Great Grandfather was the person who turned the then McLea of Achnaskioch off from being his Surgeon and Physician in Ordinary. This would imply a mid-seventeenth century date for the end of this medical line. Duncan McLea also refers to members of the family who had ecclesiastical offices, saying that one was 'a Popish Bishop', that one branch of the family had hereditary charge of the crozier of the Bishop of Lismore, and that the head of this branch was still known as 'Baron Bachuill', and that 'many call themselves Livingstones' (Macphail 1934:93–96).

Some of the present-day Livingstones still call themselves MacDhunléibhe in Gaelic, and Duncan is still a family name with them, but it seems likely that confusion arose as early as the seventeenth century at least between 'Mac Dhuinnsléibhe' and 'Mac an Léigh' (*i.e.* 'son of the physician'), and that this is the explanation of the form 'McLea' used by some of this family. The form 'Mc onlea' is common in the seventeenth century, its affiliations appearing clearly in the form 'Dunsla M^c^ ein v^c^ onlea', the name of a man killed at Dunaverty in Kintyre in 1647 (Macphail 1916:255), and 'Dounslea M^c^ onlea', a tenant in Shuna in 1669 (Macphail 1934:222).

The last medical family I shall mention briefly illustrates a different kind of development. In 1615 'John oig M^c^ murquhie leiche in Ilay' appears in the records (Innes 1859: 233). Here we see a descendant of the MacMhuirich bardic family moving over to a new discipline. A contemporary representative of this line, Professor Currie, holds the Chair of Pathology in the University of Aberdeen, but I have no evidence that either he or his seventeenth-century ancestor learned their medicine from Gaelic MSS.

Ecclesiastics

Law, Medicine and the Church were for centuries, until the present century, regarded as the leading professions in many countries, and Medieval and late Medieval Scotland

was no exception. In Gaelic Scotland it is of great interest to observe the ramifications and inter-connections of these and other professions, and to observe the intimate connection between ecclesiastical preferment and temporal power. The detailed study of the church in Gaelic Scotland in Medieval times has still to be written, and the most important sources, in the Vatican archives, are gradually being made available. I shall not pretend to make a serious contribution to this subject, but only to indicate briefly some of the patterns which the available printed sources allow us to discern.

The descendants of Somerled showed very early an interest in ecclesiastical foundation and patronage. Reginald, son of Somerled, founded a Benedictine monastery in Iona, and this foundation was confirmed by Pope Innocent III in 1203. He also endowed a nunnery, of which his sister Bethoc was the first prioress (Macphail 1914:82 ff.). Several of the later descendants of Somerled founded or endowed additionally various ecclesiastical houses, and by the fifteenth century the Lords of the Isles held extensive rights of lay patronage in the sees of Sodor and Argyle. Several members of the family held benefices and also high ecclesiastical office, such as John Goffridi, claustral prior of Iona in 1405 and later Abbot of Iona (Macphail 1934:156; Lindsay and Cameron 1934: 264–5), and Angus of the Isles who became Bishop of Sodor in 1426 (Dunlop 1956:132, 184). The commend of the church of Kilchoman in Islay was granted to Bishop Angus in 1428 (*ibid.*:197–8), after the death of Odo McAyg, who was probably of the same family as Brian Bhiocaire MacAoidh who was granted a charter by the Lord of the Isles in 1408. The Mac Mhuirich historian says that Bishop Angus, son of Domhnall a h-Ile, died in 1437 (A. Cameron 1894: 210).

Representatives of other leading families are seen to be holding office well before this time also, and by the middle of the fourteenth century there is evidence of ecclesiastical position being usurped for purposes of temporal gain. In 1358–9 there is record of the Abbacy of Iona being void, but being detained unlawfully by Fyningonus son of Brice (Macphail 1934:135–6). In 1397 the so-called 'election' of Fingon, Abbot of Hy, some forty years earlier, was confirmed by the Pope (*ibid.*:149), but in 1405 John Goffredi reported on Fingon's dilapidation of the monastery to provide for the upkeep of his family and that of his noble concubine, and as a result Fingon, whom Hugh MacDonald of Sleat calls the 'Green Abbot' appears to have been deposed (*ibid.*:156). In 1421 another Fyngonius, a relative of the Abbot, is claustral prior of Iona (Lindsay and Cameron 1934:272), and the Abbot and convent in 1426 say that they are suspicious of his intentions (Dunlop 1956:139, 272). Despite these set-backs we find two Mackinnons, Lachlan and John, abbots of Iona in the last quarter of the fifteenth century (Campbell and Thomson 1963:Pls. XVI and XVIII).

More interesting, perhaps, is the pattern which emerges of the preferment of members of other professional families, representatives of hereditary lines best known to us for other than ecclesiastical activities. In general it is clear that the Lords of the Isles, as the fount of lay patronage, are providing openings for members of those families which held hereditary offices in the Court of the MacDonalds, although in the present state of

our knowledge it is not always clear whether ecclesiastical or secular office came first. Thus Rogellus Obrolchan, priest, Secretary to Alexander Lord of the Isles, and rector of Islandfinan, asks to be provided to the church of Morvern in 1426 (Dunlop 1956:133, 138). He is said to be the son of a priest and an unmarried woman, which probably implies merely that his father, like the Celtic clergy of the West of Scotland generally, was not celibate. In this instance, remembering Somerled's unsuccessful invitation to Ua Brolchain, Abbot of Derry, *c.* 1164 (Barrow 1960:8–9; Colgan 1959:514–15), one would suppose Rogellus Obrolchan to have come of an old line of ecclesiastics, and to have added his Secretarial duties as an additional string to his bow. I do not know whether the same should be said of Nigel Makduuhie (Makduwhie/Macdwffye/ Machoffye) who is referred to in 1420 as late rector of Kilmonivaig, having 'died on his way to the Roman Court' (Lindsay and Cameron 1934: 143, 147, 157, 171). The MacDuffies were hereditary archivists or keepers of the records to the Lords of the Isles, but whether or not they held this office first, and ecclesiastical office later, or vice versa, remains to be elucidated by a fuller examination of the evidence. The MacDuffies appear spasmodically in ecclesiastical office for some centuries after 1420, *e.g.* one as prior of Oransay before 1554 (OPS II, 1:281), and another in 1597 (Smith 1895:449), while a Malcolm McDuphie is described as a 'trifficquing preist' in S. Uist and Barra in 1703 (Maitland Club Miscellany 1843:424–5).

I suspect, but do not know for certain, that Bean Makgillandris, provided by Benedict XIII in 1397, and successively Dean and Bishop of Argyle (Lindsay and Cameron 1934:157, 179–80; Macphail 1934:162), was a member of the MacBeth or Beaton family, and we have already noted this family's ecclesiastical involvement in the seventeenth century. In 1420 and 1425, MacLachlans are on record in connection with the vicarage of Kilbride, which was still the home-ground of the MacLachlan family in the eighteenth century. In 1425 Gilbert McLoclan or Torleti was provided anew to the chancellorship of the church of Lismore (Lindsay and Cameron 1934:203–4; Dunlop 1956:79, 89–90). By the mid-seventeenth century there are ministers of the name of MacLachlan in six Argyllshire charges, and elders in as many congregations, including John McLachlane of Kilbryde, Ruling Elder in 1651 (MacTavish 1943:1, 2, 9, 15, 29, 124, 183–4, 198). About this time also one of the O Conacher family is preparing for the ministry (*ibid.*:136).

Members of the MacMhuirich family appear as clergymen from *c.* 1490 onwards (Thomson 1966),[2] and an Osenog of Lephenstrath (*i.e.* of the family of harpers to the Lords of the Isles) in the first half of the seventeenth century (Scott 1923:59). The MacEacherns, said to have been armourers to the Lords of the Isles, may have a representative in Sir Andrew Makcacherne rector of Islandfinan until his death in 1515. Significantly, perhaps, he was succeeded by Rore Ranaldsoun, kinsman to Donald Lord of the Isles (OPS II, 1:198).

There were, in addition, other hereditary lines whose fame is more exclusively ecclesiastical, such as the Martins or MacMartins, the MacGilleMhìcheils, the Malcolms

or MacCalmans and the MacArthurs, all of whom are on record from the fifteenth century onwards, and the MacQueens.

The general impression which one gets, however, is that by the fifteenth century at least, and probably earlier, the Church in Gaelic Scotland had been fairly thoroughly drawn into the nexus of temporal power, especially that of the Lords of the Isles, and that there was already a fairly free movement between professions or learned orders: clergy, bards, scribes, medical men. This composite class might be described as a Civil Service and its solidarity might be compared to that of the Public School class in more recent times. This class was a Gaelic-speaking class, naturally, at home in reading and writing Classical Common Gaelic, but its *lingua franca* for wider purposes was Latin. It appears to have had a reasonably easy access to the Roman Curia, and to have often got its own way in these dealings. A successful petition such as that of 1425, for the licence to constitute six natives of Scotland as Notaries Public, 'even if the persons are in priests' or other orders', would no doubt facilitate legal business other than dealings with the Roman Court (Dunlop 1956:98), but it is significant that we owe most of our knowledge of medieval Gaelic verse in Scotland to one such Notary Public at the beginning of the sixteenth century: James MacGregor, Dean of Lismore. The Dean's Book itself provides evidence of Gaelic-Latin bilingualism, or rather of Gaelic-Latin-Scots trilingualism. In it we see an ecclesiastic poised between the Gaelic and the Latin worlds, and the Gaelic world clearly embracing Ireland as well as Scotland, but already drawn to the Scots tradition, so that he uses (and I think this was a conscious rather than an inevitable decision) a spelling of Gaelic which is based on the contemporary spelling of Scots. I think many Argyllshire clerics of his day must have looked askance at the Dean's system, if they knew of it, and regarded him with disfavour as a Scotticised Perthshire innovator.

Scribes, Record-keepers

The extent to which specifically Scottish scribes can be regarded as belonging to the learned orders is not entirely clear. It is clear that there was scribal activity in Scotland, and Scottish-sponsored scribal activity in Ireland. Both types survived into the seventeenth century at least, and some skill in writing the Gaelic hand lingered late into the eighteenth century: it was practised then not only by professionals such as the MacMhuirichs but by amateurs such as Alasdair MacMhaighstir Alasdair, and in the second half of the century James McLagan reports that MacArthur friends of his from Mull wrote the old script. A close analysis of scribal activity, especially in the later Middle Ages, would clearly be rewarding, but it will not be attempted here.

The Lord of the Isles, according to a rental of 1505, was wont to give the 2-merkland of 'Ballemaenach Inferior' to his secretary and scribe (*suo cancellario et scribe*) (ER XII:703) but this no doubt refers to secretarial rather than to purely scribal activities.

The Lords of the Isles are said to have had hereditary record-keepers, the MacDuffies

of Colonsay. Dean Munro in 1549 says of Colonsay: '. . . This Ile is bruikit (*i.e.* owned) be ane gentle Capitane callit Mc duffyhe and perteinit to Clan-donald of Kintyre of auld' (Munro 1961:60). It is Hugh MacDonald of Sleat who refers to the office of the MacDuffies, saying 'MacDuffie, or MacPhie of Colonsay, kept the records of the Isles' (Macphail 1914:25). One might have expected these records to be housed in the vicinity of Finlaggan in Islay, where the Council of the Isles was held, and it is probably no accident that we find numerous references to MacDuffies in Islay in the sixteenth century and later (see, *e.g.* Smith 1895:*passim*). As an example of hereditary duties conferring status on the holders of the name we may note the appearance of Dugall Mak Dushie and Cathelus McMurich as witnesses to a discharge for feu duties in Benbecula in 1634 (A. MacDonald 1962:385).

Musicians

We may turn now to the more specifically literary professions and to the musicians, who have a literary function also. We may look first at the musicians, especially the hereditary harpers, some of whom were bards also.

It is as a bard that the work of Giolla Críost Brúilingeach, who flourished in the mid-fifteenth century, has survived. Two of his poems are included in the Book of the Dean of Lismore, and his affiliations have not previously been identified. I think it is not too hazardous to identify him as belonging to a family surnamed Mac an Bhreatnaich or Galbraith, who seem to have been harpers in the MacDonald territory of Kintyre. The earliest probable reference to a member of this family, known to me, is in a poem by Donnchadh Mac Cailein (Watson 1937:14 ff.), the Good Knight of Glenorchy who died at Flodden in 1415. The poet makes elaborate fun of a man Lachlann whom he calls 'Mac an Bhreatnaigh bhinn' (sweet-voiced Galbraith), and who is notorious for asking for all sorts of gifts. It is fairly clear that the fifteenth-century poet Giolla Críost Brúilingeach, who addressed a poem to the Irish lord Tomaltach MacDiarmada before 1458 was a harper. He says that he has come from Scotland to make a request of Tomaltach, and this is that he should be given a harp specially in return for the poem which he is addressing to him. The poet is called, in the Dean's MS, 'Bard in Leymm', and the chain of circumstantial evidence is completed by a seventeenth-century record of a number of men from the Isle of Gigha who were required to appear at Campbeltown in 1685. These include six McVretny's or Galbraiths, the first designated 'John Roy McVretiny in Leim', and another called Lauchlan mcVretny (MacTavish 1935:17). It seems reasonable to assume that Giolla Críost was a MacBhreatnaich from Leim in Gigha, and that he belonged to a family of hereditary harpers. Whether this family was attached to the MacDonald family or to another I am not able to say.

We do know, however, that the family of O'Senog, Mac O'Senog or MacSenach held the position of professional harpers, and had lands from the Lords of the Isles in virtue of their office. These lands were situated in South Kintyre, close to the bardic

lands of the MacMhuirichs, and various members of the family appear in sixteenth-century rentals: 'Muriach McMaschenach citherista' in 1505 (ER XII:364, 582), Gallicallum McCosenach in 1506 (ER XII:708), Muriach again from 1508 to 1528 (ER XIII:223, XV:164, 433). The main harper's lands were Lyell and Lephinstrath, and members of the family continued to hold these lands at least until the mid-eighteenth century (F. F. Mackay 1955:31). Malcolm McShannon, Merchant at Lephenstrath Bridge, died in 1874.[3] There are still MacShannons with musical interests in Kintyre. I am encouraged by these and similar facts to think that the principle of hereditary succession in the artistic professions had much to commend it.

This survey has been very largely concerned with Argyll, partly perhaps because our sources are fuller for this area, and it is pleasant to be able to refer to a fellow-Lewisman who was the most famous of all poet-harpers, Roderick Morrison or An Clàrsair Dall, harper to MacLeod of Harris and Dunvegan, who held lands in Glenelg in the second half of the seventeenth century, in virtue of his office. Exceptionally, some of his harp-music as well as his poetry has survived. It is said that the last official harper was Murdoch MacDonald, harper to the Laird of Coll, and that he died in 1734, four years before the Irish harper Carolan. Well before this time the piper had usurped the place of the harper to a great extent, and there were several great lines of hereditary pipers, such as the MacCrimmons, the MacArthurs and the Rankins, but I shall not attempt to summarise their history. This is not because, like the seventeenth-century poet Neil MacMhuirich, I find the music of the pipes harsh and barbaric, but because I know too little about it, and suspect that it is a fresh development which does not link up with the work of the other learned orders as the work of the harpers does.

Historians and Genealogists

It is clear that in Ireland, from early Christian times, there was a re-distribution of the functions of the learned orders, and there seem to have been subtle shifts from time to time in the lines of demarcation between poets, historians, chroniclers and other men of learning. By the twelfth century, for instance, it is evident that the *fili* had begun to intrude on the bard's territory, and was taking over some of the bardic subject-matter, especially praise-poetry, and was using the metres which the bards had developed. In deference to the Church he had long since allowed his magical functions to recede into the background. As a result of the monastic reforms of the twelfth century, monastic activities were to a significant extent de-secularised, and as the old monasteries declined the secular MS tradition passed into the care of lay scholars, who begin to appear in separate schools. Yet the feeling seems to have persisted that poetry was the element common to much of this learned activity, the binding agent by which the elements of knowledge were made to cohere. This widespread use of verse is one of the factors which makes it difficult to distinguish clearly between the functions of poet on the one hand and historian or genealogist on the other.

In the *Uraiceċt Becc*, a text which circulated in Scotland as well as in Ireland, the historian is described as the 'tanist' of the master of letters, *i.e.* the one second in rank to the master, and his honour price of four *cumals* (alternatively twelve cows) reflects this high grading (Atkinson 1901:113). The Irish poet Giolla Brighde Mhac Con Midhe, about the year 1259, emphasises the close connection between poetry and history and genealogy,

> 'Were poetry to be suppressed', he says, '. . . with no history, no ancient lays, save that each had a father, nothing of any man would be heard hereafter.'[4]

One of the assumptions here, that the recording of history is a necessary activity, would be widely shared by civilised communities; the other, that verse plays an essential part in this activity, is certainly characteristic of Gaelic society.

For all that, the functions of poet and historian *were* distinguished in the minds of Scottish observers. This appears clearly from late accounts, of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and it may be that a close examination of the surviving work of the MacMhuirich family will throw further light on this matter. I should not be surprised to find that, at least in the more spacious times of the Lordship of the Isles, this family maintained specialists in history and genealogy alongside court poets. John Maclean, writing to Robert Wodrow *c.* 1701, refers to the *Seneciones* who held office, in the family of the Macleans of Mull, up to about 1660, saying that the office lapsed with the death of Muldonich McEoin, evidently of the Ó Muirgheasáin family, about that time. This Muldonich, Maclean adds, had been 34 years at the schools in Ireland (Analecta Scotica 1834: 124). A few years earlier, in 1692, Professor Garden of Aberdeen, in his account of the bardic organisation, distinguishes *philies* from *skealichin* or *sheanachin* saying that the latter two made up the 'second degree' of the organisation, and he defines them as 'narrators of antiquitie and old historie, especialie geneoligies of great persons and families' (C. A. Gordon 1955:22). An account of the 'Genealogie of the Campbells', written before 1678, refers to 'certain persons called Seanachies and Bards (often named by George Buchannan under the Latine form of senathei and Bardi) who were antiquaries, and whose work it was from father to son for many ages, to keep ane account of the genealogies of great families, and their actings, which ordinarly they did put in Irish ryme of a most exquisit frame . . .,' (Macphail 1916:73) and he goes on to refer to members of the MacEwen family, 'who for many ages were Imployed in a lyne of generations to keep records of such genealogies' (*ibid.*:74). In a poem on the death of Donald of Clanranald, composed by his wife, the daughter of MacDonald of Dun-Naomhaig in Islay, presumably in 1618, the poet recalls the entertainment in Donald's house: piping, dicing, the activities of poets, and the use made of 'leabhraichean seanchais/Le falluinge dearga' (*i.e.* books of history, in red bindings), which is an early reference to the colour of the famous and controversial Red Book of Clanranald (A. and A. MacDonald 1911:26).

It must be confessed that there is a disappointing lack of detail in the earlier parts of

the Clanranald Books history of the Clan Donald. Thus we find, for example, the MacMhuirich historian recording the foundation by Ranald son of Somerled of a monastery of Greyfriars at Saddel in Kintyre, but a much fuller and more circumstantial account of the monastery's endowments is contained in the petition made on behalf of the Abbot and convent in 1393, when the confirmation of ancient grants was requested (Macphail 1934: 146 ff.). It is open to us to suppose that the Lord of the Isles' *seanchaidh* would have had a fuller record of this kind, but this is only a supposition. It would seem to have been no longer available to the seventeenth-century historians of Clanranald. Although they were still conscious of their connections with the Lordship their world had contracted, and they were operating on the periphery of a Gaelic order which had already lost its fixed and assured centre.

Similarly, we can say that the Lordship of the Isles itself, despite its assurance, was in some respects 'out on a limb', a survival of an order that may once have embraced much of Scotland. And just as we may see in the more confined activities of Clanranald's court a reflection of conditions at the court of the Lord of the Isles, so we may be justified in seeing the social order in the Lordship as a reflection of conditions in the earlier Gaelic kingdom of Scotland. This at any rate would seem to be true of certain customs and ceremonies. We have already noted the decline of the native legal order in thirteenth-century Scotland, and the survival of a native official in the royal household until that time also (the *rannaire*), whereas such native officials are still appearing in the Gaelic west two or three or four centuries later. Similarly a traditional *seanchaidh* makes a brief but dramatic appearance in 1249, at the inauguration of Alexander III, when he is said to have recited the King's pedigree in Gaelic. It may well be that the late accounts we have of the inauguration of the Lords of the Isles reflect the earlier practice at the courts of Kenneth MacAlpine and his successors.

The Poets

The learned order of poets is the one which survived longest in Scotland, and the one about which we have the fullest information. I shall be guilty of some lack of balance in compressing the following account of them.

We know little of the activities of Gaelic poets in Scotland before the thirteenth century. Some earlier Irish poets are given the obituary title of Ollamh of Ireland and Scotland, and whether or not this title is other than a flamboyant gesture it would be natural to assume that the narrow channel between Kintyre and Antrim would not deter poets from enlarging the more confined circuit of either Ireland or Scotland. In later medieval times there is ample evidence of a two-way traffic not only of poets but of members of all the learned orders. There is no reason to doubt that the leading bardic family in Scotland, the MacMhuirichs, took its origin from Muireadhach Albanach who made a stay in Scotland early in the thirteenth century, and more than one member of the Irish bardic family to which he belonged, the *Ó Dálaighs*, addressed poems to

Scottish nobles, or made circuits in Scotland. The closely maintained contacts between the two countries brought new practitioners of poetry, as of medicine, not only to visit but to settle in Scotland. Among the poets we can number the Ó Muirgheasáins, some of whom apparently were reckoned as historians to the Macleans in Mull before the family appears as bards to MacLeod of Dunvegan in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. There is evidently an overlap between their activities in Mull and Skye. Another family of poets, known to us only through the accident of two quatrains in the Book of the Dean and a few entries in the sixteenth-century Exchequer Rolls, is that of MacMharcuis, probably connected with the bardic family of Clann Chraith in Antrim and Thomond and the ecclesiastical family of that name in Donegal (O'Grady 1926:342–3). Bardic members of this family held the lands of Laggan in N. Kintyre from 1506 to 1541, the tenant in the latter year being Gilnow McMarkische (ER XVII: 626), evidently the 'Gille Neif mac Warkis', or Giolla na Naemh Mac Mharcuis briefly quoted by the Dean. Laggan was still held by the family at the end of the sixteenth century, while a Gillatius Marcius probably disguises a later Giolla na Naemh in Islay in 1624 (Giblin 1964:40), and John and Donald M^c^Marcus still retain reputations for Gaelic scholarship in 1658 and 1700 respectively (MacTavish 1944:177; Sharp 1937:76–77). It may be supposed that Mr Niel Marquis, grocer, Glasgow, subscriber to the second edition of the poems of Duncan Bàn Macintyre, in 1790, was of this family, as well as the famous Gaelic singer of this century, Phemie Marquess.

It seems likely that at least seven generations of the MacEwans were hereditary poets, first to the MacDougalls and later to the Campbells. The late Angus Matheson suggested a link between this family and the Irish bardic family of the O'Hoseys (Matheson 1965:203). A charter of 1558 records the grant of lands in Argyll to this family (Innes 1855:408), while the earliest and latest extant poems which can with probability be ascribed to them belong to the fifteenth and the mid-seventeenth century. The interest of members of this family in genealogical detail is often ill-concealed, and in the main it must be concluded that they were genealogists first and poets afterwards.

The poetry of the MacMhuirichs, if we include Muireadhach, spans the tremendously longer period from the early thirteenth to the mid-eighteenth century, and if we include the Canadian branch, to the early twentieth century.[5] There are fairly clear indications of a long association with Kintyre and the Lords of the Isles, from the thirteenth century to the sixteenth, and of settlement in the lands of the related Clanranald from the sixteenth century onwards. We get an impression of great mobility, in keeping with the traditions of Muireadhach Albanach's flight to Scotland and participation in the 3rd Crusade: thus we have record of a MacMhuirich poet inciting the Clan Donald to battle before Harlaw in 1411, or keeping company with his chief on the night before Aonghas Òg's murder in Inverness in 1490, while members of the family appear as witnesses or servitors or tenants, in Lennox, Skye, Benbecula, and throughout the islands and seaboard of Argyll. We know something of the duties and privileges of

the family, from rentals and tacks as well as from their extant works in prose and poetry: that they held extensive farm-lands in Kintyre, and holdings later in Uist, that they were required to serve both as bards and historians, according to a tack of 1707, and to train up suitable members of their family to succeed to these duties, that the bardic township at one time enjoyed the privilege of sanctuary (MacLeod 1934:176). Martin Martin, who supplies the latter piece of information, says also that 'the poet or bard had a title to the bridegroom's upper garb, that is, the plaid and bonnet; but now he is satisfied with what the bridegroom pleases to give him on such occasions' (*ibid.*:177). Martin Martin's reporting may be a little loose here, as we may recall the famous Irish case at Cork in 1576, when 'one Dermond Odayly in the name and to the use of Odaly Fynyne . . . haith forceably taken of Margaret ny Scally . . . all the rayment that shee did weare, that day being newly mareid, or else the valwe of the same . . . alleadginge the same to be due to the foresaid Odayley of everye womane that is maried throughout all Desmond and McDonoghe countrye because he is their cheef Rymor otherwise called Olowe Dane (O'Rahilly 1922:115–16). There is ample evidence, sometimes wearisome in its frequency, of the interest of the poets in rewards for services rendered, and we can hardly imagine these poets winning the influence and the affluence they evidently had at one time by a devotion to art for art's sake.

Although the Public Records and other documents help us to build up a partial picture of the larger bardic families, we are dependent to a remarkable degree on the Book of the Dean of Lismore for examples of the poetry. This is less true in the case of the MacMhuirichs, but for a line of poets such as that which served the chiefs of the MacGregors we are utterly dependent on the Dean, and many other poets are known only from his cryptic pages. Yet the Dean's anthology is heavily weighted in a geographical sense, concentrating on Perthshire and Argyllshire. His work as a churchman seems to have brought him into close contact with people in Argyllshire who had bardic connections. It can scarcely be doubted that he knew members of the MacMhuirich family, for he includes a good many poems both by members of this family and by their bardic- and blood-relations, the Ó Dálaighs of Ireland. Approximately 15 per cent of the poems in the Dean's Book are by MacMhuirichs or Ó Dálaighs; 10 per cent of his total consists of Ó Dálaigh poems, and perhaps the poems by Gearóid Iarla came to the Dean from the same sources as these. There are large areas, however, of Gaelic Scotland on which he does not touch *e.g.* the whole country north of Inverness, and he scarcely impinges on the islands. In its areas of concentration his book gives us vivid glimpses of the state of Gaelic poetry in his own time and a little earlier, and allows us to make some reasonable general inferences.

Clearly the professional poet was not burdened by the feeling that he had to be original. Neither, we may say, was the professional physician, or lawyer, or historian, or musician. In general, they had an elaborate set of rules on which to base their work. Students of Gaelic classical verse are often amazed by the consistency of the product over several centuries. O'Grady says of the 'Irish-writing leech' that he was a scholastic,

'and successive little revivals of science left him to the last untouched' (O'Grady 1926: 171). The rigidity of the legal system has often been remarked. In the end, we may perhaps say that the learned orders impaled themselves on the stake of this rigidity. The close literary corporation was in earlier times a source of strength, but its esoteric virtues did not flourish in the more open and fluid society which came in the wake of printing and the Renaissance. Much less could it hope to keep any popular hold in the world of universal sub-literacy to which modern states aspire. There was no head-on collision between the University schools of law and medicine on the one hand and the native learned orders on the other, but the latter withered quietly away. We may say, brutally but I think honestly, that it was time they did, for they had too long survived the medieval world to which they belonged, and had become irrelevant. But equally, we can hardly insist too strongly on the relevance of a study of these learned orders in their proper medieval setting.

If I may risk a brief summary of this large and ill-digested topic, I would emphasise the following points. The Scottish evidence suggests that there was a close correspondence with Ireland in the organisation of society, and especially in the organisation of the learned and literary orders, but that Gaelic Scotland leaned heavily on Irish initiative, periodically and consistently importing literary, medical, scribal and musical professionals from the *maior Scotia*, and even when these immigrants became thoroughly naturalised, continuing to send them back to Ireland to the springs of the native learning. Yet the obligations were not all on the one side, for there was a free movement of poets at least, Irish poets making their offerings to Scottish patrons from the early thirteenth century onwards, while we find Scottish scribes plying their craft in Ireland. Such evidence as we have suggests that the legal order broke rank in Scotland earlier than in Ireland, perhaps because of a strong admixture of Norse thought and practice. The other learned orders break rank too, but not at the same time. The physicians and the clergy (who in many respects can be regarded as a native learned order, with affiliations somewhat similar to those of the secular orders) seem to have had a readier command of Latin than the litterateurs, and so found it easier to become absorbed in Medieval society. The Church, sharing with the secular learned orders the patronage of nobles and chiefs, attracted many members, probably younger sons, of the learned families, and lax ideas about celibacy and church property enabled the clergy to establish hereditary lines on the pattern of the secular ones. The conservatism of the learned orders, and of Gaelic society as a whole, made for the very late survival of medieval and perhaps pre-medieval thought and practice in Gaelic Scotland, but left Gaelic society ill-prepared to adapt to new conditions, so that only a slender eighteenth-century link connects the bilingual literacy of the late Middle Ages with the University-based literacy of professional people in modern times.[6]

NOTES

1 The scribe was possibly a member of another medical family; at any rate, a 'Ewane oig Mcphaill mediciner and servitor' to Sir Donald Campbell of Ardnamurchan, is a witness to a document of 1631–2 (Innes 1859: 276).
2 Possibly from 1432, if we regard John Mauritii, who appears in the records of the Apostolic Camera for that year, as a MacMhuirich (see A. I. Cameron 1934: 107).
3 Inscription on tombstone in Keil Churchyard, Southend.
4 Quoted by Eleanor Knott in Carney 1966: 60.
5 For a more extended discussion of this family see Thomson 1966.
6 In conclusion, I should like to add that this study is in its early stages, and that it is capable of considerable expansion and refinement.

ABBREVIATIONS

ER *The Exchequer Rolls of Scotland.* Eds. J. Stuart, et alia. Edinburgh 1878–1908.

OPS *Origines Parochiales Scotiae.* Bannatyne Club. 1851–5.

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part two

A recent photograph of Border Leicester sheep and lambs in the Scottish Lowlands (International Wool Secretariat)

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12

PART TWO

1968

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Scottish Studies

VOLUME 12 PART 2

81 An Old Highland Parish Register. Survivals of Clanship and Social Change in Laggan, Inverness-shire, 1775–1869. II
ALAN G. MACPHERSON

113 Jeannie Robertson: Portrait of a Traditional Singer
HERSCHEL GOWER

127 The Evolution of Scottish Breeds of Sheep
MICHAEL RYDER

169 Problems and Experiments in the Notational Method of Vocal Transcription
JAMES PORTER

Notes on Collection and Research

179 Scottish Place Names: 30 *Fintry* W. F. H. NICOLAISEN
183 An Old Estate Plan of Auchindrain, Mid-Argyll HORACE FAIRHURST
187 A Note on Timothy Pont's Survey of Scotland IAN A. G. KINNIBURGH
190 *Logaidh Longsach* ALAN BRUFORD
193 Two More Stories from Atholl: Addenda ALAN BRUFORD

Book Reviews

194 *Celtica* MYLES DILLON
195 *The New History of Cumnock* by John Strawhorn BASIL SKINNER
197 *Le Conte Populaire Français*, I and II, by Paul Delarue and Marie-Louise Tenèze RICHARD DORSON
200 *Central and North Fife* by R. G. Cant A. FENTON
201 *The Court Books of Orkney and Shetland 1614–1615*, edited by R. S. Barclay MARGARET D. YOUNG
203 *Uppies and Doonies: The Story of the Kirkwall Ba' Game* by John Robertson A. B. TAYLOR
205 Books Received
207 Scottish Studies in 1967 : an Annual Bibliography W. F. H. NICOLAISEN
219 Index

Contributors to this Issue

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An Old Highland Parish Register

Survivals of Clanship and Social Change in Laggan, Inverness-shire, 1775-1854

II

ALAN G. MACPHERSON

The first part of this article (Macpherson 1967:149–92) concluded with the statement that proof for the continuance of the agnatic principle as the basis of the social structure of Highland communities after 1775, and perhaps after 1800, must be sought in something more fundamental than continued association between clan and land. It was suggested that proof that the clan system was still operating socially at the beginning of the nineteenth century could be found in a consideration of marriage patterns. Part II, therefore, is devoted to an analysis of the parochial register of Laggan to reveal the patterns of endogamy within each clan in the community, exogamy between clans and with strangers, farm endogamy, residence after marriage, local migration of families, and illegitimate birth which prevailed between 1775 and 1854.

II *The Community in Laggan: Marriage Patterns*

1 *Endogamous Marriage*

Endogamous marriage is known to have prevailed among the Macphersons during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries—both within the *Clann Mhuirich* generally and within each of the three major *sliochdan* or maximal lineages into which it was divided (Macpherson 1966:16–18). An examination of Sir Aeneas Macpherson of Invereshie's *Genealogies of the McPhersons*, restricted to those families in which the marriages of both brothers *and* sisters are recorded, provides the following statistical picture:

	Total nos.	*Endogamous proportion*	*Nos.*	*Men Endogamous*	*Nos.*	*Women Endogamous*
Sliochd Choinnich	188	53%	90	40%	98	60%
Sliochd Iain	115	57%	58	55%	57	60%

These figures suggest that there was a strong tendency for individual clansmen and clanswomen to marry within the clan, with the tendency stronger among women than men and stronger among the men of the *Sliochd Iain* than among those of the *Sliochd Choinnich*. The prevalence of endogamy in the *Clann Mhuirich* in the seventeenth century raises questions as to its incidence in the same clan and in other clans during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Statistical analysis of the data in the Laggan Register provides the answers for one Highland community, as presented in Table II.

Table II records the incidence of endogamous marriage in ten of the leading clans and families of the Laggan community during the periods 1775–1800, 1801–25, and 1826–54. The statistical 'population' consists of all recorded marriages, with and without consequent baptisms, and all marital unions appearing only in baptismal entries, but excludes families where only one parent's surname is on record. No illegitimate unions, or those ambiguous cases which are suspected to have been illegitimate unions, were included. Individual husbands and wives were assigned to the period in which the marriage or the first baptism occurred; unlike Table I, therefore, no individual was counted in more than one period.[1] In addition to the percentages of husbands and wives supplied by each clan, the Table presents the number and percentages of husbands from each clan who elected to enter endogamous unions. The number of endogamous wives would, of course, be the same; but the percentage of wives from each clan who married endogamously would differ from the percentage of endogamous husbands: among the Macphersons the figure would drop to 50 per cent, among the MacIntoshes it would rise to 50 per cent, and among the MacIntyres it would rise to 35·7 per cent.

In any community where one or two surnames are very common a certain number of marriages between individuals of those surnames is bound to occur unless it is expressly forbidden. In a community in which clanship forms the basis of the social structure such marriages can be described as endogamous, but their occurrence is governed by the simple statistical probabilities (and not by any rules of the society) just as in the case of a community without such a basis. If there is a random or free choice of marriage partner, that is, if the aspiring spouse's choice is not affected by socially enforced rules of endogamy or exogamy, and secondly, if each clan or family provides eligible marriage partners, both men and women, in proportions more or less equal to the proportion which each clan forms of the whole community and more or less uniformly so over a sufficient period of time: then the proportion of random endogamous marriages within each clan during that period of time will tend to be the same as the proportion which each clan forms of the community as a whole. The corollary is that if the proportion of endogamous marriages within a particular clan is significantly higher than the proportion which that clan forms of the community, then a socially inspired tendency towards endogamy is indicated. Conversely, if the percentage of endogamous marriages falls well below that expected from the percentage of the community belonging to that clan, then this would point to a cultural preference for exogamy. Table II indicates that there was a marked tendency towards endogamous marriage in

TABLE II

The incidence of endogamous marriage

	1775–1800						1801–1825						1826–1854					
	Husbands		*Wives*		*Endogamous husbands*		*Husbands*		*Wives*		*Endogamous husbands*		*Husbands*		*Wives*		*Endogamous husbands*	
	Nos.	%	*Nos.*	%	*Nos.*	%	*Nos.*	%	*Nos.*	%	*Nos.*	%	*Nos.*	%	*Nos.*	%	*Nos.*	%
Macpherson	112	34·78	126	39·15	63	56·25	58	31·52	63	34·24	31	53·45	49	20·0	40	16·4	13	26·53
MacDonald	58	18·0	56	17·39	19	32·75	36	19·56	30	16·3	7	19·4	54	22·13	49	20·1	17	31·5
MacIntosh	23	7·14	14	4·35	7	30·4	5	2·7	4	2·17	1	20·0	6		15		0	
MacIntyre	18	5·58	14	4·35	5	27·8	12	6·52	10	5·43	3	25·0	4		11		0	
Kennedy	14	4·34	11	3·41	1	7·14	11		3		0		15	6·15	15	6·14	1	6·66
Campbell	8	2·48	10	3·1	1	12·5	5		7		0		8		3		0	
Cattanach	7	2·18	7	2·18	2	28·57	1		1		0		3		3		0	
MacGregor	5		6		0		4	2·17	7	3·8	1	25·0	8	3·28	7	2·87	1	12·5
Clerk	4		6		0		3	1·63	7	3·8	3	100·0	0		0		0	
Leslie	3	0·93	7	2·18	1	33·33	2		3		0		0		1		0	
TOTALS (100%)	322		322				184		184				244		244			

the Laggan community which could only have resulted from social rules or pressures inherent in the clan system as practised in the Highlands.

Table II demonstrates that most of the clans and families with deep roots in Laggan continued to set a value upon the custom of endogamy until at least the end of the eighteenth century. The percentage of endogamous marriages tended to rise with the size of the stake which each clan had in the community: the Macphersons, with the greatest stake both numerically and politically, far exceeded the other large clans in the rate of endogamous marriage among them, and maintained this exceptionally high rate until 1825, after which the MacDonalds became more numerous and took the lead. It is particularly noteworthy that the rate of endogamous marriage maintained among the Macphersons until 1825 was the same as that which prevailed in the seventeenth century.

Although the rates of endogamous marriage before 1800 were highest among the Macphersons and MacDonalds, they were less than twice those expected from a purely random choice of marriage partner. Among the less numerous MacIntoshes, MacIntyres and Campbells, on the other hand, the rate were four or five times—and among the Cattanachs over thirteen times—the random rate. The precise circumstances in which endogamous marriage was encouraged are not known, and the Register cannot be expected to help from the limited nature of its information. But an endogamous rule or tendency must always be directed towards social or group interests and goals rather than to the fortunes of individual families or persons. Its existence in the Laggan community, therefore, must represent the larger interests of the *clann* and *sliochdan*, and provides the most striking proof that these continued as viable entities within the social structure until at least the end of the eighteenth century, and in the case of the Macphersons until about 1825. The exceptionally large disparities between the actual and random rates of endogamous marriage among the smaller clans, consequently, can only be interpreted as indicating an attack upon or, more probably, a defence of a *status quo* in the distribution of heritable tenure rights.

It may be argued against this conclusion that the existence of unexpectedly high ratios between the actual and random rates of endogamous marriage among the smaller clans (including the MacGregors between 1801 and 1854) was due to the occurrence of *single* marriages within clans already insignificant numerically. It may be argued, for instance, that *one* close-cousin marriage in each of these clans would quite adequately account for the unexpectedly high ratios. First- and second-cousin marriage, of course, is usually the result of personal affinity within individual families and has nothing to do with a social rule of endogamy; it is just as likely to occur under exogamous conditions where its incidence will tend to be concealed, at least in data of the sort we are using here. Its occurrence within an agnatic group could not be used to prove the existence of endogamy as a social characteristic. Close-cousin marriage might well account for the percentages and ratios among the Kennedies, and perhaps the MacGregors, who were relatively recent arrivals in Laggan, and it must certainly have been involved in

the single Leslie-Leslie marriage recorded in the Register. It cannot, however, account for the marriage patterns of the MacIntoshes, Cattanachs, MacIntyres and—between 1801 and 1825—the Clerks, all of whom consisted of long-established *sliochdan* or lineages. Close-cousin marriage, which implies some inbreeding, was fairly frequently in Highland districts during the later nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. But agnatic first- and second-cousin marriages were conspicuous by their absence among the Macphersons during the seventeenth century, and the writer is therefore of the opinion that their general frequency in the later period was, in fact, a symptom of social disintegration. Endogamy, on the other hand, does not necessarily imply close inbreeding, and it probably had less genetic effect in Laggan than the close-cousin marriages concealed among the exogamous unions. Its real, and intended, effect was social and economic, and is to be sought in the influence which it had upon the destination of heritable tenure rights. Endogamy is a social device for integrating particular strands within a society and for regulating their group interests from generation to generation. These strands, among the Highlanders, were the agnatic clans.

Although the processed data in Table II provide sufficient evidence of the importance of endogamy among the resident *clann* of the Laggan community, they show little apparent consistency from *clann* to *clann*. In the period 1775–1800 the MacDonalds, MacIntoshes, MacIntyres and Cattanachs all approached 30 per cent, while in the period 1801–25 the MacDonalds, MacIntoshes, MacIntyres and MacGregors all fell between 19 and 25 per cent; in both periods, however, the exceptionally high percentages among the Macphersons set them apart from the others. If, however, the divergence of the actual rate from the theoretical (random) rate is given consideration, a different pattern emerges. In this case the Macphersons, MacIntoshes and MacIntyres—the larger Clanchattan *clann*—all came close to 20 per cent in both periods, and the Cattanachs and MacGregors joined them in the first and second periods respectively; of the old Badenoch *clann* it was the MacDonalds who, by this criterion, were behaving abnormally. The remarkable decline of endogamy among the MacDonalds in the period 1801–25, and its even more remarkable recrudescence in the period 1826–54—measured both by the absolute percentages and by their divergence from the random ratio—seem to indicate that a peculiar set of conditions existed in this clan. As the pattern is paralleled by their numerical decline and recovery, heavy emigration and a later phase of immigration from western parishes may have been responsible. In other words, it is suggested that a process of replacement occurred among the MacDonalds which did not affect the Clanchattan clans.

The choice of a partner in the formation of an endogamous marriage was not, of course, confined to the parish of Laggan. The most impressive evidence that endogamous marriage and the associated principle of clan interest continued to transcend the parish boundaries, just as they had done in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, is provided by the Macphersons and MacDonalds. Of twenty-two endogamous marriages recorded among the Macphersons between 1775 and 1800, no fewer than six involved partners

from the parishes of Kingussie and Alvie-Insh in lower Badenoch. The MacDonalds, on the other hand, tended to look toward Lochaber and Rannoch where the lineage structures of their clan were traditionally entrenched. The evidence for both clans throughout the entire period of the Register demonstrates the continued social cohesion of the clans up to about 1800 and its weakening thereafter. The Register only records two endogamous marriages among the MacGregors, both of which involved extra-parochial husbands residing in places remote from Laggan: a vintner in Perth in 1819, and a man from Inchnadamph in Assynt in 1849. The evidence is not forthcoming as to whether these men had had earlier associations with Laggan or not. A MacIntosh marriage of 1799 involved a wife from the parish of Kingussie; a Kennedy marriage of 1833 another from Inverroy in the parish of Kilmonivaig.

Table II demonstrates the waning of the tendency towards endogamy. Of the ten clans or families listed as practising the custom between 1775 and 1825, only four maintained it after the latter date. All four show smaller percentages over one or other of the preceding periods and a convergence between the random (theoretical) and actual rates. Among the Kennedies, in fact, the two rates are almost equal. The primacy assumed after 1825 by the MacDonalds in the community, numerically and in terms of the rate of endogamous marriage, reflects the greater divergence from a random selection of marriage partner in that clan as compared with the Macphersons and suggests that the continued prevalence of the custom among the MacDonalds may have been associated with the late phase of immigration into Laggan by clansmen from the west. In general however, the decline in the custom of endogamy towards the middle of the nineteenth century can be taken as a symptom of the final demise of clanship in the Highland communities at that time. Thereafter, men chose their wives without reference to the agnatic lineage structures to which they and their wives had formerly belonged.

2 Exogamous Marriage

If endogamous marriage was instrumental in protecting the political and economic interests of the clan from internal weakness and in bringing lineages which had been diverging agnatically from the major *sliochdan* for some generations into closer degrees of kinship, exogamous marriage was responsible for maintaining affinal kinship within the community. It was important to the cohesion of the whole parish and to the maintenance of 'good neighbourhood' in each of the communal or conjoint farms. Farm-endogamy, as distinct from clan-endogamy, corresponds, however, to *patri-matrilocal residence* whenever a family resulted in the same farm, and this will therefore be left to discussion under that heading. But it should be noted here that, among the Macpherson families, a very high proportion of those that were patri-matrilocal (farm-endogamous) were also clan-endogamous, and will therefore not enter the present discussion.

Examination of the Register of Laggan over the whole period between 1775 and

1854 reveals a number of features which are significant in understanding the role of exogamy. Stated categorically, these will also help to simplify the presentation of the relevant data in Table III:

(*a*) The Macphersons, both men and women, intermarried with virtually all the other clans and families in the community, besides marrying individuals from outside the parish.

(*b*) The MacDonald women, similarly, married men of virtually all the established surnames and extra-parochial strangers.

(*c*) The MacDonald men married in like fashion, with the exception of the ancient MacAlchynichs or MacKenzies and the newly-established Leslies and Tolmies, all very few in numbers and relatively insecure in their rights as compared with other clans.

(*d*) No marriages occurred among the MacAlchynichs, Clerks, MacKay/Davidsons, and Gows: that is, the old pre-Clanchattan and smaller Clanchattan clans of Badenoch. One exception, a MacKenzie-Davidson marriage of 1829, produced no offspring and the partners probably left the parish.

(*e*) No marriages occurred between the MacIntyres and MacGregors, the two 'broken' clans adopted into the Clanchattan of Badenoch, despite the fact that some twenty-seven men and twenty-seven women of the MacIntyres and some fourteen men and seventeen women of the MacGregors formed this kind of alliance with others during the period.

(*f*) No marriages occurred among the Tolmies, Leslies and Andersons, all relatively recent arrivals among the possessors of land in the parish, and all very few in numbers, marrying exogamously: Tolmies, 24; Leslies, 15; Andersons, 6.

(*g*) There were very few marriages between the smaller Clanchattan clans on the one hand and the MacIntyres and MacGregors on the other: a MacIntyre-Davidson marriage in 1808 (no baptisms); a MacGregor-Clerk marriage about 1779; and a MacGregor-MacKenzie marriage in 1831 (husband from the parish of Dores). None of the men of the Clanchattan married women of the 'broken' clans.

(*h*) There were few marriages between the smaller clans of the Clanchattan and the incoming Tolmies, Leslies and Andersons: a Tolmie-MacKay marriage just prior to 1777, and a Tolmie-MacAlchynich marriage in 1785,—both farm-endogamous in Gergask; an Anderson-MacKenzie marriage about 1810, a MacAlchynich (Gergask) -Tolmie (Pitgown) marriage in 1794, and a Smith-Tolmie marriage in 1840 (husband from parish of Kingussie).

(*i*) There were no marriages between the MacIntyres and MacGregors on the one hand and the incoming Tolmies and Andersons on the other; and only two MacGregor-Leslie marriages (1776 and 1816), one MacIntyre-Leslie marriage in 1830 (a late second marriage for her), and one Leslie-MacIntyre marriage (1815, no baptisms).

(*j*) There were very few marriages between the Kennedies and either the smaller Clanchattan clans, the 'broken' clans, or the small incoming families. So far as the Kennedy women were concerned, there was no marriage into any of these groups except an Anderson-Kennedy marriage of 1828 (no baptisms). Among the men the following occurred: Kennedy-Clerk (about 1813), -MacKenzie (1815), -MacIntyre (about 1810, and 1848 without baptisms); there were none with the newcomers.

(*k*) There were practically no marriages among Laggan members of clans dominant in neighbouring districts: the Camerons, Campbells, Frasers, Grants, Robertsons and Stewarts. Exceptions were a Campbell-Stewart marriage (1781) and three Cameron-Stewart marriages (1780, 1781, 1782).

(*l*) The 'neighbour' clans married freely with virtually all other families and clans in the community.

From these statements it is clear that, in practice, exogamy was greatly restricted within a Highland community such as that of Laggan. If the various dependent clans and families generally avoided exogamous relationships among themselves, then exogamy must in fact have been directed towards establishing and maintaining relationships of kinship between them and the dominant clans of the community, *viz.* the Macphersons and MacDonalds. The evidence for this is presented in Table III.

The total number of exogamous alliances in Laggan between 1775 and 1854 amounted to 568. Of this number some 31 (5·4 per cent) were between individuals neither of whom belonged to a clan or family with established rights of possession in the parish; these are excluded from Table III. Another 155 marriages (27·3 per cent) involved one partner, man or woman, who was a stranger; of these, 26·4 per cent (41) were to Macphersons and 27·1 per cent to MacDonalds. Curiously enough, a fairly high proportion of those involving MacDonald men and women and Macpherson men—particularly after 1825—produced no baptisms and may have left the parish, but this did not apply to Macpherson women who tended to remain in the parish with their 'stranger' husbands and raise families. In attempting to determine the role of exogamy within the established part of the community these marriages with strangers will also be ignored, although it should be recognised that the stranger husbands were usually Highlanders from other districts who entered the competition for possession of land by joining the community. The total 'population', therefore, consists of 382 marriages. Bearing in mind that this total includes marriages between Macphersons and MacDonalds, 290 of them included at least one partner from either of these clans; that is, these two clans between them engrossed about 76 per cent of all exogamous interests in rights to possession of land in the parish.

Table III shows that, over the whole period of the Register, dependence upon the Macphersons exceeded that upon the MacDonalds for all groups except the MacIntoshes, Cattanachs and men of the smaller Clanchattan clans. This in itself would seem to be sufficient indication of the primacy of the Macphersons in Laggan where possession

of land was concerned. It would also seem to indicate that this primacy was inoperative so far as the MacIntoshes were concerned, and that the relationship between the two clans was somewhat abnormal, even after 1775. This is a matter that we shall return to shortly.

TABLE III

Exogamous marriage patterns among clans possessing land in Laggan, 1775–1854

Established clans marrying exogamously			*Macpherson*		*MacDonald*		*Marriage dependence on*	
			men	*women*	*men*	*women*	*Macphersons* %	*Macdonalds* %
Macphersons	men	87				20		23·0
	women	105			36			34·3
MacDonalds	men	83		36			43·4	
	women	71	20				28·2	
MacIntosh/ Cattanachs	men	34		4		11	11·8	32·3
	women	32	2		13		6·25	40·6
Clanchattan (small clans)	men	32		7		9	21·9	28·1
	women	34	9		6		26·5	17·6
Broken clans (MacIntyres/ MacGregors)	men	36		18		8	50·0	22·2
	women	33	15		7		45·5	21·2
Kennedies	men	34		18		6	53·0	17·6
	women	23	10		6		43·5	26·0
Tolmies/ Leslies/ Andersons	men	17		5		4	29·4	23·5
	women	20	6		1		30·0	5·0
Neighbour Clans	men	59		17		13	28·8	22·0
	women	63	24		14		38·1	22·2

The primacy of the Macphersons (and their abnormal relationship with the MacIntoshes) is made clearer if the dependence coefficients for each group are compared with the prevalence of the Macphersons available in the exogamous 'population': men, 22·8 per cent; women, 27·3 per cent. On this basis, the dependence of the MacDonalds rested far more, and of the 'broken' clans and Kennedies slightly more, upon the Macpherson women than upon their men; whereas the smaller Clanchattan clans, the small group of newcomers and the neighbour clans, particularly the last, depended more upon the Macpherson men than their women. (This situation, incidentally, seems to justify the classification of the clans which has been adopted here.) It would seem that successful acquisition of rights to possession of land by one clan replacing another was

achieved mainly by marriage to the women of the outgoing clan. As we shall see, sons-in-law replaced fathers-in-law, often as a result of matrilocal residence.

When the data from 1775 to 1800—when the Macpherson men formed 22·2 per cent, their women, 33·1 per cent of the exogamous 'population'—is compared with Table III, it is possible to discover the trend from the first generation to the third. Table IV represents the disparities for each group from the random percentages, that is, from those prevailing if exogamy was not subject to social direction, for the periods 1775–1800 and 1775–1854.

TABLE IV

Changing patterns of dependence upon the Macphersons and MacDonalds by exogamy

Clan groups	*Dependence on Macphersons* (%) *1775–1800*		*1775–1854*		*Dependence on MacDonalds* (%) *1775–1800*		*1775–1854*	
	men	*women*	*men*	*women*	*men*	*women*	*men*	*women*
Macphersons					+8	+12	+4	+12
MacDonalds	+16	+5	+21	+10				
MacIntosh/ Cattanachs	−15	−16	−23	−22	+20	+28	+14	+19
Smaller Clanchattan	−5	+4	−12	−0·8	+10	0	+10	−4
'Broken' clans	+23	+23	+11	+36	+3	−5	+4	0
Kennedies	+26	+21	+44	+48	−19	−12	−1	+4
Newcomers	+2	+7	0	−8	−2	−22	+5	−17
Neighbour clans	+1·5	+15	+6	+11	+4	−5	+3	0

From this it is clear that, during the first generation, the MacDonalds and especially the Kennedies were less, the men of the 'broken' clans more, their women less, the men of the neighbour clans less, their women more, and the newcomers generally more dependent upon the Macphersons than they were later. This is perfectly consonant with the relative rise to primacy by the MacDonalds after 1800 which was observed in the first part of this article (Macpherson 1967).

The MacDonald men, on the other hand, formed 21·9 per cent of the exogamous 'population' between 1775 and 1800, and 21·8 per cent between 1775 and 1854, while their women formed 19·1 per cent in the first part of the period, 18·6 per cent during the whole period. Table IV shows very clearly that dependence upon the MacDonalds declined somewhat for Macpherson men, but remained stationary and was always consistently higher for their women; it declined for the MacIntoshes, but was nevertheless always consistently higher for their women than their men; it remained more or less the same for the smaller Clanchattan clans, but was always high for their men and negative for their women; it was always slight for the 'broken' clans, and negative

(though less so after 1800) for the Kennedies, particularly their women; it was always markedly negative for the women of the newcomers; and was always slight for the neighbour clans. Table IV, in fact, confirms the inferences drawn from the perusal of Table III.

The negative coefficients which were found to characterise the relationship between the MacIntoshes and the Macphersons can only be interpreted as the result of antipathy between the two clans. It betokens a determination on the part of at least one of them to avoid commitments through marriage that might lead to loss of *duthchas* within its traditional territory. It is strange, however, considering the superiority in numbers and territory enjoyed by the Macphersons in Laggan, to find the only supporting piece of documentary evidence coming from them. In the larger context of Badenoch or Inverness-shire the strangeness rather disappears. Marriage between these clans was not avoided prior to 1700, as already noted (Macpherson 1967:149–92), but in 1701 Sir Aeneas Macpherson of Invereshie wrote in his *Loyall Dissuasive* to his chief, Duncan of Clunie:

> For the future make no family allyance with the McIntoshes:that is, give none of your daughters to their children. . . . It is likewise no less convenient . . . that your friends avoid marrying any of their sons to the daughters of that family. (Murdoch 1902:89).

It would appear that this advice was adopted as a matter of policy, and that it became a custom which was not only still in practice after 1775, but was actually strengthened after 1800 (Table IV).

It may be surmised that the custom of avoiding marriage ties between Macphersons and MacIntoshes was observed by the latter as well as the former. If so, it goes a long way to explaining how the MacDonalds gained ground in Laggan. The high dependence of the MacIntoshes, particularly their women, on the MacDonalds for marriage partners would seem to indicate the avenue along which the latter moved to acquire possession of land between Crathiemore and Gaskmore prior to 1800. It is evident, therefore, and despite their smaller numbers, that the *Sliochd Iain Léith* and *Sliochd Dhomhnaill Ghlais* MacIntoshes should be regarded as a dominant clan, at least within their own enclave in Laggan.

As in the case of endogamous marriage, exogamy brought extra-parochial partners into the community. Analysis of the 237 families for which marriage and baptismal entries are recorded shows that 14·3 per cent (34 families) included a spouse who had joined the community by marrying a member of an established clan. Half of these marriages occurred after 1825, indicating once more that a trend away from a more stable pattern took place after that date. There were nine such marriages between 1779 and 1800, six of which included a spouse from the neighbouring parish of Kingussie; the others introduced a MacGlashan girl from the parish of Moulin in Atholl, John Eason, one of a well-known family of masons in Atholl, and Anne Shaw, a younger daughter of William Shaw, last tacksman of his name in Dalnavert (Alvie), who married

Capt. Donald Macpherson of Gaskmore on 29 January 1795 (Macpherson 1893:183, 184; Paton 1903:No. 882). Two of these marriages, both involving Kingussie men and Macpherson girls, were matrilocal: a MacLean from Glentromie married a Macpherson in Drumgaskinloan in 1784, and a MacIntyre from Glenbanchor married a Macpherson in Crubenbeg in 1783.

Between 1801 and 1825 eight more extra-parochial spouses married into the Laggan community, only one of whom came from the parish of Kingussie. Two others, however, came from the neighbouring western parish of Kilmonivaig in the Braes of Lochaber: both Camerons marrying Macphersons. The rest were from the distant parishes of Knockando in lower Speyside, Kiltarlity in the Aird of Inverness, Urray in the Black Isle, and Lismore in Loch Linnhe, and from Oban. Four of the eight marriages involved matrilocal residence with Macpherson and MacDonald wives: John Stevenson from Oban, later a storekeeper in Laggan, married a daughter of John *Ruadh* Macpherson, tacksman of the farm of Lower Clunie, in 1816; William MacKenzie from Kiltarlity married a MacDonald girl in the Glebe of Laggan at Gaskbeg in 1822; John MacKeich from Lismore married a MacDonald in Crathiemore in 1824; and Dougald Cameron from Kilmonivaig married a Macpherson in Muckcoul in the same year.

Between 1826 and 1854 exogamous marriages with extra-parochial partners rose to seventeen, involving five from Kingussie, five from Alvie and Insh, two from Abernethy in lower Strathspey (both with Tolmie men), and individuals from the distant parishes of Duthil in Strathspey, Cawdor in Nairn, Inverness, Urquhart in the Black Isle, and Snizort in Skye. Matrilocal residence was assumed by a Campbell from Snizort who married a MacDonald in Balgown in 1831, by a Smith (Gow) from Kingussie who married a Tolmie in Croft of Blargie in 1840, and by a Stewart from Newtonmore in Kingussie who married a MacIntyre in Catlaig in 1842.

Besides the common case where other clans were introduced to the community by the assumption of matrilocal residence, there is also some evidence that extra-parochial wives of leading men often brought kinsmen with them for whom provision had to be made. Donald Macpherson, for instance, mentions the MacIntoshes (*Tòisich a' Bhràighe*), the *Dubh-shuilich* Stewarts, and the Irish Boyles and Burkes (*Na Burcaich*) in the Braes of Lochaber as having joined the *Clann Raghnaill* in virtue of marriages between their kinswomen and chiefs of the *Clann Raghnaill* (Macpherson 1879:368–75). The Laggan Register records what is possibly a late instance of this at a somewhat lower level of society, comparable perhaps to the circumstances that brought some of the MacGregors to Laggan, namely the arrival of the MacKillops, a minor *clann* of the *Clann Raghnaill* of Lochaber.

Just prior to 1796 William Macpherson in Muckcoul, probably a member of the former wadsetter family of Muckcoul, married Ann MacKillop. It would then appear that she was able to introduce menfolk of her clan into Muckcoul where men and women of this name are recorded as resident between 1833 and 1854, and whence they spread into other farms in Laggan. In 1828 Angus MacKillop in Gaskmore married one

of the MacGregors in Balgown, and in 1833 Alexander MacKillop in Muckcoul married one of the Kennedies in Balgown; as a consequence of either of which marriages a John MacKillop appeared in Balgown in 1848. Others, probably shepherds, were living in Catlaig (Catlodge), Crathie Croy and Drumgask, and on Lochlaggan-side during the 1840s and 1850s.

3 Farm-endogamy

So far, in this paper, the term *endogamous* has been used to refer to clan-endogamy, that is, to marriage between persons of the same clan or agnatic group. Similarly, *exogamous* has been used to refer to marriage between persons of different clans. The Laggan Register reveals, however, that an appreciable number of marital unions were formed between persons belonging to the same farm, irrespective of their clan affiliations. The following table presents the relative position of farm-endogamy among all those with recorded marriages:

	1775–1800	*1801–1825*	*1826–1854*	*1775–1854*
Families				
total	96	60	82	238
farm-endogamous	20	15	7	42
% farm-endogamous	20·8	25	8·5	17·6
Couples (no baptisms)				
total	41	30	99	170
farm-endogamous	10	8	17	35
% farm-endogamous	25	26·6	17	20
All couples	21·9%	25·5%	13·2%	18·8%

Just as clan-endogamy maintained the cohesion of the clan, and clan-exogamy the solidarity of the whole community, so farm-endogamy had the effect of making each conjoint farm a tight-knit little community of its own. The necessity for 'good neighbourhood' was even more important within the conjoint farm than it was between adjacent farms, and affinal ties undoubtedly helped to maintain it. They probably also helped to reinforce the tenure rights of relative newcomers to the farm by alliance with old-established families that could claim *duthchas*. And where numbers of tenants on a farm were reduced by reason of agrarian reform, emigration, eviction, or the operation of the positive Malthusian checks of famine, epidemic or war (Malthus 1830:32 *et seq.*), farm-endogamy may well have facilitated the amalgamation of holdings in both the traditional runrig system and the glebe-system of the Improvement. The table seems to indicate, particularly in terms of the resident families, that the rate of

farm-endogamous marriages increased in the first quarter of the nineteenth century in response to agrarian reform and emigration, followed by a drastic reduction in the second quarter of the century as the conjoint glebe-system gave way to more general sheep-farming and the farm communities disappeared.

Examination of the individual cases of farm-endogamy reveals further aspects of the role which this played in Laggan. In the first place, all but one of the forty-two cases involved at least one spouse belonging to one of the established clans of the parish; the exception consisted of two immigrant farm servants who married at Gallovie in 1832. Half of the cases involved a Macpherson, thirteen involved a MacDonald. In fact, thirty-six cases involved spouses both of whom belonged to the established clans. Of the five cases which included an extra-parochial spouse, three were matrilocal: the men were John Anderson, the smith in Tynrich who founded the Anderson family in Laggan (1786), Alexander Dallas, a weaver in Balgown (1791), and Kenneth Logan, the grieve at Breakachie (1842); their respective wives were a MacDonald, a MacGregor, and a Macpherson.

The last-mentioned cases point to another feature of the role of farm-endogamy: incidence of marriages which involved men who were artisans or professionals. There were four or five occurrences where this was the case in each of the three periods into which we have divided the record:

1775–1800: miller (MacDonald), smith (Anderson), tailor (Macpherson), wright (Macpherson), and weaver (Dallas);
1801–1825: miller (MacDonald), farm servant (MacDonald), innkeeper (Macpherson), shepherd (Macpherson); shepherd (Davidson).
1826–1854: schoolmaster (Macpherson), grieve (Logan), shepherd (Kennedy), and gamekeeper (MacKay).

For these men it would appear that the value of farm-endogamy remained high, permitting amalgamation of artisan or professional skills with such residence rights and possible land tenure rights as might also accrue to their wives.

Finally, it should be noted that of the forty-two cases of farm-endogamy twelve were also clan-endogamous. Nine of them occurred prior to 1805; nine of them concerned Macphersons, including two in 1831 and 1834; and other couples concerned were MacDonalds in Gallovie, Leslies in Gaskbeg, and MacIntyres in Presmuckerach.

4 Patrilocal and Matrilocal Residence

Examination of the information available on residence after marriage throws further light on the relationship between *duthchas* right and the agnatic principle. Analysis, in this case, must confine itself to those families where a marriage was recorded, where the place of residence of both spouses before marriage is given, and where the place of first baptism is stated. The Register of Laggan records some 220 such marriages, of

which six were constituted by spouses neither of whom had any traditional or historical connection with the parish; several others were deficient in the information required. The statistical 'population' which is available, therefore, consists of 203 families, which are taken to be reasonably representative of the much larger number for whom no marriage entry exists. Examination focuses on the patterns of residence among the various clans of the community, the changing incidence among the various clans of the community, the changing incidence of different kinds of residence with time, and the relationship of matrilocal residence to places traditionally associated with particular clans.

Table V shows the breakdown of ten of the leading clans in the community into the numbers of individual families in patrilocal, matrilocal, and patri-matrilocal residence,

TABLE V

First residence after marriage, 1775–1854

Clans of husbands	*Patrilocal* Nos.	*Patrilocal* %	*Patri-matrilocal* Nos.	*Patri-matrilocal* %	*Matrilocal* Nos.	*Matrilocal* %	*Neither* Nos.	*Neither* %
Macpherson	34	56·6	10	16·6	10	16·6	6	10·0
MacIntosh-Cattanach	7	63·6	1	9·1	3	27·3	—	
MacKay-Davidson	2	50	1	25	1	25	—	
MacGregor	2	66·6	—		1	33·3	—	
MacIntyre	4	50	1	12·5	2	25	1	12·5
Robertson	3	50	2	33·3	—		1	16·7
MacDonald	25	41	8	13·1	6	10	12	20·0
Kennedy	6	46·1	1	7·7	2	15·4	4	30·8
Leslie	—		2	100·0	—		—	
Tolmie	3	33·3	2	22·2	1	11·1	3	33·3
Others	10	27·7	4	11·1	15	41·6	7	19·4
TOTAL	96	47·3	32	15·8	41	20·2	34	16·7

and those living on farms for which there is no indication of antecedent connection. *Patrilocal* and *matrilocal*, in this context, mean that the family was living on the husband's (*i.e.* the paternal grandfather's) farm or the wife's (*i.e.* the maternal grandfather's) farm when the first child was baptised; *patri-matrilocal* means that the first child was baptised on a farm where both parents had been resident before marriage. In these mixed cases we cannot be sure whether the family was in residence in virtue of patrilocality, matrilocality or both, but it is significant that seven of the ten Macpherson families, and one each of the MacDonald, MacIntyre and Leslie families in this category

were endogamous. All the families with non-traditional surnames are included under 'Others', and it should be noted that these were all exogamous, the wife in every instance belonging to one or other of the clans historically associated with the parish. Percentages for each category within each clan have been included for comparison, although slight changes in the numbers would appreciably alter these in such small 'populations'.

Table V shows that patrilocal residence predominated in all clans except the Leslies (who were patri-matrilocal), while matrilocal residence was the rule among the 'others'. The traditional clans: Macphersons, MacIntoshes, MacKays, MacIntyres and MacGregors, all relied upon patrilocality to the extent of fifty per cent or more of their numbers, while the infiltrating MacDonalds, Kennedies, Leslies and Tolmies relied upon it to a lesser extent. The MacDonalds, Kennedies and Tolmies are also the clans which relied to a greater extent upon residence without prior (known) connections with the farm. If the patri-matrilocal families are added to the purely patrilocal ones percentages among the traditional clans rise to over sixty, and to over fifty among the incoming MacDonalds, Kennedies and Tolmies. On the other hand, inclusion of the patri-matrilocal cases among the 'others' still fails to exceed the percentage of matrilocal families in this group. The preponderance of patrilocal cases among the clans, therefore, seems to be sufficient proof for the contention that agnatic descent was intimately related to possession of land, and that this principle persisted to a relatively late date in the Central Highlands.

It is equally significant, on the other hand, that the Macphersons—the clan with the strongest claim to rights of ancient possession—were the least dependent upon matrilocal residence among the traditional clans, and the least dependent of all groups for residence without direct antecedents. But the matrilocal families which preponderated among the 'others' were founded in every case upon marriages to women belonging to clans known to have had possession of land in the parish prior to 1700, and predominantly to the traditional clans. Everything connected with residence, therefore, seems to point to the continued importance of the agnatic right of ancient possession as vested in the individual clans.

Table VI indicates that there was a steady increase in matrilocal residence between 1775 and 1850, during a period of shrinking population, and always associated with women belonging to clans historically associated with Laggan. Explanation for this increase would seem to lie with the survival of the smaller traditional clans of the parish and with the advance of the MacDonalds during this period; it occurred mainly at the expense of the Macphersons.

The overall increase in matrilocal residence was partly offset by decline of patri-matrilocal residence among the Macphersons and the smaller traditional clans, a trend which can be explained to a large extent by the decline in endogamy, particularly in the dominant clan.

Finally, there is strong evidence among the forty-one matrilocal families in the 'population', representing perhaps one-fifth of the whole population, that residence was

related specifically to those farms where the wife's clan had acquired ancient rights of possession. Macpherson women introduced husbands from other clans to Crubenbeg (MacIntyre, 1783), Breakachy (MacGillivray, 1783), Drumgask (MacLean, 1784, and Tolmie, 1828), Dalchully (MacNab, 1806), Clunie (Stevenson, 1816, and Fraser, 1833), Muckcoul (Cameron, 1824), Pitgown (MacGregor, 1832), and Nessintullich (Kennedy, 1832); a MacIntosh woman brought a Kennedy into Crathiemore (1790); a MacIntyre wife took a Macpherson into Pressmuckerach (1784); and a MacGregor girl introduced a Ross to Uvie (1813).

TABLE VI

Incidence of Matrilocal and Patri-matrilocal residence in time

Clans of wives	*1775–1800* Matri-local	Patri-matrilocal	Total	*1801–1825* Matri-local	Patri-matrilocal	Total	*1826–1854* Matri-local	Patri-matrilocal	Total
Macpherson	4	7	11	5	4	9	3	4	7
MacAlchynich, MacIntosh, Gow, MacIntyre, MacGregor (smaller traditional)	1	4	5	1	—	1	5	1	6
MacDonald	1	2	3	4	2	6	6	—	6
Others (non-traditional)	4	3	7	3	3	6	4	1	5
TOTAL	10	16	26	13	9	22	18	6	24

A related feature of matrilocal residence in Laggan is that, before 1800, exogamous marriage was often followed by matrilocal residence in a farm traditionally associated with the *husband's* clan, indicating perhaps that, under the traditional system, this kind of residence was used as a social device to reintroduce or reinforce the clan with the strongest claim to the *duthchas*. Thus Macphersons were reintroduced to Kyllarchill (1782), Clunie (1784), Balmeanach (1804), Shenvall (1826), and Catlaig (1837) by Kennedy, MacDonald, Grant, MacDonald and MacDonald wives respectively; MacIntoshes

from Crathiemore were reintroduced to Gergask (1790) and Coul (1825) by Robertson and MacIntyre women; and a MacGregor resumed residence for his clan in Pitgown (1832) in virtue of a Macpherson wife.

A third feature, illustrating the importance of the infiltration of the MacDonalds during the eighteenth century into farms beyond the traditional limits of that clan, is that all cases of matrilocal residence based on exogamous marriage to a MacDonald girl occurred after 1820, with the significant exceptions of one in Clunie in 1784 and another in Tynrich in 1786—both places where MacDonalds had acquired a foothold at an exceptionally early date.

5 Local Migration

Family migration from farm to farm within the parish was a correlative of farm-exogamy and the opportunities which the latter afforded for moving between patri-local and matrilocal residence. The pattern of movement is discernible in the baptismal data, which have been analysed to provide maps for each decade from 1780 to 1840, and maps to reveal the degree to which clan affiliation circumscribed the area of movement between 1780 and 1840. In addition, for certain selected farms time-charts showing all families with a connection with the farm were drawn up to help detect relationships which are not explicit in the entries in the Register.

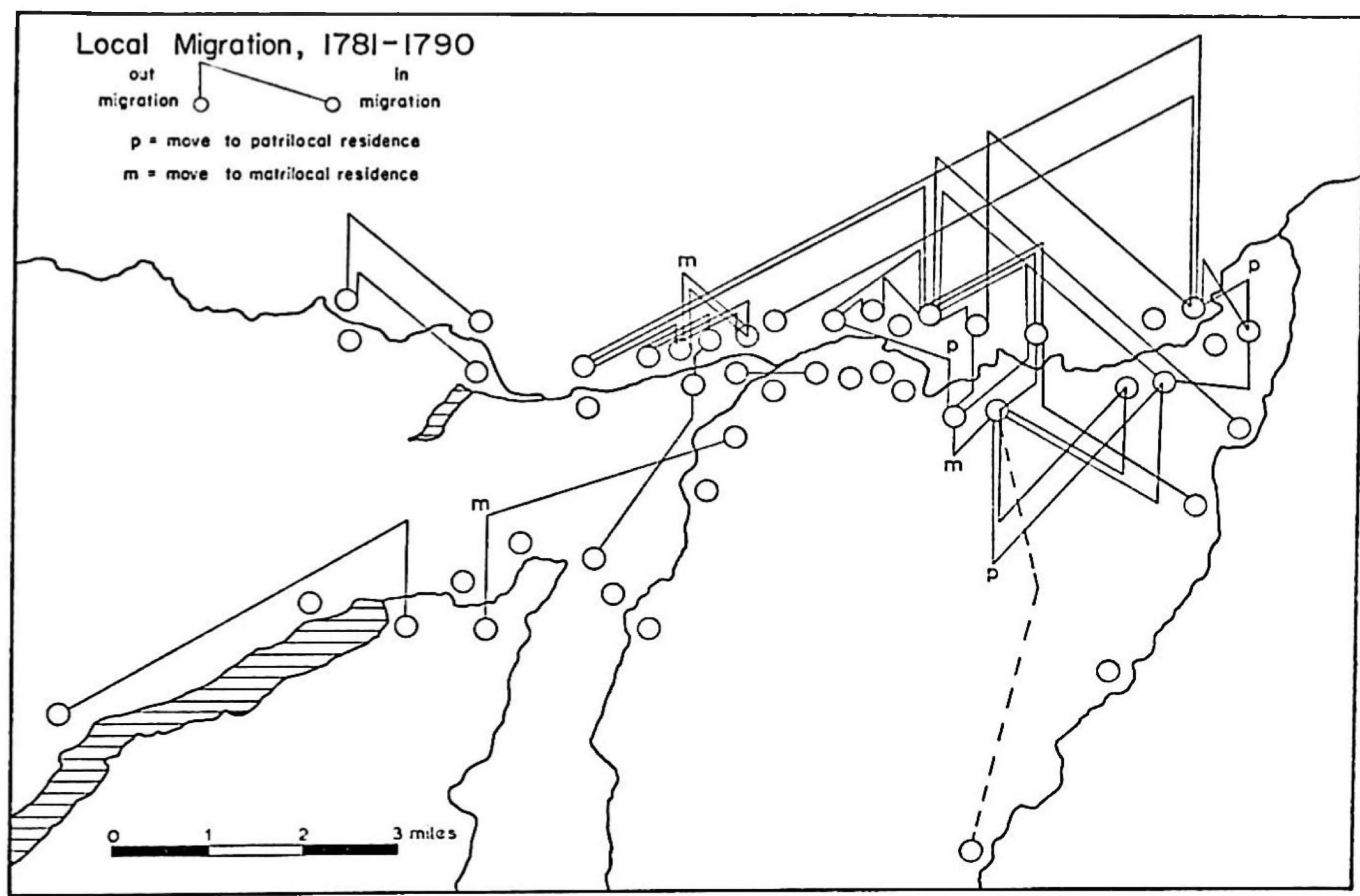
The number of families involved and number of moves undertaken in a decade were highest in the 1780s and assumed a level roughly half of that during the first forty years of the nineteenth century, as shown in the following table:

Decade	*No. of families*	*No. of moves*
1781–1790	33	38
1791–1800	20	25
1801–1810	13	19
1811–1820	16	22
1821–1830	15	18
1831–1840	16	21

The small number of families involved is itself an indication of the stability of the system of individual rights in land-holding within the agnatic structure.

The map showing the pattern of movement during the 1780s has three general characteristics: (1) Most activity was concentrated in the Spey Valley between Crathie Croy and the farms of the lower Truim, much of it involving moves over relatively short distances. The two factors which explain this pattern are (*a*) the high level of population which permitted close farm-exogamy, and (*b*) the association of land with particular clans within fairly circumscribed areas. (2) There was no corresponding pattern of intense activity in the Braes of Laggan, that is, in Strath Mashie and Loch-laggan-side, and little movement between the Braes and the Spey-side farms. The

factors here probably included the religious affiliation of the people (unrecorded Catholics), and the stability of the clan-structure on the MacDonald farms. (3) There were only two instances of moves by hired shepherds and their families: a MacCulloch-Elder family from Breakachie to Dalwhinnie, and a Ross-Cameron family from Gaskbeg to Gergask. The prime factor here was the relatively slight importance of the new sheep farming system in Laggan at this time. The first and second of these general characteristics appear on the maps for all later decades, the first in somewhat attenuated form as the



population shrank and showing increasing distances as the prior search for a marriage partner required the young men to visit more distant farms. After 1800, however, distant moves by shepherd families from the Spey-side farms to Dalwhinnie, Locherichtside, the Braes of Laggan, Lochlaggan-side and the Corrieyarick in the headwaters of the Spey became more characteristic of the pattern; the 1830s saw at least nine shepherds among the sixteen heads of families moving within the parish. It is impossible to say how much the pattern of movement in the 1780s was typical of earlier decades, but it is assumed that it was closer to the traditional pattern than any of the decades of the nineteenth century. At any rate, all families migrating during the 1780s except the two shepherd families included one parent, and most of them both parents, belonging to a clan or clans established in the parish.

In the Spey valley intense activity occurred in two areas during the 1780s: the

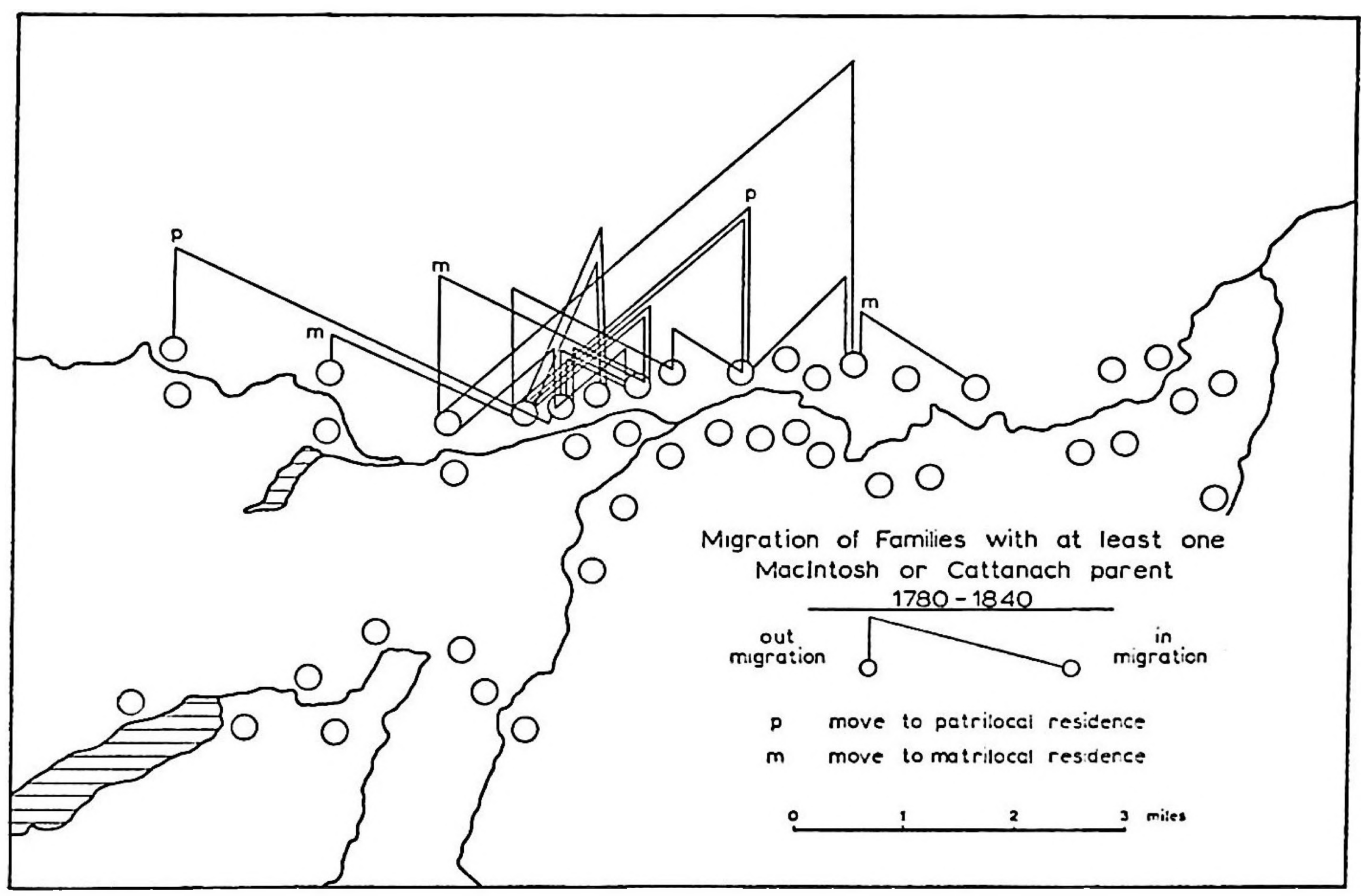
Sliochd Iain Léith end of the MacIntosh tract between Crathie Croy and Craigcarnet, and a larger area on both sides of the river polarising at Gaskmore and Clunie. These areas deserve closer examination. Four of the families moving in the *Sliochd Iain Léith* area were headed by MacIntoshes, while a MacIntyre-Cattanach family was undoubtedly matrilocal. Two of the MacIntosh families moved into Crathiemore, the senior farm of the *Sliochd Iain Léith*, from Coul and Balmishaig, and were probably patrilocal before and after moving; another which moved into Balmishaig and then into Crathie Croy originated at Craigcarnet where it was matrilocal in virtue of a MacDonald wife; the fourth moved into Crathie Croy from the old *Sliochd Dhomhnaill Ghlais* farm of Gaskmore. This circumscribed pattern, as we shall see later, persisted well into the nineteenth century. The reasons behind the family migrations in the second area of intense activity can best be understood by looking at the foci of the movement in Clunie and Gaskmore.

So far as local movement was concerned *Clunie* was a centre of out-migration in the 1780s. Of the six families who left the farm during that period, four were headed by Macphersons, two by Robertsons. Both Robertsons were moving away from patrilocal residence of long standing, one of them to take up a second patrilocal residence of equally long standing in Gaskmore, the other to probable matrilocal residence in Crubenmore. Of the Macphersons two families were clan-endogamous and moved, in the one case, from patrilocal residence to Gaskmore, in the other, from either patri- or matrilocal residence to Catlaig where the other spouse probably had agnatic connections. Of the two exogamous Macpherson families, one moved from matrilocal residence (MacDonald) to Gaskmore. Three of the moves seem to have occurred between March 1780 and August 1781, the other three between May 1786 and February 1787, the latter perhaps in some way associated with the final restoration of the Annexed Estate of Clunie to Col. Duncan Macpherson of Clunie in 1786. It should also be noted that three of the moves from Clunie were to Gaskmore.

Gaskmore was the old primary farm of the *Sliochd Dhomhnaill Ghlais* MacIntoshes in Laggan, and it is not surprising therefore to find that two of the out-migrating families were MacIntosh and Cattanach, while a third was MacDonald-Macpherson moving to matrilocal residence at Coraldie. A fourth was a matrilocal family of MacIntyres from Shenval which moved to Crubenbeg, another MacIntyre farm. Of the five in-migrating families three were the Robertson and two Macpherson families from Clunie mentioned above. The other two were a Macpherson family from Gaskbeg and a MacIntyre-Macpherson family from Balgown. It would appear that Gaskmore was in process of changing hands from MacIntosh to Macpherson during the 1780s, rather as Crathie Croy was changing from Macpherson to MacIntosh at the same time. The colonisation of Gaskmore was probably also connected with its acquisition by Capt. Donald Macpherson, a half-pay officer related in some way to Macpherson of Clunie, who was resident at Clunie in December 1785 but was tacksman of Gaskmore when he married Anne Shaw of Dalnavert in January 1795.[2]

Other migrating families confirm the importance of agnatic connections: a Kennedy-Macpherson family moved from matrilocal residence in Catlaig to patrilocal residence in Gergask; a MacGillivray-Macpherson family in Catlaig took up matrilocal residence in Breakachie; a MacGregor family moved from the MacGregor farm of Uvie to Nessintullich and back to Uvie. It seems clear that, so far as the 1780s were concerned, the agnatic principle and the *duthchas* right were of paramount importance in determining the pattern of local family migration.

Maps showing the total pattern of movement between 1780 and 1840 for Macpherson and MacDonald families are too diffuse to reveal much of the relationship between local



migration and the association of particular farms with certain clans in the community. But the map of MacIntosh migration shows a striking pattern. The addition of data from 1790 to 1840 reinforces the impression that the *Sliochd Iain Léith* farms contained most of the movement. Every one of the eighteen moves undertaken involved at least one farm within the MacIntosh tract from Crathie Croy to Gaskmore, while only three involved farms outside the tract; of these, two brought families back to patrilocal and matrilocal residence within the *Sliochd Iain Léith* area, while the third took a Cattanach-Robertson family from the *Sliochd Dhomhnaill Ghlais* farm of Gaskmore to the old Robertson *duthchas* in Clunie. The last recorded move was that of a MacDonald-MacIntosh family migrating from patrilocal residence in Craigcarnet to Crathie

between October 1832 and July 1834; the wife was resident in Balmishaig when she married in 1828, but a cross-reference reveals that her father moved from Balmishaig to Craigcarnet between July 1780 and July 1782, and again from the latter to her birthplace in Crathiemore between July 1782 and June 1784. This would indicate that the MacDonald family was moving a generation later to matrilocal residence in the last named place. Of other clans, there was a case of a MacKay-MacDonald family taking up matrilocal residence in Balgown in 1832/33, and another of a Macpherson-Kennedy family moving into the old Kennedy foothold in Gergask between January 1834 and August 1836.

Finally, the farm of Drumgaskinloan, part of the Estate of Clunie, has been selected to show the evidence resulting from cross-referencing on time-charts. Prior to 1810 this farm was occupied by seven families, all clan-endogamous and all Macpherson except one Kennedy family. Two of these are worthy of comment. The family of *Archibald and Jean Macpherson* recorded its first baptism in 1777; the eldest son was in the holding between 1815 and 1821, but his eldest son was resident at Drummin and Mealgarbh in the Corrieyarick in 1838 and 1839; the last, however, was resident once more at Drumgask as a gamekeeper in 1846. The second son of the original couple lived matrilocally for the first five years of his marriage (1814–19), but returned to the patrilocal farm by 1823. The eldest daughter of the original couple resided elsewhere on her MacDonald husband's farm, but their eldest son, Archibald MacDonald, was living on Drumgask, his maternal grandfather and namesake's farm, when he married in 1843. The family of *Alexander and Janet Macpherson* appears first with their marriage in 1795; their only son Thomas succeeded in consolidating conjoint holdings between 1828 and 1835 when he left the parish, and this may account for the fact that two of his brothers-in-law (Tolmie and MacIntosh) were residing matrilocally in Drumgask during that period. Only the first of Tolmie's seven children and MacIntosh's only child were born there. Neither family resumed matrilocal residence in the farm after 1835 although the original Macpherson couple were still there in 1841 and their youngest daughter died there, unmarried, in 1870.

6 Illegitimate Birth

Illegitimacy of birth was as much a feature of the community in the Parish of Laggan as it was elsewhere in Britain. In a total of 1750 infants baptised between 1775 and 1854 fifty-four were illegitimate, giving an average of 3·0 per cent which is well within the bounds of normalcy (Laslett 1965: 134). The usual formula for baptismal entry until 1820 was the condemnatory biblical phrase '... got (or born) in fornication ...' which would appear to represent the simple view of the church in earlier times. After 1820 the forthright term 'illegitimate' was used increasingly. In three instances the formula 'a natural child' was used (1787, 1821 and 1826), and it is significant that this rather more delicate term appears in the entry for the baptism of an illegitimate daughter of

Col. Duncan Macpherson of Clunie and Margaret MacDonald in 1787. In ten instances (eight of them after 1834) a third formula omitted any explicit reference to illegitimacy, but also omitted reference to 'wedlock', 'wife' or 'spouse' and listed each of the parents involved as resident in different farms or parishes; it is assumed that illegitimacy is implicit in these cases. (There were two entries [1804, 1819] in which none of the parents belonged to the Parish of Laggan; these have not been included in the total mentioned above.)

Before 1835 all illegitimate births (apart from the two just mentioned in parenthesis) were intra-parochial in parentage, that is, both parents belonged to Laggan. After 1834, however, some 40 per cent of such births involved a parent from outside the parish, and after 1843—the year of the socially traumatic Disruption of the Church of Scotland—this figure rose to 44·5 per cent. Five of the implicit entries after 1834 involved an extra-parochial party. Changes in the illegitimate birth rate itself during the period covered by the Register are shown in the following table, including a breakdown of the third period into pre- and post-Disruption phases:

Period	*Total number of births*	*Number of illegitimate births*	*Percentage of illegitimate births*
1775–1800	759	18	2·4
1801–1825	570	20	3·5
1826–1842	333	7	2·1
1843–1854	190	9	4·7
1826–1854	422	16	3·8
1775–1854	1751	54	3·0

It would appear that there was a steady increase in the percentage of illegitimate births from generation to generation between 1775 and 1854, and that the rate which had returned to the pre-1800 level between 1826 and 1842 doubled during the last decade of the Register.

Historical demographers have disputed the theory that an increase in the rate of illegitimate births is an index of social dislocation or disintegration (Goubert 1960:51; Laslett 1965:129, 136). The statistical picture for Laggan between 1775 and 1854, however, seems to confirm the notion that the very protracted disintegration of the traditional social structure in the Highlands was accompanied by a certain amount of demoralisation. On the other hand, Laslett's postulation in his study of Stuart England, that illegitimacy rates may have 'tended to be highest in times of prosperity', invites examination of evidence from Badenoch for a period earlier than that of the Register.

This evidence exists in the Invereshie MS, *The Genealogies of the McPhersones*, which frankly records the names of the illegitimate sons born into the dominant clan of Badenoch between 1400 and 1700. In the following table, which covers generations VII to XI of the manuscript genealogy (Macpherson 1966:9 and fold-out), the numbers should be understood to represent sons who survived infancy and probably those who reached adulthood:

Illegitimacy among the Macphersons, 1520–1680

Generation (approx. date)	*Total number of men (% change)*	*Number of bastards*	*Percentage of illegitimate births*
VII (1520)	55	4	7·3
VIII (1560)	94 (+71)	7	7·45
IX (1600)	164 (+74)	8	4·9
X (1640)	203 (+23)	11	5·42
XI (1680)	126 (−38)	14	11·1
VII-XI (1520–1680)	642	44	6·8

Before any interpretation is attempted two observations about these figures should be noted. The first is that they represent *minimum* rates of illegitimate birth, in that the mortality rates for bastards during infancy and childhood were higher than for legitimate children (Wrigley 1966:62). The second is that they show rates consistently higher than those prevailing between 1775 and 1854.

The figures may be interpreted in a number of ways. It is apparent, for instance, that illegitimacy rate among Macpherson clansmen fell as their numbers increased, and rose again as growth slowed and reversed itself. But does increase in numbers for a particular group on the land imply success and prosperity, or does it imply competition for land and frustration? This question will be resolved to some extent when we come to ask who among the clansmen actually fathered bastards. Another interpretation might follow more general historical lines: in the sixteenth century high rates of illegitimate births correlated with a relatively obscure and inferior position for the clan within the existing land-holding social structure; during the pre-Civil War period a low rate accompanied the clan's rise to ascendancy in Badenoch and the development of the horse and cattle trade with England; the extraordinary doubling of the rate towards

the end of the seventeenth century may have reflected the condemnation and public humiliation of the clansmen as 'Malignants', the imposition of a military garrison on Badenoch (Macpherson 1893:377–83), and difficulties with superiors such as MacIntosh and the Duke of Gordon. Such an argument for the catastrophe theory, however, must assume that the *Clann Mhuirich* behaved differently from other components in the Badenoch population, and that Badenoch's experience was different from that of other districts.

It is obvious that historical correlation of events of the kind discussed among the historical demographers is insufficient to explain the phenomenon of illegitimate birth. It fails to ask who fathered illegitimate children, and under what social circumstances procreation of bastards occurred. It fails to define the terminology in use among a particular social group to describe illegitimate birth. It lacks anthropological insight. In the present case, for instance, it should be noted that illegitimate descent was a fundamental feature of the Laggan social structure. *The Sliochd Iain Léith* MacIntoshes of Crathiemore and the *Sliochd Iain Duibh* MacDonalds of Gallovie and Aberarder, as already indicated (Macpherson 1967:160), were descended from natural sons of clan chiefs, and there is some possibility that the same was true of the *Sliochd Choinnich* Macphersons (Macpherson 1966:36). It would not be surprising, therefore, to find that the popular view of the procreation of bastards was markedly different from that of the church, and not only in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, but also in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. John *Dubh* MacDonald, progenitor of the *Sliochd Iain Dubh*, was described as *Gille-gun-iarraidh*, literally 'a lad without an invitation'—'an unbidden lad' (Macpherson 1879:370); the term expresses humour and affection: it may also imply that pre-marital sexual experience was socially acceptable. Mrs Grant of Laggan, on the other hand, assures us that 'the conjugal union was held so sacred that infidelity was scarcely heard of' (Macphail 1896:304).

The Invereshie MS uses the terms 'bastard' and 'natural son', in one instance applying both to the same individual. It also uses the term 'concubine' in two instances: Donald *Dubh* Macpherson, progenitor of the legitimate family in Pitchirn, 'took as his concubine' Eveir Cameron of Glennevis from whom the Macphersons of Clune were descended; and Connie, a legitimate daughter of Donald *Dubh* of Pitchirn, was 'concubine' to John McAllester *Og* Macpherson of Knappach after the death of her husband, a paternal uncle of John McAllester *Og* (Macpherson 1966:17). In the case of John McAllester *Og* no legal marriage preceded or succeeded his liaison with Connie of Pitchirn. But Donald *Dubh*'s association with Eveir Cameron followed the death of his legal wife.[3] The term also occurs a number of times in the Kinrara MS, and in each case refers to a liaison which preceded marriage or followed the death of a legal wife (Clark 1900:170, 195). The legality of a marriage resided in a written contract rather than in the sanction of the church, and it may be surmised that the term 'concubine' referred to a marriage without contract. The term certainly does not have the biblical connotation when used in the context of Highland custom.

Gregory, in his discussion of the marital origins of the various clans of the MacDonalds descended from the Lords of the Isles, notes the recognition of two degrees of bastardy to which the terms 'natural' and 'carnal' were applied. 'Natural' offspring were the result of handfast or left-handed marriages, while 'carnal' children were the result of more casual relations (Gregory 1881:41n). The Latin text of the *Kinrara MS*, on the other hand, distinguishes *spurii*, who were the offspring of a 'concubine', from *nothi*, who were natural children or simple bastards, and from *nati*, offspring of a second, uncontracted, marriage (Clark 1900:170, 182, 195, 205). Handfasting which has been defined as 'a contract of union for some short term of years only' (Argyll 1887:171), invariably preceded legal marriage[4] and was terminated by it; that is, the wife of a left-handed marriage was set aside for the legal wife. Martin Martin's description of handfasting in the Western Isles further clarifies the position of the resulting offspring: 'It was an ancient custom in the Islands that a man should take a maid to his wife, and keep her for the space of a year without marrying her; and if she pleased him all the while, he married her at the end of the year and legitimated the children: but if he did not love her, he returned her to her parents, and her portion also; and if there happened to be any children they were kept by the father' (Martin 1716:114). This implies that the offspring of handfast marriages were acknowledged by the father, who took full responsibility for them; as in the case of legitimate children, they took the clan of their father.

Martin Martin goes on to assert that 'this unreasonable custom was long ago brought in disuse', but one may express some doubt as to the accuracy of this statement. The Invereshie MS, in fact, lends considerable support to the idea that pre-marital cohabitation or trial marriage prevailed in Badenoch until the end of the seventeenth century, and that such a form of marriage was often terminated by a contracted marriage to another woman, even where children had resulted from the handfast marriage. The manuscript genealogy records thirty-eight men (in generations VI–X) who fathered natural sons or bastards: of these fathers thirty-two had only one bastard son; of the six who had two bastards one had a son of a concubine after the death of his legal wife, and it is likely that another (William of Invereshie) had two 'bastards' from a liaison formed after the deaths of two legal wives; thirty-three of the fathers had legitimate offspring: one (in generation X) is explicitly stated to have had his natural son 'before his first marriage',[5] while the bastard son of another (in generation VIII) is mentioned before two legitimate sons. Furthermore, of the forty-four natural sons recorded twenty-eight were sired by tacksmen, some of whom were wadsetters and feuars; the rest were the sons of younger sons of tacksmen or collaterals. (The writer believes that if natural daughters had been recorded as well, this would simply have added to the list of leading men responsible.) It should also be noted that while the already established *duthchas* of Knappach passed to a legitimate collateral line, other illegitimate sons acquired rights in the farms of Ovie and Clune, another became miller of Killihuntly, and still others made marriages with respectable families outside the clan. Finally, it is

unfortunate for our purpose here that only one mother besides the two concubines is named in the genealogy; otherwise it might have been possible to examine the relationship of endogamy to illegitimacy. However, enough has been adduced to show that illegitimacy in the Highlands until 1700 was not a result of casual immorality, but was the result of a socially acceptable practice entertained by many respectable tacksmen and leaders of the community. It was part of the *mores* of the Highland people, and had nothing to do with success or failure in life.

TABLE VII

Parentage of illegitimate children in Laggan, 1775–1840

Women / *Men*	Macphersons	MacDonalds	Kennedies	MacIntyres	MacIntoshes, Cattanachs	MacKays	MacKenzies	Clerks	Others	TOTAL (Women)
Macphersons	8	2	—	—	—	—	—	1	2	13
MacDonalds	3	3	1	—	—	—	—	—	4	11
Kennedies	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2
MacIntyres	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2
MacIntoshes, Cattanachs	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	2
MacKays	1	—	—	—	1	—	1	—	—	3
Clerks	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	2
Others	1	1	3	1	—	1	—	—	2	9
TOTAL (Men)	17	8	4	1	1	1	1	3	8	44

In the light of the foregoing, it is now clear that the question as to how to interpret the data on illegitimacy in the Laggan Register must be re-phrased. We must ask rather if there is any evidence for the survival of the pre-1700 pattern of circumstances characterising illegitimacy after 1775. For the period 1775–1840 the evidence is as follows:

(*a*) in no instance does the baptismal entry lack the name of a putative father, quite unlike English practice (Wrigley 1966:125–27);

(*b*) in only one case (a farm servant) did any man father two bastards, and only one woman produced two (NOTE: The fathers were brothers; the years 1808 and 1810);

(*c*) there is no case of a man siring an illegitimate child after the birth of legitimate children;

(*d*) three couples married subsequently, and twelve men, including Colonel Duncan Macpherson of Clunie, can be identified later as husbands of other women;

(*e*) Several men can be identified as ancient possessors or principal tenants of farms; and

(*f*) liaisons were largely confined to the group of long-resident clans to which rights of possession of land adhered, and there were remarkably high percentages of endogamous liaisons among the Macphersons and MacDonalds. (See Table VII)

From this it seems clear that something of the pre-1700 customary practice must have persisted in Laggan well into the nineteenth century, obscured by the unsympathetic definitions of the church, and eventually replaced by the more casual extra-parochial relationships which characterised the years after 1834.

The second part of this paper has attempted to provide evidence for the contention that the agnatic structure of Highland society continued to operate as the basis for land-holding till the end of the eighteenth century, and to a diminishing extent through the first and second quarters of the nineteenth century. This evidence, which incidentally provides the basis for a systematic account of the clan system, derives from an analysis of marriage patterns which reveals peculiarities specific to the culture and undoubtedly related to the agnatic principle and the *duthchas* right. Marriage tended to be endogamous within the clan or, if exogamous, to be restricted to unions either between members of dominant clans or between members of a dominant clan and individuals belonging to one or other of the minor or dependent clans of the community. Members of dependent clans, therefore, probably laid as much stress upon affinal relationships with families belonging to dominant clans as upon agnatic connection with their fellow clansmen. Farm-endogamy, whether clan-endogamous or clan-exogamous, was simply an expression of one of these tendencies at the level of the small community on the individual conjoint or communal farm.

Implicit in all this is the notion that women, in virtue of their agnatic relationships, shared some of the rights to residence—and perhaps to usufruct—that their brothers enjoyed.[6] On the other hand, there is some indication that women's rights in the clan did not necessarily or ordinarily extend to the acquisition of the *duthchas*, the right of ancient possession, which adhered to the agnatic line. While there is evidence that many, perhaps most, families were matrilocal at one time or another, there is little evidence that *duthchas* was often secured thereby. On the contrary, it would seem that matrilocal residence was normally a temporary arrangement, requiring eventual

migration elsewhere. That this was a cause of local migration within the parish is abundantly clear, but any attempt to determine to what extent inter-parish movement was promoted by the same factor would require similar analyses for adjacent parishes. Only by some such mechanism as this, however, could the primacy of dominant clans like the Macphersons, MacIntoshes and MacDonalds, and some of the old-established minor clans like the Davidson/MacKays and the MacIntyres be maintained in the tracts where they held *duthchas*.

In those cases where matrilocality did lead to permanent residence and to acquisition of *duthchas* by the families of sons-in-law belonging to other clans, the population of the individual conjoint farm or the tract eventually came to consist of minor *sliochdan* or agnatic lineages belonging to a number of different clans. The general *duthchas* to the farm continued to reside with the head of the leading family which represented the interests of the dominant clan of the tract, that is, the principal tacksman. But as continued farm-endogamy and clan-exogamy reinforced the bonds which had brought the various components of the small community together in the first place, the initial right to matrilocal residence was gradually replaced by a *duthchas* attached to an individual share or holding in the farm. We may suppose that such minor *duthchas* rights were subsumed under the general *duthchas* to the farm, and were an expression of the dependence of the minor *sliochdan* upon the family of the principal tacksman.

The foregoing interpretation appears to make sense of the geographical and historical peculiarities of the community in Laggan at the end of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth centuries, described in the first part of this paper: the presence of several clans in the parish, each associated with particular farms and tracts of land, each showing great continuity of tenure, and none having exclusive possession of land in any one farm or tract. It seems appropriate, therefore, to conclude Part II of this paper with a quotation from Evans-Pritchard's classic study of the Nuer which would equally apply to the Scottish Highlanders:

> . . . local clusters of kin comprise persons of different clans . . . and, moreover, they are not fixed compositions. Their members, individuals and families, move often and freely, going to stay seasonally or for many years, with different kinsmen in other villages . . ., generally, though not always, in the same tribal area. Wherever they go they are easily incorporated into the new community through one or more kinship links. . . . There are no closed communities. Villages . . . are spatially separated, but they merge into one another socially through a multitude of cross-strands of kinship between persons as well as forming parts of a single political structure.
>
> I suggest that it is the clear, consistent, and deeply rooted lineage structure . . . which permits persons and families to move about and attach themselves so freely, for shorter or longer periods, to whatever community they choose, by whatever cognatic or affinal tie they find it convenient to emphasize; and that it is on account of the firm values of the structure that this flux does not cause confusion or bring about social disintegration. It would seem it may be partly just because the agnatic principle is unchallenged . . . that the tracing of descent through women is so prominent and matrilocality so prevalent. However

much the actual configurations of kinship clusters may vary and change, the lineage structure is invariable and stable (Evans-Pritchard 1951:28, 29).

NOTES

1 It is interesting to note, in view of the different methods of counting used in Tables I and II, that the proportions of husbands and wives supplied to the community by each clan are generally very close to the proportion of the community taken up by each clan in terms of numbers of families; their corroboration suggests that the assumptions about the nature of the data in the Register which were made in the introduction to this study (Part I) are essentially correct.

2 As Lieutenant-Colonel Donald Macpherson (1755–1829) he commanded the 10th Royal Veterans at Kingston, Ontario, during the War of 1812 (1812–14), and founded prominent families at Napanee and Kingston, Ontario. The Kingston family was closely related to, and involved in the public life of Sir John A. Macdonald, first prime minister of the Canadian Confederation.

3 According to a genealogy of 1669, Kenneth MacKenzie of Scatwell (d. 166–) 'left two natural sons gotten in his widowhood' after two legal marriages (Clark 1900: 95).

4 The 1669 genealogy of the MacKenzies gives two instances of this: Hector *Ruadh* MacKenzie, first of Gairloch (early 16th c.), took 'to his first wife a daughter to the Laird of Grant; but she died before the solemnizing of their marriage; yet she bare him a son . . .'; and Rorie *Mor* MacKenzie, first of Achilty (d. 1533), took 'to his first wife a daughter to Ferquhar MacHeachin . . . MacLean, with whom, nevertheless, he was not solemnly married' although they had three sons (Clark 1900:70, 83).

5 This phrase is a recurring one in Highland genealogies. For instance, the 1669 genealogy of the MacKenzies records that Kenneth, fourth of Kintail (early 14th c.), 'before his marriage to Finguala MacLeod of Lewis had three bastard sons'; a 1716 genealogy of the MacLeans records that Lauchlan *Bronnach* MacLean of Duart (*c.* 1400) 'had a son before marriage by MacEachern of Kingerloch's daughter', from whom the MacLeans of Ardgour and of Borera in Uist were descended; and a 1729 genealogy of the Grants strikes the right note when it records that Sir John Grant of Fruichy (*c.* 1600) 'had . . . a son before marriage, . . . a young man of much sagacity, for whom his father . . . possessed much kindness', and who was the progenitor of the Grants of Clunie (Clark 1900:58, 114, 126).

6 This seems to be somewhat akin to the current survival of a system on Tory Island off the coast of Donegal where women virtually have equal right of succession to land with their brothers. The social structure on Tory, however, is quite different from that of Scottish Gaeldom, being based on 'the principle of overlapping of cognatic descent groups', so that every individual belongs to several *clann*-groups, each descended from a common ancestor through women as well as men (Fox 1966:12).

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Jeannie Robertson: Portrait of a Traditional Singer

HERSCHEL GOWER

First discovered and recorded by Hamish Henderson in 1953 while he was collecting in Aberdeen, Jeannie Robertson Higgins is by all counts 'the monumental figure of the world's folksong' which Alan Lomax flatly declared. Her first tapes were placed in the School of Scottish Studies some fifteen years ago. Since that time the number of items has steadily increased so that the total repertoire now runs well over a hundred hours. It includes approximately twenty Child ballads, an equal number of ballads originating from Broadsides, bothy songs, scores of lyrics, children's songs and verses, and a variety of extended tales and anecdotes. In addition to the interpretative materials interspersed with the songs, there are at least six separate tapes which deal chiefly with the singer's memoirs and her recollections of the 'travelling clans'.

However difficult this mass of material is to deal with because of its volume, however tedious because of its diversity, the Jeannie Robertson collection of tapes offers opportunities for investigation not actually open to the researcher until the appearance of the tape recorder and an indefatigable collector like Hamish Henderson. One can suggest the historical importance of the collection—at the same time recognising its calculated lack of discrimination—by recalling one or two of the more obvious omissions in the annals of folksong. For example, Sir Philip Sidney might have named his 'blinde Crouder' and left us with a few faithful transcriptions. Besides setting down accurate texts, Sir Walter Scott might have been less cavalier about Mrs Hogg, if he were going to print her songs, and answered questions having to do with biography, interpretation, and the actual milieu of the Border shepherd. In other words, Scott and the early collectors might have allowed the singers to speak directly to the audiences who were to take the time later on to evaluate the culture in which the songs took hold. With the sound recordings of this century and the heterogeneous materials they are capable of bringing to the archives, we may come considerably nearer ultimate aims. We can at least arrive more easily at a broader view of the milieu than could earlier recorders and historians.

It is the aim in the instalments which follow to present a transcript of pertinent materials from a single important singer. As Hamish Henderson has pointed out, Jeannie Robertson, as a member of the traveller folk culture, 'takes in the tradition of

the settled Scots and goes beyond it'. This first instalment makes available in print her own autobiographical reflections and some of her comments on music and texts.

Although selectivity is an obvious necessity, there is every attempt to be faithful to the whole repertoire, the style of rendition, the personality, speech, and mannerisms of the singer. The editor recognises that during the past fifteen years a few articles written for popular journals have attempted to publicise the forceful characteristics of Jeannie Robertson as singer and story-teller. Some of her tunes have been sketchily transcribed in a manner which oversimplifies the complexities of the rendition. Some of the accompanying texts exhibit a variety of errors. This is not to say that Jeannie Robertson is easily confined to print or satisfactorily represented in five lines and four spaces. With the expert assistance of Robert Garioch on the texts and James Porter on the tunes, however, the editor believes the transcriptions which follow are more nearly faithful to the original than any yet attempted.

Born in 1908 in Aberdeen and christened Regina Christina, Jeannie was the youngest of the five children of Donald Robertson and his wife Maria Stewart. Both sides of the family were derived from the tinker stock of the Northeast, the hardy travellers who sold their goods from house to house in summer, lived in caravans or camps, and settled in Aberdeen in winter. Jeannie's recollections of travelling Dee-side and Don-side as a girl and later with her husband, Donald Higgins, are told in her own words in the interview which follows.

Interview: Jeannie Robertson and Herschel Gower

HG The packman, as I understand it, has just about gone out in Scotland—with better roads and vans and automobiles in the country districts—so I would like to hear about travelling and travellers forty or fifty years ago when you sold in the country.

JR So many vans going around nowadays has done the packman out. We lived in Aberdeen six months out of the year and travelled the other six in a caravan. We always used to travel with members of my mother's family, the Stewarts. When we come to some of the campin' grounds, there were other families—no relation to you, but travellers too.

HG And this would be mostly along Deeside?

JR Deeside and Donside. You would leave Aberdeen and you'd go by Coulter—and from Coulter you'd go up to Banchory—and maybe there were camps between these places, lovely camps—and then from Banchory maybe up the Boyne and to Ballater and Braemar—all these places. I've walked in one day fae Braemar and went richt oot o'er the Devil's Elbow and then to Blair and four mile above Blair to St Fink. That was thirty-eight mile in one day.

HG What about feeding the horses?

JR Oh that was simple. In the summer time there's any God's amount o' grass, which you can shear. You can shear the roadside—beautiful grass on the roadside—and you

PLATE II Hamish Henderson, Jeannie Robertson, Herschel Gower. Interview in B.B.C. studios, Aberdeen, June 1968

PLATE III Jeannie Robertson in conversation

either had a heuck—but it was mostly a scythe—for cuttin'. But mostly our folks yoked up their horses intae the float and took the scythes for shearin' the grass for the horses. Feedin' the horses was no bother at all. We kept some oats for them—maybe you got corn or bran or whatever it was—ye kept this for the beast and ye gied it a feedin' maybe ance a day. Ye tied the horses up at nicht and put a heap o' grass in front of them and the horses ate this a' nicht.

HG Tell me, where did you get the articles that you carried along in the caravan? The stuff that you sold.

JR Oh, well, we went to the wholesale shops and maybe sent to England for them—to places where ye got them cheaper. They were manufactured away about Birmingham, London, or some of these places. And Scotland. We sold carpets, blankets and sheets, and curtains, and curtain material—dresses, blouses, aprons, everything. Auld looms and spinning wheels at hame had gaed oot by my time. I've seed me takin' my pack and also a thing wi' fancy bits o' jewellery and scent and a' that kind o' stuff too, because you might get a young girl workin' in a hoose or at the back o' a hotel that's nae goin' to buy sheets or blankets fae ye, but she wad buy a bonnie brooch or a bonnie necklace or bottles o' scent or something. Ye had to carry a' that.

HG Then after the caravans stopped, you'd have a campfire there, I take it, and you'd gather around in the evenings for entertainment.

JR There was plenty fine big thick logs and sticks and things that you got. And if ye were goin' to a camp that you knew it was scarce o' firewood, you took a big heap o' sticks and stuff on wi' ye—enough to do you the nicht—and then you did the same ae ither nicht. Or when ye were comin' hame after the day's work, ye filled your lorry full of fine thick sticks.

HG Then where did you sleep?

JR Well, you slept in your caravan. It was jeest like a hoose. Wers was the last caravan that was up and doon the Deeside and it was made at the Tollcross of Glesca and there werena a bonnier thing in the place fat it was. Beautiful thing it was. Big, four-wheeled, owre top pure green. It was fat we called a bow-toppit wagon—nae a square wagon—it was bow-toppit. Then you had a bed made intill it, a full size bed. And below you opened up doors and there was another bed—that was for the family—you had a full size bed in the top—a little wee windae at the back where there were bonnie wee curtains on top. You put the same curtain material through over the top of the front o' your bed—beautiful done—

HG It was a wooden bed?

JR Yes, perfectly made intill your waggon. Stationary. And wer bunks were alang the side o' the wagon—at your feet—and wers were egg-shell-beautiful—bonnie, bonnie glossy paint—pure eggshell blue painted. It was all eggshell-blue in the inside. Then we had a fire. We had a beautiful big overmantel in the waggon and you had a beautiful fireplace, and then fittin' in the fireplace was a Queen Anne stove. At one side ye had a little wee oven far ye cud keep food hot or far ye cud make a pie. I used to

make often little loafs and pit in it—nae plain loafs—nice loafs, because ye cud've got plenty plain loafs. Wi' plenty coal and sticks in it, ye were nae time makin' a big pot o' soup or a stew or anything. Then your floor was covered wi' linoleum and maybe a nice carpet above it. And at this side o' the fire there was a great big glass right doon. You opened it up and pit your coats and your dresses in there. And there were a double row o' drawers at this side o' yer bed and that side o' yer bed where ye pit most o' yer things too. If ye had stuff to sell, ye jeest kep them in the big parcels as ye brocht 'em. At the back o' the wagon, a big thing comes oot and it wad haud twa hunnerd weight o' stuff covered in. It was a kind o' rack. And in below that was the bandbox and ye opened it up and that was for keepin' yer stuff—I mean yer eatables—you filled it full o' eatables. The wagon was beautifully painted—yeller, green, and red—it was all beautiful designs and horses' heids and things, and the big hubs on the wheels was solid brass. Well, a man that took pride in his wagon—the hubs o' the wheels—you would see yer face in it. The two big lamps at the front—great big beautiful lamps—would be worth a fortune today. Solid brass. Every wee bit o' fancy thing on aboot the wagon was a' brass.

HG And what did you burn in the lamps?

JR Oh, well, for the lamps on the road, it was candles at that time. Paraffin would be dangerous for fire. It was jeest the candles fit intae your lamps. No, I've seen it a very bad cold nicht when we were late gettin' on the road. Unforeseen things happen fat can sometimes keep ye on the road till it's maybe dark—and cold—and I've seed me in the wagon, and the bairns in the wagon, very comfortable and a nice fire on in the wagon—and the place lovely—you keep your place clean to suit yersel'—if ye dunnae keep it clean, then ye're lazy: there must be something wrang wi' ye—if ye're lookin' for comfort and things, ye keep your place clean and tidy—I've seen my bairns in the bed and me in the wagon settin' and me cookin' the men's supper. And then when we come to this place, the supper was ready. But ye cannae dee that wi' a camp. You've got to pull and mak ye supper and carry on to the place that ye want to live in.

HG But you could cook as you were moving?

JR Yes, I could cook as I was movin' in this wagon. We bought this last wagon during the war and left Aberdeen. You see, me and Donald, we had a hoose—we always had a hoose—and we got bombed on every side o' us. (For a few years before the war come on, we didn't go out. Donald didnae like campin' very well. But when the war did start, a haill street o' people was killed and it was only a matter o' a few yards awa' fae us.) The haill street was cleaned oot. That was Charles Street that was right across from our auld hame. Well, my husband said, 'You goin' to go to the country, because we cannae stay here'. Nichts he wasnae gettin' rest. And it was funny but I cudnae bide in the hoose when the sirens went. I had a smothery kind o' feelin' wi' a terrible fear. So Donald said, 'I'm gang to the country and not jeest set here and be blewn to dust'. And that's the God's truth. And I said, 'Well, we cannae jeest rise and run. Ye need *some* money. Or maybe we'll live frae day to day, wantin' for nothin'.' But then we hadnae no money tae gang intill the country. And if ye're gaun to the country, you need a

hame if it's cauld weather. But him no bein' too strong either, Donald was beginnin' to be—I suppose he was gettin' workit up wi' nerves and things. My boy was deid by this time and my girl Lizzie was jeest a bairn in school. So I said, 'We'll gang tae the country', after the next bombs had killed forty people. But we didnae hae the money tae buy the caravan, and I said, 'I suppose I'll jeest have to bide in a camp'. And we had been bidin' in the hoose so lang that we had turned saft. But we was tired o' the carry-on every nicht—the very toon shook, the hoose was full o' folk, screamin' bairns, greetin' women and faintin', and ye've no idea fat it was like. So Donald gaed oot the nicht afore me and put up a camp for me comin' oot.

HG And where was this?

JR He didnae gae far. He went oot by Coulter. That's nae far fae Aberdeen. It's a good few miles but nae far. We were safer. Within another day or two we went into Banchory and stopped near the mooth o' a big forest and built a hut oot o' wood and covered the roof with a tarpaulin cover, like fat you see at the stations. You cud buy them at that time. Then we got a canvas to cover the floor and carpets. It was jeest quite comfortable. Of course, you couldna have no blazin' fires on the outside. Aebody had a fire on the inside, so you cud sit comfortable on the inside, hear stories, and a sang, and a bit music. And yet when ye were inside, ye were covered up because the trees sheltered ye.

HG And at this time did you know any of the other folk who were there?

JR Yes, you knew them. Some o' them were relations and some was not, but still you had plenty company.

HG Your earlier experiences as a child and after you and Donald were married would have stood you in good stead because you knew how to shift for yourself.

JR Aye, we was brought up till it. Although we always lived in a hame, our people knew fat to do. When the wather was cauld and things, we always managed. We never wanted. And we now werena afeard of the bombs. We heard them, mind you. We cud stand there and look doon and see Aberdeen gettin' bombed ony nicht, every nicht. So we lived there during the winter in the hut and when the summer come on, by this time we bought a horse and harness and a float. And then we went awa' through the country in the float. By then the fine weather was in and we workit at government work—pulling flax. In wer country they grew the flax, and the government paid you when you were finished pulling the flax. And then we saved up the money—I didnae work all the time at the flax, I workit on my ownio—and what money that we saved we bought this wagon. It was a beautiful wagon. It was made in Glesca. We sent the money up and bought it from people who was very weel off and by this time they had gotten a lovely place to bide.

HG Would the one horse pull it?

JR Oh, yes. A good big horse could pull it. Nae a little horse, but a good big strong horse. That's what ye needed—a good big strong solid quiet animal.

HG And where was Donald's brother Isaac at this time?

JR Isaac was with us. By this time he also had a horse and float and he had his ain camp —a army camp—Isaac always liked his ain way o' doin'. But Isaac was always wi' us—since he was sixteen past.

HG I suppose there was a lot of singing.

JR That was the only thing we had to pass the time by. Men maybe playin' the pipes—maybe aboot poachin' for rabbits because the rabbits was guid at that time—but when they give them that disease we wadnae look at them again—I never did look at them again. But for years and years in the war the beasts was guid and everything was rationed —even to a bit o' biscuit, a can o' beans was rationed, a can o' peas, your sugar, everything, the very biscuits, the very sweeties.

HG So this time you didn't do any selling but went out into public works?

JR Yes, we started sellin' agin, because the time o' the war was the best time for sellin'. Things to sell were scarce though. If you could have got the stuff, we'd be well off today. But what you did get, you could sell it. The people in the country was glad to get a body comin' to their door.

HG How long did you stay on the road this time?

JR We had the caravan aboot three or four year before we sold it. It was a beautiful wagon. And once when my girl Lizzie was sick and I had a big pot o' soup on and a big fire in the stove and the lamp lighted, the doctor come doon frae Banchory. Mind you, he was amazed when he come in. He says, 'My God, what a lovely smell. What's in the pot?' I says, 'Aye, doctor, but it has a better taste.' It was the only waggon that was really on the road at that time. Wagons was goin' oot o' fashion. We had good horses and that was the best thing.

HG Perhaps we could say, without a great deal of exaggeration, that the folksong revival started right there. When you took back to the road you kept the old songs going. You must have remembered many from your mother and your mother's people.

JR Yes, mony's the time you might see seven or eight families at the camp fire. You had got to have somethin' to pass the time by. You had no pictures, no dance hall—not that I was ever in a dance hall in my life. Amongst my people there was fiddlers, accordian players, squeeze box players, mouth organ players, pipe players, and sometimes a lot of very good singers.

HG And by being there you had a chance to sing some of the songs you had learned from the last generation.

JR Oh, yes. It's funny that I never learned no songs after people later. The younger people at that time was singin' mostly up-to-date songs—cowboy songs or somethin' like that. Unless it was some auld body. I've sung mony a time around a camp fire. That was when I was jeest at my very level best. Wi' a big fire and a cup o' tea and somethin' good goin', we could sing a' the better.

HG I read in the programme for the Mermaid Theatre in London that you were discovered in 1953, when you were in your mid-forties. Tell us how you were discovered.

JR Well, that was a strange thing that happened too. The year before I was discovered,

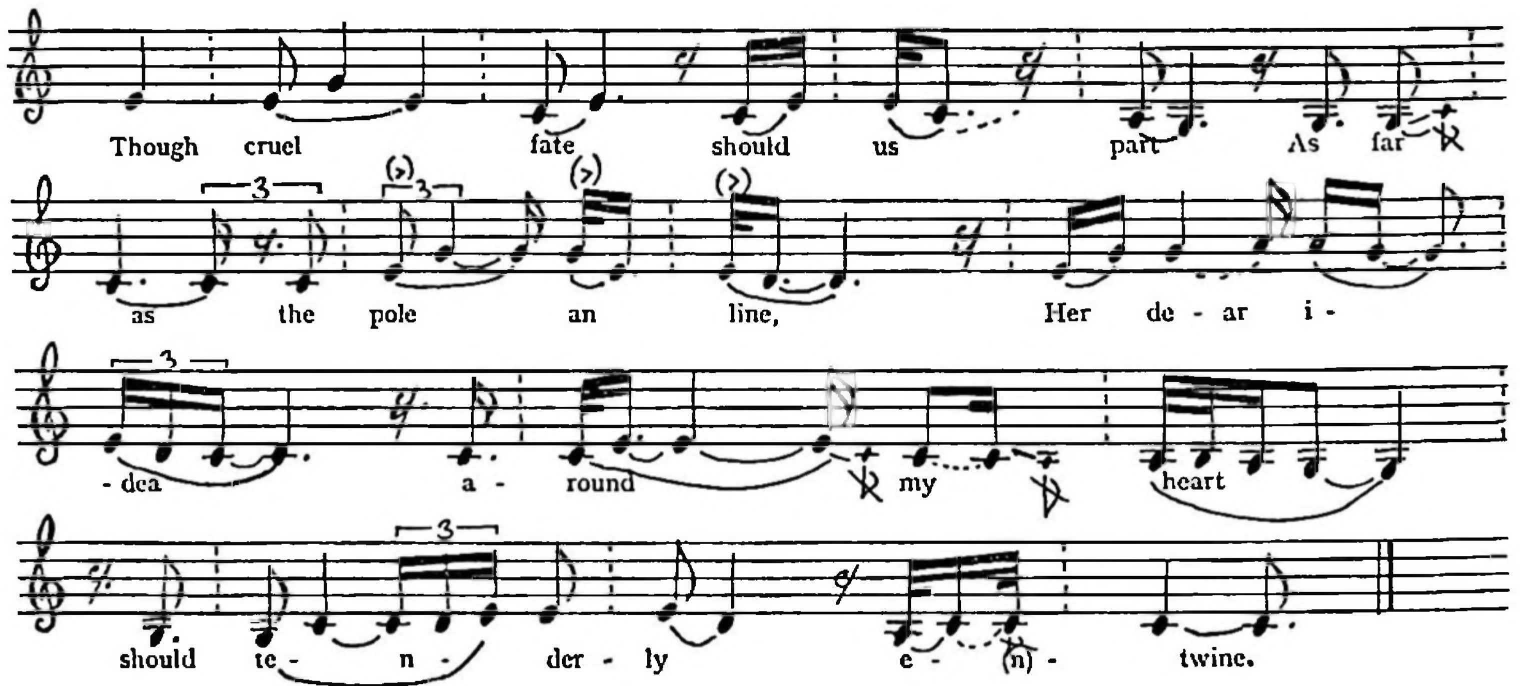
I heard Hamish Henderson and Alan Lomax on the wireless speakin' aboot auld sangs. But I never seed 'em. We never seed folks like that. At the time we was livin' at 23 Causeway End and I was puttin' oot the supper—when I heard them discussin' the sangs. And I says, 'That man's speakin' aboot auld sangs'. Jeest like that. I was impressed at listenin' to them. So I said to Donald and Isaac: 'If those men only kent to come up to Cassie End, I cud give them a good few auld sangs.' I still never forgot them. So Hamish happened to be doon in the Castlegate the year after it—in the Castlegate o' Aberdeen—and he knew travellers when he saw them, and he'd went in aboot the stalls and amongst people who'd workit in the midst o' 'em, and he started to ask 'em about sangs. One was Bobby Hutchison who used to say to me, 'God bless me, Jeannie, I like to hear an auld sang when it's sung decent'. Well, mony's the time I wad sing him an Irish sang—and this sang and that sang. Some o' them he heard his people singin'. It happened to be that Bobby was on the Castlegate at the time when Hamish was speakin' aboot collectin' auld sangs. 'If you want a puckle o' auld sangs,' he said to Hamish, 'go up to Jeannie Robertson'—he never even said my married name—'at 21 Cassie End. You cannae go wrong.' That was fifteen years ago—almost. So Hamish comes up and the knock comes to the door and here's this great big man in a beautiful Highland dress. Oh, he was beautiful-dressed that day, real military lookin' he was. But I said, 'I'm too tired to think aboot singin'. I'm that tired I'm ready to collapse. I cudnae sing for naebody today.' But Hamish was nae easy to put awa'. I wadnae put him awa', mind ye, God forgive me I never put naebody awa' from my door in my life—let him be rich or poor. So I says, 'If you like you can come back at night when I'm no so tired—say aboot maybe eight or nine o'clock, whichever is suitable to you, but I cudnae sing in the meantime.' He says, 'Couldn't I just come in for three or four minutes?' I said, 'Oh, look, I'm gang to let nae ither body come in and tak' my mind off my rest. I must get a rest.' He lookit at me and seed I was jeest the picture o' health and had mysel' a' dressed, for at that time I was awfu' particular. But mind you I was well enough at that time and I lookit very young for my age. I wadnae gae ill, and the very first thing in the mornin' I was aye decked up to the ninety-nines. They used to cry me the Lady o' the Lake, and that's the God's truth. I likit mysel' aye lookin' nice. It was keepin' my sister-in-law's bairns that day that had been greetin' and gettin' on my nerves that had made me ready to fa' doon to my bed. But Hamish got the boy—who was jeest five past at the time—to sing till him. A bonnie wee laddie. My brother's bairn he was—you see Donald's sister married my brother. And after the bairn had sung several of Auntie Jeannie's sangs, Hamish stayed on to tea and I sung for him steady till two o'clock in the morning. I never got my rest—nae rest that day, you see. And that's the God's own truth if I never rise from this chair.

HG Jeannie, I believe you had some of the broadsheets that were printed on the hand-press at Fintry and circulated when you were a child. Tell me, have you heard of cases where people bought broadsheets and would have the words to a song and then would make up their own tunes?

JR Aye, I could make a tune for some of those ballads or sing them to an auld-fashioned air. I could put my ain air to them if I didnae like the air they named. I have sangs that I put the air till mysel'.

HG Could you sing us one of these?

JR Here's a poetry called 'Cruel Fate' that Burns wrote to his Jean when he was planning to go to the West Indies and they were to be parted for good. I didnae have a tune to the words, so I made up my ain, like I have for several.



Though cruel fate should us part
As far as the pole an line,
Her dear idea around my heart
Should tenderly entwine.

Though mountains frown and deserts howl
And oceans roar between
Yet dearer to my deathless soul
I still wad love my Jean.*

* The original appeared with the author's name in Vol. 2 of *Johnson's Musical Museum*, 14 February, 1788 to be sung to 'The Northern Lass'. The full text follows:

Tho' cruel fate should bid us art,
Far as the pole and line;
Her dear idea round my heart
Should tenderly entwine.
Tho' mountains rise, and deserts howl,
And oceans roar between;
Yet, dearer than my deathless soul,
I still would love my Jean.

I'll tell ye the God's truth. I got the words but there was no air till it. It's in the Burns book without an air. By the God's truth the air's mine. I can make up airs, I can. It's only a small two verses and I saw it in a Burns auld, auld song book—a big auld song book, lang, lang ago, when I was jeest a lassiekie. But there was no air attached till it. So therefore I put a hauntin' kind o' air till it mysel'. My mother sung a lot o' Burns's songs. You see, us people goin' oot, many's and many's the auld, auld books o' Burns we've pickit up. At school we sung 'The Banks o' Doon' to one air, but the air that I sing to it now was from a man I heard singin' it and I fancied it. I likit his air better.
HG Do you have any opinion about this—which is more important, the tune of a song or the text of a song?
JR Do you mean the words or the tune? Well, to tell the God's truth, I like them baith. If the words are good, I like the words. When I was a bairn, I wadnae learn a sang off my mither—she'd plenty o' sangs—if the air wasnae bonnie. I didnae like it, though the words was guid. When I was a bairn the air caught my fancy first. I learned the air first, and I think if you get the air o' a sang, the words are nae ill to learn. The words or the idea would come second. That's my opinion. And once you get the air in yer heid, then ye can easily learn the words, it doesnae matter who has the ballad. You know how lang it took me to learn 'Lord Donald'? It's the longest sang I've got. I learned it from a young chap in one night's time. But it wasnae only because o' the air wi' it. It appealed to me as a good story.
HG Why do you think so many people ask for 'Lord Donald'? Is it because of the air or because of the story?
JR Because it's a fine air and a good story.
HG The question that I'm really trying to get at is what do you think makes some songs more popular than others—the story or the music?
JR The music *and* the story. It's got to be a combination of both.
HG If it had to be that one was more important than the other, which do you think is the more important?
JR Well, the words, I suppose, appeal tae people, and I suppose if it's a bonnie air it appeals tae people. Both o' them.
HG You mentioned earlier that you had owned a Burns song book years ago. Do you have any stories about Burns?
JR Well, again amongst auld folk I heard this one. I heard that Burns went across with a boat to Ireland. When he landed at the other side into Ireland—from Ayrshire—the boat hauled up along the quay, you see, and there was a crowd of people waitin' for some of their people comin' off. So the great Irish poet was there. (Now this may be jeest a story, I don't know.) But they called him McGee and he was a poet. So he was standin' on the quay and he looks into the boat and he sees this people standin'. So he lookit at this man specially which had tooken his attention. There's nae doubts about it, Burns had aboot him somethin' that wad have taken people's attention. That's true. And he said:

By the cut of your hair
And the clothes that you wear
I ken you are Burns
Frae the auld toon o' Ayr.

So Burns lookit up at him and he said:

You're on the land
And I'm on the sea:
By the cut o' your gob
I think you're McGee.

HG Jeannie, I believe you have another story—quite a humorous one—that shows how Burns could make a witty poem aboot a person or a situation right on the spur of the moment.
JR Aye, if ye did somethin' or ye walkit in aboot or if you were good-lookin' or somethin' like that, Burns always had somethin' to say. He could always make up this bit o' poetry within a minute or two aboot them. You see, he had that gift. This was his wee bit o' poetry aboot Lady Mathilde—
HG Jeannie, tell me where you got this story? Do you remember?
JR Well, I actually learned this story long ago, when I was jeest a little girl, and I didn't understand the full meaning of it. I got it from my mother, but it wasnae actually my mother's story. It might have been my grandfather's because very often at night, when we was all campin' oot in the summer, my grandfather was a great story-teller and every night he used to tell young and old stories. And we all gathered round the fire, making tea and keeping on big fires at night, at the camps, and then my grandfather told stories.
HG Was he a singer as well?
JR Oh yes, my grandfather could sing too.
HG And of course all the folks admired Burns. He was a common man, and a man who had a lot of talent. Everybody enjoyed his songs.
JR Oh yes, all auld people did like Burns's stories and songs.
HG Tell us the story then as you remember it from your grandfather and your mother.
JR Well, this is how I heard the story. You see, there was a great lady called Lady Mathilde. And as far as I heard she was a poet too. But she was very wealthy and had a big beautiful castle-hoose and plenty o' money and everything. So—the only thing I can't tell in my story is where she come from. But she said that she wad like to have Burns come to her hoose and that she wad send for him. She kenned a lot aboot him. She heard aboot 'im bein' a great poet and she also heard that Burns could make up poetry aboot ye by jeest lookin' at ye. Within a few minutes he could make up a bit o' poetry aboot ye. Especially if ye did somethin'. So she sent for Burns and Burns did come to this big fine castle-hoose and this Lady Mathilde had it full o' gentry, you see, and they was all settin' in the big beautiful hall, settin' round it, but the middle o' the

floor was empty. So when Burns come in at this door she put a drink intill his hand and he was nae dressed to come in amangst gentry because at this time he was jeest a poor man, he was jeest a ploomam, and he was dressed like a plooman when he did come intill the hoose. He had his auld guttery-sharney boots on—no very weel dressed. But nevertheless it was Robbie Burns. And she pit a drink intill his hand, you see. But all in a sudden Lady Mathilde gathered hersel' up and Burns wondered in the name o' God what was wrong wi' 'er, you see, because naebody in a fact kenned in the hoose what she was goin' to dae. She was keepin' it as a kind o' a surprise. And all in a sudden she gathered hersel' up in the front o' Robbie Burns and she gaed flyin' right frae one end o' the hall tae the other end o' the hall, and as she was flyin' she was imitatin' the cock crowin' and flyin', both at the same time. She imitated the cock cryin' oot 'Cock-a-loo-ra-loo' and she was fleein' way up the hall. Now Burns lookit after that a wee bitty surprised, you see, and when she gaes up tae the end o' the hall where there was another door, she flew right up tae this door. Burns lookit at her for a minute or two, and he still had his glass o' whusky in his hand and he raised up his glass o' whusky and he said:

Mathilde tae the door she flew
Tae imitate the cock she crew.
She cried jeest like the little sinner
You wad actually thocht the cock was in 'er.

So that was his wee bit o' poetry aboot Lady Mathilde.

HG Jeannie, I'd like to hear you tell something of the background of the 'Johnie Cocke' story because it is not always clear to a lot of listeners nowadays.

JR Well, first o' a', the 'auld wife' in the first verse is Johnie's mother. She's nae his wife. I've heerd folk ask after a body's auld wife and that means their mother. Now the seventh forester in the story was the heid forester and he had thocht himsel' a 'big lad'. But you see, more than that, he was Johnie's nephew—his sister's son.

HG Then the ballad not only shows the conflict between the law and the common man, but it also reflects the conflict in the family itself.

JR Yes. And believe you me, when a common man gets to onything like that—a job like that—he's worse than the real top man—the gentry—worse than the man in the big hoose. He's worse than him.

HG In other words, give a small man some authority, and he overdoes it.

JR Put a beggar on horseback and he'll ride to hell. That's the God's truth. That's an auld sayin' and it's true yet. When Johnie was sleepin', the six foresters had a better chance—because they were afraid o' him otherways. Because he was a great man wi' the arrows himsel', and he caud kill, and they were afeard o' him. Jeest like a man wi' a gun that was a guid shot—well, he was the same wi' arrows. If it come to a combat of usin' their fists, then Johnie caud do that too, you see.

HG When your version has Johnie say

> I will kill a' you six foresters
> And brak the seventh one's back in three. . . .

What does this mean in terms of the action?
JR It means that he used his arrows upon the six foresters—he was a first-class crack shot wi' the arrows—he returned arrow for arrow—and he broke the seventh one's back in three. He catched him by hand and wounded him and then broke him up.
HG Of course he recognised the seventh forester as his nephew?
JR Oh, yes, and he dealed wi' him wi' his hands. Johnie caudnae help havin' the hurt in his hairt no more than his nephew havin' to dee, you see. So he returned back what he did to him.
HG Your last stanza is particularly forceful

> Johnie he broke his back in three,
> And he broke his collar bone
> And he tied him on his grey mare's back
> For to carry the tidin's home.

This goes back, I believe, to the old days when a horse would go home on its own.
JR Aye, any horse'll gae hame.
HG Then presumably the body of the nephew was returned to the auld wife, who was actually Johnie's mother and the nephew's grandmother.
JR When Johnie tied the nephew's body on the horse's back, Johnie knew his horse wad go back till his own home and the minute his mother saw her grandson killed and tied on the horse's back, she knew her son Johnie was lyin' killed in the woods somewhere. And she had said 'Tae the greenwids dinnae gang, gang . . .'
HG We presume then that Johnie died soon after?
JR The wounds on his thee wadnae killed 'im, but it was the wound on his hairt. The sang says:

> And the next arrow they fired at him—

That was the one that was deadly—

> His hairt's bluid blint his ee.

That must have meant that the arrow gied through his hairt and the blood gushed into his ee.
HG This ballad tells a story in a very realistic way—very straight. On the other hand the listener sometimes has to infer what the truth of it is, and the moral behind the story, because the song doesn't come out and say them directly. Do you think this kind of ballad is going out? Are many of the younger people singing ballads of this kind?
JR No, I don't think so. Not a lot of the young people learns it. I haven't heerd any o' them ever singin' that kind o' ballad.

HG This ballad interests me a great deal. It was Professor Child who said that 'Johnie Cocke' was 'a precious specimen of the ballad tradition.' I had never heard it sung till I heard you sing it about fifteen years ago. Where did you tell me you learned it?
JR Well, my mother had learned me the ballad. But she wasnae the only one at that time that knew it. And then it mentions Monymusk. Every summer we was brought up round aboot Monymusk and we connected Johnie wi' the place.
HG In your lifetime has there been much deer in that area?
JR Oh, yes. There're deer a' through the country still if you gae to the right places, especially in the back glens.
HG There's another ballad—'My Son David'—that you are often asked to sing, and in your version David says:—

O I'm gang awa' in a bottomless boat
And I'll never return again. . . .

Now exactly what do you think he meant when he told his mother that?
JR Well, it's very plain to be seen what he meant. If he was gang awa' in a bottomless boat—well, he was gang to droon himsel'. He wad never come back. He was gang to destroy his ain sel'.
HG And what do you think the two brothers fell out about?
JR The thing was that David was oldest and he was heir to everything, and the other brother was a very selfish, jealous brother. He wanted for nothin', he had everything too. But he didnae want that. He wanted to be the master, you see, o' the castle or fat ever it was. And he wanted to kill his brother and become master. So his mother likit David even better than fat she likit the other one. So when he tried to kill his brother, well, of course, it was a natural thing for David to fight to defend his sel'. So he killed his brother.
HG So this is a story of killing instead of being killed?
JR But David fought him a fair fight and killed him.
HG That explains your version.
JR We hadnae enough o' the ballad, actually, to tell the whole story.
HG Another one of yours that I seldom hear is 'The Bonnie Hoose o' Airlie'.
JR It's funny but my way o' havin' it is the same air as 'Loch Lomond'. The same air:

It fell on a day and a bonnie summer's day,
When the clans were awa' wi' Chairlie,
That there fell oot a great dispute
Between Argyll and Airlie.

That's the air that our people used to sing till it lang ago.
HG Now Airlie is in what part of Scotland?
JR It's in Perthshire, I believe. You see, Argyll kent that Lord Ogilvie was awa' wi' Prince Chairlie, and then he kent it were naebody there by Lady Ogilvie and their bairns. He once tried to coort Lady Ogilvie, but she wadnae hae 'im. You see, she took

Lord Ogilvie. So Argyll said he wad burn doon the castle, and he'd ne'er leave a standin' stane o' it. But he give her a chance to come doon and kiss 'im. To make up wi' 'im. And then she said till 'im:

> I wadnae come doon, ye false Argyll,
> Nor wad I kiss thee fairly.
> I wadnae come doon, ye false Argyll,
> Though ye dinnae leave a standin' stane o' Airlie.

She wadnae come doon if he burned baith her and her bairns.

> If my guid lord was at hame,
> As this nicht he's awa' wi' Chairlie—
> For it's no Argyll and a' his men
> That wad plunder the bonnie hoose o' Airlie.

HG Does anybody know why the Duke of Argyll didn't follow Charlie?
JR Well, no—I'm maybe good enough at history in my mind, but I caudnae jeest tell ye why he didnae. But the castle was burned and I cannae mind the last two verses that tell how Prince Charlie and them were comin' o'er the loch in the boat. They seed the reek comin' to Airlie and they kent whenever they seed it. Lord Ogilvie said it was his hoose that was on fire and he kent wha it was that did it—he had an idea—they got her and the bairns jeest there by theirsel' and the servants. I cannae mind the last two verses. I'll have to see if I can get somebody that can mind them. But it's a bonnie song.
HG I understand that you learned most of your songs from your mother and that she died only a year or so before Hamish Henderson came first to your door.
JR Aye, it was mostly at nicht, as I learned all my big ballads at nicht. My mother cudnae sleep as her two sons and her husband was oot in the First World War and she cudnae sleep because she was worried. And she used to set up till aboot two in the mornin'. Her and her brother used to sing the songs togither, and I used to listen, and I got interested in the ballads and the folksongs. I started to learn them at that time. The auld sangs went from mouth tae mouth in these days. They never learned them off of paper, that's certain. My people lived in the caravans and tents. Through the day they went oot sellin' their wares and their goods and at nicht after the supper they used to sit round the fires and we'd have a little sing-song or a bit o' music. They cud all play—bagpipes, fiddles, accordians, or mouth organs—and they cud all sing. I was askit to sing and of course I wud sing a few sangs what the people likit me to sing and it was the ballads that they askit. And some o' the older people wud sing. And some o' the ones aboot my age that was very guid at the auld sangs. That's how we passed the time. I'm singin' a story when I sing a big ballad. And the most o' them is really history. When I'm singin' the song, to tell ye the God's truth, I picture it, jeest as if it was really happenin'. To me, the big ballads which I've keepen since a child an' has never forgotten, they'll always be to me a story as well as a song.

The Evolution of Scottish Breeds of Sheep

M. L. RYDER

In marked contrast to England, Scotland has produced few modern breeds of sheep: in fact there still survives within the country a type which is probably the most primitive domestic sheep of Europe—the Soay. A slowness in the improvement of stock in the past, which was partly the result of the small size of flocks, coupled with poor communications, has allowed this apparently prehistoric sheep to survive for modern scientific study.

One must emphasise, however, that although the Soay sheep now runs wild on St Kilda, it represents an early type of domestic stock, and is not a truly wild sheep. The wild ancestors of domestic sheep died out early in north-west Europe, probably as a result of the spread of forest in post-glacial times, and although it is possible that survivors of the wild Mouflon contributed to domestic sheep in southern Europe, the main domestic stock reached Europe from the Near East, and the first domestic sheep of the British Isles arrived with Neolithic settlers who crossed the surrounding seas about 3000 B.C.

Ryder (1964a) reviewed evidence concerning the main types of sheep to reach Britain, and came to the following broad conclusions. During the whole of the prehistoric period the main, although not necessarily homogeneous, stock was probably small, horned, and brown, and the Soay sheep (Plate IVa) can perhaps be regarded as a survivor of this type.

The next main introduction is thought to have been made by the Romans, and their sheep were probably white, and horned only in the rams. This type on its own probably gave rise eventually on the one hand to the shortwool that grew the fine wool of medieval England, and on the other hand to the longwool that superseded it. The indigenous brown sheep of Britain probably persisted mainly in the west and north, and crosses between these and Roman (or later) sheep may have produced types that remain today as white- or tan-faced horned breeds, such as the Welsh Mountain and Cheviot (Plate IVd), Cheviot rams being horned in the past.

The modern Shetland breed (Plate IVc) can be regarded as intermediate between the earliest (Soay) type, and the modern Cheviot; it is probably a survivor of the Dunface or Old Scottish Shortwool that was the main, if not the only, type in Scotland until the eighteenth century. The third main British stock is the horned and hairy black-faced type (Plate IVf), and when this arrived in Britain is not known. It apparently did not reach Scotland from England, at any rate in numbers, until as late as the eighteenth century.

The history of sheep will be followed below in chronological sequence using different sources of evidence in successively later periods. The earliest archaeological evidence comes solely from skeletal remains, sculptural representations being few in Britain. Although wool textile remains from England go back to the Bronze Age, the earliest in Scotland are from the Roman period; these do, however, provide valuable evidence on fleece type right up to the eighteenth century. From the Middle Ages onwards wool fibre remains in parchments provide useful additional evidence. Historical sources begin about this time, but there are even fewer written records of sheep type than there are in England.

Evidence from Bones—from Prehistoric Times to the Middle Ages

The main source of evidence of livestock in prehistory is from excavated skeletal remains, and it should be mentioned that only from the skull is it readily possible to distinguish sheep from goats. It is thus the practice in archaeological reports, particularly if goat as well as sheep skulls are found, to regard the remaining bones of the skeleton as 'sheep/goat'. One can of course state the conclusions that could be drawn from the bones if they were in fact from sheep, and in dealing with remains from English Medieval sites (*e.g.* Ryder 1961) there is probably some justification in regarding all the remains as likely to be from sheep, particularly when no goat skulls are represented. As the goat is likely to have been more common in Scotland (Megaw 1964) this assumption should perhaps not be made on Scottish sites. Indeed, the goat was represented among remains from the seventh- or eighth-century monastic site of Abercorn, in the Lowlands (Ryder 1968a).

Early workers likened particular bone remains to those of different modern breeds on a general impression only, or at the best on a few measurements. Today it is realised that any such attempt must be made on many detailed measurements and their ratios, together with statistical treatment. Such an approach has already made it possible to distinguish bones of sheep from those of goats (Hildebrand 1955; Boessneck, Müller and Teichert 1964); but it is going to be an enormous task to distinguish differences in size due to breed from within-breed variation due to sex, nutritional status or genetic variation.

Single sites frequently yield no more than a few complete bones. A bone that is often well preserved and used in implements is the metapodial (cannon bone) and this can also be measured in life. This paper therefore concentrates on measurements of metapodials, and some new measurements (Table I) have been made for it.

This may be a convenient point to mention ideas concerning different types of prehistoric sheep and their ancestry, discussed by Ryder (1964a), which despite doubt and much discussion have tended to become established in the archaeological literature.

Archaeological remains of domestic sheep were first found in the Neolithic lake-dwellings of Switzerland, and were described by Rütimeyer in 1861. These were small

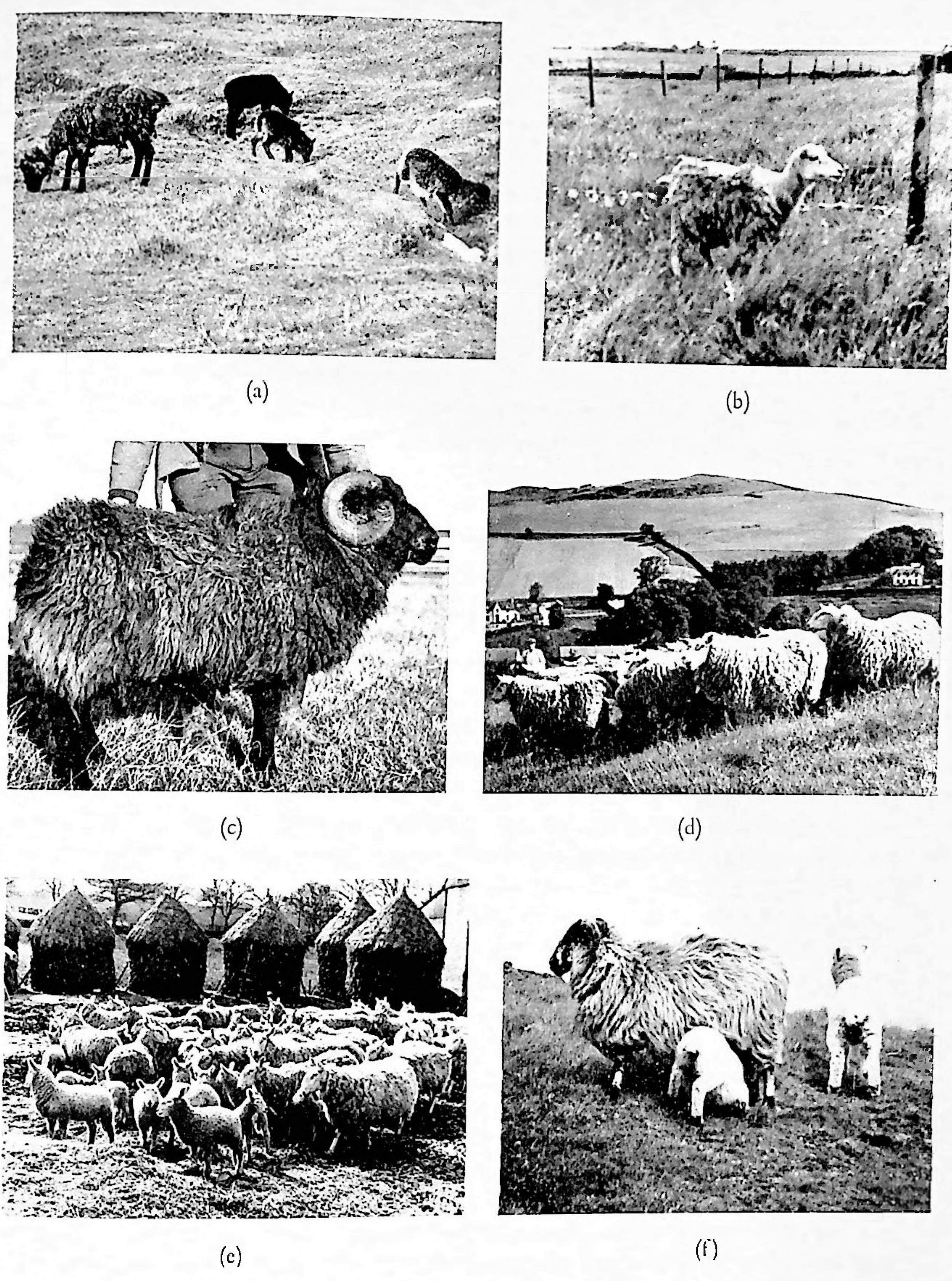


PLATE IV

Primitive and modern breeds of Scottish sheep: (a) Soay ewe and lambs on St Kilda; (b) Orkney ewe tethered on North Ronaldsay; (c) Black Shetland ram; (d) Cheviot sheep; (e) Border Leicester sheep and lambs; (f) Blackface ewe and lambs

((d) and (e) are International Wool Secretariat photographs, the remainder are by the author)

sheep with goat-like horns, which suggested that the breed had been derived from the Urial, thought to have been the main ancestor of domestic sheep in south-west Asia. This Urial-horned sheep was named *Ovis aries palustris* or the Turbary sheep, and rightly or wrongly since then there has been a tendency to describe any small sheep bones from European Neolithic sites as Turbary sheep bones. It has often been repeated (*e.g.* Piggott 1954) that the Dutch Heath sheep, because of its short tail, represents the Turbary today; but this is unlikely because it has a highly evolved hairy coat and a black face, suggesting an affinity with the Scottish Blackface.

In 1882 the Swiss lake-dwellings yielded some larger sheep remains with stouter horns, and these led to the belief that this sheep had affinities with the Mouflon (European) type of wild sheep. It was given the name *Ovis aries studeri*, after the discoverer, and was thought to belong to a later period, the Copper Age, at the beginning of the Bronze Age. Even though these sheep might be shown to be distinctive types, modern biology would regard them as breeds or varieties and not give them sub-specific names. It seems that all types of wild and domestic sheep will interbreed, and therefore on one view should be regarded as belonging to a single species.

Although the Turbary (*palustris*) and the Copper Age sheep (*studeri*) are still quoted as distinct types (*e.g.* Zeuner 1963) there is no conclusive evidence that they are. Some workers consider that both types belong to the same period, and that *studeri* is the ram, and *palustris* the ewe, of a single 'breed'. In all horned breeds the rams have larger horns than the ewes, and the stout horns of the Soay ram lead one to suggest that *studeri* sheep are merely rams of Soay type. Others regard them as a mixed Urial-Mouflon race, and the finding of hornless skulls among the remains with large horns suggests Mouflon influence, as Mouflon ewes often lack horns. Ewart (1913), for instance, considered that although Mouflon-type horns are still found in the Soay, this and other primitive breeds such as the Shetland sometimes have Urial-like horns, suggesting 'simple Turbary blood'. In the present author's experience, however, such horns occur only in the ewes of the Soay: these might therefore provide the identity of *palustris* sheep.

Clark (1947) considered that, owing to forest coverage, sheep played a minor role in the Neolithic husbandry of north-west Europe. As long as woodland prevailed pigs and cattle predominated, but as the amount of forest became reduced during the Bronze Age as a result of agriculture, so the sheep (or goat) became more important, and sometimes predominant. (Zeuner [1963] has since pointed out that the goat could have preceded the sheep before the woodland was cleared.) The limiting effect of woodland on sheep distribution in Scotland is likely to have been prolonged because considerable forest coverage probably persisted until as late as the seventeenth century (Ritchie 1920). Although the sheep in the wild state is a mountain animal, it prefers more open country to the rugged and wooded ground frequented by the goat. It fitted well into a settled farming pattern as it could graze stubble, and its droppings manured the soil.

Clark regarded this ecological interpretation of livestock changes as being supported by the increased numbers of sheep and the smaller proportion of pigs in Neolithic sites

in open areas such as Orkney. Pigs were absent from two Neolithic sites on Rousay that had sheep and goats (Platt 1934b; Childe and Grant 1939).

Watson (1931:202-4) found the Neolithic site of Skara Brae to be peculiar compared with English Neolithic sites in having abundant sheep bones and a rarity of pig bones. He thought the difficulty of keeping cattle on Orkney was emphasised by the high proportion of remains from animals killed before the first winter. There was no evidence for this with sheep, and Watson concluded that the natural forage for them was adequate throughout the year. It is possible that seaweed was already being eaten by sheep there, as it still is on North Ronaldsay. Higgs and White (1963) investigated the accuracy of determining the age of specimens from teeth, and re-examined the data from Skara Brae. They concluded that there is no evidence for the abnormal killing of young livestock in autumn at Skara Brae, or at any British prehistoric site. They merely claim, however, to have demonstrated the lack of seasonal killing: it is possible that tooth eruption was too variable to show it.

Skara Brae is unique in a number of respects, one being the relatively late date for Neolithic culture, and this must be borne in mind when interpreting the findings. Despite the large number of sheep, there was no evidence of textile manufacture, and the presence of awls suggests the sewing of skins for clothing. Watson noted that the limb bones of the sheep were long and slender 'like those of the Neolithic sheep or the sheep of Soya [sic]', although no measurements were given. The one complete metatarsal from Skara Brae I have been able to measure (Table I) was the longest in the table, but judging from the length/minimum-width ratios those from Iron Age sites on South Uist were more slender. Watson illustrates two incomplete skulls with large horn cores like those of Soay rams, and these have a tendency to project sideways (rather than backwards) as in the modern Soay. Protagonists of the 'two-type' theory would no doubt identify the Skara Brae sheep as *studeri*, but the available evidence suggests merely a ram of perhaps Soay type.

If *palustris* did in fact exist, its apparent absence from Scottish sites could be explained by Zeuner's suggestion (1963:193) that, whereas *palustris* spread across Europe via the Swiss lake-dwellings from the Danubian culture in the south-east, *studeri* reached western and northern Europe from the Mediterranean region, possibly with the Megalith-builders. Daniel (1962:39) regarded these Neolithic settlers as one of the main ethnic groups in Scotland. According to Atkinson (1962:21) the main impact took place in south-west Scotland before 2000 B.C., but there was a second possible route of Neolithic colonisation originating in Yorkshire and continuing up the east coast as far as Buchan, and a third introduction into the north-east, from Northern Ireland, possibly by way of the Great Glen. These suggested separate routes of entry, no doubt of different Neolithic peoples, mean that a variety of sheep could have been introduced, and it will be seen below that textile remains reveal differences in fleece type.

About 2000 B.C. Bronze Age Beaker-Folk began to arrive in Scotland from between the Elbe and the Rhine (Piggott 1962:82), and these could have brought yet another type

TABLE I

Measurements (in millimetres) of bone objects made from sheep metapodials
(in National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland)

		Length	Proximal width	Minimum width at mid-point	Distal width	Length/minimum width ratio
NEOLITHIC						
Skara Brae (Childe 1931)						
L. 1933–2080	MT	140	19	12	22	11·67
L. 1933–202	MT	—	20	—	—	—
L. 1933–200	MP	—	—	—	22	—
L. 1933–203	MP	—	—	—	22	—
L. 1933–2075	MP(?MC)	—	—	—	24	—
Jarlshof (Hamilton 1956)						
HSA 3003	MP	—	—	—	21	—
HSA 3004	MP	—	—	10	21	—
LATE BRONZE AGE						
Jarlshof (Hamilton 1956)						
HSA 3061	MT	—	20	—	—	—
HSA 3058	MP	—	—	11	22	—
HSA 3053	MP(?MC)	—	—	—	25	—
IRON AGE						
Howmae, Orkney (Traill 1889)						
GO 49	MT	124	18	11	21	11·27
GO 50	MT	125	18	11	21	11·36
GO 51	MT	125	18	11	21	11·36
GO 48	MT	126	18	11	21	11·45
— —	MP	—	—	—	21	—
GO 52, 53 & 54	MC	115	20	12	22	9·58
GO 35	MP	—	—	—	22	—
GO 47	MC	126	21	13	24	9·69
GO 37, 40 & 177	MP	—	—	—	23	—
GO 178	MP	—	—	—	24	—
Elsay Broch, Caithness						
GA 804	MC	123	23	15	24	8·20
Burrian Broch, North Ronaldsay						
GB 215	MC	—	20	—	—	—
GB 253	MP	—	—	—	22	—
Midhowe, Orkney (Callander and Grant 1934)						
GAM 12	MP	—	—	—	20	—
GAM 18	MP	—	—	—	24	—
Ayre Broch, Orkney						
L. 1948–18	MP	—	—	—	21	—

TABLE I (*contd.*)

		Length	Proximal width	Minimum width at mid-point	Distal width	Length/minimum width ratio
North Uist Earth House						
GNB 70	MC	*c.* 110	21	13	—	—
GNB 71	MC	*c.* 110	21	12	—	—
South Uist						
Clarke (mean)	MC	116	20	8	22·5	14·5
Borness Cave, Borgue, Kirkcudbright (Corrie 1878)						
HN 54	MC	115	17	12	22	9·58
ROMAN (not in Museum of Antiquities)						
Hadrian's Wall (Chaplin 1965)						
	MC	115	20	11·0	21·5	10·45
	MC	—	—	—	22	—
	MC	—	—	—	23·5	—
	MC	*c.* 120	20·5	13·3	24·5	9·02
	MT	*c.* 100	—	—	18·5	—
	MT	—	—	—	19	—
	MT	127	17·5	11·2	—	—
EARLY CHRISTIAN						
Jarlshof						
(a shuttle)	MC	118	20	13	22	9·08
B 178	MP	—	—	—	23	—
NORSE						
Jarlshof						
HSA 211	MT	—	20	—	—	—

MC = metacarpal MT = metatarsal MP = unidentified metapodial

of sheep. The Bronze Age is characterised by a nomadic pastoralism over the hills of northern Britain—which may have led to the beginning of transhumance to summer shielings. Although habitation sites are rare, it seems that this pastoral economy was based on sheep, and that the spinning and weaving of wool became well developed during the Bronze Age. Trow-Smith (1957: 17) has suggested that the sheep of the Bronze Age provided the soil fertility on which the arable agriculture of the Iron Age was based.

The most complete Bronze Age site in Scotland is Jarlshof, in Shetland, a location which may have made it atypical. Two spindle-whorls provide the only evidence of textile manufacture there. Platt (1933 and 1934) found that the most numerous remains

were sheep bones, and that most of the jaws were from immature animals (*cf.* however, Higgs and White 1963). In 1933 she found bones 'of the typical slender Shetland sheep liberally represented at all levels'. There was also a larger sheep, with large horns, but this was not as large as that at Skara Brae. All the measurements that Platt was able to make compared well with the measurements of a modern Soay skeleton in the Royal Scottish Museum, with a tendency for the measurement to be longer and more slender than the Soay. The angle of attachment of the large horn cores was comparable with that in the Soay. A hornless skull found at a higher level has become established in the literature, but does not appear from the excavation report to be from a prehistoric level. In 1934 Platt regarded all the remains as representing the Soay type, and considered that the smaller bones were from immature animals. As no indication was given that growth of these bones was incomplete, they could have been from ewes, and the larger ones from rams. Neither of these possibilities gives support for Platt's interpretation (1956) that there were two types of sheep at Jarlshof.

Ryder (1968b) described some Bronze Age remains from Wetton Mill, Staffordshire, and at first sight these appeared to be similar in length to the larger ones from Jarlshof. Some were certainly longer than present-day Soay bones from St Kilda, and longer, but more slender, than those of the modern Blackface and Cheviot. More detailed investigation involving the plotting of length/minimum-width ratios of metapodials on a graph (Fig. 1) showed that the Wetton Mill bones were closer to the St Kilda Soay than to the Jarlshof remains. Surprisingly the Soay bones at the Royal Scottish Museum used by both Platt and Clarke (see below) are similar to the Jarlshof remains, but quite distinct from bones collected on St Kilda in recent years. The explanation for this discrepancy is not immediately obvious. Possibly the Soay bones at the Royal Scottish Museum were mainland sheep, or the Soays on St Kilda may have decreased in size in the last 50 to 100 years. Although not evident in Clarke's few measurements, the Mouflon is a relatively long-legged animal, and long limb bones may be a primitive feature. The one Mouflon measurement given by Ewart (1914) is greater than the same measurement in any of the domestic sheep examined (Table II).

A four-horned sheep was found in the Iron Age level at Jarlshof. This character is a mutant rather than a distinct type of sheep, and it keeps appearing right up to modern times. It has occurred in sheep in the Northern and Western Isles, Isle of Man, and as far south as Cornwall, suggesting an affinity between the sheep of these different parts. It was found at the Roman fort of Newstead, and Bishop Leslie noted multi-horned sheep in the Tweed valley in 1578. The recent occurrence in the Hebrides has led to the name 'St Kilda sheep' for this four-horned variety, but there appear to be no recent records of multiple-horned sheep from St Kilda (Boyd *et al.* 1964) and it does not appear to be a characteristic of the Soays on St Kilda today.

A group of Iron Age sites on South Uist in the Outer Hebrides has yielded an important group of sheep bones from which useful measurements have been made. Unfortunately the excavation report of only one site has been published (À Cheardach Mhor,

RELATIONSHIP OF LENGTH TO MINIMUM WIDTH IN SHEEP METAPODIALS (MM)

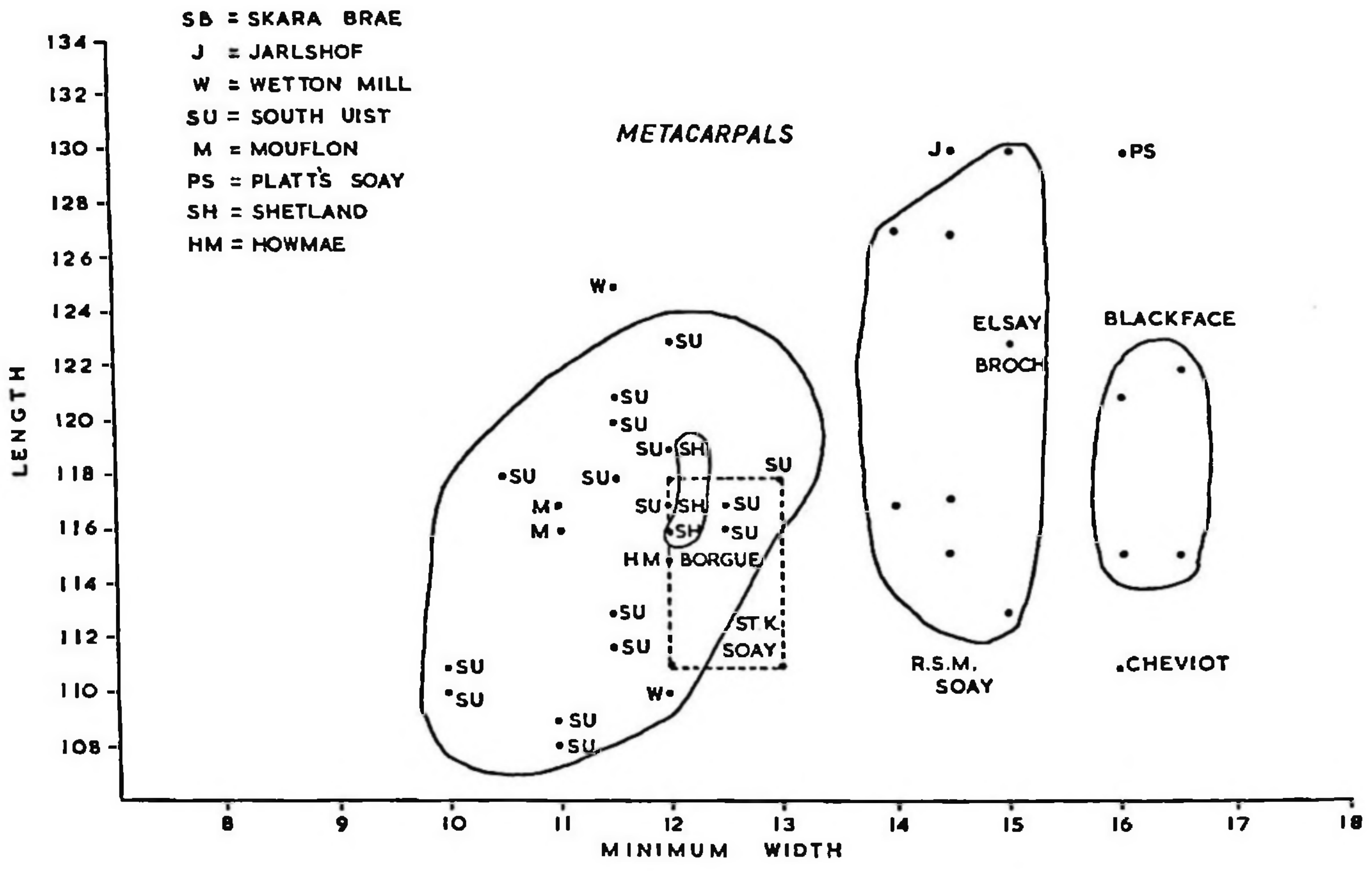


FIG. 1a

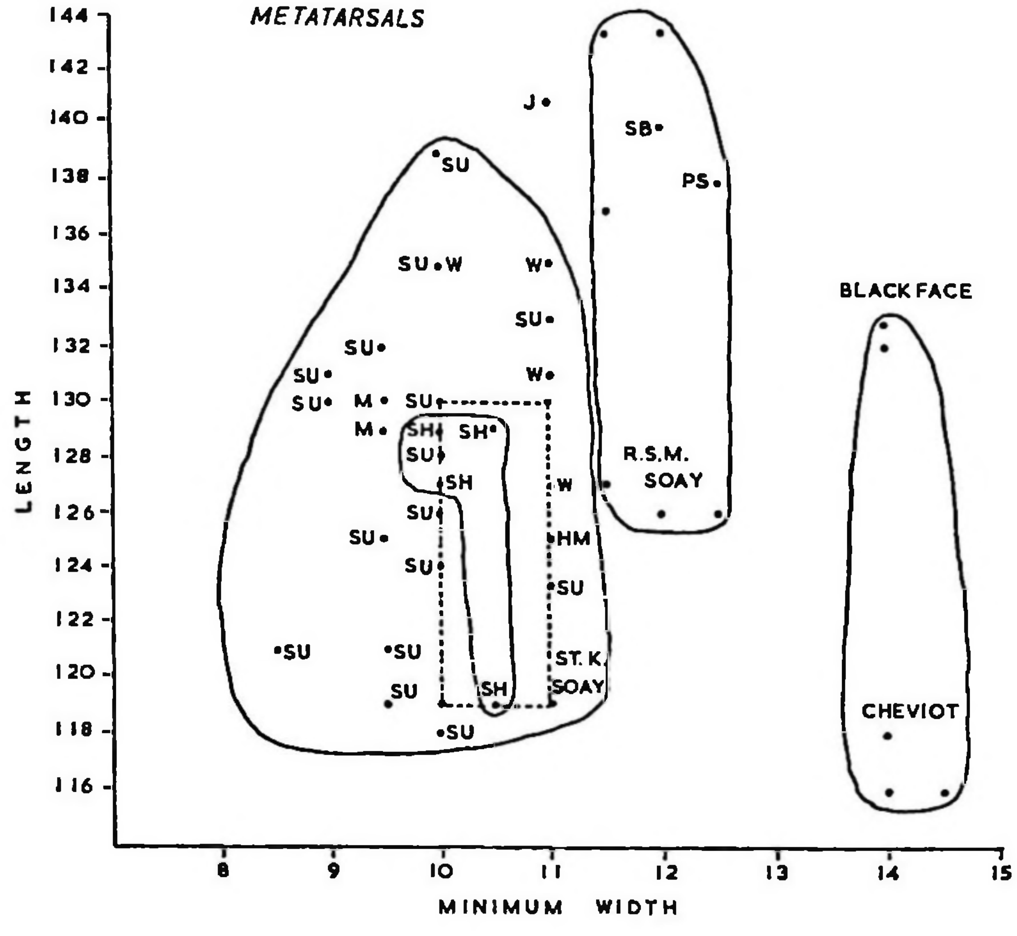


FIG. 1b

Drimore), and in this Clarke (1962) likened the sheep to the 'Old Highland breed now remaining in Shetland', and found them to be smaller than the Soays in the Royal Scottish Museum. He has kindly allowed me to use his figures (Table II) and graph (Fig. 1) which include bones from the remaining, unpublished sites. I have added other measurements to the graph, and from these L/M ratios it can be seen that the Mouflon, St Kilda

TABLE II

Metapodial measurements (in millimetres) from Iron Age sites on South Uist, and comparisons
(Clarke, unpublished)

South Uist	*Length*	*Proximal width*	*Minimum width*	*Distal width*	*Length/ minimum width*
Metacarpals (19)	108–123 mean 116	19–22 mean 20	7·5–9 mean 8	21–25 mean 22·5	14·50
Mouflon	116·5 (121)	19·5 (21)	(14)	22 (24)	(8·64)
Soay	124	23·5		24·5	
Shetland	117	22		24	
Blackface	115	27		29	
Mouflon (Ewart 1914)	114	—	16	—	9·0
South Uist					
Metatarsals (22)	118–139 mean 127	16·5–21 mean 18·5	8·5–11 mean 9·5	19–22 mean 21	13·37
Mouflon	129·5 (130)	17·5 (20)	(12)	21 (23)	(10·83)
Soay	135	20		23	
Shetland	125	20		23	
Blackface	116·5	23		27	

(Measurements in brackets are of an old female Mouflon; the left and right bones were identical in size.)

Soay, Wetton Mill, South Uist, and Shetland sheep form one group, that Skara Brae, Jarlshof and Elsey Broch, Caithness, form another, and the modern Cheviot and Blackface form a third. The vertical dispersion of measurements within a group indicates a variation in length which is probably partially a sex difference. The bones from the modern breeds are noticeably broader than, but no different in length from, those of ancient sheep and primitive breeds still in existence.

A change that has possibly taken place is first a reduction in length from that of the Mouflon, and then an increase in width towards that of modern breeds, but there is little to support this in the table. The main conclusions from Fig. 1 are that prehistoric sheep were similar in size to the modern Soay and Shetland, and that there may have been a longer-legged (more primitive) type in Caithness, Orkney and Shetland.

The extent to which the Romans influenced the agriculture of Scotland has not yet been fully determined. It is worth bearing in mind, however, that they had a camp as

far north as Auchterless, about 20 miles from the Moray Firth. There seems to be no conclusive evidence for the reasonable assumption of Ryder (1964a) that the Romans brought improved sheep to Britain. Indeed, Wild (1966) used evidence from the Roman writer Strabo to suggest that the Belgae may have introduced a sheep with an improved fleece into Britain before the arrival of the Romans.

A carving of a sheep associated with the Antonine Wall, and now in the National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland, shows a horned animal with what Ryder (1964a) described as 'rough' wool. This tells us little, and it could in any case be a completely exotic and traditional Roman representation. With Pictish native art, for instance, Thomas (1961) has shown that the basic animal designs passed into Celtic tradition from European sources about 200 B.C. A tile in the same museum from Camelon near the Wall has two imprints of a hoof made while the clay was still soft. These were identified as sheep by Anderson (1900). The leading, and deeper, imprint is 46 mm wide, and the other 40 mm wide. These measurements seemed to be too big for the hoof of a Romano-British sheep, but they in fact correspond to the proximal part. A cast of the hoof enabled the distal width of the prints to be measured and these were comparable with the width of the hooves of a modern Soay ram (Ryder 1968d).

The Romans had a well-developed wool manufacturing industry in England, and a small votive wool bale of Roman origin, found in a broch in Skye, was regarded by Clark (1947) as indicating trade with Scotland.

Bryce (1906) compared the sheep remains from the Roman forts on Bar Hill, Dunbartonshire, with the Soay, although there were a few bones which he regarded as comparable with those of modern sheep. The large number of sheep remains here, and at Corbridge, was attributed by Applebaum (1958) to Syrian army units with a liking for mutton. The fewer sheep remains from Newstead were compared by Ewart (1911) with the *studeri* type, and the Soay, and named the 'Celtic' sheep. Some four-horned skulls were also found there.

When measurements of sheep bones from Hadrian's Wall given by Chaplin (1965) were plotted on the graph in Fig. 1 with others of bones from the medieval village of Wharram Percy, Yorkshire (Ryder unpublished), these fell within the first of the three groups mentioned above. Platt (1956) gives no measurements of the bones of the Viking period from Jarlshof. There is thus nothing to substantiate her claim that there were two breeds of sheep. There appear to be no Viking measurements available, and the seventh-eighth-century bones from Abercorn (Ryder 1968a) were slender, but otherwise too fragmentary for measurement. The meagre evidence does, however, suggest that sheep were of small size in Britain right down to the Middle Ages.

Evidence from Wool Remains in Textiles and Parchment: Roman Times to the Eighteenth Century

Apparently no wool textiles older than those of the Bronze Age have been found in Europe. The wool in these invariably had a natural brown colour, and was frequently

hairy. By the time of the Roman Iron Age, however, many of the textiles were completely white.

The oldest dated textiles found in Scotland are of the Roman period (Henshall 1952), and Table III shows the wool-fibre measurements and apparent fleece types from the

TABLE III

Fibre Diameter Measurements (in microns) of Scottish Wools up to the Middle Ages

		Pigment	*Range*	*Mean*	*Mode*	*Distribution*	*Fleece type*
Roman							
Balmaclellan	(a)	—	16–30	21	18	skew-fine	generalised medium/fine
FA 14	(b)	—	10–34 (2 of 70)	21	16	skew fine	hairy medium
Falkirk	(a)	—	10–30	17	16	symmetrical	fine
FRA 483	(b)	++	10–36 (1 of 80)	18	14	skew-fine	hairy medium
	(c)	++	12–34	18	14	skew-fine	generalised medium/fine
Newstead	(a)	+	12–36 (1 of 80)	23	20	skew-fine	hairy medium
FRA 1180	(b)	+	12–50	28	30	symmetrical	medium
Viking							
Orkney Hood	1 (a)	++	16–40 (1 of 80)	25	20	skew-fine	hairy medium
NA 3	(b)	++	10–60	26	20	skew-fine	hairy medium
	2 (a)	+	10–114	28	22	skew-fine	hairy medium
	(b)	+	14–94	27	24	skew-fine	hairy medium
	3 (a)	+	16–100	30	20	skew-fine	hairy medium
	(b)	+	10–110	27	20	skew-fine	hairy medium
	4	++	14–44 (plus some hairs)	23	20	skew-fine	hairy medium
	5 (a)	+	12–42 (1 of 66)	25	20	skew-fine	hairy medium
	(b)	+	14–48 (1 of 60, 80)	25	20	skew-fine	hairy medium
Kildonan	1 (a)	+	18–56	28	24	skew-fine	hairy medium
IL 164	(b)	+	16–58	36	—	continuous	hairy medium
	2	+	14–60	25	20	skew-fine	hairy medium
	3	+	12–46	28	22	continuous	generalised medium
tuft	4	+	20–46	33	30	symmetrical	medium
Date unknown							
Greenigoe	1 (a)	+++	24–88	48	—	continuous	hairy
NA 307	(b)	+++	16–70	22	—	continuous	hairy
	2 (a)	+	8–46	22	14	skew-fine	generalised medium
	(b)	++	12–48	25	20	skew-fine	generalised medium
	3 (a)	+	12–46	25	24	skew fine	generalised medium
	(b)	+	16–64	32	—	continuous	hairy

TABLE III (*contd.*)

		Pigment	Range	Mean	Mode	Distribution	Fleece type
	4 (a)	++	16–100	37	—	continuous	hairy
	(b)	++	14–50	27	20	skew-fine	generalised medium
Medieval							
Closeburn	(a)	++	10–54	23	20	skew-fine	generalised medium
ME 327	(b)	+++	14–40	26	20	skew-fine	generalised medium
Loch Trieg	(a)	+	8–30	18	20*	symmetrical	fine
HT 170	(b)	+	12–34	20	20	symmetrical	generated medium
Caerlaverock	(a)	+++	10–46	23	20	skew-fine	generalised medium
	(b)	++	14–40 (1 of 98, 120)	27	20	skew-fine	hairy medium

* Ritchie (1942) reported these fibres as being 20–24 microns in diameter.

1 micron = 0·001 mm.

Catalogue numbers are those of the National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland

(a), (b) indicate the two yarns of the cloth

Mode = the most ftequent measurement

\+ = slight pigmentation

++ = moderate pigmentation

+++ = dense pigmentation

Romano-British to medieval textiles in the National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland (Ryder 1964b). Of the seven yarns from specimens of the Roman period, three were white, and four had slight to moderately-pigmented fibres, suggesting influence from a brown sheep possibly of Soay type. Two of the wools (from Balmaclellan (Dumfries-shire) and Falkirk) had the same 'skewed-to-fine' distribution of fibre diameter found in the Soay sheep, and in non-pigmented textiles from Palestine dated first century B.C.–A.D. This was termed a generalised medium wool because it appears to provide an evolutionary link between the more primitive, hairy type, and the more highly evolved true medium and fine wools.

Three of the wools (Balmaclellan, Falkirk and Newstead) had the generalised medium distribution, but with a few hairs. This was termed a hairy medium wool, and regarded as more primitive than the fleece of the Soay. Detailed observations since made on the fleeces of the Soay sheep remaining on St Kilda have shown that there is a hairy (more primitive) type as well as a woolly type (Ryder 1966a). In addition, only three-quarters of the animals have a dark brown coat, and the remainder are light brown in colour. The Soay sheep on the mainland which stem from stock removed from St Kilda about 50 years ago all have a dark, woolly coat.

The diameter distribution in the remaining two yarns (Newstead and Falkirk) was symmetrical on each side of the mean, indicating a more uniform fleece. The mean diameter of one (from Newstead) suggested a true medium wool (comparable in diameter with a modern longwool) and that of the other (from Falkirk) indicated a true

fine wool. It was dyed green and was so fine that the diameter range was more comparable with that of modern fine Merino wool than that of the modern British shortwool. The seven Roman yarns from Scotland therefore show a range of types from a slightly hairy medium wool (like the hairy Soay) through the generalised medium (like the woolly Soay) to a true medium wool and a true fine wool. Since these wools were first described (Ryder 1964b) it has been the custom to regard distributions like that of Balmaclellan (a) and Falkirk (c) (Table III) as true fine types.

There is evidence from textiles that about 2000 years ago the true fine wool had evolved in the Palestine region (Ryder 1964b; 1968c) and also in Roman areas of the continent (Ryder unpublished), and it is interesting to see this type in Scotland so early, along with a medium wool which might have been a forerunner of the longwool that became common among English sheep in the eighteenth century.

It is of course possible that these Roman cloths were imported, but Henshall (1966) considers that the Falkirk cloth, for instance, is likely to have been a native product. To what extent, however, this fleece type had evolved from the generalised medium wool in Scotland, or was the result of influence from importations of Roman sheep, is not clear.

The nine yarns from the Orkney hood (Henshall 1952) all had slight or moderate pigmentation and are probably of Norse origin. Five of these were of hairy medium type like the Roman ones described above. A similar diameter distribution was found by Rosenqvist (1964) in textiles from the Viking boat found at Oseberg (Norway). The remaining four yarns had more hairs (or kemps) ranging to a greater diameter, but were probably not of true hairy type like the fleece of the Scottish Blackface or Herdwick. A sample from Early Christian Ireland was of true hairy type (Ryder 1964b). The four yarns certainly of Norse origin from Kildonan (Isle of Eigg) had similar slight to moderate pigmentation, and three seemed to be hairy medium wools, the remaining one being of generalised medium type. A tuft from the pile on the Kildonan cloth was of true medium wool. The general impression from the Norse wools is therefore one of greater hairiness, and perhaps less pigmentation.

Of the eight yarns of four cloths from Greenigoe (Orphir, Orkney) formerly claimed to be of the Viking period (Henshall 1966), three had slight, three moderate, and two dense pigmentation. There were four hairy wools, and four of generalised medium type, two of the cloths having one yarn of each type. Although the age of these cloths is uncertain, the wool types do not oppose a Viking date.

It is likely that much, if not all, wool at this time in Scotland was obtained by plucking, as is still done in Shetland. Plucking is necessary to ensure that the fleeces of sheep that moult are not lost. The practice is not cruel as many earlier writers have claimed, because most of the wool fibres have already been released from the skin in the natural shedding process. The writer observed on St Kilda that there was a tendency for the hairy fibres (kemps) to remain in the skin after the spring moult, and this suggested that some of the earlier textiles examined might, because of this, contain fewer hairy fibres than were actually present in the fleece. For example, an apparently generalised medium

wool might in fact be a hairy medium wool. This might be the explanation for an atypical diameter distribution found by Ryder (1964b) in some Danish Bronze Age cloth. This had such a high proportion of fine fibres that although there were hairs nearly 90 microns in diameter, the mean was less than 20 microns. The same distribution was found in Norwegian Bronze Age wool by Rosenqvist (1964). On the other hand the Scottish textiles examined all appear to be typical of known fleece types, and do not appear to have been altered to any great extent. At least some hairy fibres are likely to have got into the wool during plucking, and this probably explains why most of the hairy medium textiles have only one or two of them.

A true hairy fleece is less likely to be mistaken for a hairy medium wool because it has long, coarse hairs (heterotypes). Indeed these hairy fibres have a tendency towards continuous growth which would necessitate shearing. The origin of shearing might in fact be associated with the evolution of fleeces that do not shed, but as yet little is known about either.

Another way in which an artificial distribution could arise is from the blending of wool during manufacture, but it is assumed that in hand spinning the wool staples are kept intact, and that little mixing of fibres takes place. The carding of wool is thought not to have begun until the Middle Ages. Wool combs found in Viking graves, *e.g.* at Westness, Orkney (Henshall 1963) show that an attempt was made to straighten the fibres, but it is unlikely that the short, fine fibres were combed out, as in later worsted manufacture. The combs have only one row of teeth, as in flax hackles, unlike the several rows on the hand combs used for worsted combing. Combs of this type were used until the nineteenth century in Shetland (Ryder 1966a).

The two yarns from a medieval cloth from Closeburn (Dumfries-shire) had moderately to heavily pigmented wool with a generalised medium distribution suggesting a Soay type fleece. The yarns in another medieval specimen from Loch Trieg (Inverness-shire) had only slight pigmentation, and the diameter distribution of a short, fine wool. This was therefore like moorit Shetland, and not Soay wool, as suggested by Ritchie (1942). A third medieval fabric from Kelso had fine and medium wool fibres with slight pigmentation, but these were too degraded for accurate measurement (Henshall [1952] thought this was a vegetable fibre). Some cloth found in the silt of the ditch at Caerlaverock Castle (Dumfries-shire) and probably of medieval date (MacIvor 1963), had heavily pigmented yarn of generalised medium wool, and a moderately pigmented yarn of hairy medium wool.

The types of wool in these Scottish textiles up to the Middle Ages were regarded by Ryder (1964b) as supporting the hypothesis that a generalised medium-woolled sheep was found in Britain. The pigment in this wool, and the diameter distribution suggests a sheep of Soay type. The findings from the textiles support evidence from wool remaining in parchment (see below) that the Soay sheep persisted in Scotland until the mid-seventeenth century. The suggested divergence from this type towards the fine, shortwool on the one hand, and towards the longwool on the other, did, however,

seem to be taking place as early as Roman times, instead of in the Middle Ages as was previously thought likely.

Parchment evidence (Ryder 1960) suggests that the English medieval shortwool was of similar type to the short, fine wool of these Scottish textiles, and so those specimens from southern Scotland may possibly owe something, through monastic influence, to English medieval sheep, but the wool from Loch Trieg, because of its isolation, would appear to indicate local evolution towards the Old Scottish Shortwool.

There is an interesting predominance of hairy wool among the Norse specimens. This suggests that the Norse settlers of Scotland introduced a more hairy sheep that may persist today in the kempy strain of Orkney sheep (see below).

It has been suggested (*e.g.* Ryder 1964a) that the Danes who settled in eastern and northern England introduced the black-faced, horned and hairy sheep that later spread into Scotland to become the Scottish Blackface. Evidence for this comes from the emergence of this type in the Danelaw area, and from the existence of a similar sheep in Denmark in historical times, which persists today in Lower Saxony as the *Heidsnucke* breed, and in the Netherlands as the Dutch Heath sheep. The Saxon wool that has been examined (*e.g.* Sutton Hoo, Ryder [unpublished]) has been mainly of fine or generalised medium type, whereas some possibly Danish wool from York (Ryder 1964b) was hairy medium wool.

There appear to be no textile remains from the period between the Middle Ages and the seventeenth century, and the first from this century (Table IV) were some clothes from a skeleton found in the moss near Dava (Moray). Of the seven yarns, one was heavily pigmented, three moderately pigmented, two slightly pigmented and one non-pigmented. This had been dyed red, and the two slightly pigmented ones had been dyed green. Four of the wools were of hairy medium type, one was a generalised medium type and there was a true medium wool and a shortwool.

It is of interest that in each of these wools the coarser fibres had the densest pigmentation. This has been found in Irish wools of similar date (Emlough and Dungiven, Ryder 1966b) but is not a marked feature of the Soay, which often has pale kemps. It has, however, been observed in the native Shetland and Orkney sheep, and is comparable with the occurrence of 'red' kemp in otherwise white Welsh Mountain wool.

The Barrock (Caithness) breeches had three yarns which were all moderately pigmented. These were of typically hairy type, with hairs or kemps ranging up to 112 microns in diameter. Again these were more densely pigmented than the finer under-wool.

Clothing from the skeleton of a girl from Birsay (Orkney) yielded six yarns, four of which were slightly pigmented, and two moderately pigmented. There was one hairy type, two hairy medium wools, and three generalised medium wools that could be compared with the modern Shetland.

The clothing of the Gunnister (Shetland) man (Henshall and Maxwell 1952) had two slightly-pigmented yarns of hairy medium wool, and one moderately-pigmented yarn of generalised medium wool.

TABLE IV

Diameter measurements (in microns) of seventeenth-century Scottish Wools

		Pigment	*Range*	*Mean*	*Mode*	*Distribution*	*Fleece type*
Dava							
	(a)	++	16–52	27	20	skew-fine	hairy medium
NA 477–8			(1 of 54, 58)				
	(b)	++	16–52	31	30	symmetrical	medium
j. brown warp		++	12–64	26	22	skew-fine	hairy medium
			(1 of 74, 84)				
j. red weft		—	12–42	22	18	skew-fine	hairy medium
			(1 of 46, 58)				
j. black weft		+++	14–64	33	24	continuous	hairy medium
			(1 of 72, 76)				
j. green check	(a)	+	16–52	30	26	skew-fine	generalised medium
	(b)	+	16–44	27	26	symmetrical	short
Barrock							
NA 408e	(a)	++	16–70	31	26	skew-fine	hairy
f	(b)	++	16–106	31	20	skew-fine	hairy
		++	16–112	30	22	skew-fine	hairy
Birsay							
NA 2a	(a)	+	10–60	25	22	skew-fine	hairy medium
			(1 of 80, 92)				
	(b)	+	16–80	39	26	skew-fine	hairy
g	(a)	+	14–40	23	18	skew-fine	generalised medium
	(b)	+	12–44	25	24	skew-fine/	generalised medium
			(1 of 58)			symmetrical	
h	(a)	++	14–48	27	18 & 24	skew-fine	hairy medium
			(1 of 56, 66)				
Gunnister	(b)	++	14–50	28	26	skew-fine	generalised medium
NA 1037	(a)	+	12–62	27	22	skew-fine	hairy medium
	(b)	+	18–54	29	20	skew-fine	hairy medium
			(1 of 100)				
NA 1043		++	14–36	24	21	skew-fine	generalised medium
			(1 of 44, 48)				
Elgin							
1634	warp	—	14–44	27	30	symmetrical	medium
'mixt	purple weft	+	12–60	25	20	skew-fine	hairy medium
gray			(1 of 88, 90)				
parago'	white weft	—	12–60	32	—	continuous	hairy medium
1635							
brown	warp	—	14–44	26	18	skew-fine	generalised medium
cloth	weft	—	12–62	28	22	skew-fine	hairy medium
1637							
black	warp	—+	12–40	26	22	symmetrical	shortwool
parago	weft	—+	14–40	27	22	symmetrical	shortwool

(Key as for Table III)

TABLE IVa

Wool fibre diameter measurements (in microns) in Scottish textiles of unknown date
(in the National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland)

Source		*Pigment*	*Range*	*Mean*	*Mode*	*Distribution*	*Fleece type*
Culrain, Ross.,	(a)	++	10–40	20	14	skew-fine	generalised medium
NA 4C	(b)	++	10–42	19	14	skew-fine	generalised medium
Lochlundie, Aberdeen NA 369		—	14–50	32	36	symmetrical	medium
Dallas, Moray	(a) green dye	+	16–50 (1 of 54, 64)	32	30	symmetrical	medium
NA 562	(b) green dye	+	16–46 (1 of 50, 54)	32	30	symmetrical	medium
Dunrossness, Shetland	(a)	+	14–40 (3 of 48, 1 of 52)	23	18	skew-fine	generalised medium
NA 297 found 1847	(b)	+	12–40 (1 of 76, 120)	23	18	skew-fine	hairy medium
Norsewick, Shetland	(a)	+	14–46 (1 of 56, 60)	23	21	skew-fine	hairy medium
NA 6 found 1849	(b)	+	14–46 (5 from 50–84)	32	26	skew-fine	hairy medium
Shetland felt cap		++	16–54 (3 from 60–78)	36	34	symmetrical	? cow hair and wool
NA 249 found 1884 cloth patch		+++	14–36 (1 of 42, 52)	21	18	skew-fine	generalised medium

(Key as for Table III)

The last group of specimens of the seventeenth century are some dated samples of cloth, from a merchant in Elgin, found recently among the Seafield papers (GD248 Box 166, Scottish Record Office). It is likely that these were imported, but their source is unknown. A 'mixt gray parago' dated 1634 had a white warp of medium wool, a white and a purple weft of hairy medium wool, the purple one having naturally pigmented, in addition to dyed, fibres. A brown cloth dated 1635 had no natural pigmentation, one yarn being a general medium wool, and one a hairy medium type. A black parago dated 1637 had indications of slight natural pigmentation as well as dye, and both the

warp and weft were of shortwool type. Despite the presence of three hairy medium wools and a generalised medium wool among these yarns, they appear relatively better than contemporary Scottish wool, and this is emphasised by the presence of a medium wool and two shortwools of almost modern type.

The wool in some eighteenth-century clothing found during peat cutting at Voe, Shetland, was described by Ryder (1966c). In one cloth which appeared brown to the naked eye, only the coarse fibres had natural pigment. The fine fibres had a blue-green

TABLE V

Summary of Wool Types

	Hairy	*Hairy medium*	*Generalised medium*	*Medium*	*Shortwool*	*Fine*
Roman	—	3	2	1	—	1
Viking (Greenigoe omitted)	4	8	1	1	—	—
Medieval	—	1	3	—	—	2
Seventeenth century (Elgin omitted)	4	8	5	1	1	—
Eighteenth century (W. and N. Isles)	—	13	5	—	—	1

Table V summarises the wool types found in the different periods. The basic type appears to have been the generalised medium (?Soay) type, which tended to be finer in Roman and medieval times, but more hairy in the Viking period and the seventeenth century, when it probably emerged as the Old Scottish Dunface typified by the modern Shetland breed.

dye. Another cloth, too, which appeared green to the naked eye, had pigmented coarse fibres, and dyed fine fibres. The four yarns from these cloths were of hairy medium type, and corresponded to the 'beaver' variety of Shetland sheep described by the Highland Society Committee (1790) as having long hairs projecting beyond the wool.

Some fine Shetland cloth associated with Sir John Sinclair (Ryder 1966c) had yarns of slightly pigmented, generalised medium wool, and were thus of typical Shetland type. The Highland Society (1790) referred to Shetland wool lacking hair as the 'kindly' variety. A staple of wool with Sinclair's cloth was, remarkably, of true fine type. This illustrates the range of variation found in a primitive type such as the Shetland before selective breeding tended to lead towards a uniform, intermediate type.

The various garments from the body of early eighteenth-century date found in 1964 on Arnish Moor, Lewis, yielded twelve yarns. One of these had dense pigment, four had moderate, four slight, and three no pigment at all. Nine of the yarns were of similar hairy medium type, and three were generalised medium wools. The shirts had less hairy wool than the jacket; the stocking had the finest wool (Ryder unpublished).

Evidence from Parchment

Ryder (1958) showed that it was possible to gain evidence on fleece type from the characteristic grouping of wool fibre remains in parchment, notably that of the Dead Sea Scrolls. In a further paper (Ryder 1960) the findings were given from a group of British parchments, among which were 21 from Scotland. These were from the ends of seal tags, and ranged from the fifteenth to seventeenth centuries in date. Parchment presents problems of sampling, the method of preparation and examination is laborious, and not until the examination is complete is it found that many lack wool fibres. Textiles provide a more useful material: the evidence that has been gained from them has already been detailed.

The original intention in using parchment was to attempt to link the type of sheep whose wool was indicated by the parchment, with the area in which the document had been written. Although this might be feasible in dealing with different countries, it was soon realised that even as early as the Middle Ages it could not be assumed that the parchment had been made in the place referred to in the document. Indeed, the Birrell parchment-making family of Kinnesswood, Kinross, claimed that this was the only place in Scotland in which parchment had ever been made (Ryder 1964c).

TABLE VI

Scottish Parchments Examined by Ryder (1960)

Date	*Owner of seal*	*Fleece type*
1519	Andrew Forman	? Soay
1574	George, Bishop of Moray	? Soay
1580	Great Seal of James VI	? Soay
1594	Alexander Creichton of Naughton	? Soay
1597 (a)	David Balfour of Bulledmonth	? Soay
(b)	David Balfour of Bulledmonth	medium wool
1603	David Lindsay of Balcarres	? Soay
1661	James (St Andrews)	? Soay
1664	James (St Andrews)	? Soay

Nearly all the Scottish parchments with wool remains (Table VI) had pigmented follicle bulbs. This, as with other parchments with pigmented remains, at first suggested calf, because, for instance, all the wool in the Dead Sea Scroll parchments was non-pigmented. Later, however, it was realised that the pigmented wool fibres in some other British parchments closely resembled those of the Soay sheep, and that those in the Scottish parchment could indicate the Soay, too.

Nine parchments out of twenty-one dating from 1406 had identifiable remains and Table VI shows the result of their examination. The only one with non-pigmented fibres was a medium wool, and the remainder indicated the persistence of brown sheep

in Scotland until the mid-seventeenth century. The support for this suggestion that was later obtained from textiles has already been given. Because these parchments had less easily identifiable follicles rather than fibres, the possibility cannot be ruled out that some, or all, were calf, but in the eighteenth century, at any rate, calf-skins were not used in making parchment in Scotland (Ryder 1964c).

Evidence of Sheep Type from Historical Records

Descriptions of sheep anywhere before the eighteenth century are rare. Celtic records apparently say little about them although the Welsh *Book of Taliesin* refers to white sheep in terms suggesting that they were unusual (Trow-Smith 1957:65). Although Norse sagas must be read with reserve, the Icelandic *Snorra Sturlusonar Edda* (Jonsson 1907) gives a good account of the farming year but no indication of sheep type.

During the Middle Ages the biggest influence on Scottish sheep probably came from the monks, the first abbey being established at Melrose in 1136. The Cistercians were the chief monastic sheep farmers, and it is possible that they introduced improved sheep from England. If they brought the famous English shortwool to Scotland it may have been more at this time, and less in the Roman period, that the native Soay type was crossed with a fine-woolled white sheep from the south, to contribute towards the Scottish shortwool or Dunface.

Franklin (1952:65-9) gives monastic livestock numbers and acreages, from which the relatively high stocking rate implies a sheep of small size. The fleece weight was apparently 1½ lb compared with 2 lb in England, and Scottish wool was towards the end of Pegolotti's (thirteenth-century) price list. This implies poor quality and, with the smaller fleece weight, indicates that Scottish sheep were more primitive than those of England.

The biggest monastic influence on agriculture took place on the Border; but it is also evident from the monasteries of the Central Lowlands, and since these had shielings as far north as Pitlochry, for instance, it is possible that some monastic influence reached the Highlands.

Franklin (*op. cit.*:111) considered that the peasants kept sheep in small numbers to provide wool and milk, so one would expect the 'immense flocks of sheep' which Don Pedro de Ayala observed 'especially in the savage portions of Scotland' at the end of the fifteenth century (Ritchie 1920:41) to be those of the monks. But James V (1513-42) is said to have had 10,000 sheep in Ettrick forest, and so other nobles may have had similar numbers. The large flocks mentioned by Bishop John Leslie in 1578 may, however, have been monastic flocks that had fallen into other hands after the Dissolution.

He referred to the excellence of wool grown in the Tweed Valley and said that here there are men with four, five, eight and even ten thousand sheep. Those sheep were described as small, short-tailed, horned in both sexes, and often having several horns. An early sixteenth-century account of Scottish sheep by Hector Bocce describes them

as having 'such white, fine and excellent wool as the like of it is hardly to be found again in the whole island'.

The Border troubles of 1300 to 1603 held up land improvement, then in the seventeenth century there were clearances for sheep-farming on the Border, and it is possible that some English sheep (perhaps the Blackface) were introduced at this time. Smout and Fenton (1965) inferred increased production and therefore agricultural improvement from the increased number of markets in the seventeenth century. The Kelso market was primarily for wool, a distinction being made between coarse and fine qualities. Symson (1684) stated that there were three kinds of wool in Galloway: laid-wool, which was of poor quality because the sheep had been smeared with tar and butter, dale-wool, and moor-wool which was the best.

In the Central Lowlands in the eighteenth century the attention of the improvers was first paid to grain crops. But the enclosure of land associated with the abolition of run-rig (strip cultivation) would allow the controlled breeding of sheep through the segregation of inferior animals. It is necessary to stress that improvement could have taken place in this way, and that the absence of evidence of conscious selection does not necessarily mean that there was no improvement in sheep. Another source of improvement was the introduction of turnips for winter feed, and evidence that improvement did in fact take place comes from the fourfold increase in value of sheep during the eighteenth century. The ramifications of one change are illustrated by the introduction of the horse for ploughing. This released cows for milking so that ewes were no longer milked, and in consequence the lambs were better fed.

Of the new breeds that appeared during the eighteenth century, the Cheviot appears to have evolved entirely from the native Dunface or Old Scottish Shortwool, on the Border, and the Border Leicester which developed later seems to be the result of crossing the Cheviot and English Leicester. The Blackface, today the most numerous breed in the British Isles, came entirely from south of the Border. It did not begin to enter the Highlands until about 1750, however, and until the clearances its introduction would have been gradual, by a crossing with the native sheep. The influence of this indigenous sheep on the modern stock can still be seen in the Blackface sheep of the Western Isles (see below) and of Galloway where the fleeces still tend to be finer (Peart and Ryder 1954). The reputation of 'Galloway for woo' ', however, seems to go back at least to the seventeenth century, and may even date back to the monastic influence in that area. Anderson (1790) stated that the Old Shortwool still remained in remote parts of Galloway.

The Board of Agriculture surveys of the 1790s indicate changes in the type of sheep. Ure (1797) stated that in Kinross there were black-faced sheep on the Cleish hills, whereas those on the Lomond hills were white faced. Unfortunately this does not indicate whether they were of the new Cheviot breed or Old Shortwools.

Good descriptions of sheep do, however, begin to appear in the eighteenth century, and an excellent one of the Old Scottish Shortwool was given in the Old Statistical

Account (1797) by Mr Naismith of Hamilton, Lanarkshire (quoted by Mitchison 1962: 128) as follows:

> Every farmer formerly kept a few sheep, which were of a kind more domesticated and improved, than those now bred in the mountains. Their bodies were long and squat made, their heads erect, having either small horns, or no horns at all, their legs short, their faces and legs white, or slightly sprinkled with black or brown spots, their fleeces soft, and mostly of the longest kind of carding wool; their tails were not so short as those of the muirland sheep, but descended almost to the knee joint, and seldom below it. These sheep were constantly attended by a boy or girl during the day, whom they followed to and from the pasture, and penned at night in a house called the Bught, which had slits in the walls to admit the air, and was shut in with a hurdle door. . . . These little flocks were the peculiar care of their owners. The whole family was interested in the business; for every child claimed the property of a ewe lamb, and its future progeny, and an emulation prevailed among them, who should possess the handsomest and most valuable part of the flock, none being preserved for stock, but such as possessed all the characteristics of beauty and utility. In this manner were these sheep improved to such a degree, that their wool was preferred to any then known in the neighbouring markets. When inclosing with hedges became frequent, the farmers were obliged to part with these little stock, which injured the young fences, and gradually sold them off for slaughter; so that no remains of them can now be traced in this part of the country.

The sheep 'now bred in the mountains' would almost certainly be Blackfaces, but the reference to short-tailed 'muirland' sheep is of immense interest. It suggests first, that the shortwool to which he referred was already considerably improved, because of the length of the tail if nothing else, and second that a more primitive variety ('muirland' sheep) was still in existence.

Burns, in the elegy to his pet ewe, indicates the same difference when he says:

> She was nae get o' moorland tips [rams]
> wi' tawted ket and hairy hips,
> For her forbears were brought in ships
> Frae yont the Tweed:
> A bonnier fleesh ne'er cross'd the clips
> Than Mailie's dead.

Whether he means medieval or more recent 'forbears' is not clear.

Gray (1957:38) gave similar descriptions of the household sheep, and what he considered to be its haphazard husbandry. This does not accord with Naismith's illuminating account (above) of selection (albeit unconscious) for good wool. Gray's conclusion that the sheep provided little economic gain is surely exaggerated when one remembers that it provided virtually all the clothing worn, and much of the protein in the diet through its milk. The sheep has been (and still is) a valuable provider in many primitive communities.

At this point it will be better to continue with contemporary and recent descriptions of the more primitive sheep and the modern breeds that began to emerge in the eighteenth century. (Historical evidence is dealt with in greater detail in Ryder 1968e).

Evidence from Sheep Remaining Today: The Soay Sheep of St Kilda

Skeletal evidence, and evidence from textiles, discussed above, suggests that the Soay (Plate IVa) or a similar sheep originally had a much wider distribution, but through lack of adequate archaeological evidence it is not known at what date Soay sheep reached St Kilda. The legend that the Viking colonist Calum was the first settler and therefore brought the first sheep to St Kilda is unlikely to be true because Celtic topographical names and archaeological finds indicate the presence of earlier settlers. However, the suggestion that the Norse name 'Soay' (= sheep island) for the island on which the Soay sheep have been feral for centuries indicates that the sheep were there when the Norse settlers arrived is not unequivocal, since it could equally be argued that the Norse named the island Soay because they put sheep on to it. Crawford (1966) thinks it possible that there was even prehistoric settlement from the Hebrides. Until proper archaeological excavation is carried out on St Kilda this very important question in the history of the Soay—when it arrived there—cannot be answered.

Ritchie (1920:38) quotes what is probably the first description of Soay sheep. This is by Boece (1527) who said that 'beyond Hirta [the main island of St Kilda] there is another, uninhabited, isle [Soay]. In it are certain wild beasts not very different from sheep. The hair is long and "tallie" [drab] neither like the wool of sheep nor goat.' Hirta, too, apparently then had Soay sheep, because Boece said that in this isle there is a great number of sheep with large horns and a long tail. Ritchie considered that the length of the tail was described erroneously because of course the Soay has a short tail. In 1578 Bishop Leslie (Ritchie 1920:39) referred to the sheep on St Kilda as 'large animals, neither sheep nor goat, neither have they wool like a sheep nor hair like a goat, but something between the two'.

Martin (1698:17) stated that 'the number of sheep commonly maintained in St Kilda, and the two adjacent isles [?Soay and Dun] does not exceed 2,000. Generally they are speckled, some white, some philamort [yellowish brown] and are of a common size; they do not resemble goats in any respect, as Buchanan was informed, except in their horns, which are extraordinary large, particularly those in the lesser isles.' Here we see evidence in the white colour of the introduction of improved sheep, but the characteristic large horns of the Soay remain. He went on to say that Soay feeds 500 sheep which are hunted by the St Kildans. Each ewe generally has 2–3 lambs at a birth, and they lamb at one year. He attributed this prolificacy, which had also been observed on small islands near Harris and North Uist, to the fact that these sheep were never milked. This is unlikely, of course, to have been the true reason.

Macaulay (1764:119), who visited St Kilda in 1758, stated that Soay supported 500 sheep which were the property of the steward and difficult to catch. He estimated (*op. cit*:129) that Hirta had 1,000 sheep, which were of the 'smallest kind' with short, coarse wool. It was, however, softer than that in the other isles but not so well mixed.

The meaning of this is not clear; perhaps he means a lack of uniformity in the fleeces. He said that many of the sheep had four horns, and that the ewes were very fruitful. He quoted an example of a ewe that had an increase of nine in 13 months. It had triplets one March, and triplets again the following March, and each of the first three lambs had a lamb each at one year. Boreray was said to support 400 cast ewes from Hirta, where they produced lambs for several more years.

Elwes (1912) quoted Donald Ferguson, who had been ground officer on St Kilda for 20 years, as saying that there had been no sheep with four horns during that time. According to Ferguson the laird used to claim every seventh ewe, and every second ram, and put them on Soay, his preserve, and they were hunted once a year for their wool. He stated that there were then not less than 300 sheep on Soay, and that half were dark brown, and half pale brown: accurate counts today show that only one quarter are pale (Boyd *et al.* 1964). Some of the light sheep had dark patches, and some of the dark ones had white marks, especially on the face: occasional light sheep with white facial marks are still found on St Kilda. Ferguson said that one third of the ewes had horns: counts today show that the proportion is about one half (Boyd *et al.* 1964). According to Ferguson the ewes lambed at one year, and the older ewes usually had twins. Twins are not common today. It was stated that 'a few rams of the race which preceded the introduction of the Black-faced rams (into St Kilda) were once introduced into Soay, but they did no good'. According to Steel (1965:60) the Blackface was introduced about 1872, and one assumes that the sheep kept before this would be the Old Scottish Shortwool, a hint of which is given by Martin (1698). MacInnes (1961) gave a folk tale from St Kilda which spoke of the St Kildans stealing sheep from the Flannan Isles. The paler type of Soay is unlikely, however, to be the result of this introduction of white sheep, since one would expect pure white animals to occur in the population, and not a dilution of the brown colour. Whereas most animals have a cream belly, like the Mouflon, the light animals sometimes are an overall fawn colour. The statement of Ferguson that the Soays were gradually becoming smaller is of interest in view of the large size mentioned by the sixteenth-century writers, and of the anomalous bone measurements given above.

Lydekker (1912:59) followed Fitzinger (1860) in associating the Soay with the Northern Short-tail type of Scandinavia, but he gave the collective term *Loaghtan** (Manx for 'mouse-coloured') to the more primitive members remaining on a range of islands along the western seaboard of Europe: Isle of Man, Outer Hebrides, Orkney, Shetland, Faeroe (also = 'sheep isle') and Iceland. Modern Icelandic sheep in particular have a similar horn angle to the Soay. This list can be extended to include Scandinavian islands

* The St Kildans called the dark Soays *lachdann* (Williamson and Boyd 1960).

such as Gotland, and the isle of Ushant off Brittany. The Ushant sheep the writer saw at the Jardin des Plantes, Paris, in 1965 had a similar appearance, (dark) colour and wool type to the Soay. All the 'breeds' of this group have a short tail, and some have a tendency to grow more than one pair of horns. The Manx sheep frequently has four horns (Elwes 1912), and has similar dark brown wool to the Soay (Ryder 1968g). The brown colour occurs throughout the group, although some have black, grey, white and piebald individuals that show them to be less primitive than those having only a brown colour. Shedding of the coat is universal so that plucking was necessary to obtain the wool. Lydekker (1912) thought the colour and horn shape indicated an affinity with the Mouflon rather than the Urial type of wild sheep.

The nineteenth-century life of the St Kildans, and their evacuation in 1930 has been described by many authors, the most recent ones being Macgregor (1960) and Steel (1965). A year after the evacuation, after making sure that no Blackface sheep remained on Hirta, about 100 Soay sheep were introduced from Soay. This feral population multiplied, and now fluctuates in cycles between 500 and 1,500 animals. In recent years the sheep have been subjected to a detailed study by a team of scientists (including the present author) organised by the Nature Conservancy.

The first results have been published by Boyd *et al.* (1964) and a brief description of the coat based on samples taken during a visit to St Kilda in 1964 has been given by Ryder (1966a). As indicated in the section on textile evidence there are two types of coat: in addition to the woolly type there is a hairy one, the hairy fibres being in fact kemps (Table VII). A full account will appear in a forthcoming monograph on the Soay sheep to be published by the Nature Conservancy.

Hebridean Sheep

Whereas the Soay can be regarded as a survival of a prehistoric sheep, the remaining primitive sheep to be described are perhaps those of the Middle Ages to the eighteenth century.

Martin (1698:48) mentioned the isle of Sellay near Pabbay which had excellent pasturage, and where sheep had the biggest horns he had ever seen. This can be regarded as indicating Soay influence. Anderson (1790) spoke of remnants of the Old Scottish Shortwool remaining in parts of the Western Isles.

Walker (1812) quoted by Elwes (1912) said that the Hebridean sheep was small, thin and lank, and had short, straight horns. The face and legs were white, the tail short, and the wool of various colours: black, white, grey, brown and russet, an individual being frequently blotched with two or three of these colours. He said that in the low islands the wool was often as fine as that of Shetland, whereas in the mountains the sheep was smallest, and had coarser wool, and often four and sometimes six horns.

This type of sheep appears to have been the origin of the piebald, so-called Jacob's sheep, which is frequently kept in parks (also known as Spanish sheep). Its wool today

is not unlike that of the Cheviot, and the tail is of medium length, suggesting that it is no longer a pure breed. It may also have been the origin of the so-called St Kilda sheep which is four-horned, dark brown and, apparently, short tailed.

Elwes (1912) found that the four-horned character was then infrequent in Hebridean sheep, which had already been considerably crossed with the Blackface. In fact the

TABLE VII

Some fibre diameter measurements (in microns) in the fleeces of primitive Scottish sheep

	Range	*Mean*	*Mode*	*Distribution*	*Fleece type*
Soay					
woolly	14–46 (1 of 50)	24	20	skew-fine	generalised medium
hairy	14–98 (1 of 100, 104)	32	20	skew-fine	hairy medium
Hebridean Blackface					
St Kilda yarn (a)	14–70 (1 of 90)	36	32	continuous	hairy
St Kilda yarn (b)	14–70 (1 of 78, 120, 128)	32	26	skew-fine	hairy/hairy medium
Boreray, white	10–46 (1 of 52, 60)	20	16	skew-fine	hairy medium
Boreray, brown	14–62	24	20	skew-fine	hairy medium
Orkney					
dark grey	14–84 (1 of 90, 118, 120)	33	20	skew-fine	hairy medium
white	14–40	23	18	skew-fine	generalised medium
Shetland					
18th-century hairy (Ryder 1966c)	14–54 (1 of 86)	27	20	skew-fine	hairy medium
Sinclair staple	10–30	20	20	symmetrical	fine
1871 (W 19)	10–36	25	26	symmetrical	fine
1871 (W 20)	10–66 (1 of 70, 82)	31	26	skew-fine	hairy medium

(Key as for Table III)

native Hebridean sheep remained on small islands near Barra and North Uist until about ten years ago (Seaton 1966).

Traces of the old Hebridean sheep persist today in the Hebridean (Lewis) type of Blackface, which has a primitive 'dished' nose and brown rather than black face; in addition, it occasionally has four horns. Doney (personal communication) saw one of these on Benbecula about 1960. He and Smith (1966) found that the Lewis Blackface had a shorter and finer fleece than other strains of Scottish Blackface. They found that

some wool from the Blackface sheep that have been feral since 1932 on Boreray (St Kilda) was indistinguishable from that of the Lewis Blackface. Some wool clearly of the Blackface type, from cloth woven on St Kilda in the 1920s, and now in Kingussie museum, was measured by the present author. Yarn (a) had 1 per cent pigmented fibres and a mean diameter of 36 microns, while yarn (b) had 25 per cent pigmented fibres and a mean diameter of 32 microns. In both yarns the main diameter range was from 14 to 70 microns, but whereas yarn (a) had one hairy fibre 90 microns in diameter, yarn (b) had hairy fibres 78, 120 and 128 microns in diameter, the smaller mean diameter resulting from a greater proportion of finer fibres. Although both yarns compare with the measurements of Lewis Blackface wool of Doney and Smith (1966), the pigment and diameter distribution of yarn (b) make it closer to the Old Hebridean sheep (Table VII). A white staple 160 mm long, and a dark brown staple 110 mm long picked up on Boreray by Doney in 1960 have been measured at the base of the staple for comparison. These samples were shed wool which probably explains the greater fineness, the wool being at its least diameter in winter before shedding.

The Keerie or Rocky Sheep of Caithness

This small, black, short-woolled and short-tailed sheep was 'discovered' on Duncansby Head in 1890 (Elwes 1912). The crofters who held them in common did not know their origin, but said that they had been in the area a long time. The fleece, and tail-length, suggest an affinity with the Orkney sheep, and ultimately with the Soay, rather than with the Blackface which was the suggestion made by Ewart based on a second spiral in the horns. The term 'keery' was also used for the native sheep of Orkney, and Fenton (1966) suggests that it is probably derived from the Gaelic *caora* (a sheep) or *ciora* (a pet sheep). Wheeler (1966) stated that most of the old 'Kerry' sheep of Sutherland died out in 1808 as a result of a bad winter and disease.

Orkney Sheep

Martin (1698) said that the sheep of Orkney, like those of the Western Isles, were very fruitful, many having two, or three, and some even four lambs at a time. This prolificacy is found today in other members of the Northern Short-tailed group, notably the Finnish Landrace. Martin also stated that the sheep of Orkney often died of a disease, known as 'sheep-dead', caused by little animals about half-an-inch long in the liver. This appears to be an interesting early reference to liver fluke.

It is significant that Low (1842) grouped Orkney and Shetland sheep together. He illustrated a black and white piebald ram, a fawn ewe, and a dark brown lamb. He said that the coat consisted of hairs and wool and that the grey colour was due to a mixture of black and white fibres. In his *Fauna Orcadensis* Low described the annual 'rowing' (plucking) of the shedding fleece about midsummer, which enabled the wool to be

obtained unmixed with hair. Fenton (1968) states that the term 'rooing' is still used on North Ronaldsay, although the sheep are now shorn (*cf.* the persistence of a similar term in Iceland, above). Low also mentioned that the sheep of Orkney and Shetland fed on seaweed.

Elwes (1912) quoted a description of the original Orkney sheep as being small, black and rough-woolled animals which then remained only on Flotta and North Ronaldsay. He said that they were only 18 in. at the shoulder, and had long, slender limbs and a short tail. The ram had a throat fringe like the Soay, but unlike the Soay, the horns were curved backwards between the ears. Elwes suggested that this character might indicate an affinity with the prehistoric *palustris* sheep. In another description Elwes states that the fleece was white, brown or spotted, but the wool, though fine, was very inferior to the best Shetland.

The unique husbandry of North Ronaldsay, to which island the native Orkney sheep is now virtually restricted, was only briefly mentioned by Elwes. There the sheep are confined to the shore, and away from the best land, by a high wall surrounding the island. Tribe and Tribe (1949) indicated the necessity of intensive cultivation when one quarter of this island of 4 square miles is shore. The wall extends around the entire 12-mile perimeter, and since there is practically no grass outside it, the sheep feed almost entirely on seaweed. This is more plentiful in winter than in summer, and so according to Tribe and Tribe the sheep are better fed during winter than in summer.

The communal husbandry, now in decline, was described by Fenton (1968), who said that the date of the wall, which is up to 6 feet high, is unknown. It was, however, associated with run-rig and corresponds to a head dyke, so that the shore is equivalent to a common hill grazing. Although part of the strip cultivation of run-rig was abolished in 1832, and the remainder in the 1880s, the communal sheep husbandry continued apparently unchanged. Fenton showed that the sheep numbers had remained fairly constant at about 2,000 head from 1790 until recently, through control by the twelve elected sheep men acting on the regulations laid down by the landlord. Lack of control of numbers has caused the present-day population to reach almost double this number (see below). The regulations of 1902, a revision of earlier ones, showed that the tenants of each of 71 holdings were allowed to keep between 10 and 60 sheep on the shore, and that the sheep men were allowed to keep 10 extra sheep for their trouble. Each tenant was responsible for the repair of a length of the enclosing wall; the only height specified was 'above leaping height'.

The sheep were (and still are) free to wander round the shore except for part enclosed for Holland farm. In fact, as with hill sheep, they keep to their own area, or 'clowgang', a term elsewhere given to the sheep pasture of a township. The only time any sheep come within the wall is after lambing, when the ewes are tethered on grass, but at one time they grazed within the wall in winter. Originally they were pounded three times a year in nine stone pounds situated along the wall. The first 'pundin' was in February for counting by the sheep men. The sheep were identified by the ear mark belonging to the owner, and if there were more than the allowed number, the excess had to be forfeited

from the hogs, *i.e.* the previous year's lambs. The sheep remaining on the shore were next pounded for shearing between June and August; and the final pounding was for killing in mid-winter, at New Year.

Tribe and Tribe (1949) described the North Ronaldsay sheep as small and taking three to four years to reach maturity, a mature wether having a carcase weight of only 30 lb. They have a 'dished' face and much variation in horn shape, and also in the presence and absence of horns, although my own observations suggest that the rams tend to be horned and the ewes polled. The horns tend to project sideways, as in the Soay. According to Tribe and Tribe the sheep, despite high mortality, are well-adapted to the exposed shore; crosses with the Cheviot, Blackface and even the Shetland, have not survived. Lambing takes place during the last two weeks of April, and the lambs, like those of the Soay, weigh only 3–4 lb. at birth. Excess lambs are killed to leave only one for each ewe. The ewes are (or were) tethered or enclosed on grass (Plate IVb) with their lambs and not returned to the shore until August. The ram lambs are castrated at 4–6 weeks of age—this is the only operation, other than shearing, that is carried out by the owner. One ram is left entire for every twenty ewes, or, I was told, one ram per croft each year. This is a high proportion of rams, even by medieval standards, and may be to allow for deaths on the shore. So far as I have been able to determine there is little or no selection, and although what are thought to be the 'best' ram lambs might be left entire, there is almost certainly no selection of the fleece. The rams run with the ewes all the time, so there is no control of mating.

The fleece weight of 2–3 lb quoted by Tribe and Tribe is confirmed by the weighing of 25 Orkney Native fleeces for me by Mr P. G. Coutts, Scottish Regional officer of the British Wool Marketing Board, Dunfermline. The average fleece weight of these was 2.4 lb. Owing to sand contamination, however, the yield of clean wool is as low as 50 per cent. The wool also suffers from salt impregnation.

There seem to be three main colours, white, black and grey, with a few pale brown (fawn or light moorit = moor-red) animals. A manuscript document in the Kirkwall library giving sheep numbers on the island of Sanday about the year 1730, also records the proportion of the different colours. I am indebted to Mr A. Fenton for allowing me to see the copy of this kindly supplied by Mr E. Macgillivary, the librarian. In one group of 1,181 sheep 57 per cent were white, 24 per cent black, 18 per cent grey and only 1 per cent 'tanay'. The proportions of the different colours appear to have changed since that date, however. During a visit to North Ronaldsay in July 1966 I gained the impression that grey animals (often with a black line along the backbone) predominated, with white animals (often with tan markings) coming second, and black animals third.

This was borne out by figures from the Wool Marketing Board. The five grades of Orkney Native Wool are based on colour as follows: No. 636, White and Near White; 637, Moorit and Fawn; 638, Light Grey; 639, Dark Grey; 640, Black. From the present day wool production figures kindly supplied by Mr Coutts, if the light and dark grey are grouped together, the following very approximate proportions are obtained:

38 per cent white, 7 per cent black, 54 per cent grey and 1 per cent fawn. This change from a predominance of white fleeces to a predominance of grey fleeces, could readily be explained by the observations being from different islands, but there is also the possibility that there was greater interest in selecting for white wool in the past. There is a suggestion that the different colours might be inherited in the same way as in Icelandic sheep (Aðalsteinsson and Ryder unpublished; Ryder 1968g).

From the total production of Orkney native wool of 9,531 lb in 1966, and an average fleece weight of 2.4 lb, one can calculate that the native sheep population is approaching 4000. But one must remember that one or two hundred native sheep are kept on small holms elsewhere than North Ronaldsay, notably near Westray.

A study of samples from the Wool Marketing Board, together with others obtained on North Ronaldsay, has shown that as with the Soay, there is a hairy and a woolly type of coat, the hairy fibres being in fact kemps up to 7 cm. in length (Table VII). Both black and white fleeces can be hairy, but because hairy fibres are more often black, black and grey fleeces are usually more hairy than white ones. (Grey fleeces are in fact the hairiest and consist of mainly white wool interspersed with black hairs.) A typical white fleece is woolly, and as fine as the best Shetland. The few moorit samples examined were woolly too. As with the Soay there was a tendency for the rams to have hairier fleeces than the ewes.

The Orkney sheep are inclined to shed the fleece in the spring, as in the Shetland breed. The matted mass of wool frequently formed at the base of the staple, and known locally as the 'lith', therefore seems to be formed by short, fine fibres shed into the fleece. Although this has been observed in other sheep, notably the Blackface, as a result of shedding, it seems to be less common in the Shetland. The 'lith' is a well-known feature of the Orkney fleece, however, and makes it almost impossible to clip the sheep until the new growth of wool in the spring causes the 'lith' to 'rise' from the skin. In addition, the tenacity of the 'lith' probably explains why few Orkney sheep actually cast the fleece. Another reason for waiting for the 'rise' is to allow sufficient new growth of wool for protection of the animal after shearing.

Shetland Sheep

Martin (1698) said that Shetland produced many sheep, which eat seaware during frost and snow. He stated that these had two or three lambs at a time (*cf.* his similar claims for Orkney and the Western Isles above). Fraser Darling (1945) referred to the commonness of triplets, and the ability to rear them, in the Shetland breed.

The report of the Highland Society Committee on Shetland sheep (1790) realised what has not always been believed since, that fineness is determined mainly by breed for it stated that 'on the same pasture, sheep with the finest and the coarsest wool are maintained'. Shetland sheep were described as being variable in colour, ranging from black (Plate IVc) to white, and there were also two fleece types: 'kindly' sheep with fine

wool, and 'beaver' sheep with long hairs among the wool. It is possible that the 'beaver' type corresponds to the 'hardback' remaining on Foula. These two types seem to be comparable with the hairy and woolly varieties of the Soay and Orkney sheep, discussed above. Their existence is confirmed by eighteenth-century textiles from Shetland in which the hairs were pigmented (Ryder 1966c and Table VII). In fact both Orkney and Shetland sheep must have been of similar type (Low 1842:7–8) before improvement (mainly during the last 40 years) made most Shetland sheep woolly and white. Thus it is most probable that the 'hairs' of the Shetland were in fact kemps as in Orkney sheep, and support for this conclusion is given below.

The Highland Society Report (1790) stated that the wool was plucked in June, but the 'hairs' remained and shed in September. Youatt (1840:298) gives a similar excellent description of the separation of the wool from the 'hair'. Gosset (1911:220) quoted an account of Iceland, Greenland and the Faeroe Islands dated 1840 in which plucking of sheep was described, the remaining 'long hairs' providing a protection that would be lacking if the animals were shorn. The 'hairs' were stated to occur *occasionally* in Shetland sheep, and were red (*cf.* the red kemp that sometimes occurs today in the Welsh Mountain breed). Evidence from the skin of the Soay sheep (Ryder 1966a) suggests that the 'hairs' have in fact stopped growing in the spring, so this appears to be delayed shedding and not continued growth, which is in keeping with the identification of these hairy fibres as kemps and not heterotype hairs.

Sinclair, whose ideas are conveyed in the Highland Society Report, advocated the separation of the two kinds of Shetland sheep in order to preserve the fineness of the wool. He regarded the Shetland as the last remnant of an ancient Scottish fine wool, but thought that a few similar sheep may also be found in remote areas of the Highlands and the Western Isles.

Sir Joseph Banks, smug southern critic of Sinclair's efforts to improve British wool, on the other hand regarded the Shetland as being a primitive type nearer to the wild sheep, and not a remnant of the medieval fine wool (Mitchison 1962:113). Measurements made by Ryder (1966c) of a fine staple belonging to Sinclair support the conclusion of Sinclair rather than that of Banks (Table VII).

Elwes (1912) repeated the traditional belief that the Shetland sheep were of Scandinavian origin, and it has already been suggested in the textile section (above) that the Vikings introduced a hairy strain. But although all the Norse sheep may indeed have been hairy, the range of fleece from hairy to woolly, as in the Soay, is likely to have been a common feature of primitive sheep, such variation of course providing the basis on which selective breeding could be practised. An affinity between Scandinavian sheep, and those of the Northern Isles, is supported by the suggestion of similar colour inheritance in Orkney and Icelandic sheep (see above). Elwes quoted a description by Edmonston (1840) of the Shetland as a small sheep, not often horned, with long legs and a short tail. It was stated to be generally white, although sometimes 'ferruginous', grey, black or piebald, the wool being soft, and often fine. Youatt (1840:299) gave a similar

description. Fraser Darling (1945) referred to similar colours, and noted that the grey fleece was of a different type, more akin to that of Orkney sheep.

Low (1842:8) said that the Shetland had been crossed with the Merino, but the progeny could not withstand the climate, and that it was being crossed with the Cheviot. According to Elwes (1912) during the nineteenth century the Cheviot and Blackface displaced the Shetland so that the only ones remaining were those of the crofters on the common grazings, and he considered that the only really pure Shetland sheep were those of Foula and Papa Stour.

Elwes described two stuffed, pure white specimens of Shetland sheep that were presented to the Royal Scottish Museum by T. Edmonston of Balta Sound (Unst) in 1871. He thought the hornless one was a ewe, and the horned one a wether, and stated that their wool, which was 2½ to 3 in. long at the shoulder, was finer than average. Mr Andrew Tait, founder member of the Shetland Breed Society, considered these good examples of Shetland sheep. They have been on loan to the Wool Industries Research Association, Leeds, since 1949. The present writer used skin from them to describe the follicle grouping of the Shetland (Ryder 1958). The wool from these skin samples has recently been measured, and the results are given in Table VII, in which it will be noted that one has some fine kemps.

Elwes (1912) said that there was then no selection of rams, and that the sheep ran wild all the year on common grazings (scattalds) being rounded up only in summer to pluck the wool. There were in fact other (communal) gatherings for smearing, and mating; ewes with young lambs were often tethered on the croft (Ryder 1966d). Elwes observed a distinct break in the wool like that occurring on the mainland owing to reduced wool growth during winter, but found no evidence of hairy fibres with fine wool beneath. He said that most ewes, and some rams, lacked horns, but he saw some rams with four horns, the horns being curved rather than straight. Ewart (1919) said that 'goat-horned' Shetlands were then rare; his illustrations of these in the Soay and in the Shetland show a reversed spiral in the horn.

It was stated in an appendix to the Highland Society Report (1790) that it was still possible to find pure, native Shetland sheep, and although the hairy type seems to have disappeared, there appear to have been no other great changes since then so that it is not true to say that the pure Shetland no longer exists. One feature which indicates an absence, or at least a minimum of crossing, is the short tail of only thirteen vertebrae compared with the twenty vertebrae of more highly evolved breeds. It is clear that when the breed society was established in 1926 it started with native Shetland sheep, and the improvement that has been carried out has been by selection towards a standard white, woolly type (Ryder 1966d). But although fleece weight has been increased by about ½ lb, the average is still only about 2 lb, and the breed is uneconomic by modern standards. It thrives well on the poor grazing of the scattalds, but when pasture improvement takes place, Cheviot-cross-Shetland sheep are used. Pure Shetland sheep have, of course, to be kept to produce this cross.

Only a small proportion of Shetland sheep are coloured today, and of these the predominant colour is moorit, the only colour fostered by the breed society. There are also black, piebald, and grey sheep, and some interesting variations. One of these, known as 'shaila', is greyish-black, and said to resemble hoar frost on old, rain-sodden snow. Another colour variant is 'catmuggit', and in this the belly wool is black, but in the fleece area only the base of the staple is black, the tip being white. This is comparable with the Icelandic term *mögott* for a sheep with a black belly (Aðalsteinsson 1966). A rarer, blue-grey type has wool that is black at the tip, but white at the base. (Ryder [1966d] has reviewed Shetland sheep husbandry and wool manufacture.)

The Cheviot

The modern Cheviot (Plate IVd) was apparently derived from the Dunface. About 1800 it in fact still had a dun face and the rams were horned. About this time, too, Cheviots were termed 'long sheep', and Blackface sheep 'short sheep' suggesting that the Cheviot was already larger than the Blackface. Early nineteenth-century illustrations such as those of Youatt (1840) show an animal similar to that of today. The Cheviot occasionally throws a brown lamb which suggests an affinity ultimately with the Soay. One such lamb born in 1963 and belonging to Mr T. Walton of Capheaton, Northumberland was of interest in having white rump patches at the side of the tail like the Soay, but although wool examined from this throwback had a pale tip, and a dark brown base, as in the Soay, the fleece structure resembled that of the Cheviot rather than that of the Soay.

Trow-Smith (1957:225–9) follows Fitzinger in naming the Cheviot a heath sheep. This is an unfortunate term because all sheep so named are not necessarily related genetically. For instance, the German Heath sheep (Heidsnucke) appears similar to the Scottish Blackface. Trow-Smith (1957) quotes Lisle (1714) as stating that the sheep of the Borders were small, with good wool, and two to four horns, and the rams six. This is very similar to earlier descriptions, yet by 1746 the Cheviot was being improved with good English rams (Trow-Smith 1959). Robson of Belford improved his Cheviots by crossing with English Leicester and Lincoln rams, and increased fleece weight as well as making them earlier maturing, without losing hardiness. Sometimes, however, improvement was carried out at the expense of hardiness, and a 'blocky' type of Cheviot developed by James Brydon of Moorland in Eskdalemuir nearly died out in snow in 1860 (Symon 1952).

The Cheviot was taken from the Borders to Caithness about 1790. Although such movements are frequently attributed to one man, in this instance Sinclair, Kerr of Armadale also introduced the Cheviot into northern Scotland in 1791 (Trow-Smith 1959: 138). Here it developed into a larger type of sheep known as the North Country Cheviot.

Clearly much more can be written about individual breeds as more detailed records become available at the end of the eighteenth century, but this brief account must suffice in the present survey.

The Border Leicester

This breed (Plate IVe) almost certainly developed from a cross between the English Leicester and the Cheviot. The main use of the Border Leicester today is to provide rams for crossing with hill breeds in order to combine the maternal qualities of the hill breeds with the increased body size of the Border Leicester. The cross with the Cheviot is the Halfbred and that with the Blackface is the Greyface.

Franklin (1952:141) thought that these crosses dated back only to the middle of the nineteenth century, but Trow-Smith (1959:137) shows that the 'Culley' which he regards as being the embryo Border Leicester was being crossed with the Cheviot as early as the end of the eighteenth century. Franklin states that about 1875 on the Borders there was much crossing back to the Border Leicester, to give a $\frac{3}{4}$ Border Leicester. The modern second cross, with a Down ram (Suffolk or Oxford) to produce early fat lamb, does not seem to have started until the beginning of the present century.

The Scottish Blackface

We have already seen that the Blackface (Plate IVf) came originally from England, but the date at which it began to cross the Border is not known. Scott and Scott (1888) and Parnell (1939) draw attention to the opposition between the reference of Boece (1460) to Blackface sheep in the vale of Esk, and that which considered James IV to have imported the first flock to Ettrick in 1503. It is possible that the Blackface was confused with the Dunface because Scott and Scott said that Dunfaced was another name for Blackfaced. Ettrick does, however, appear to be the centre from which it spread to Tweeddale and Lammermuir. Trow-Smith (1959:138) regarded the statement of Johnston (1794) that the Blackface was the original breed of the country around Selkirk as indicating that it had been there a long time. Naismyth of Hamilton, writing in 1796, made a similar observation regarding Lammermuir. About the end of the eighteenth century the Blackface was known as the Linton breed, from the market—West Linton in Peebles-shire—from which the sheep were bought for the Highlands. The spread of the Blackface into Dunbartonshire, Argyll and Perthshire in the middle of the eighteenth century, reaching Ross-shire about 1775, is well chronicled.

The Scottish Blackface is now the most numerous breed in Britain, and different types have developed in different parts of Scotland. The fleece is quite distinct from that of other Scottish sheep in that it has long (heterotype) hairs in addition to kemp fibres and true wool. There are three main grades of fleece: 'Deep Strong', 'Medium' and 'Short Fine'. The 'Deep Strong' grade comes mainly from Lanark type Blackfaces kept mostly in central Scotland. This type of fleece has the longest and coarsest hairs, with little true wool, and is used in mattresses. The shorter and finer type of fleece, comprising the medium grade, is more widespread and is used in carpets. The Galloway type is shorter and finer, but the finest fleeces of all come from north west Scotland and the Western Isles, and are used in tweeds.

Sheep and the Clearances

One cannot write about sheep in Scotland without mentioning the Highland clearances. So complete was the introduction of new sheep and their shepherds in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries that sheep traditions in the Highlands today merely reflect lowland influence.

The present author questions the much-repeated statement that the Highlands are cattle country, and not sheep country. The sheep is a mountain animal, whereas cattle have their natural home on the lowlands. Sheep can thrive on land that is too poor to support any other farm animal: a much better hill is needed for cattle, and they need a bigger lowland area for wintering.

Historical records suggest that the goat was as important as the sheep before the clearances, and that both out-numbered cattle. Dr Johnson in his *Journey to the Western Isles* (1773) gives the stock of one tacksman in the Highlands on the mainland as: '100 sheep, as many goats, 12 milk cows, and 28 beeves ready for the drovers.' Gray (1957) stated that before the clearances sheep were grazed with cattle in equal numbers. According to Franklin (1952:166) cattle only became an important export after the Union, and in order to develop cattle some chiefs restricted the number of sheep kept by their clansmen to one sheep for every head of cattle.

The spread of the Blackface and Cheviot sheep from the Southern Uplands into the Highlands began about 1760. According to MacLagan (1958) it started in 1752 when John Campbell took Blackface sheep from Ayrshire to Dunbartonshire. By 1800 they had reached the Great Glen, and by 1840 run-rig was almost extinct. The last county to receive sheep was Sutherland. Wheeler (1966) used old maps to give graphic illustration of the way in which settlements distributed throughout the country were swept to the coasts by the tide of sheep-farming. Here and in Caithness the Cheviot breed predominated and still does so. (The clearances are dealt with in greater detail in Ryder 1968f.)

Apart from the main breeds already discussed, other sheep have been brought into Scotland, such as the Down breeds now important in providing rams for fat lamb production. Even the Merino was introduced at the beginning of the nineteenth century, but its effect on the sheep of today was almost certainly negligible.

Sheep breeds, like human populations, are never static. The slow progress of earlier times was superseded by relatively quicker changes during the last 200 years. But if the sheep is to survive the economic demands of today it will have to be changed much faster still into a more productive animal.

Summary and Conclusions

1 Evidence from bones found during archaeological excavation suggests that the prehistoric sheep of Scotland were of Soay type; there is no conclusive skeletal evidence for more than one type of sheep. The difficulty of distinguishing differences in size due

to breed from within-breed differences due to sex, nutritional status or genetic variation, is regarded as being enormous.

2 Naturally-pigmented wool textile remains from the Roman period support the suggestion of Soay sheep and indicate fleece variation from a hairy to a woolly type, similar to that found in Soay sheep remaining on St Kilda today. There is evidence as early as Roman times of a native evolution towards modern white, fine and medium fleece types. Whereas medieval fleeces tended to be fine, those of the Norse period, and the seventeenth century, tended to be hairy.

3 There is little historical evidence of sheep type until the eighteenth century, but it seems likely that the monastic farmers introduced improved sheep from England in the Middle Ages. The native sheep of Scotland emerged into history as the Dunface, a term which suggests an affinity with the Soay; another term used was Old Scottish Shortwool, which suggests fine wool. Records indicate that these sheep were kept by each family in relatively small numbers and selected for fine, probably white, wool. Other 'muirland' sheep with a short tail, but of the same general type existed alongside these and probably had hairy, coloured fleeces.

4 The range of variation from the muirland sheep to the Old Scottish Shortwool was probably similar to that seen in the Orkney sheep now remaining only on North Ronaldsay. These are primitive in having a short tail, coloured fleeces and a tendency to moult, which in the past necessitated the collection of wool by plucking. The fleeces range in colour from black, through grey to white, with a few brown ones. The grey animals tend to have hairier fleeces than the white ones, which mostly have a white, woolly fleece like the modern Shetland.

5 The Dunface appears to have been the ancestor of the modern Cheviot breed which is first recorded in the eighteenth century, and the Border Leicester is the result of a cross between the Cheviot and the English Leicester, long-woolled breed. The Scottish Blackface came from England, although when it first crossed the border is not known. It was well established in southern Scotland and beginning to reach the Highlands by the middle of the eighteenth century.

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Problems and Experiments in the Notational Method of Vocal Transcription

JAMES PORTER

In this study I shall be examining two related aspects of notational method. In considering the first, I shall outline the theoretical implications of ethnomusicological notation in the context of contemporary musical language; in the second, I shall deal with some modern methods of transcription in relation to their different purposes and scope.

Béla Bartók, in his introduction to Part One of 'Serbo-Croatian Folk Songs', wrote —and this is in 1943—

> The transcription of recordings of folk music should be as true as possible. It should be realized, however, that an absolutely true notation of music (as well as of spoken words) is impossible because of the lack of adequate signs in our current systems of notation. This applies even more to the notation of folk music. The only really true notations are the sound-tracks on the record itself. . . .
>
> The human mind . . . must have as visual impressions conventional symbols of drastic simplicity in order to be able to study and categorize sound phenomena. These symbols are what we call 'notation' of music. When applying them to the transcription of folk music, we may add supplementary diacritical signs, in smaller or larger numbers, devised for our special purposes, in order to represent certain phenomena which occur in and are characteristic of folk music. . . .
>
> In spite of these additional signs, the current notation, when used to transcribe folk music, has intrinsic limitations. These limitations, however, can be overcome to a certain degree, according to our purpose and to our well-weighed choice. Our choice will take into consideration the perceptive abilities of the human mind and their limits. . . . (Bartók 1951:3).

Written 25 years ago, that still appears to be an admirable statement of the problems presented by the study of 'performed' music as opposed to the study of 'written' music—with one exception. It has always surprised me that a man of Bartók's sensibility (and genius for that matter) did not allow for the possible extension of musical language, and notation to attempt to express that language in new symbols. An extended notation for art music would naturally influence the transcription of 'performed', or folk music. He hints at a broadening of notational method in his closing paragraph of the introduction when he says: 'Although perfection cannot be attained in transcribing and classifying folk music, we must always endeavour to approach an ideal of perfection, an ideal which in itself is still but dimly perceived. We should never tire of *improving and changing*

[my italics] our methods of work in order to accomplish this task as well as is humanly possible' (*op. cit.* : 20).

Bartók, of course, was well aware of the advances in notation made by his contemporaries (he mentions Kodaly and Schoenberg both using the principle of beams instead of flags for a succession of notes sung to different syllables, a method which he himself employs); and further, being a composer as well as a collector of folk music, he makes the very pertinent point that the placement of pitch is much less exact than in art music. 'Nevertheless', he goes on, 'these deviations, since they show a certain system and are subconsciously intentional, must not be considered faulty, off-pitch singing. This is the essential difference between the accidental off-pitch singing of urban amateurs and the self-assured, self-conscious, decided performance of peasant singers.' Although he is referring here to Eastern European folk music, the assertion is equally valid with regard to the Scottish Gaelic tradition and the Lowland singers of the historical ballads. Specific examples of these two types will be cited later.

Again, Bartók insists that the difference between the continuous variability of folk music and the rigid stability of art music is not one of contrast, but of degree—that is, the performance of folk music shows an almost absolute variability, while art music varies in a far lesser, sometimes in only an infinitesimal degree; the NOTES of art music—because of their fixation by notation—must never be changed, whereas in folk music even notes are subject to change.

One wonders what Bartók would have thought of the latest developments in aleatoric music, where the incorporation of chance elements in a composition relegates notation to the status of a mere skeleton, the flesh to be supplied by the performer's imaginative realisation. There can be no doubt that he would have extensively qualified these conclusions about the function of notation.

To revert to Bartók's original thesis, however, we can see from his statements about the nature of both art and folk music how notational symbols can represent the musical event from two contrasting viewpoints: before and after the actual sounds. It has been said that Bartók himself could hardly endure a performance of his quartets, because performance failed by so much to coincide with the ideal in his head. This may have been partial conditioning brought about by his preoccupation with the receiving end, as it were, of musical performance in his collecting; he no doubt also felt the need for uncertainty and ambiguity to be eliminated so that the performance could conform to his instructions in every detail. On this point, it is significant to note that Stravinsky in his later scores replaces the pause by the measured rest, and markings which cannot be exactly defined hardly appear. Younger composers have extended the range of vocal expression through such symbols as ♪ (on the breath), $\overset{+}{\circ}$ to denote a nasalisation of the vowel sound, ♪ a note which begins as speech then merges into a sung pitch, and so on. (Berio 1961 : passim). These are important additions to the symbolic language of notation, and we must be prepared constantly to extend the language to embrace as many varieties of expression as possible.

Bartók, of course, lays down fundamental rules about pitch, rhythm and complex notational groupings; the signs ↑ and ↓ to denote up to a quarter-tone sharp or flat are naturally signs of approximate value (I shall come to the business of scientific exactitude later). He states that limits must be set which correspond to the ability of the human mind to perceive differences of rhythm (♪ at ♩ = 120); occasionally it will be necessary to write groupings such as [quadruplet grouping], where the quadruplet has a ♪. value of the current notation. Again, consistency of method is important; formulas depend on the individual case. For example, the groupings ♩♩., ♩.♩, ♪♩., and ♩♪ have the same value, and the arbitrary interchange of these formulas without reasonable cause is to be avoided. This problem belongs to the orthography and aesthetics of transcription. Also to be shunned are vague signs such as the hold, trill, mordent and comma—one must admire Bartók's passion for accuracy.

However, in an article published some five years ago, George List of Indiana University makes the point that even Bartók's own transcriptions contain inaccuracies. The discs he used to transcribe the Serbo-Croatian songs in the Harvard Milman Parry Collection are still in the Archives of Folk and Primitive Music, and presumably Mr List has scientific proof of his allegation. It is difficult to believe that any inaccuracies in Bartók's transcriptions could be other than minor, certainly in proportion to the value of these transcriptions in their skilful and artistic realisation.

List's article throws up some other observations, though, which have relevance to a discussion of the various methods of transcription. He remarks:

> No method of transcription yet devised, whether accomplished by means of the human ear or by electronic analysis, mirrors the musical event with exactitude. The value of a transcription lies not in its complete reproduction of all aspects of a musical event but in the fact that it facilitates the comparison of a number of individual and separable elements or aspects of the musical event. . . . Electronic devices are also not always accurate. The ear can make distinctions which cannot be made by the spectrograph. The stylus of the melograph does not always react with the speed necessary to exactly mirror the signal received. Electronic devices are in certain directions more limited than the ear. The melograph cannot produce a transcription of music containing more than one musical line. Nor can it produce a useful transcription where there is much extraneous noise in the recording or when vocal production is too guttural. . . . On the positive side, the melograph can produce a graph of pitch and duration in very great detail indeed. It can also produce an equally detailed graph of the dynamic pattern of the single musical line. . . . Our ears have been trained primarily to discriminate stable pitches, not pitches that are unstable. Until the time this lack of training is rectified we must depend upon electronic apparatus to assist us in plotting the melody of speech and of forms intermediate to speech and song, in graphically describing the vibrato and the effect of breath accent in vocal production. . . . (List 1963:194–6).

It is obvious from these conclusions that notation by ear and by electronic means can provide a useful comparison. This is endorsed in an earlier article by Charles Seeger

of Santa Barbara, California, where he mentions the development of Olav Gurvin at the Physics Institute of Oslo University, and from his own experience goes on to say: 'To no one would I recommend the abandonment of traditional techniques of writing music for the novel and still undeveloped graph. For the present, I would urge the two to be used side by side' (Seeger 1957 : 66). A later opinion of Seeger consolidates this: '. . . But still, the graph contains, on the whole, less information—even when done with the best electronic devices—than the conventional notation. True, it shows many things that conventional notation cannot show. Best for the present and for the foreseeable future must be, I think, a combination of the two techniques' (Seeger 1964 : 277).

This brings me now to a discussion of the methods of transcription currently available and in use. It must be remembered that each of the methods has its own function depending on the purpose of the transcriber. He may wish to use several in conjunction to give a reasonably complete picture of the musical event. These methods are:

(1) the electronic transcription by means of a graph
(2) the time-signal, where the time-element is narrowed to one-tenth of a second
(3) the detailed transcription by ear
(4) the general, personal, less detailed aural transcription
(5) the abstract of the melody, with all inessentials stripped away.

The first of these is exemplified (Plate V) in a transcription made at the University of Uppsala of Gaelic ornamental psalm-singing by one voice. The graph—whose two lines denote frequency (pitch) and volume—can be compared with a time-signal transcription by my colleague Thorkild Knudsen and his analytical realisation of the ornamentation in Plate VI and Figure 1.

One can see from the graph that only a fraction of the music—*c.* 4½ seconds—can be contained in the same amount of space which a written transcription would occupy; it is therefore extremely cumbersome. Until some truncated form of graph is devised, it is a somewhat impractical method for the purpose of comparative analysis. One instance, possibly, where such a transcription would be extremely useful, would be the exactitude with which the apparatus could measure the complex rhythm of a piobaireachd Urlar. Uppsala University possess such an apparatus, and we hope to collaborate with them in throwing light on the time-structure of the Urlar.

A specific comment I should like to make about the psychological effect of the *look* of transcriptions such as the realisation of the psalm-singing, is that often one realises that an impression of something more than the notes themselves is being conveyed. We always tend to relate signs to already-perceived experience—this is perhaps what in German is meant by the term 'Augenmusik'—and our conventional notation in comparative study holds a wealth of associations for us. It would certainly not be difficult for someone without much experience of classical notation to see the strange resemblance that the ornaments of the psalm have to the melodic elaboration of a Bach Adagio.

Detailed aural transcription obviously makes heavy musical demands on the transcriber; not only must he take into account every nuance of vocal inflection and phrasing,

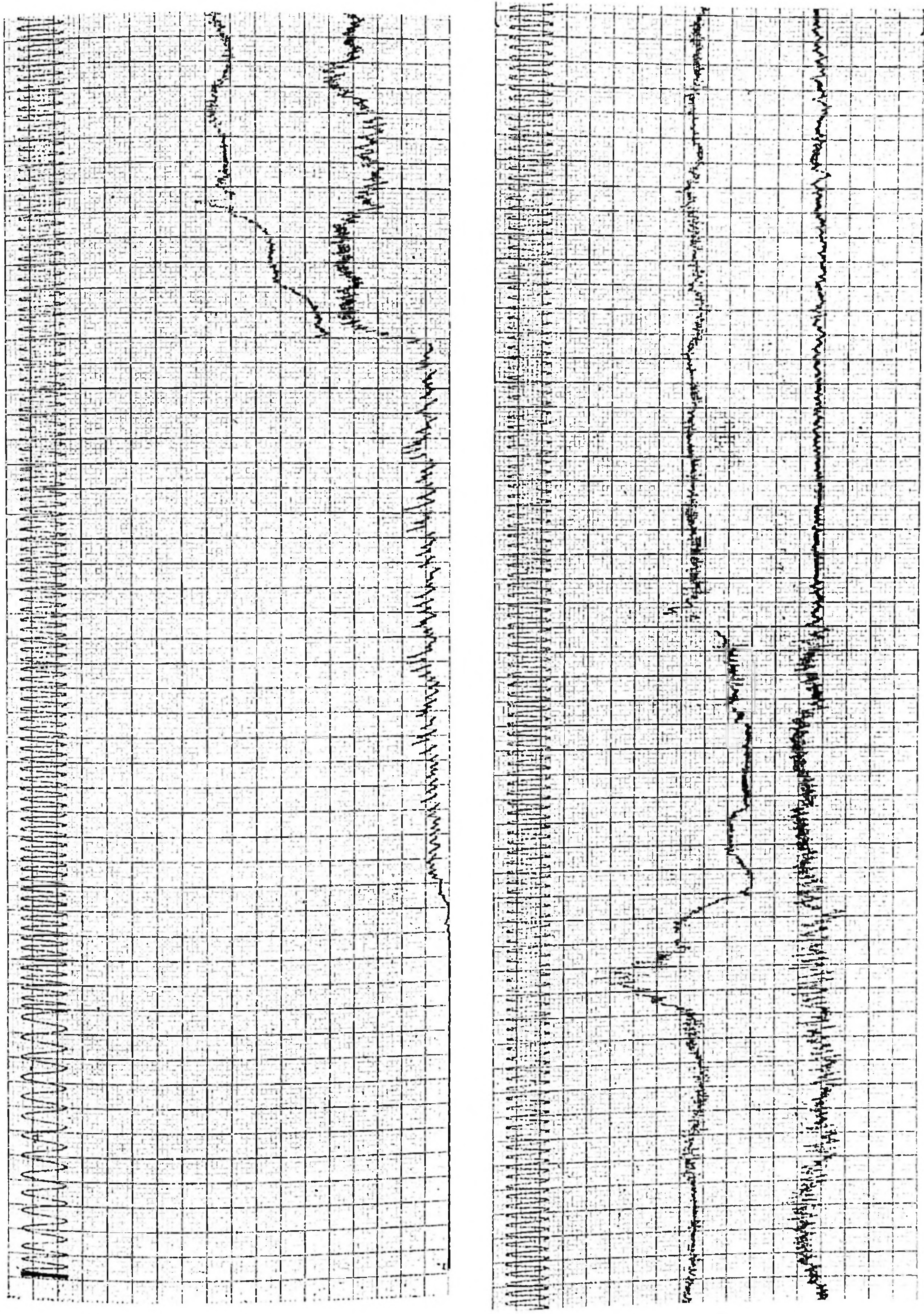
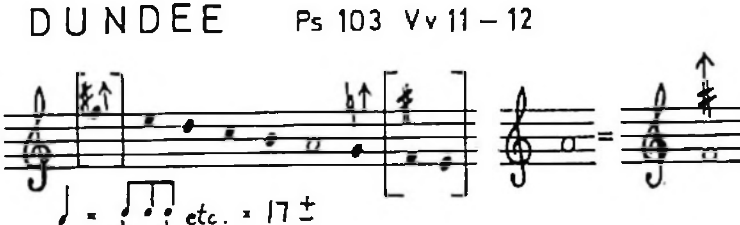


PLATE V An electronic transcription. (2 squares = $\frac{1}{10}$ of a second)

DUNDEE Ps 103 Vv 11 – 12 Murdina Mac Donald 1965



n Oi – –n[ə] ma – –n[ə] o – –s cea –

–nn[ə] na ta – –[ə] – –mhainn

–ai – –nn[ə] ta na speu–

–ra – –r a – –r[ə]

ga – –ha – –th[ə] re 'S a – –mh luidh sin tha

thò – cairmò – –n[ə] [ə] –[ə] 'S a –

–mh[i] lui – –dh si –

n tha thro – ca –

–a – n[ə] ma – Do'n drea – m d'a – n ea –ga

le Do –o – –n[ə] d[ə]rea

m[ə] da – –a – n ea –

PLATE VI A time-signal transcription. (Vertical lines denote $\frac{1}{10}$ of a second)

DUNDEE Ps 103 Vv 11–12

Murdina MacDonald 1965

n'Oi–r[ə] ma– –r[ə] o– –s cea– –nn[ə]

na ta– l[ə]– –mhainn

'ai–nn[ə] ta– –na speu–

–ra– –n à– –r[ə] ga–

–ha– –ch[ə]re' 'Sa– –mh luidh sin tha 'thrò-cair mò– –r[ə] –[ə]–

–[ə]– 'Sa– –mh[ə] lui– –dh si– –i– –n

tha 'thrò– –cai–

–ai–r[ə] mo– –r Do'ndream d'a–n ea-gal e Do–

–o– –n[ə] d[ə]– rea– –m[ə] dà– –a– –n

ea– –ga–

FIG. 1 A notational realisation of Plate VI.

he ought also to cultivate a strong yet subtle sense of rhythm. My own transcription of the classical ballad 'Lord Lovat' ('Lord Lovel', Child 75) has attempted to convey the extreme fluidity of rhythm which distinguishes Jeannie Robertson's version. It is extraordinary how she manages to convey the sense of a decisive rhythmic pulse—albeit internal—in the shaping of her phrases. Although the rhythmic contours may change minutely from verse to verse, it is the power of the internal pulse which characterises her singing with its peculiar rock-like strength (Fig. 2).

A comparison between methods 3, 4 and 5 depends largely on the purpose as well as the skill of the transcriber. It is as well here to quote what Bertrand H. Bronson has to

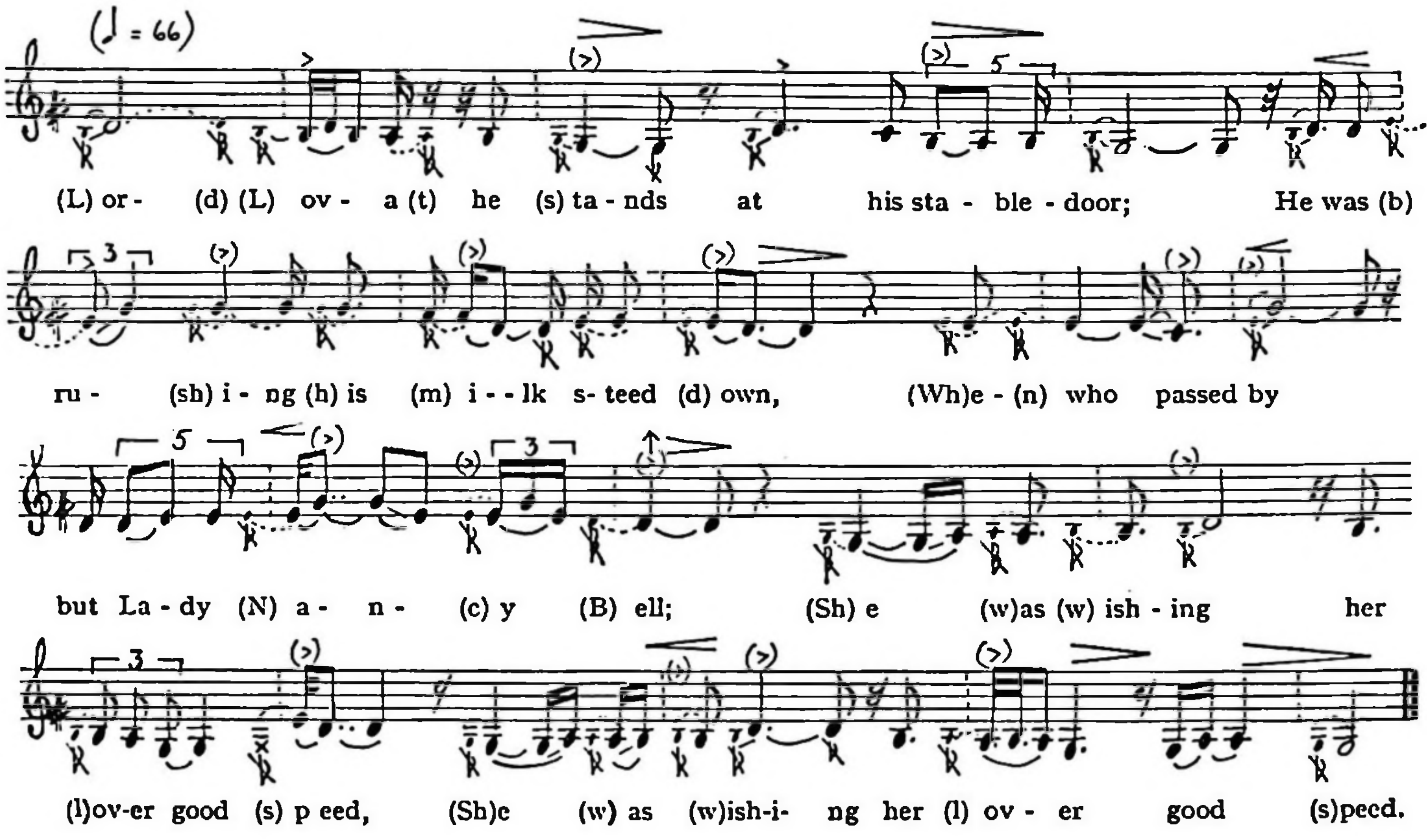


FIG. 2. Transcription of Jeannie Robertson's singing of 'Lord Lovat'.

say in his introduction to Volume I of his *Traditional Tunes of the Child Ballads.* Bronson is more interested in the basic shape of a tune than a performed version, and one can see his point; it would be unwieldy to devote such a mammoth work as his to every melodic variable that came his way:

> No two renditions of the same song by the same singer on the same day and in the same hour can be identical, by laboratory standards of cents and bels. Moreover, no two stanzas of a *single* rendition can be musically identical. The singer, however, 'knows the tune', and thinks he is singing it all the time. Actually, he is singing variations on a musical idea. These variations are scientifically interesting, but too synchronous and diminutive to be of much historical interest as between themselves. If we possessed a complete account of them, we should have to synopsize it to something approximating what the singer 'had in mind', before we could employ it in a large-scale comparative study of the song. The task of

> reducing it, from the scientific data, to its typical form for that singer would be both arduous and puzzling, and probably, in the event, quite subjective. Most of our existing records, of course, simply by-pass such problems by starting at the end: with a subjective notion of the singer's melodic idea, and an attempt to suggest it on paper. When the transcriber has the ear, the skill, and the wide knowledge of a Cecil Sharp, the single approximation is more useful for comparative and historical inquiry than a more exact picture of a single rendition, stanza by stanza, with plus and minus signs suggesting sharpened flats and flattened sharps at particular notes on that particular occasion, and with all the other details of a meticulous record. The aims of the two kinds of transcription are divergent. As suggested above, one is directed toward the abstract, the song; the other toward the individual act of singing (Bronson 1957: xxvii).

Bronson, of course, is only justifying his own methods here *vis-à-vis* the great corpus of material with which he has had to deal. MS records, aural approximations and detailed transcriptions have all to be reduced to a workable denominator when such a vast collation has to be made. The other side of the coin, however, is the musicologist's interest in the technique and style of the living, uniquely-gifted singer, and a transcription that conveys—as far as humanly possible—the traits and characteristics of that singer provides the basic version, the *Originalfassung*, from which all others can be extracted. I should be inclined to argue that such a method would reduce subjectivity to a minimum in the transference of the musical event on to paper; the more short-cuts that a transcriber may be inclined to make in his work, the more the risk of missing the essence of the singer's style, which in turn is the flesh and blood, if not the bones, of a traditional song.

An examination of the ballad 'Mary Hamilton' (Child 173) in this context will make clear the differences of transcription method. Two transcriptions (Fig. 3a and b) are from the same rendering of the ballad: Jeannie Robertson's singing is realised in my own detailed transcription (3a) and in the simpler version by another hand (3b). The Bronson version (3c) is taken from Group D in his classification, and represents both printed and aurally-noted originals; it consists of a contour of the melody in its simplest form.

Finally, I should like to return to my own methods of transcription, since some of the symbols employed may require clarification. Natural musical stress divisions in the vocal line are represented by the dotted bar-line; strong musical accent is denoted in the usual way by the symbol >, and partial accent by (>). In order to convey something of the vocal style of the performer, the subtleties of rhythm and intensity, the use of small-head notes has become a necessity. These possess two distinct functions; first, in the ordinary way found in other musical genres, as a leaning-note (stressed or unstressed); second, as a means of illustrating dialectal and linguistic traits peculiar to the singer. For example, in the ballad 'Lord Donald' ('Lord Randal', Child 12), Jeannie Robertson sings the word 'mak' thus: ma- k the emphasis of the ejective 'k' is given a notational form by the accented small-head note with a dotted tie to the main time-element.

This occurs also in the case of consonants such as 't' and 'p', *e.g.* the line 'There lies a ship' in her singing of 'The Golden Victory' ('The Sweet Trinity', Child 286) has the first time shi- p where the voicing is contained in the initial 'shi-' and the plosive emerges as a separate time-element, and the second time appears in the form sh- ip. These are, I hope, self-explanatory details, and similar instances occur throughout Jeannie Robertson's repertoire.

FIG. 3 'Mary Hamilton'—three transcriptions.

A more complex example may be observed in the transcription of 'Mary Hamilton', *viz.* n- igh- t. As far as we know, whispered vowels do contain frequency, though sometimes the pitch is easier to grasp with the ear than at others. Where the ear can

detect a pitched whisper, I denote the sound thus ♪ at the same pitch as the preceding or following main time-element. I also make a distinction between ♪ and ♪, where both are minute time-factors, the second being imperceptibly smaller than the first.

Despite Bartók's strictures in his introduction about the complicated means involved in devising some way of denoting tone-colour, it seems a logical step in such detailed methods of transcription to reveal something of the richness of vocal timbre to be found both in Jeannie Robertson's and Murdina MacDonald's singing. For example, Jeannie Robertson will sing the word 'my' as follows: [musical notation: m(a)- y]. It seems to me perfectly possible to represent this—possibly in conjunction with phonetic transcription at first for the sake of lucidity—by the method of a coloured line beneath the stave, without in any way attempting a scientific correlation between sound-frequency and colour-frequency. One might devise a reasonably simple table relating vowel-sounds and certain intermediate tonal articulations to a colour system which would result in an even more complete graphic picture of the musical event.

This method I intend to develop further in collaboration with colleagues in the Department of Phonetics and Applied Linguistics. The particular idea of colour representation can, I am sure, be developed in a systematic and logical way, while conveying to the aural imagination something which could hitherto only be surmise. I hope to publish a progress report in a later article.

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Notes on Collection and Research

Scottish Place-Names : 30 Fintry

W. F. H. NICOLAISEN

When we discussed the relationship between Angles and Celts in Southern Scotland, in an earlier number of this journal (Nicolaisen 1964), the elements *caer* and *tref* were chosen to illustrate the distribution of Cumbric (= *p*-Celtic) settlement names in the area (*op. cit.* 148–53). For the first of these—in the meaning 'fort, (fortified) hamlet'—the distributional pattern is quite in order in view of what we know about British settlement in the Scottish south: they practically keep below the Fourth-Clyde line, with only one probable example in Fife and a doubtful one in Angus. Not so *tref* in the sense of 'village'—it apparently occurs in the north as well as in the South where it has an altogether more westerly scatter than *caer* (*op. cit.*: 149 and 151). If looked more closely into, however, a slightly more complex picture emerges; for *tref*, when used as a first element as in Tranent ELO, Traquair PEB, Terregles KCB, and Torquhan MLO, conforms without exception to the expected pattern, but when occurring as the second part of a compound name—as in Fintry STL, Niddry WLO, and Rattray PER—it seemingly presents us with a considerable number of examples in the north-east, in addition to those in the south. If this is so, the question arises what one calls the linguistic affinity of such a geographical distribution. Before attempting an answer to this question, it is essential that we should briefly look again at the material which is more or less comprehensively listed by Watson (1926: 362–5). In this connection it will be necessary to check and, if required, correct and augment the early spellings in the light of the sources themselves and of new comments. For our purposes we shall divide the names into groups according to whether the first element is of 'British' or Gaelic origin.

(*a*) Names with 'British' first elements:

Cantray, Gaelic *Cantra* INV (with Cantraydoune NAI, Gaelic *Cantra an Dùin*, *Cantradoun* 1468 RMS), possibly from **canto-treb-*'white settlement'; Menstrie CLA (*Mestryn* 1261 CDS; *Mestreth* 1263, *Mestry* 1315, Menstry 1392 RMS), probably *maes-dref* 'plain-settlement'; Niddry WLO (*Nudreff* 1370 RMS, *Nudry* 1392 HMC, *Nidre c* 1542 Balcarres Papers), Niddrie MLO (*Nudreth* 1140 Dunf.Reg., *Nodrif* 1166–1214 Holy.Lib., *Noderyf* 1264–6 ER, *Nudreff* 1296 CDS), Longniddry ELO (*Nodref*, *Langnodryf* 1315–21, *Loungnudrethe* 1380–81 RMS, *in Langnudre* [de *Langnodryffe*] Robert I RMS App. 2), all probably from *newydd* 'new', although obviously influenced by

the Gaelic cognate of the same word, *nodha*; Ochiltree AYR (*Uchiltrie* 1406, *Wchiltrie* David II RMS), Ochiltree WIG (*Uchiltre* 1506 RMS), Ochiltree WLO (*Ockiltre* 1211–14, *Ouchiltre* 1282 St.A.Lib., *Uchiltre* 1382 ER) all clearly corresponding to Welsh *Ucheldref* 'high settlement'; Soutra MLO (*Soltre* 1153–65 Midl.Chrs., *Soltra* 1458–9 RMS, *Sowtre* 1473 ADA), according to Dixon (1947:190) from Welsh *sulw tref* 'steading of the wide view'; Trostrie KCB (*Trostaree* 1456 ER, *Trostre* 1527 MS), Troustrie FIF (apparently no early record), from *traws tref* 'thwart settlement'.

(*b*) Names with Gaelic first elements:

Capledrae FIF (*Capildray* late 12 *c.* St.A.Lib.), possibly from Gaelic *capull* 'horse'; Clentry FIF (*Easter and Wester Clintrayes* 1653 Retours), (?) Clenterty BNF, Clinterty ABD (one in Newhills: *villa de Clentrethi*, *le Crag de Clentrethy*, [?] *Clenterret* 1316 Abdn.Reg., *Clyntreys* 1367 A.B. Coll., *de duabus Clynteys* [sic], *de Clyntreys, apud Clyntre* 1368, *de duabus Clyntres* 1372, *de Clintreis* 1329–71 RMS, *litil Clyntree* 1381, *Clentre* 1382, *Clyntree* 1430 Abdn.Reg., *Bishopis-Clintertie* 1649 Retours; one in Aberdour: *Clintertie* 1556 A.B.Ill.), probably from Gaelic *claon* 'sloping, squint', although Alexander (1954:215) suggests a synonymous *claointe* with *-erie* as the termination of a stream-name; Fintry STL (*Fyntrif* 1225, *Fyntryf* 1225–70, *Fyntre* 1464 RMS), Fintray ABD (*Fyntrach* 1175 Abdn.Reg., *Fintreth* 1180 Lind.Cart., 1490 A.B.Coll.), Fintry ABD (*Meikle Fyntra* 1375 A.B.Ill.), Fintry ANG from Gaelic *fionn* 'white'; Fortree, Fortry ABD (there are several others on record with early spellings such as *Fortre* 1540 RMS), Fortrie (2), Fortry BNF (example spellings, *Fortre, Fortrie* RMS David II), according to Watson (1926:365) apparently a Gaelic form of Welsh *gor-dref* 'big stead', but Alexander (1952:60) maintains that 'the charters use *fortre* as a quasi-legal word of the feudal time; which indicates Norman-French fort, or fortress'; Moray MOR, Gaelic *Moireabh* (*Murebe* 1032, *Muireb* 1085, *Moreb* 1130 all Annals of Ulster), from Gaelic **Moirthreabh*<Early Celtic **mori-treb-*'sea-settlement'

(*c*) Names in which the first element could be either 'British 'or Gaelic:

Rattray PER (*Rotrefe* 1291, *Rettref* 1296, *Rothtref* 1305 CDS), Rattray ABD (*Rettre* 1170 Abdn.Reg., *Retref* 1274 Vet.Mon., *Ratreff* 1460 RMS), Rattra KCB, either from Welsh *rath* or Gaelic *ràth* 'a circular fort'.

(*d*) Doubtful names:

Coulaghailtro ARG (*Coulgalgreif* 1511 RMS); Muchtre ARG (so 1554 RMS, 1619 Retours), now apparently lost. Watson (1926:365) considers that 'if these are genuine instances of *tref*, the term must have come to Kintyre from Ayrshire'. Halltree MLO (*Haltre* 1483 ADA, *Haltrie* 1587 Laing Chrs., *Holltree* 1654 Bleau). Dixon (1947:284) suggests a hybrid name consisting of OE *heald* or ON.*hallr* and *tref*. If correct, this would be a remarkable formation.

The first fact which clearly emerges from this survey is that our linguistic groupings roughly correspond to geographical divisions which means that the material is not as homogeneous as it first appears to be. No example in the area in which *tref* occurs as a second element, shows a Gaelic first part unless the three Niddries in the Lothians with their *No-* forms can be said to exhibit at least traces of one. On the other hand, British first elements—with the exception of the rather poorly documented Cantray on the Inverness-Nairn border—only sporadically cross the Forth-Clyde line to the north, leaving the field to Gaelic first parts. As far as these are concerned, their number would be more than halved if Alexander's interpretation of the various instances of Fortree (Fortrie) and Clinterty in the region of Aberdeenshire and Banffshire is correct. Although we have in this context assigned them to class (*b*), they should perhaps rather have been labelled 'doubtful' and listed under (*d*). Nevertheless, the Fintry-type name does exist, suggesting a translation of the first element from *p*-Celtic into Gaelic. The assumption, however tempting, of the Gaelic cognate *treabh*, being the second part of these names is rather ruled out because of the scarcity of this word as a place-name element in Ireland (it also seems to be totally absent elsewhere in Scotland), and for semantic reasons (see Watson 1926:357 and Nicolaisen 1964:150). Part-translation must be the explanation for our names, as seems to be proved by the RMS entry 'terras et baroniam de Cantres vulgo vocat. Fintries in parochia de Kingeduard' (1634, similar in 1625) which makes it very likely that the original name was something like _*can-dref-_<_*canto-treb-_ 'white settlement' (Watson 1926:364). Similarly, most 'Pictish' *Pit-* names in the same area have Gaelic second elements, again suggesting part-translation for some of them, although the majority of them may have been coined in a Pictish-Gaelic bilingual period in the ninth and tenth centuries (Nicolaisen 1968:147). The Fintry-type name may, of course, also have come into being under similar conditions.

Whatever the correct explanation in each individual case, the fact remains that *tref* was used as a second element in place-names in the Scottish east and north-east, from Fife to Moray (or even Nairn), largely in the same region in which *Pit-* names occur. Whereas Watson had no hesitation in classing such names as 'British' because for him 'Pictish' was simply a continuation of 'British' to the north, anyone who sees 'Pictish' as a separate *p*-Celtic language with Gaulish affinities—and this is certainly now the prevailing view, mainly because of Jackson's cogent arguments (1955)—must come to the conclusion that *tref* was Pictish as well as British in our region, especially when considering the Gaulish tribal name *Atrebati* 'settlers'. Perhaps the reason why it does not occur as a first element in the Pictish area is that Pictish *Pit-* was usefully and satisfactorily fulfilling the same function while, to the best of our knowledge, not occurring as the second part of a compound and therefore leaving the field to *tref*.

This cannot be the place in which to examine the whole tricky question of the position of Pictish with regard to the other *p*-Celtic languages, particularly Cumbric British, but Fintry, Rattray and similar names serve as a useful reminder that, in addition to features which make it a separate *p*-Celtic dialect, Pictish—not unexpectedly—

possesses a number of aspects, certainly on the lexical side but possibly also on the phonological level, which link it closely with British. Sometimes these links are with the Cumbric area as well as with Wales, as for instance in the place-name elements *tref*, *pren*, *llanerch*, *pant*, *coed*, and others. Sometimes they are with Wales only; of this category *aber* and *pert* would be good examples. However, even if one accepts this re-appraisal and the argument that the differences between Pictish and British have perhaps been overstressed, the terminological problem still remains: Are names of the Fintry-Rattray type, are Keith BNF and Primrose FIF Pictish or British? Perhaps a compromise answer must be the solution for the time being, and we may avoid the thornier problems of demarcation by calling them British-Pictish or Picto-Brittonic. These problems will, however, have to be tackled some time in the not too distant future. May it suffice just now that our onomastic question has drawn attention to them again.

NOTE

The county abbreviations are those used by the Scottish Place-Name Survey and listed in *Scottish Studies* 10:225. Source abbreviations follow in general the 'List of Abbreviated Titles of the Printed Sources of Scottish History to 1560', printed as a Supplement to the *Scottish Historial Review* 42, 2 (October 1963).

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An Old Estate Plan of Auchindrain, Mid-Argyll

HORACE FAIRHURST

A museum of farming life in Western Scotland has recently been opened provisionally in the deserted settlement at Auchindrain on the roadside five miles south of Inveraray. Conservation of the old buildings, some of which date to the eighteenth century, and reconditioning of the site as a whole is bound to be a slow and costly task before the attractive museum which its sponsors visualise can come into being. Several of the buildings have been opened to visitors partly because of the intense interest of local people who have most generously contributed old furniture, implements, craft tools and costumes, and partly to attract badly needed finance.

Attention has already been drawn in *Scottish Studies* (1963:230) to the characteristics and lay-out of the settlement, in a paper with a large-scale part-plan. Since then, the Duke of Argyll has discovered at Inveraray castle an old estate plan which throws more light on the township. His Grace has kindly consented to the reproduction of the plan (Plate VII) and to the publication of the particulars given in the appendix.

The plan is contained with others in a half-bound folder measuring 19 by 13½ in. and entitled 'Plans and Farms etc. on the Inveraray Estate'. There is an annotation by the present Duke: 'Plans handed to Humphrey Graham by Campbell of Sonachan in January 1810'. Fifteen sheets have been bound together in the folder and there are three others which are loose. All have been mounted on linen, but appear to have suffered from damp and are stained and mildewed. Reproduction is difficult as Plate VII only too clearly indicates. All the plans cover areas on Loch Fyne side near Inveraray, except for one on Loch Awe; a catalogue is appended to this note.

Several of the plans have neither formal title, scale, date, nor a north-point. The name of the surveyor is given on only three and in each case is that of George Langlands, with the date 1789. The style and method of presentation differ rather markedly and three or four draughtsmen may well have been employed. Some are very plain working plans for the factor, others are much more elaborate. Some of the larger-scale examples even show the rigs into which the arable must still have been divided. One of the more ornate is 'IX. Plan of the Powny Park', dating to 1792: eight of the Duke's workmen were to be housed in neat semi-detached cottages carefully spaced out. Each pair is shown in façade in colour, white with blue (slate?) roofs. There is one central door, with a single chimney in the middle of the roof directly above; on either side is a single window but at each end there is a little compartment with a small door, either under a lean-to roof against a gable end, or just possibly within a hip-end to the structure.

The Auchindrain plan is a very plain record without title, scale, north-point, surveyor's name or date; parts of three separate sheets have been pieced together indicating that they have been re-arranged for the present binding. Relief is shown by

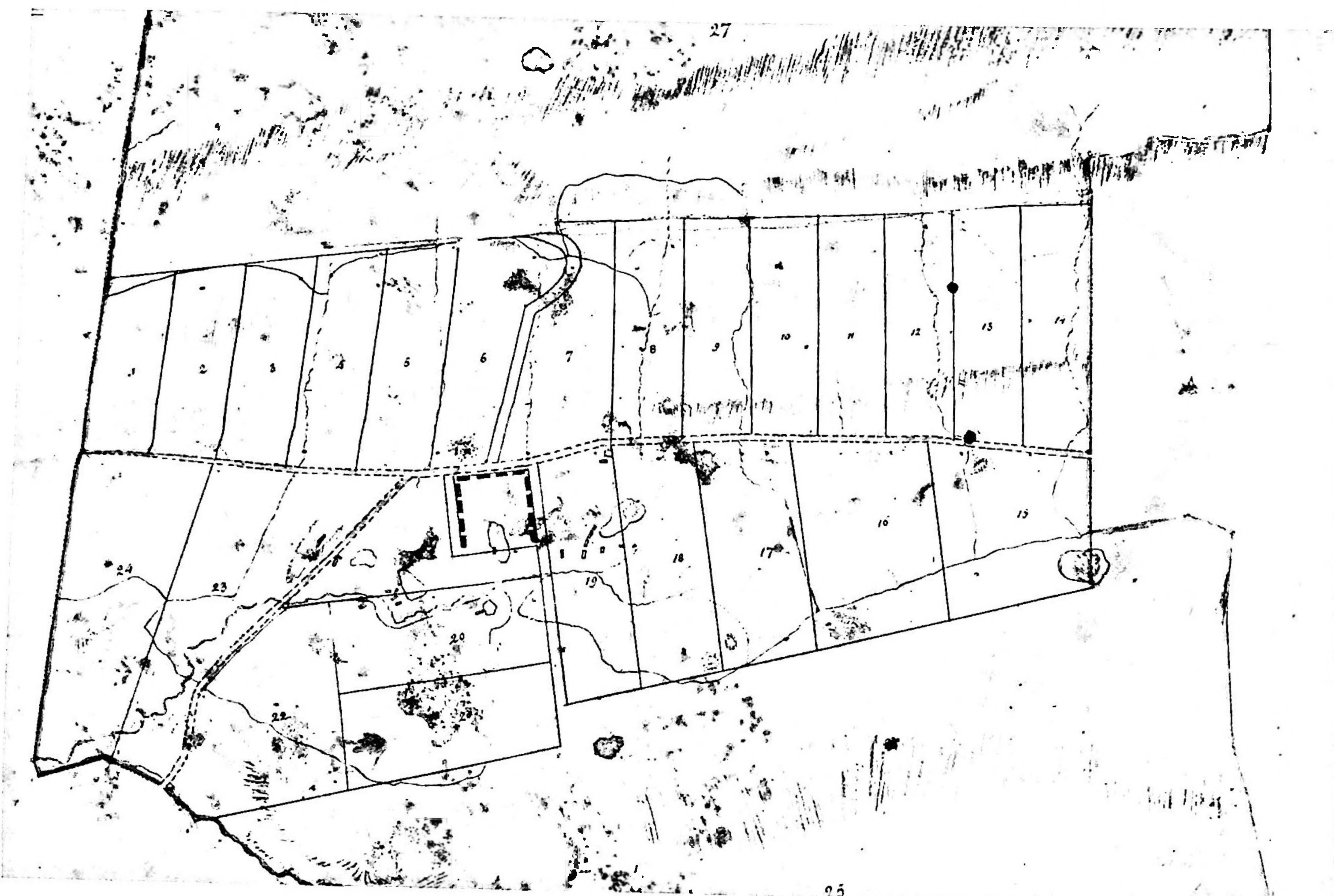

Plate VII A photograph of part of the estate plan of Auchindrain, Mid-Argyll, attributed to George Langlands, c. 1789. The geometrical pattern in heavy lining represents a suggested reorganisation

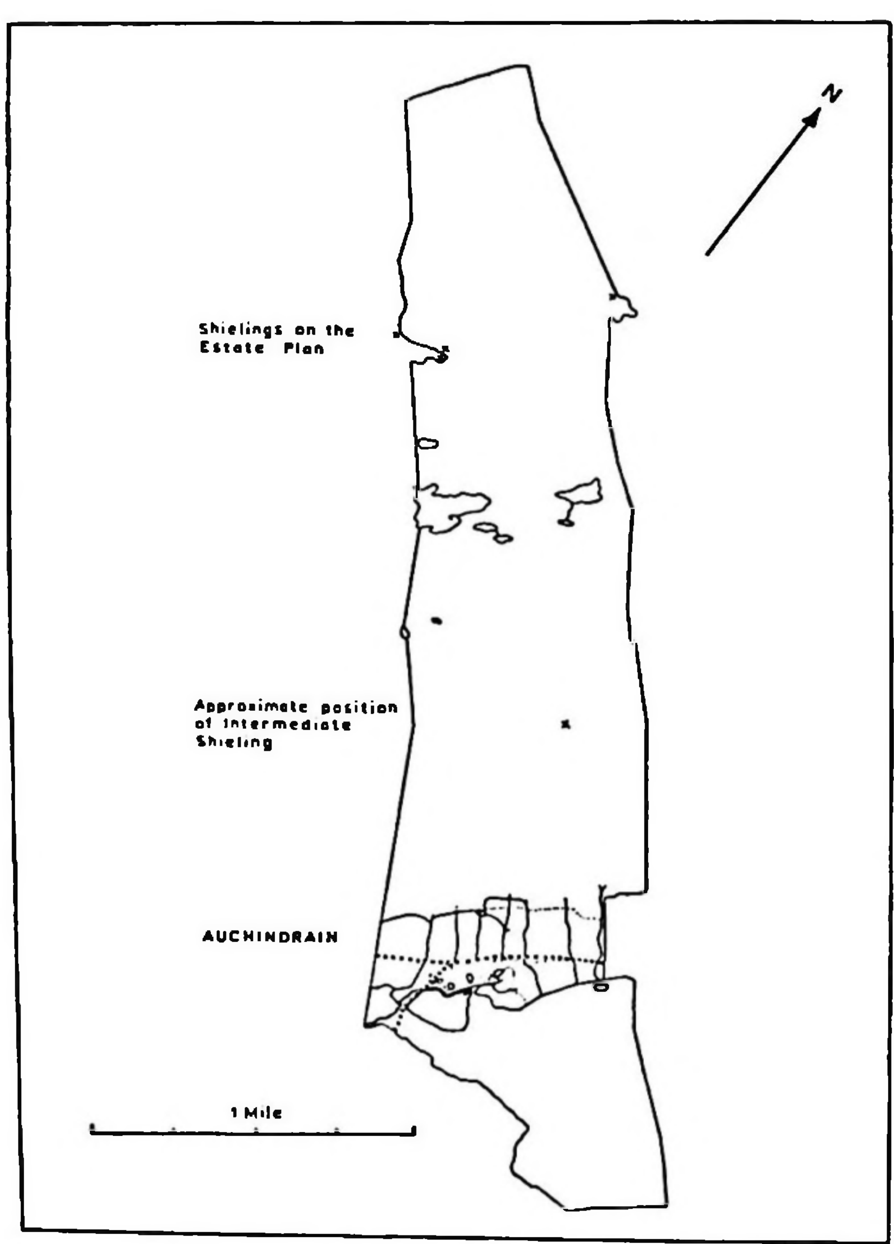

FIG. I The boundaries of the whole Auchindrain township drawn from the estate plan of *c.* 1789.

parallel brush strokes suggestive of hachures, but often drawn obliquely to the slope. This characteristic occurs on the plans by George Langlands, and it may be assumed from the style generally that Auchindrain was probably surveyed by him in 1789 or thereabouts. The plan now measures 45 by 18 in. and portrays the whole area of the township (Fig. 1). The scale is approximately 1:5,400 (11¾ in. to the statute mile) and was presumably intended as 1 in. to 6 chains; other plans in the folder indicate a chain of 74 ft., eighty of which made up a Scotch mile of 5,920 ft.

The hill shading was not a very successful method of showing the local relief, though it must be emphasised that the series of NE–SW ridges comprising Mid-Argyll forms a complicated landscape. The settlement of Auchindrain itself lies about 1¾ miles inland to the west of Loch Fyne from which it is separated by a rocky hill mass. The lands of the township are shown as commencing on this detached hill, crossing the lowland around the settlement itself and then stretching in an elongated fashion for three miles to the north west, up to the watershed with Loch Awe at a height of 1,600 ft. (Fig. 2). Apart from the relief, drainage and boundaries, the only other features of interest within the long north westerly area of rough grazing are the shieling sites.

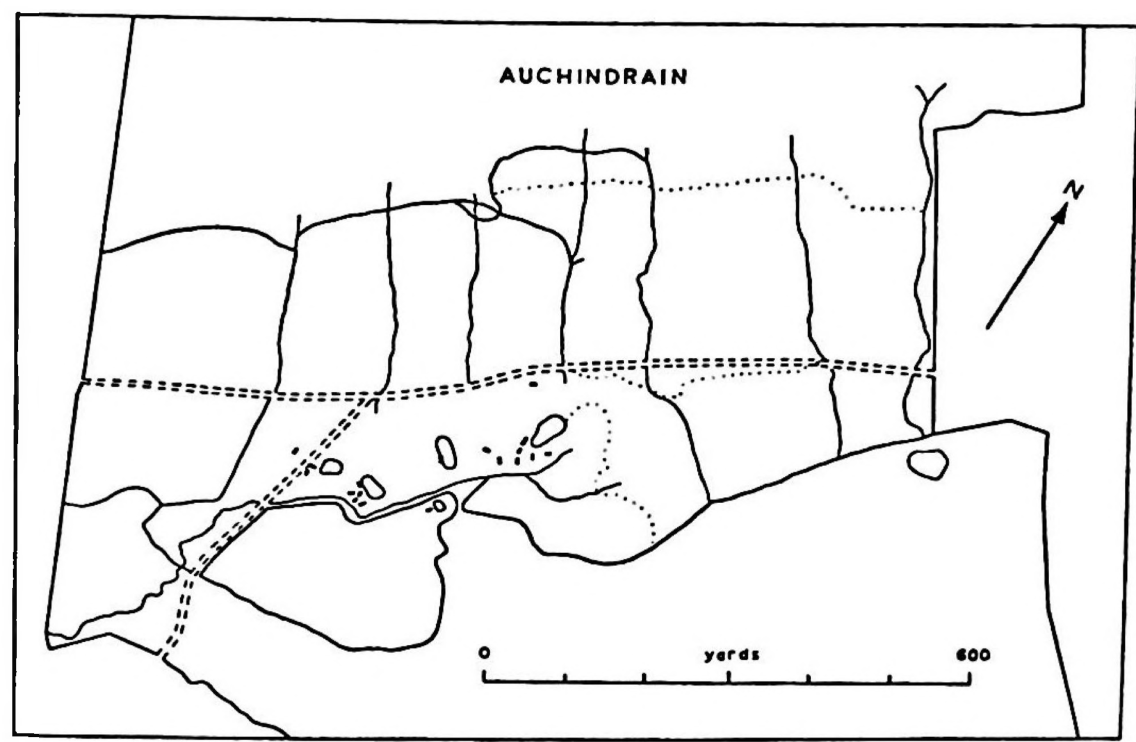

FIG. 2 A tracing (reduced) of the same area as Plate VII to show the old settlement pattern with the proposed geometrical pattern omitted.

Turning first to the old arable lands of the township in the lowland traversed by the main road, the most obvious feature on the plan is a geometrical pattern superimposed in red ink, which stands out very prominently in Plate VII. This makes clear the main purpose of the survey which was to plan the reorganisation of the old group farm of Auchindrain. Some twenty-four separate fields of between 4 and 12 acres each were envisaged and the tenants were to be housed anew in twelve buildings which are shown provisionally in black, arranged on three sides of a square with the open end away from the main road. Neither the little village nor the field boundaries ever materialised for the modern wire fences bear no relation to the part of the plan outlined in red.

Fortunately, the arrangement of houses and field boundaries existing at that time was also portrayed in faint black ink, which has been traced and emphasised in Fig. 2. These old field boundaries in the form of dykes and small burns, are still largely visible on the ground and in fact are marked on the present 6 in. Ordnance Survey of Argyllshire Sheet CXL, N.E. When the museum at Auchindrain is fully established, it would be possible to indicate with precision this ancient field pattern. Here is yet another factor in appreciating the value of the site, for so often old fields have been largely obliterated during 'improvements' in the nineteenth century.

The building pattern is difficult to interpret owing to the very small scale. In a general comparison with the 6 in. O.S. Sheet, it is clear that the buildings of the late eighteenth century occupied much the same position as the structures of today. But, most significantly, they are often differently orientated or slightly different in position, and also the outlines of the stackyards or kailyards do not quite correspond. With reference to the part-plan already published (*Scottish Studies* 1963 : 230), even the house D cannot be placed with any degree of certainty, though it seems to be the oldest on the site and has several exceptional features. The writer has previously suggested that these old dry-stone

buildings fell rapidly into disrepair and it must have been easier to build afresh with the old stones, rather than to patch and mend (Fairhurst: 1967). Further to the west near the new car-park in the area of the museum which was not covered in the published plan the correspondence with the estate plan may be closer, though the existing structures are ruinous; limitations of scale become only too obvious, however, when precise identifications are needed.

A recent attempt to visit the shieling sites shown on the plan proved fruitless owing to sheer distance. After crossing three mountainous ridges over rocky, or wet, or deep heathery ground, we came only just within sight of the nearest group down in a wide valley strewn with lochans. What became abundantly clear, however, was the accuracy of the old surveyors in plotting the burns and lochans, and there is no doubt that the shielings would indeed be located on the sites as plotted, at the full distance of some three and a half hours' walk from the parent settlement. (NN 010060 and NN 016066.)

On the way, at a burn junction in the first of the NE–SW valleys to be traversed (NN 028046), attention was attracted by a very green patch of moor to the ruins of four widely spaced shieling huts not shown on the plan. They consisted of flat stony mounds about 12 ft. in diameter. The oval symbol used for shielings on the plan suggests that rounded structures could also be expected at the outlying sites. These seasonal shelters were normally built with low, dry-stone walls with perhaps a superstructure of turf and sticks. Rounded examples do not seem uncommon in central Argyll, though the writer personally is more familiar with a rectangular form measuring about 16 by 6 ft. internally.

The intermediate station could represent a stopping place to the main shielings further out on the moor, but the absence of any indication on the plan rather suggests an old site long abandoned. What is also puzzling is the very considerable and difficult journey involved to reach the outer shielings; the 'summer pastures' may be, and often are, at no great distance beyond the head-dyke from the main settlement. At least it is possible to appreciate the dedication to their work of the surveyors of these days who so meticulously plotted the hill burns and shielings in this difficult country.

APPENDIX

Catalogue of the 'Plans of farms, etc. on Inveraray Estate'

I Plan of the Farm of Craleckan with a Village intended to be built also divided into Crofts as a Fishing Station. Scale given as 4 chains to 1 in. corrected in pencil to 6.

II Plan of the Farm of Creleckan with a Village, also Crofts. Scale 3 chains to 1 in. This is an entirely different arrangement from I.

III No title, covers Auchindrain.

IV No title, covers Killian and Clunaric. Scale 6 chains to 1 in.

V No title, covers Achintibert and Pennymore. Scale (in pencil 4 chains to 1 in.).

VI No title, covers Kilbride and Dalkennan.

VII No title, covers Achinbreck to Dalkennan Point. A linear scale at 4 chains to 1 in.

VIII No title, covers Achinbreck to Dalkennan Point (also numbered 9). A linear scale at 2 chains to 1 in. Indicates individual rigs.

IX Plan of the Powny Park for eight of His Grace's Workmen to live upon with a Grassing Park adjoining, 1792. Key and land use tables in acres. Linear scale of chains 74 feet each, 1 chain to ⅜ in. Sketches of the houses.

X No title, covers Lower Kinchregan to Stuckaguy. Scale (in pencil 8 chains to 1 in.).

XI Glenaray and Glenshira No. 13. No scale.

XII No title, covers Drumalea to Sranmore. Scale (in pencil 8 chains to 1 in.).

XIII No title, covers Bocaird to Aucurrach. No scale.

XIV No title, covers Achnagoul. Scale 4 chains to 1 in. This is a suggested reorganisation only.

XV Survey of part of Glenaray belonging to His Grace the Duke of Argyll, taken in October 1789 by George Langlands. Covers Ballantyne. Key. Scale 10 chains to 1 in. A finely drawn and elaborate plan.

(Loose) XVI Survey of part of Glenaray belonging to His Grace the Duke of Argyll. Taken in September 1789 by George Langlands. This covers Tullich. Linear scale of chains 74 ft. each—8 to 1 in.

Annotated 'This is the Plan I received here in 1792 when I took charge as Chamberlain of Argyll from the late Mr. Campbell of Sonachan.'

Humy Graham
Inveraray 20th Jany., 1810.

(Loose) XVII Plan of Cra-leckan and Braleckan. Scale 6 chains to 1 in.

(Loose) XVIII Plan of Blargour by Loch Awe Side belonging to His Grace the Duke of Argyll, by George Langlands, 1789. Linear scale of 6 chains to 1 in.

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A Note on Timothy Pont's Survey of Scotland

IAN A. G. KINNIBURGH

One of the most important groups of graphic manuscripts in Scotland is the Pont/Gordon set of manuscript maps, now housed in the National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh. Though known and well maintained for some considerable time, little has been made of these maps by historians, geographers or others likely to be interested in the Scottish landscape. Even less has been done in analysis of their content or their form by those concerned with the evolution of cartography in Scotland. C. G. Cash prepared

his authoritative papers on the manuscripts as far back as 1901 and 1907 and since then, little additional information has come to light.

Considerably more information has been produced on Timothy Pont and his father, Robert Pont, as ministers of the early reformed church in Scotland, than on Pont's career as a map maker. The Fasti volumes (Scott 1915–1928) tell about ministers, not about cartographers. To some extent too, Dr Hutchison Cockburn's account of Pont (1951) reflects his ministerial background while, nevertheless, reproducing two excellent half-tone illustrations of the manuscript covering areas in the vicinity of Dunblane.

Something more about how Pont made his survey might be discovered as a result of a closer study of the manuscripts than has as yet been made. What instrumentation, for example, was employed is not known. A clue to this may lie in the discovery of the astrolabe belonging to Robert Gordon of Straloch, Pont's collaborator and editor. This instrument has been described (Royal Scottish Geographical Society 1936 and Hutchieson 1948) and is now lodged in the Royal Scottish Museum, Edinburgh.

Details, such as those mentioned above, have emerged since Cash wrote his articles in *The Scottish Geographical Magazine*. The purpose of this note is to draw attention to another recently found item of interest in connection with the work of Pont. In January 1968, following the author's enquiry for information about Pont's student days and his possible training for his later work, Miss Young of the Map Room and Miss Yeo of the Manuscript Department at the National Library of Scotland, uncovered what appears to be a previously unrecorded document relating to Timothy Pont. The text of this document is reproduced here by courtesy of the National Library of Scotland.

Adv. MS. 19.1.24, f. 33.

Be it kend till all men quhome it efferis And speciallie to the inhabitants of Orkney and Shetland me Mr Jhon Lyndesey Person of Menmo^r [Parson of Menmuir] and ane of the Senators of [our] Soverane Lords colledge of Justice and master of visiting the mineralles of his hienes Realme appointed be act of parliament to have maid constitute and ordened my lovit Master Timothie Pont my Commissioner depute in that parte Geving and committing to him my full powar and Commission the visit the mynes and Mineralles or appearing of finding out of Mineralles within the bounds of the said Cuntries of Orkney and Schetland and to trye the Metalles therof and report unto me the proof and exemplers therof. And to confer with the Lords and Masters of the grund wher the same may be fund anent reasonable conditiones (—the saidis metals may—ocht and put to profit) according to the said Act of parliament (—to report to me—and particulars heirof). Chairging all our soverane Lords lieges in his Majesties name not to mak anie stay, stop or impediment to the said Master Timothie in searching out of the said Mineralles and mettalles, wer it Ore of gold, sylver, copper, brasse, lead, or any other kynd of mettall that can be fund within the saids bounds, bot to assist him therinto as loyall service to his Maiestie. Halding and for to hald firme and stable all things to be done be the said Mr Timothie concerning the premisses and not to come in the contrarie be this my Commission. To the whilk subscrived with my Hand my signet is affixed.

Passages in round brackets are marginal additions by Lord Menmuir. Endorsed in Menmuir's hand 'Copie of my commission given to Timothie pont anent the metals of orkney'. Miss Yeo has made the above transcription and also kindly supplied the following note.

'In January 1597/8, Menmuir resigned the office of the secretary of state because of ill-health, and in February of the same year he resigned his position as a Senator of the College of Justice. He died in September 1598. He was appointed Master of the Metals for life in 1592, but I have not been able to find any reference to him resigning that post as well.'

It would appear that this document refers to the period in Pont's life about which little is known. The only date on his survey manuscript, that of 1596 on the manuscript of Clydesdale, suggests that he was actively engaged in map-making at least some of the time in this period. This note is only intended to draw attention to this new document, not to attempt to interpret it. It seems clear, however, that more work needs to be done on the Pont/Gordon manuscripts and on the lives of the men who made them. Such questions, for instance, as 'Why did Pont make his survey?' and 'How did Pont make his survey?' deserve detailed investigation. Sixty years ago Cash initiated the enquiry. Modern historians, geographers and cartographers, backed by the advanced techniques of research, supplied with the latest scientific aids and supported by the resources of today's well-equipped archival institutions may be expected to carry his work forward.

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Logaidh Longsach

ALAN BRUFORD

This story was recorded from Angus Henderson, Tobermory, Mull, on 26 January 1967. Mr Henderson, whose family have been blacksmiths in Tobermory for several generations, heard the story from his father.

Bha rìgh ann an Éirinn bho chionn fhada ris an abradh ad Logaidh Longsach, agus chan fhacaig duine riamh e gun a' chlogaid mhór seo air a cheann, agus 's fhearr dhomh innseadh a nis a' riason a bh' air a sin; 'se gu robh dà chluas eich air, no dà chluas capaill mar a tha 'naigheachd ag innseadh fhathast. Well, bhiodh . . . dar a bhiodh e 'feum 'fhalt fhaotainn air a ghearradh 's air thoirt dheth, bha duine sònruicht' aige fhéin air a thaghadh a sin, agus bha an duine sin air a mharbhadh: chan fhaiceadh duine tuillidh e, eagal agus gur innseadh e gu robh dà chluas capaill air.

Ach bha'n duine bha seo, chaich esan a thaghadh, agus fhios aige na bha tachairt; 's bha bean is teaghlach òg aige. Agus dar a rinn e'n obair, thug e dheth a' falt, far Logaidh Longsach, 's chaich e sin air a ghlùn 's dh'iarr e air a bheatha—gu robh bean 's teaghlach òg aige, 's dé thachradh dhaibhsan? 'S, well, dh'aontaich a' rìgh mu dheireadh, ach gu rachadh e air a mhionnan nach innseadh e do dhuine rud 'sa' bith a chualaig e no chunnaic e seo. 'S rinn, thug e 'mhionnan nach . . . agus fhuair e as.

Dh'fhoighnich a bhean dha: 'Dé thachair?'

'Och, cha do thachair dad.'

'Nach inns thu dhomh?'

'Chan inns, tha mi air mo mhionnan nach inns mi do dhuine 'sa' bith.'

'S bha seo cur dragh mór air. Cha robh e faighinn cadal, 's cha robh e deanadh obair, cha b'urrainn dha 'dhianadh, 's dh'fheumadh seo bhith air innseadh. Ach mu dheireadh chaich e mach dha'n choilleadh. Agus thainic e craobh mhór sheilich ann a sin, agus dh'inns e ann a sin da'n chraobh: 'Dà chluas capaill air Logaidh Longsach! Dà chluas capaill air Logaidh Longsach!' Agus bha e ceart gu leòr a sin. Chaich e gu obair air ais 's bha e faighinn cadal 'san oidhche, 's chuile rud a sin.

Ach bliadhnachan as a dhéidh sin bha féill mhór aig Logaidh Longsach. Bha chuile rìgh eile bha'n Éirinn ri tighinn gun 'n fhéill a bha seo, na 'n chuirim. Agus chaich iarraidh air chuile clàrsair a bha 'n Éirinn clàrsach ùr a dhianadh dha fhéin, air son a' latha mhór a bha seo. Agus rinn ad sin, agus dé bh'ann ach a' chraobh mhór ris an d'inns esan, sin agad a' chraobh as an dtug ad a' fiodh airson na clàrsaichean a dhianadh. Agus chaich an dianadh is bha ad deas is bha 'là 's bha'n . . . chuile rud a bh'ann—diubh 's ann an talla mhór a bha ad no mach, chan eil fhios 'am, ach co-dhiubh, chaich àite mór cur a suas da na rìoghran air fad, gu' suidhidh àsan ann a sin, 's bha Logaidh Longsach fhéin, bha e ri suidhe anns a' rìgh-chathair mhór ann a seo anns a' teas-mhiadhon aig a' chuile fear eile. Agus bha na clàrsairean mun cuairt ann a sin, 's cho

luath 's a thigeadh Logaidh Longsach, bha àdsan ri tòisinn air a' . . . cëol mór a chluich da'n rìgh. 'Bhith dé, chan eil fhios 'am dé am port a bha ad a' ciallachadh a bhith cluich idir, ach co-dhiubh bha ad ann a sin deas glan. Agus dar a thàinig Logaidh Longsach, thàinig e 'sa' fhradhrac, thòisich àsan air na clàrsaichean, agus an aon-rud a b'urrainn dhaibhsan fhaotainn as na clàrsaichean, 'se: 'Dà chluas capaill air Logaidh Longsach! Dà chluas capaill air Logaidh Longsach!' Chan eil fhios 'am co-dhiubh, chaich beir . . . breith air an duine dh'inns, ach tha'n naigheachd agam a' crìochnachadh ann a sin fhéin.

Translation

Long ago there was a king in Ireland who was called Logaidh Longsach. Nobody had ever seen him without this great helmet on his head. I'd better tell you now the reason for that—he had horse's ears (or mare's ears as the story still goes). Well, he used . . . when he needed his hair cut and trimmed, one of his men used to be chosen for the purpose, and this man would be killed: no one would ever see him again, for fear that he might let it out that he had horse's ears.

But there was this man, he happened to be chosen, and he knew what used to go on: and he had a wife and young children. So when he had finished the work, had cut his hair—Logaidh Longsach that is—then he went down on his knees and begged for his life, [saying] that he had a wife and young children, and what was to become of them? Well, the king gave in in the end, so long as he would take an oath not to tell anyone anything he had seen or heard there. He did that, he swore not to, and they let him go.

His wife asked him what had happened.

'Oh, nothing.'

'Won't you tell me?'

'No, I'm on my oath not to tell anyone at all.'

This kept on worrying him badly. He got no sleep and he wasn't working, he wasn't able to, and [the secret] had to be let out. But in the end he went out to the woods. He saw a big willow tree there, and at that he told the tree: 'Logaidh Longsach has horse's ears! Logaidh Longsach has horse's ears!' He was all right after that. He went back to work and he got to sleep at nights and everything then.

But years later Logaidh Longsach held a great jubilee. Every other king in Ireland was to come to this celebration, this banquet. They got every harper in Ireland to make himself a new harp for this great holiday. So they did, and what should it be but the big tree he had told [his secret] to, that was the tree they took the wood from to make the harps. They were made, they were finished and the day came and the . . . everything was there—whether it was in a big hall they were or in the open I don't know, but anyway there was a big place put up for all the kings, for them to sit in, and Logaidh Longsach was to sit in a great throne there in the middle of all the rest of them. And the harpers were close by, and as soon as Logaidh Longsach arrived they were to start playing

solemn music for the king. Whatever it was, I don't know what tune they were meant to be playing at all, but anyway they were all present and correct. And when Logaidh Longsach arrived, when he came in sight, they struck up with their harps, and the only thing they could get out of the harps was: 'Logaidh Longsach has horse's ears! Logaidh Longsach has horse's ears!' I don't know though whether the man who had told [the secret] was caught: my story finishes at that point.

The story is obviously a version of the anecdote about Labhraidh Loingseach in Keating's *Foras Feasa ar Éirinn* (Dinneen 1908:172–4; Bergin 1912:1–2; see also Dillon 1946:7–10 for the original source). Ultimately it must be an Irish adaptation of the story of Midas and his ass's ears. The closeness of this version to the Irish is shown by the persistence of the word *capall*, which normally means a mare in Scotland, but was a common word for a horse in Keating's time and is now the normal word for one in Ireland. The story may have reached Scotland either in manuscript form—there are two manuscripts in the National Library of Scotland with incomplete copies of Keating's history—or orally, for this particular story is well-known in Irish oral tradition: 101 versions are listed under AT 782 in *The Types of the Irish Folktale*. In this version there are several additions and changes to Keating's story. In the original the ears were presumably covered by hair: the helmet is a storyteller's addition, to make the picture clearer. In Keating it is the barber's widowed mother who begs for his life; the secret actually makes him ill, and he tells it on the directions of a druid. The band of harpers and the feast are entirely new, and much more dramatic than Keating's single harper: whoever added these details to the story was a first-rate storyteller.

I have written the story as I heard it, only suppressing one or two momentary hesitations and changes of direction in Angus Henderson's fast and fluent narration. I have left inconsistencies such as *thainic* (the usual form in Islay) beside *chunnaic*. Some forms such as the palatalised *n* of the article in *rinn e'n obair* could not be expressed properly without phonetics: the *s* following the long nasalised vowel in *inns* (*innis*) varied between the usual slender form (ĩ:ʃ) and a broad one (ĩ:s), and the same happened in *innseadh*. Lenition sometimes was hard to detect, and what I have written *fhradhrac* actually sounds like *fadhrac*. In *ceol* the *e* was at least as clear as the *o*.

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Two More Stories from Atholl: Addenda

ALAN BRUFORD

Since the publication of these stories in *Scottish Studies* 10:162–70 several facts have come to my notice which should be put on record, as they substantially affect the comparative notes.

An Giullan Maol Carrach is in general less close to AT 570, as originally suggested, than to the newly numbered type AT 1316, 'Rabbit Thought to be a Cow'. This appears to be a comic tale about a simpleton from the summary, but a study by Warren E. Roberts ('The Sheep Herder and the Rabbits', *Journal of the Folklore Institute* 3:43–50) has now shown that the hero usually succeeds in driving in the rabbits. He refers to a version in Chambers' *Popular Rhymes of Scotland* (1826:274) and also to the early parallel in the Welsh romance of *Peredur* (which in its turn is connected with other versions of the Perceval story and presumably with the youthful feats of Fionn and Cú Chulainn.) A note by James T. Bratcher in the same journal (4:138) adds an Armenian variant which may be as early. There are 15 versions of AT 1316 in the Irish catalogue. However, the use of the whistle in our version, though the wild animals are evidently driven in by fleetness of foot, and the mysterious princess at the end, do suggest some connection with AT 570, where the rabbit-herding is an imposed task performed by magic—altogether more *märchenhaft*.

Theirig dàn' a bhaintighearn' has at least one Scots parallel in Peter Buchan's *Ancient Scottish Tales* (*Transactions of the Buchan Field Club* 9:151–4) which I overlooked through confusing its title, *The History of Mr. Greenwood*, with that of *Green Sleeves*. The setting 'in the Western Isles' might suggest a Gaelic origin as with many tales in Buchan's collection; the names of Greenwood for the suitor and Gregory for the lady's father may be Buchan's own addition. The rhyme (spoken by an unseen voice), however, is much like that in *Mr. Fox*: 'O, dear lady Maisry, be not so bold,/Lest your warm heart blood soon turn as cold.' The lady's story is verified by the hand (cut off and thrown to the dog apparently just for food) and swatches cut from the dead women's dresses: as usual it is told as a dream. Mr Greenwood has only one servant. Though longer, this version probably preserves less of the story than the Gaelic, apart from the rhyme.

Book Reviews

Celtica (Exhibition Catalogue No:6). National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh 1967. vi+56 pp.+4 plates 6s. 6d.

An exhibition of books and manuscripts relating to Celtic studies was opened in the National Library of Scotland in 1967, while the Third International Congress of Celtic Studies was meeting at Edinburgh. This is a catalogue of the exhibition, and it is more than just a catalogue. The exhibits are classified in fifteen sections, each introduced by a short note of explanation, and every item is described. These paragraphs of description are well-informed and often quite full, and the whole collection is so rich that we are given a brief history of Celtic Studies for the early period.

The first section, 'Celtic Scholarship', ends with Zeuss, but it includes several rare and interesting books, beginning with Buchanan's *Rerum Scoticarum Historia* (1582). The *Collectanea Etymologica* of Leibnitz is here, and the first edition of the Würzburg Glosses, by Eckhart, published in 1729. Then come a collection of maps, including the earliest known map of Wales, and a valuable collection of books on Scottish, Irish, and Welsh music.

Ossianic literature has a section to itself which runs to forty exhibits and includes almost everything of importance. There are two manuscript collections earlier than MacPherson (Pope and Fletcher), then the first edition of MacPherson's Ossian (1760), Fingal (1762), Temora (1763), and the false Gaelic 'originals' (1807).

The French translation by Le Tourneur (1777), which delighted Napoleon, is here, and the German by Denis (1768), which Goethe preferred to Homer in his romantic days. Voltaire's criticism is shown, and a little known treatise by Charles O'Conor of Belanagare (1766).

The section on travel contains the copy of Martin's *Description of the Western Islands of Scotland* which Boswell and Johnson brought with them on their famous tour, and Boswell's *Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides with Samuel Johnson LL D* (1785).

The most precious part of the exhibition is the collection of Gaelic manuscripts, twenty-seven in all, out of almost two hundred that the National Library possesses. Gaelic MS I dates from the fourteenth century, and contains the *Instructions of Cormac* and the *Triads of Ireland*. The Glenmasan Manuscript (sixteenth-century) is included, and there are other manuscripts containing heroic sagas, lists of kings, history, and Jacobite poetry. One of these is possibly an autograph by the famous Alexander Macdonald. But the chief treasure is the Book of the Dean of Lismore(Gaelic MS XXXVII, sixteenth-century), which contains more than 11,000 lines of verse, including thirty Ossianic ballads. It is

thought that this manuscript was acquired by MacPherson during his tour of the Highlands in 1760.

John Francis Campbell of Islay was the greatest Scottish folklorist, and published four volumes of *Popular Tales of the West Highlands* in his lifetime. Two more volumes have since appeared, *More West Highland Tales* (2 vols., 1940, 1960), but much still remains unpublished and is preserved in the National Library. A separate section of the catalogue is fittingly devoted to Campbell, and a selection of books, letters and manuscripts is here presented.

This could become a tedious list, but it has seemed worth telling what the National Library can produce upon occasion, and all but three items were drawn from the Library's own resources. It need only be added that there are fine collections of printed books, Scottish, Manx, Irish, Welsh, Breton and Cornish, including several rare and precious volumes.

The exhibition, which the reviewer was able to visit at length on two occasions, was a credit to those who arranged it. This catalogue, which so well describes it, is indeed a small work of reference in itself, and it is a pleasure to congratulate the Librarian and his able helpers upon its publication.

MYLES DILLON

The New History of Cumnock by John Strawhorn. Glasgow 1966. Published by the Town Council of Cumnock. 255 pp. 20s.

The local historian who sets out to commit his knowledge to print faces the difficult task of writing for two contrasting audiences. On the one hand his 'parishioners' may look for all the intimacy of detail that for them enlivens their own background acquaintance with the district; on the other, a wider public looks for statement and analysis of local events in their relationship to national patterns. It is only with skill that these two rival needs can be reconciled. In his *New History of Cumnock*, Dr Strawhorn, Principal Teacher of History at Cumnock Academy, has given an admirable demonstration of this skill.

The mid-Ayrshire town of Cumnock affords in many ways an ideal object for local history study. If one accepts as a definition of 'local history' the phrase of Professor Hoskins, 'the study of the rise, growth or decline of the local community', we have in the story of Cumnock a complete development from agricultural community to nineteenth-century industrial town and from that point forward into a state of comparative affluence in the mid-twentieth-century decades. By its very nature Cumnock illustrates two very important phases of Scottish industrial history—the years of early enterprise and the period of upheaval and change at the end of last century.

The occasion for the publication of this book in 1966 was the centenary of Cumnock's erection into a Police Burgh. It has thus been published by the Town Council in part

as a celebratory volume and this—to say the least of it—is unfortunate. To Dr Strawhorn's serious historical study has been appended a complete and devastatingly trivial record of the 1966 junketings, fortunately one which can be removed without great damage to the book, and the photographs of celebration concerts and exhibitions that occur elsewhere in the pages of the book one can only hope will provide material for future historians of Cumnock's social life.

The main interest of Cumnock, historically, starts with its creation as a Burgh of Barony in 1509 and with the subsequent development of its economic potential. Dr Strawhorn has dealt with the earlier centuries somewhat sketchily but probably in proportion to his over-all treatment of his subject. Obviously there is much of interest in the dark-age history of this area, a borderland between Strathclyde and Galloway, but equally clearly the state of our knowledge so far scarcely warrants a definitive account. By the end of the sixteenth century future patterns are established, the main land-holdings are firmly settled, and from this point the history of Cumnock develops consistently.

From 1570, as Dr Strawhorn shows, the dominant family in this area were the Crichtons, Earls of Dumfries from 1633 and Marquesses of Bute from early in the nineteenth century. The papers at Dumfries House have been extensively used by Dr Strawhorn in this work and the passages in which he draws from this unstudied private source are among the most valuable in the book.

Of the Earls of Dumfries undoubtedly the fifth and the sixth Earls had the greatest influence on the area. Under the inspiration of the former, Dumfries House, that great monument to the early genius of Robert Adam, rose on the outskirts of the town, while during the lifetime of Earl Patrick, his successor, Cumnock developed dramatically as a mining town. Patrick 6th Earl of Dumfries must surely be recognised, in fact, as a leading influence in the industrial expansion of this part of Scotland.

The basis for Cumnock's industrial growth lay in the near-by deposits of coal, limestone and iron-ore. In this book Dr Strawhorn describes in some detail the various and sometimes over-ambitious schemes to develop this mineral wealth. This is new ground, and the indications that he gives of archive resources on these local enterprises of the latter half of the eighteenth century will certainly provoke further study by industrial archaeologists. If the Earl's scheme to export good-quality coal through Ayr to Ireland failed, at least his Cumnock pottery—with its 'Scotch Motto Ware'—succeeded for a time. In both proposals James Taylor was concerned, a man whose name crops up again and again in different speculative concerns of this period on both sides of Scotland, and a man to whose biography Dr Strawhorn here makes additional contribution.

Later in the nineteenth century—in the 1820s and 1830s—the Glasgow-Virginia tobacco trade produced a curious local manifestation in Ayrshire towns around Cumnock. This was the ephemeral manufacture of snuff-boxes, Cumnock's originality being based more upon its unique hinge-design than upon the painted decoration of

its boxes. Dr Strawhorn illustrates this local industry with considerable interest but without reference to the pioneer work in this small field done by the National Museum in Edinburgh.

The lion's share of this book goes to 'Keir Hardie's Cumnock', the booming mining town of the late nineteenth century, Statistics tell the start of the story with clarity; Cumnock's population at the 1841 census was 2836, ten years later it was 3777. This 1000 rise is unparalleled for the town in any other decade until 1951 and two factors above all were responsible. In 1846 the Lugar Ironworks produced a new and insatiable demand for coal, and in 1850 the Kilmarnock-Dumfries Railway meant a vastly eased transport system. It was into this essentially coal-mining community that Keir Hardie came in 1879 and here he remained for over thirty years. Dr Strawhorn's description of the economic and social background of Hardie's life at this time will be of value to many. The ten-week miners' strike in 1880 was over the unbelievable wage of 4s. a day, and it was his championship of their cause and his association with the Miners' Union formed in 1886 that was to make Hardie the 'most hated and best respected man in Ayrshire'.

Dr Strawhorn's book will be useful to sociologists, economic historians and local historians alike. In many ways, and despite the circumstances of its production, it is a model of its kind, and the references given in the bibliography will certainly be of use to many students of the Scottish industrial revolution for a long time to come.

B. C. SKINNER

Le Conte Populaire Français, Tome Premier, by Paul Delarue. Éditions Érasme, Paris 1957. 394 pp.

Le Conte Populaire Français, Tome Deuxième, by Paul Delarue and Marie-Louise Tenèze. Éditions G.-P. Maisonneuve et Larose, Paris [1963]. 732+xxviii pp. 45 F.

If France entered late into the tournament of folktale enterprises—we cannot very well call Perrault *avant garde*—she has in the past century enjoyed notable successes which have reached a climax in the present magnificent catalogue of the French folktale. A national tale-type index of this scope and lustre depends upon dedicated field collectors of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries as well as the expertise and endurance of the indexer. The labours of the late Paul Delarue bring into focus the work of earlier masters like Cosquin, Sébillot, Millien, and van Gennep, and as well the modern group of Delarue's disciples that includes the active collector Geneviève Massignon, who died prematurely in 1966, and his able successor Madame Tenèze, who is preparing the third and fourth volumes that will complete this model catalogue.

To represent the French folktale Delarue covered not only France but French-speaking areas in North America from Quebec to Louisiana and the French Antilles. French-speaking Africa is excluded since on this continent the introduction of the language did not in the main signify the export of traditions. The index is organised according to the Aarne-Thompson types but skips over animal tales to begin with the strength of the French repertoire, the wonder tales or *contes merveilleux*. Volume I presents 27 tale-types, from Types 300 to 366, and Volume II 87, from Types 400 to 736, based on 1700 versions. It is only fitting that 'La Bête a Sept Têtes' is the initial type. In the first volume we are given a welcome review of the intellectual history of folktale collecting, writing, and investigation in France and an appraisal of the content and features of the *conte populaire* (7–47). There follows a splendid bibliography, sensibly subdivided (Bolte and Polívka and Chauvin are paired under 'Inventories of Materials'), crisply annotated (*Tradition* is described as a 'journal more literary than folkloric and of mediocre documentary value'), and meticulously informative, down to the number of pages and size of books and the listing of key reviews.

A succinct statement explains the mode of presentation of the tales and the versions (I:348–53). Under each tale type are given the Aarne-Thompson number; a resumé or full text of a representative version—one of the special features of this catalogue, giving it the character of an anthology; an analytical breakdown of the principal episodes; the listing of versions, arranged geographically from the northern and southern provinces of France, and from Canada to the French West Indies in North America; and general remarks on the distribution of the tale or studies of special interest. Obviously rewritten versions are listed but not analysed, and warnings are tendered to the reader of altered (*Alt.*), amplified (*Amp.*), fragmentary (*Frag.*) and suspect (*Susp.*) texts, with abbreviations all nicely cognate in English. Would that publishers issued their garlands of tales with similar labels!

In bringing to completion Volume II, Madame Tenèze had to grapple with the formidable mass of ever increasing materials, especially among the diligent French-Canadian collectors. Consequently she revised Delarue's original plan in two respects: reducing the analysis of *contes* outside France and French possessions, and abbreviating the commentaries on each tale-type. The relatively few extended commentaries are reserved for the *contes* of Perrault (*e.g.* Type 410, 'Sleeping Beauty'; Type 545, 'Puss in Boots') and for international tales abundantly found in France and studied monographically (*e.g.* Type 555, 'The Fisher and his Wife'; Type 715, 'Demi-coq', so well-known in French versions that it bears a French name in the Aarne-Thompson index). As a gauge of current collecting activity in France, we note 24 additional publications and 9 new manuscript collections in the supplementary bibliography of Volume II.

Mme Tenèze contributes several succinct observations (xvii-xxvi) in review of her labours. She sees a typically French folktale domain established between a Mediterranean domain to the south and a Scandinavian to the north. Certain *contes* (*e.g.* Type

613, 'The Two Travellers') display full French forms side by side with shortened versions localized on the periphery and dating back perhaps to a time when France was 'the end of the world'. Another generality concerns the Christian form of *contes* prevalent in France, even Blue-Beard. She raises certain questions: can regional variations of tale-types be plotted in France, such as Breton forms of Types 461, 'The Three Hairs of the Devil' and others? What has been the relation of written versions spread by Perrault, Madame d'Aulnoy, Galland and pedlars of street literature on oral forms? What have been the interactions between the urban art of story illustration and the rural art of story-telling?

For an illustration of the content of the index we may look at its handling of Type 715, the tale type singled out as supremely French. It is titled 'Moitié de Coq', equivalent to Aarne-Thompson's 'Demi-coq' (Half-Chick). The illustrative text, from the Ardennes, is called 'Moitié-Poulet' and was published in 1890 by Albert Meyrac. This *conte* tells how Half-chick finds a purse filled with gold, and lends it to the king on condition he pays interest. The king does not return the money. Half-chick sets out to call on the king, and en route meets a wolf, a fox, and a river, whom he takes with him in his neck. The king refuses to pay Half-chick and sends him to the poulterer. The fox comes out of his neck and eats all the poulterer's chickens. The king then sends Half-chick to the sheepfold, and the wolf comes out of his neck and eats all the sheep. Then the king throws Half-chick into the oven, but the river comes out of Half-chick's neck and engulfs the king's palace.

The analysis of the elements of the *conte* considers the various and variant episodes connected with (1) the hero, (2) the discovery and loan of the money, and (3) its recovery. For instance, besides the fox, wolf, and river, six other kinds of magic helpers are noted. Then comes the list of 82 versions, keyed to the episodes as marked in the tale analysis. Five other references to North American versions are simply cited. This impressive bibliography includes the major folklore journals, *Revue des traditions populaires* and *Mélusine*; and important manuscript collections, such as Achille Millien's Nivernais texts discovered by Delarue and yielding twelve variants, and Massignon's *contes* from western provinces offering seven. A shrewd commentary completes the section, and here, surprisingly, Madame Tenèze quotes Delarue only to contradict his statements that the tale is known throughout Europe and not elsewhere except in scattered versions. She declares that 'Half-chick' has followed a circle around but not inside Germany, and that it is well reported in North and South America and known in India and Africa. Conclusions of the earlier 1933 study of *The Halfchick Tale in Spain and France* by Ralph S. Boggs based on only 21 versions must be revised. Boggs thought that the animal hero was not intended to be literally a half-fowl but a small weakly creature. But the new evidence challenges his views, since the episode of the cock cut in two is found in overseas versions and so must represent an ancient trait. An unusual aspect of this *conte* is the over-riding of the law of three in 33 versions in which Half-chick is aided by four or five associates. Madame Tenèze believes that this

irregularity is due to the humorous tonality of the tale taking precedence over the marvellous. On this point, she confirms Boggs' assertion that in most cases Half-chick conceals his friends in his anus, but this trait has been concealed by prudish polishers of the *conte*.

Surely there is little more information we can expect about the textual history of a folktale. Madame Tenèze realizes the importance of data about narrators and milieu, and the difficulty of providing such data in an index.

Scottish folklorists may think of another recent tale-type index even closer to home, the catalogue for Ireland prepared by Sean O'Sullivan and Reidar Christiansen. The French and the Irish indexes do not seem to belong to the same species. The *Types of the Irish Folk-Tale* presents a series of numbers filling page after page. This is the difference between an index based primarily on texts in print or in the hands of collectors and one based primarily on a fabulous archive.

RICHARD M. DORSON

Central and North Fife, an Illustrated Survey of its Landscape and Architecture by R. G. Cant. Central and North Fife Preservation Society, Cupar 1965. 20 pp.+illus.

This booklet has been printed by the Central and North Fife Preservation Society, a body that has distinguished itself by its sense of responsibility to both the past and the future, particularly in items of the preservation of aspects of the landscape and architecture of Fife. The seventeenth-century Weigh House at Ceres, now being restored and set up by them as a local folk museum, is an outstanding example of the success of their efforts.

In Mr Ronald Cant, who is Reader in Scottish History in the University of St Andrews, and author of the booklet, the Society has had the services of a discriminating and knowledgeable writer. No words are wasted, and in the space available he has succeeded in mileposting the processes of gradual change over several hundred years, with periods of intensified activity in the twelfth, sixteenth, and eighteenth centuries. At each stage, the grades of society are indicated through their buildings, from castle and palace to farm-steading and doo'cot, and several are pictured in well chosen illustrations. A list of buildings based on those compiled for the Secretary of State for Scotland under the Town and Country Planning Act of 1947, with a map, completes the booklet. It therefore serves as a guide to these buildings, and Mr Cant's introduction provides the historical depth that links the buildings meaningfully in terms of change in the landscape of Fife. Though tantalisingly short, it justifies the wish that a more exhaustive survey may at some time emanate from the same pen.

A. FENTON

The Court Books of Orkney and Shetland 1614–1615, edited by Robert S. Barclay. Scottish History Society, Edinburgh 1967. xxvii+146 pp.

The publication of these court books, together with the two volumes already in print,* now makes available material for one of the most important transitional periods in the history of the Northern Isles. The replacement of the old laws of Orkney and Shetland in 1611 by the Scottish legal system and the execution of Earl Patrick and his son Robert in 1615 mark the end of one form of government; the personal rule of the Stewarts was replaced by the administration of the Scottish central government through its representatives, the sheriffs and their deputies. There were other influences at work which combined with these forces towards creating a more stable society. The courts over which Earl Patrick had presided at the beginning of the century took cognizance of every conceivable type of action, whereas now the sheriff courts tended to deal with purely legal matters, while other cases came more and more under the jurisdiction of the commissary courts or the kirk sessions. For example, no cases of slander are recorded in the court books for 1614–15, although this had been one of the commonest actions in the earlier period, and these would doubtless be tried by the commissary court as was usual later in the seventeenth century. Likewise there is little relating to lapses of a moral nature, which came to be the province of the kirk session, and only one case of witchcraft, in Orkney, is recorded. It involved two women, one being found guilty of 'the fostering of ane bairne in the hill of Westray to the fary folk' for which she was condemned to be scourged and banished; the other was accused, among other charges, of 'laying of ane duyning and quotidian seiknes' on her master for which she was condemned to be hanged and thereafter burned to ashes.

A comparison between this volume and the court book for 1602–4 gives the impression of the beginnings of a less turbulent and more efficiently organised society. The largest number of cases in both Orkney and Shetland relate to the finding of caution in lawburrows, which is quite simply a legal pledge for good behaviour, and there is also a decrease in the number of cases of assault; some were tried in the bailie courts, as witness James Mowat who was convicted of 'bluidis and ryottis' by the bailie of Stronsay. He had to find caution in the sheriff court and this, along with the payment of a fine, was the usual penalty. Sheep-stealing was the most usual form of theft and the penalties, severer than those for assault, were some form of public punishment such as the stocks or the jougs, scourging and banishment; only in two cases were the guilty hanged and their goods forfeited. The old udal system of land-holding and the newer feudal system existed side by side at this period and there are many cases relating to disputes over land and the payment of duties therefrom. Much information on crops, stock and farming generally can be collected; one such case concerns a dispute over

* *The Court Book of Shetland 1602–1604*, edited by Gordon Donaldson, Scottish Record Society, Edinburgh 1954; *The Court Book of Orkney and Shetland 1612–1613*, edited by R. S. Barclay, Kirkwall 1962.

commonty rights between the lands of Hillswick and Urafirth and describes the lay-out of the lands with march-stones and dykes.

An important section is that devoted to the Country Acts, passed in Shetland on 3 August, and in Orkney on 7 November 1615. These were not the results of government legislation but of the efforts of local men to meet local needs and show, moreover, that the sheriffs in Orkney and Shetland acted in a legislative, as well as a judicial, capacity. It is significant that in both Orkney and Shetland the first two acts deal with the renunciation of 'all forren lawis' and the enforcement of the authority of the kirk sessions. Other acts common to both include the protection of arable land by the proper maintenance of dykes, ranselling for theft by the bailie and penalties for riding other men's horses; the farther the horse was ridden, the larger was the fine, the same penalty as had been exacted under the old laws. One of the Orkney acts answers a complaint by the Shetlanders that beggars and vagabonds 'from Orkney, Caithnes and utheris forren places' were troubling their country, by forbidding shipmasters to transport any such without licence. Shetland had problems connected with the foreign merchants who traded from Bressay and Burravoe; regardless, however, of an act against supplying them with food and drink, two men were charged with stealing three sheep 'on ane Sonday in the morneing, quhilk they pat on a boit and sauld to the Hollanderis at Brassay'. Another Shetland act underlines the importance of the sea as a means of transport by making provisions regarding ferry services and is of particular interest in that it details various services throughout the islands and the scale of charges.

Many other aspects of these Court Books can contribute towards a fuller understanding of the period. Although the old laws had gone, much of the old language still remained. A study of the names of those serving on the assizes appointed for criminal cases would indicate the important families of the period or could show the balance between families of native, Scottish or other origin. Incidental references help to shed light on social and domestic life such as the case concerning black French cloth borrowed five years ago for use as a mortcloth and never returned, or the theft of a belt, knife, a piece of 'auld plaid', a 'wob' from a workloom and 'cornes with ane sewit sark to have put thame in'. The volume contains a useful Introduction which includes a sketch of the historical background of the period and a detailed description of the manuscript. There is a Glossary and Index, the latter especially useful for reference purposes as it includes Subjects as well as Persons and Places. It is to be hoped, as Dr Barclay suggests, that the later court books can be made available, even if in shortened form, for it is sources such as these which give the closest insight into the life of a community.

MARGARET D. YOUNG

Uppies and Doonies: The Story of the Kirkwall Ba' Game by John Robertson. Aberdeen University Press, Aberdeen 1967. 239 pp.+30 illus. 30s.

The Uppies and Doonies are the two sides in the free-for-all game of mass football played annually in the streets of Kirkwall. The author, John Robertson, is a local business man who is also an active sportsman, has a law degree, and is keenly interested in local history.

His book, fully illustrated, documented and indexed, sets out first of all to describe the game as it has been played over the last 120 years in Kirkwall and in other parts of Orkney and Shetland. This is followed by the recording of information about other forms of local football and related customs. Having completed his local researches, the author concludes with a different kind of chapter—a study of the origin and history of mass football based upon literary sources.

The local chapters are based upon extensive scrutiny of the files of the two local newspapers (how grateful we must be to their editors and reporters!), and of local records and writings. These sources the author has supplemented by much 'speiring'; he has clearly been collecting information by questioning his elders on the game for a long time. The result is a vast mass of data set out before the reader in a racy style, extending from information about the financing and construction of the ba' itself to the adventures and rituals of bringing it to the goal and awarding it to the hero of the winning side. (The author, an Uppie, won the ba' in 1966.)

In the game as it has been played since about 1850, two sides (they are hardly 'teams') face one another at one o'clock on New Year's Day and Christmas Day opposite the Market Cross in front of St Magnus Cathedral. The sides are of unlimited size and if either has a leader, this is not apparent to the onlooker. The ba', a solid article with a tough leather exterior filled with cork, is thrown into the middle and goes out of sight as the two sides merge into a tight scrum, each pushing towards its own goal. The Uppies push up the town towards an old wall at the end of Main Street; the Doonies push down until the ball is ejected into the harbour basin or the sea nearby. There are no rules to speak of. On rare occasions the ball has been hooked or smuggled out, to be carried, thrown, or kicked in the direction of one of the goals. As a rule the ball is not seen until it has touched its goal and is held up by the player thought to have done best for his side.

The game is hard, sweaty, rough on clothing and ribs, and wildly exciting to players and their supporters alike. Shop-keepers barricade their windows. Traffic is diverted. If the ball is smuggled out, there may be a rush down a side street or back lane. In 1948 the ball was taken through a bedroom window in the Albert Hotel and out through the kitchen. But it is mostly pushing, and this may go on for hours. When the reviewer saw the game as a boy, he preferred a win by the Doonies, for there was the special pleasure of watching to see who would jump into the icy water of the harbour to retrieve the ball.

This game of mass football was preceded in Kirkwall by the old style game of football, there being records of this as far back as the seventeenth century. This game, which is part of a long-standing Scottish and English tradition, was one in which the ball—an animal bladder inflated or stuffed—could not be lifted but only kicked; and the players either took sides or played each for himself, seeking to reach one of two goals or 'hails'. There was no rule about length of play, which presumably continued until darkness, exhaustion or thirst brought it to an agreed end. Old style football gave way to mass football in Kirkwall about 1850, but persisted in several other areas in Orkney and Shetland until quite recent times.

There seems to be no local evidence as to why old style football in Kirkwall was replaced by mass football. This no doubt prompted the author to go on to write his final chapter, in which an attempt is made to find whether a short general history of mass football will throw some light on the Orkney game.

He begins with an examination of four early games, which he rejects as sources of the Orkney game: the Roman *harpastum*, because it is a 'team game rather than a participation sport'; and English *hurling* and *camp-ball* and Welsh *knappan*, because in them the ball must be thrown by hand only.

He finds the probable origin in the French game of *La Soule*, of which there are historical records from the twelfth century onwards. *La Soule* was the ball, and the game was played, with no apparent rules and often with violence, as part of festivities on Shrove Tuesday and other occasions. The author examines in some detail the accounts of the game in France, especially in Brittany, and also in England and the south of Scotland, comparing each with the Kirkwall game, and this comparative study leads him to the material conclusion in his book. This is that the Kirkwall game of mass football is a survival of a traditional sport which the Normans brought to England, and, indirectly or directly, to Scotland.

The author refrains from being dogmatic about the ultimate origin of football. He records much information, however, which seems to lend support to his general impression that 'originally football was played not solely as a recreation, but rather as a ritual designed to ensure prosperity and fertility, or generally to work some good for the community'. Everywhere, for example, the winning of the ball was believed to bring good luck of some kind for the coming year.

The author has had difficulty in arranging the material he has so diligently collected without obscuring some of his main conclusions, but he was wise to get all his information down. His book has a three-fold value. It gives Orcadians at home and abroad a living record of their own robust game. It provides students of Scottish social history with a unique picture of the game in its Western European setting. And it supplies a large collection of documented information for still further analysis by the next scholar in this interesting field.

A. B. TAYLOR

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W. F. H. NICOLAISEN

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Index

Volume 12, 1968

Items in bold type denote titles of contributions, and names of contributors appear in small capitals. County abbreviations are those used by the Scottish Place-Name Survey (Check-list in *Scottish Studies* 10 : 225)

abstract of a melody 172, 174, 175, 176
Annales Cambriae (medieval chronicle) 21
Annals of Strata Florida (medieval chronicle) 24
Annals of Winchester (medieval chronicle) 20, 21
archaisms of Celtic 51, 53
Atholl, Two More Stories from; Addenda 193
Auchindrain, a tracing of part of the estate plan of . . . to show the old settlement pattern 185
  boundaries of the whole . . . township drawn from the estate plan of *c.* 1789 (fig.) 184
Auchindrain, Mid Argyll, An Old Estate Plan of 183–7
  aural transcription, detailed and general 172–6

bradic tradition (in Gaelic poetry) 32–5
bards (Gaelic), privileges and power of 40–1
Bartók, Béla (views on notation in folk music) 169, 170, 171
Beaton (Gaelic medical family) 61–3
Bibliography, An Annual; Scottish Studies in 1967 207–18
Bibyl Ynghymraec, Y (Welsh medieval text) 16, 17
Blackface, Scottish (type of sheep) 160
Bonnie Hoose o' Airlie, the (ballad) 125
Book Reviews 194
Book of the Dean of Lismore (16th c. collection of Gaelic poetry) 30, 35, 64
Books Received 205
Border Leicester (type of sheep) 160
brehon or *breve* (Gaelic legal office) 59–60
Brenhinedd y Saesson (3rd version of *Brut y Tywysogion*) 19–21
  breve, brehon or (Gaelic legal office) 59–60
  brithem (Gaelic legal office) 58–9
BRUFORD, ALAN 190, 193
Brut Gruffudd ab Arthur (Welsh medieval text) 15, 16
Brut y Brenhinedd (Welsh medieval text) 16, 18
Brut Tysilio (Welsh medieval text) 15, 16
Brut y Tywysogion (*Chronicle of the Princes* [*of Wales*]) (Welsh medieval text) 15, 16
  comparison of the three versions 18–22
  compiler 24–5
  compiler's sources 25
  Latin original 18, 21
  literary presentation 25–7
  general questions relating to 22–5
Burns, stories about 121–3

caer (place-name element) 180
Cantray INV 179
Capledrae FIF 180
Caradog of Llancarfan (contemporary of Geoffrey of Monmouth) 18
Catalogue of the 'Plans of farms etc. on Inveraray Estate' 186–7
ceapag 38
Celt-Iberian 46
Celtica (Exhibition catalogue of National Library of Scotland; review) 194–5
Celtic, archaisms of 51, 53
  Continental 45
  European connections of 51–3
  features of morphology (of . . .) inherited from Indo-European 49–51
  Indo-European and 45
  Insular 46
  special contribution of . . . towards the reconstruction of Indo-European linguistic history 53–5
  outward characteristics of 48–9
Central and North Fife, an Illustrated Survey of its Landscape and Architecture (review) 200
cepóc (Irish) 38
Cheviot (type of sheep) 159
choral songs (Gaelic) 36–9
  dancing and 38
  as accompaniment to work 35–7
  as entertainment 36
  cepóc (Irish) 38
  erotic strain 38
  iorram 37
  laments 39
  praise songs 37
  refrains 36
Chronicle of the Princes [*of Wales*] (see *Brut y Tywysogion*)
Clearances, sheep and the 161
Clenterty BNF 180
Clentry FIF 180
Collection and Research, Notes on 179
community in Laggan, the 81–111
Conte Populaire Français, Le (review) 197–200

Continental Celtic 45
Copper Age sheep 129
Coulaghailtro ARG 180
Court Books of Orkney and Shetland 1614–1615, The (review) 201–2
Cronica de Wallia (medieval chronicle) 21, 22
Cruel Fate (music transcription of Jeannie Robertson's air) 120
(poem by Burns, sung by Jeannie Robertson) 120

dancing and choral songs (Gaelic) 38
dán díreach 33, 34, 35
DILLON, MYLES 195
DORSON, RICHARD M. 200

ecclesiastics (Gaelic medieval) 65–8
Eigg Collection (Ranald MacDonald's anthology of Gaelic oral poetry, 1776) 30
electronic transcription by means of a graph 172
endogamous marriage (in Laggan) 81–6
endogamous marriage, the incidence of . . . (in Laggan; table) 83
evidence of sheep type from historic records 146–9
evidence (of sheep type) from sheep bones of prehistoric times to the Middle Ages 128–36
from sheep remaining today 149–60
from wool remains in textiles and parchments from Roman times to the 18th century 136–46
Evolution of Scottish Breeds of Sheep, The 127–67
exogamous marriage (in Laggan) 86–93
exogamous marriage patterns among clans possessing land in Laggan 1775–1854 (table) 89
exogamy, changing patterns of dependence upon the Macphersons and MacDonalds by (table) 90
European connections of Celtic 51–3

FAIRHURST, HORACE 183
Farm-endogamy (in Laggan) 93–4
FENTON, A. 200
filidh 33
Fintray ABD 180
Fintry ABD 180
Fintry ANG 180
Fintry 179–82
Fintry STL 180
First residence after marriage 1775–1854 (in Laggan; table) 95
flyghting 40
Fortree ABD 180
Fortrie BNF 180
Fortry ABD 180
Fortry BNF 180

Gaelic Learned Orders and Literati in Medieval Scotland 57–78
Gaelic legal and administrative terminology, survival of 58–61
Gaelic medieval ecclesiastics 65–8
historians and genealogists 70–2
medical families 61–5
medical families, custodians of learning and libraries 61
musicians 69–70
poets 72–5
scribes or record keepers 68–9
Gaelic poetry,
oral (discussion of the term) 29
written 29–30
genealogists (Gaelic medieval) 70–2
Geoffrey of Monmouth (see *Historia Regum Britanniae*)
GOWER, HERSCHEL 114

Halltree MLO 180
Hebridean sheep 151–3
Henderson, Angus (folk-tale informant) 190
historians (Gaelic medieval) 70–2
Historia Regum Britanniae (*c.* 1136, by Geoffrey of Monmouth) 15, 16, 18, 20, 23
Historia Scholastica (12th c. Bible-history by Peter Comestor of Paris) 17
Historical Writing in Medieval Welsh 15–27

illegitimacy among the MacPhersons 1520–1680 (table) 104
illegitimate birth (in Laggan) 102–8
illegitimate children in Laggan, 1775–1840, parentage of (table) 107
Index 219–23
Indo-European and Celtic 45–56
and the IE languages, contribution of . . to the understanding of Celtic 45–53
the injunctive and 54–5
problems in the reconstruction of 46–8
Indo-Iranian 54
injunctive, the, and Indo-European 54–5
Insular Celtic 46
iorram (rowing song) 37
Italo-Celtic (relationship) 52–3
(term) 52

Jeannie Robertson: Portrait of a Traditional Singer 114–26
Johnie Cocke (ballad) 123–5
JONES, THOMAS 15
judex, the Scottish (12th c.) 58–9

Keerie or Rocky sheep of Caithness 153

KINNIBURGH, IAN A. G. 187

Labhraidh Loingseach (Irish folk-tale hero) 192
Laggan INV, changing patterns of dependence upon the MacPhersons and MacDonalds by exogamy (table) 90
community in, the 81–111
endogamous marriage 81–6
exogamous marriage 86–93
exogamous marriage patterns among clans possessing land 1776–1854 (table) 89
farm-endogamy 93–4
first residence after marriage 1775–1854 (table) 95
illegitimacy among the Macphersons 1520–1680 (table) 104
illegitimate birth 102–8
incidence of endogamous marriage in (table) 83
incidence of matri-local and patri-matri-local residence in time (table) 97
local migration 98–102
local migration 1781–1790 (map) 99
marriage patterns in 81–111
migration of families with MacIntosh or Cattanach parent (map) 101
parentage of illegitimate children 1775–1840 (table) 107
patri-local and matri-local residence 94–8
Laggan, Survivals of Clanship and Social Change in . . . 1775–1854, II 81–111
Langlands, George (18th c. surveyor for Duke of Argyll) 183
Leges inter Brettos et Scotos (medieval law treatise) 58
Lismore, Book of the Dean of 30, 35, 64
literary metres in Gaelic song 36–7
Logaidh Longsach 190–2
Longniddry ELO 179
Lord Donald (ballad) 121
luinneag 39

MacBeth (Beaton, Bethune) Gaelic medical family 61–3
MACINNES, JOHN 29
MacIntyre, Duncan Bàn (Gaelic poet 1724–1812) 29–30
MacMuirichs (Gaelic poets) 73
MACPHERSON, ALAN G. 81
marriage patterns (in Laggan) 81–111
matri-local and patri-matri-local residence in time, incidence of (in Laggan; table) 97
measurements (diameter) of 17th century Scottish wools (table) 142
measurements of fibre diameter in the fleeces of primitive Scottish sheep (table) 152
of bone objects made from sheep metapodials (table) 131–2
of fibre diameter of Scottish wools up to the Middle Ages (table) 137–8
of sheep metapodials from the Iron Age sites in South Uist and comparisons (table) 135
of wool fibre diameter in Scottish textiles of unknown date (table) 143
medical families (Gaelic medieval) 61–5
Medieval Scotland, Gaelic Learned Orders and Literati in 57–78
Medieval Welsh, Historical Writing in 15–27
MEID, WOLFGANG 45
Menstrie CLA 179
metre, in Gaelic verse 34
migration, local (in Laggan) 98–102
local, 1781–1790 (in Laggan; map) 99
of families with MacIntosh or Cattanach parent (in Laggan; map) 101
modern methods of transcription 172
Monmouth, Geoffrey of (see *Historia Regum Brittanniae*)
Moray MOR 180
Mouflon (type of sheep) 129
Muchtre ARG 180
musical notation by electronic devices 171
musicians (Gaelic medieval) 69–70
My Son David (ballad) 125
Myvyrian Archaiology of Wales (1801, 1807) 15

New History of Cumnock, The (review) 195–7
NICOLAISEN, W. F. H. 2, 179, 207
Niddrie MLO 179
Niddry WLO 179
Notational Method of Vocal Transcription, Problems and Experiments in 169–78
Note on Timothy Pont's Survey of Scotland, A 187–9
Notes on Collection and Research 179–93
Ochiltre AYR 180
WIG 180
WLO 180
Old Estate Plan of Auchindrain, Mid-Argyll, An 183–7
Old Highland Parish Register, An; Survivals of Clanship and Social Change in Laggan, Inverness-shire, 1775–1–54 II 81–111
Old Irish 46
Old Irish absolute and conjunct inflexion, problem of the 53–4
Oral Tradition in Scottish Gaelic Poetry, The 29–43

Orkney sheep 153–6
  communal husbandry of 154

patri-local and matri-local residence (in Laggan) 94–8
p-Celtic 46, 49, 52, 179, 181
philies and *sheanachin* (distinction between) 71
Place-Names, Notes on Scottish 179–82
poet and historian (Gaelic), functions of 71
poet-harpers (Gaelic) 69–70
poet-seers (Gaelic) 41
poets (Gaelic medieval) 72–5
Pont/Gordon set of MS maps 187–8
Pont, Timothy (16th c. map-maker) 187–9
  commission given to . . . by Lord Menmuir (MS) 189
PORTER, JAMES 169
praise songs (Gaelic, choral) 37
privileges and powers of Gaelic bards 40–1
Problems and Experiments in the Notational Method of Vocal Transcription 169–78
Promtuarium Bibliae (synopsis of *Historia Scholastica*, compiled by Peter of Poitiers) 17
Proto-Celtic 46

q-Celtic 48, 52

rannaire (Gaelic legal office) 60
Rattra KCB 180
Rattray ABD 180
Rattray PER 180
record-keepers (Gaelic) 68–9
refrains in Gaelic choral songs 36
Regiam Majestatem (medieval account of Scots law) 58
Research, Notes on Collection and 179
Reviews 194
Robertson, Jeannie, discovery by Hamish Henderson 119
  description of caravan 115–16
  discussion of ballads 121–6
  own airs 120
Robertson, Jeannie: Portrait of a Traditional Singer 114–26
Robertson, Jeannie, stories about Burns 121–3
Rocky sheep of Caithness, Keerie or 153
RYDER, M. L. 127

Scottish Blackface (type of sheep) 160
Scottish Breeds of Sheep, The Evolution of 127–67
Scottish Gaelic Poetry, The Oral Tradition in 29–43
Scottish parchments (examined for wool remains; table) 145
Scottish Place-Names, Notes on 179–82
Scottish Studies in 1967: An Annual Bibliography 207–18
scribes (Gaelic medieval) 68–9
seanchaidh 33
sheanachin and *philies* (distinction between) 71
sheep and the Clearances 161
sheep bones—from prehistoric time to the Middle Ages, evidence from 128–36
sheep metapodial measurements from Iron Age sites on South Uist, and comparisons (table) 135
sheep metapodials, measurements of bone objects made from (table) 131–2
relationship of length to minimum width in (diagrams) 134
sheep remaining today, evidence (of type) from 149–60
sheep, some fibre diameter measurements in the fleeces of primitive Scottish (table) 152
sheep type from historical records, evidence of 146–9
Shetland sheep 156–9
shieling sites (of Auchindrain) 186
SKINNER, B. C. 197
Soay sheep of St Kilda 149–51
Soutra MLO 180
stories about Burns 121–3
Stories from Atholl, Two More; Addenda 193
strophic poetry (Gaelic) 34, 35
syllabic metre (in Gaelic vernacular verse) 34

TAYLOR, A. B. 204
THOMSON, DERICK S. 57
time-signal transcription 172
Timothy Pont's Survey of Scotland, A Note on 187–9
tone-colour, possible method of denoting . . . in transcriptions 177
transcription
  aural 172–6
  electronic, by graph 172
  modern methods of 172
  time-signal 172
tref (place-name element) 180
Trostrie KCB 180
Troustrie FIF 180
Turbary (type of sheep) 129
Two More Stories from Atholl: Addenda 193

Uppies and Doonies: The Story of the Kirkwall Ba' Game (review) 203–4

wool fibre diameter measurements in Scottish textiles of unknown date (table) 143

wool remains (in Scottish parchments; table) 145
wool remains in textiles and parchment—from Roman times to the 18th century, evidence from 136–46
wool types, summary of (table) 144
wools, diameter measurements of 17th century Scottish (table) 142
wools up to the Middle Ages, fibre diameter measurements of Scottish (table) 137–8
work songs (Gaelic) 35–7

YOUNG, MARGARET D. 202
Ystorya Daret (Welsh medieval text) 16, 18

CONTENTS

205 *Review:* John Robertson, *Uppies and Doonies: The Story of the Kirkwall Ba' Game*
TAYLOR, A. B.

201 *Review:* R. S. Barclay (ed.), *The Court Books of Orkney and Shetland, 1614–1615*
YOUNG, M. D.

205 BOOKS RECEIVED

219 INDEX

Plates

II Hamish Henderson, Jeannie Robertson, Herschel Gower: Interview in B.B.C. Studios, Aberdeen, June 1968 *opposite* p. 114

III Jeannie Robertson in conversation *opposite* p. 115

IV Primitive and modern breeds of Scottish sheep *opposite* p. 128

V An electronic transcription *opposite* p. 172

VI A time-signal transcription *opposite* p. 173

VII A photograph of part of the estate plan of Auchindrain, Mid-Argyll *opposite* p. 183