Gaelic Names of Pibrochs:
A Classification[1]

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1. INTRODUCTION

The classical music of the Highland bagpipe, usually called pibroch, or piobaireachd, but perhaps more correctly *ceòl mòr,* consists of a large number of extended compositions in the form of air with variations. They were written down from oral tradition, mainly in the first half of the nineteenth century. Although pibrochs have continued to be composed since that time, especially in the last few decades, it is the pre–1850 pieces which are generally accepted as the classical canon.[2]

It is safe to assume that all the pibroch players who noted the music in writing spoke Gaelic as their first language.[3] Certainly the great majority of pieces have been recorded with Gaelic titles as well as English. There can be little doubt that the English titles are generally translations of the Gaelic rather than the other way round. This is most obvious in those cases where the English is stilted, or poorly expressed, or even practically meaningless: 'Too long in this condition', 'The Unjust Incarceration', 'Scarce of Fishing', 'The Finger Lock'.[4]

Actually, these rather comical names, though notorious, are exceptional, and most tunes are best known under names which are strictly functional – 'MacLeod's Salute', 'Lament for Donald Duaghal MacKay', 'Clan Chattan's Gathering'. It is these names which most clearly tell us the circumstances under which the old composers worked: making ceremonial music to honour patrons, or to commemorate victories (and defeats) in battle in the age of clan warfare.

The purpose of this article is to review the Gaelic names of the pibrochs, as recorded in the original sources. The focus is on the forms of the names, and the use of a small number of key words, rather than on wider implications or historical background. In further studies it is planned to review names which apparently refer to historical traditions, and to the texts of songs.

In some ways the study of tune names is like the study of place names. The meaning may be quite obvious, telling us something of the history of the tune (or place) to which it is attached; or it may be completely obscure. But even if a name seems to be clear, it may be misleading when looked at in isolation. The safest approach is to consider all available records of a name, and to consider each name in the context of other names. In this way we can hope to distinguish between reliable and unreliable sources,

and to understand the principles which the givers of the names followed, consciously or unconsciously.

2. SOURCES

2.1 Pipe Music Collections

Most of the data for this survey are names noted in collections of pipe music. These are listed in Table 1 below, and the names themselves, with their variant spellings and references to sources, have been published on the Internet.[5] As a rough estimate, there are about 320 distinct pieces of music, recorded in about 600 independent versions; and 250 distinct names, in about 500 instances. The differences between the first and second pairs of figures are accounted for mainly by tunes recorded without names: the number with names in English only is relatively small.

For the present purpose, the sources can conveniently be divided into two main groups. Group A consists of pipers whose knowledge of the musical tradition was very extensive, and who knew Gaelic but had evidently not been taught to write it. They spell some of the commoner Gaelic words in an orthodox way, but generally they adopt English spelling conventions like 'v' for 'bh' or 'mh', 'porst' for *port,* 'ken' for *ceann,* and so on. Some of the spellings can only be elucidated by a good Gaelic scholar, but most are easily recognisable.[6] The largest collection of this sort is the two-volume Campbell canntaireachd manuscript (C1, C2), containing 168 tunes, 66 of them named in Gaelic. The Hannay-MacAuslan Manuscript (H) is small but valuable. Two other collections are the manuscript of Donald MacDonald, junior (DJ), and the 'Specimens of Canntaireachd' (SC), noted or at least copied by Angus MacKay. The last four provide more than sixty Gaelic names, and to them we can add a small book of twenty tunes, published by Niel MacLeod of Gesto (G), with an associated manuscript of historical notes mostly concerned with explaining the names, the 'Skeabost MS'.

Group B consists of writers who were evidently fully literate in both Gaelic and English. It is dominated by the two pipers who effectively started the tradition of notating and printing bagpipe music as we have it today, Donald MacDonald and Angus MacKay. Donald MacDonald published a book of 23 pibrochs in 1820 (D0), and compiled a second volume in 1826, which he was unable to publish but which is still available in manuscript (D1). Angus MacKay published a book in 1838 (K0), and wrote several manuscripts of which the two largest are in effect a continuation of the book (K1, K2/K3). Between them his collections amount to no fewer than 250 tunes, and the recently discovered Kintarbert MS (KK) adds five more which had been known only through later copies. But although MacKay's is the most impressive collection, and by far the most influential, for the present purpose we have to treat it with some caution. This is partly because MacKay had access to most of the previous works, but also because he was clearly an editor who aimed at completeness in all respects. His

names are often more elaborate than those of the same tunes in other sources, and it seems likely that he extended or rationalised some of them, rather than merely recording what he learned orally. A manuscript by Angus' brother John, which largely overlaps him, is valuable not only for a few additional names, but more especially because it seems less eclectic and more centred on the MacKay family traditions (JK). Two earlier small sources are Patrick MacDonald's collection of 'Highland vocal airs', 1784 (PD) which includes four pibrochs actually noted from a piper, and the manuscript compiled by Elizabeth Ross at Raasay House in 1812, which includes six pibrochs (ER). These two are included here because the writers, although not pipers themselves, were in close touch with piping and also had a good knowledge of written Gaelic.

2.2 Other Sources

Besides these compilations we have a diverse but valuable group of smaller sources, some of which are listed in Table 1 as group C. The MacFarlane manuscript (F), written as early as 1740, contains two pibrochs, thought to be based on fiddle rather than pipe sets. Daniel Dow's book of 'ancient Scots music' (DOW), c. 1783, contains more of the same type and in addition several pibrochs which seem to be arrangements from the pipes. There are other sources too which contain pieces of pibroch character, some of which appear to be independent compositions, others transcriptions.[7] The Gaelic names in these sources date from a period when spelling had not by any means been regularised.

A number of important lists of tunes, without music, have survived. Two are lists of duty tunes ordered to be played in Highland regiments (L1, L6), two are handbills (L4, L7) published in connection with the competitions for piobaireachd playing which were held in Edinburgh from 1783 onwards, and three are newspaper reports of such competitions which happen to name the tunes played by each competitor (L2, L3, L5). The latest of these sources (L7) however has relatively modern spellings and is to be considered along with our group B. The records of the competition organisers also contain lists of tunes played. These have not been edited or published in full, but they have been extensively quoted by Iain MacInnes (1988).[8] There must be many more reports of competitions in contemporary newspapers but these are still to be tapped. Finally, several nineteenth-century writers who were not pipers also recorded traditional material. Although this needs to be sifted carefully, some of it at least seems authentic. The most important are two books by James Logan, *The Scottish Gael,* first published in 1831, and *The Clans of the Scottish Highlands*, first published in 1845. A later writer who contributes a substantial amount of apparently oral tradition is Henry Whyte who, under the pen-name of 'Fionn', published a book entitled *The Martial Music of the Clans* (1904), and also wrote the historical notes to David Glen's collection of piobaireachd (1911).

This article is concerned with pibrochs, but the literature of other Gaelic music is also relevant. Keith Sanger and Alison Kinnaird (1992) give comprehensive listings of

A. 'Vernacular' sources

Date*	Source*		Tunes	Gaelic names
1797	C1	Campbell Canntaireachd MS Vol 1	83	29
<1814	C2	Campbell Canntaireachd MS Vol 2	86	34
>1811	H	Hannay-MacAuslan MS	10	9
1820	A	MacArthur MS	30	4
1826	DJ	MacDonald, Donald (junior). MS	40	17
1828	G	MacLeod, Niel. *Collection of Piobaireachd . . .*	20	10
<1853	SC	'Specimens of Canntareachd'	48	38

B. 'Learned' sources

Date	Source		Tunes	Gaelic names
1784	PD	MacDonald, Patrick. . . . *Highland vocal airs . . .*	4	4
1812	ER	Ross, Eliza J. The 'Lady D'Oyly MS'	6	4
1820	D0	MacDonald, Donald. *Ancient Martial Music*	23	23
1826	D1	MacDonald, Donald. MS	50	47
1826	R	Reid, Peter. MS	45	30
1838	K0	MacKay, Angus. . . . *Ancient Piobaireachd . . .*	61	61
c.1840	K1	MacKay, Angus. MS vol 1	112	98
c.1840	K2,K3	MacKay, Angus. MS vol 2	72	57
c.1841	KK	MacKay, Angus. 'Kintarbert MS'	88	73
1848	JK	MacKay, John. MS	63	28
1854	KS	MacKay, Angus. 'Seaforth MS'	11	12

C   Other sources

Date	Source		Tunes	Gaelic names
1740	F	MacFarlane MS	2	2
1778	L1	List of tunes . . . Argyll Regiment#	5	5
1783	L2	Report of competition#	11	6
c.1783	DOW	Dow, Daniel. *Ancient Scots music ...*	4	4
1784	L3	Report of competition#	14	14
1785	L4	Competition handbill#	19	18
1790	L5	Report of competition#	11	0
<1831	L6	List of tunes, 72nd regiment#	9	9
1835	L7	Competition handbill#	16	16

For further details see bibliography, and for sources in groups A and B (except KK), see also Cannon (1997).

Titles in italics indicate published books. # Names only: no music.

Table 1. Classification of sources.

music of the harp, and some of the pieces are named partly or wholly in Gaelic. Some of the tunes published for fiddle in the eighteenth century also have Gaelic titles. A much wider field, which will not be touched on here, is that of the titles of songs, and of older 'bardic' poems. Some of these resemble pibroch names, and a few actually coincide, but there are difficult questions as to how the names came to be attached, whether by composers, tradition-bearers or later editors.[9]

Some examples of tune names taken from the 'vernacular' sources will illustrate the quality of the material available, and how well the odd spellings can reflect the original sounds of the words:

Spatcharach dolgruamach (SC)	*Spaidsearachd Dhòmhnaill Ghruamaich*
Pibroch-gonnel[10]	*Pìobaireachd Dhòmhnaill*
Kiaunidize (G)	*Ceann na dèise*
Kiaunma Drochid a Beig (G)	*Ceann na drochaide bìge*
Colin a Ruun (DJ)	*A Cholla mo rùin*

3. A CLASSIFICATION OF PIOBAIREACHD NAMES

The majority of names fall into one of four types. Type I, the most numerous, are what I will call 'functional' names: 'Lament for X', 'X's Salute', 'X's March', 'The Gathering of Clan X'. Type II is a small group, which I will call 'technical'. These appear to refer to strictly musical characteristics of the pieces, and some of them seem to preserve technical terms in music. Type III, 'textual', are evidently quotations from songs, usually the opening words. Type IV are names, usually quite short, which are not easy to define except to say that they are – just names. They cover a similar range to the names we find attached to the smaller music, jigs, reels, etc – place names, names of people, names which suggest a story. Here is a selection of typical names of the four types, as they appear in the current publications of the Piobaireachd Society:[4, 11]

Type I. Functional

Fàilte Uilleim Dhuibh Mhic Coinnich
Cumha Iain Ghairbh Mhic Gille Chaluim
Cruinneachadh Chloinn Chatain

Type II. Technical

A' Ghlas Mheur
Port na Lùdaig

Type III. Textual

Thàinig mo Rìgh air Tìr am Mùideart
Is fhada mar seo tha sinn
Dastirum gu seinnim pìob

Type IV. Short names

A' Bhòilich
An Daorach Mhòr
Màl an Rìgh

The relative frequency of occurrence in the main sources is as follows:

I	Functional	'X's lament'	65
		'X's salute'	55
		'X's march'	12
		'The gathering of clan X'	9
		The battle of X'	18
		sub-total	**159**
II	Technical	'X's pibroch'	19
		'The X-tune'	9
		sub-total	**28**
III	Songs		**47**
IV	'Short names'		**18**
	Total		**252**

This article will concentrate on names of Types I and II, emphasising points of grammar, and meanings of words which are common to relatively large numbers of names.

Almost all names of these two types have the same grammar: noun (or noun phrase) nominative + noun (or noun phrase) genitive; and usually of course the reverse order in English, thus *Fàilte Mhic Leòid* = MacLeod's Salute, etc. It is convenient to borrow the terminology of place name studies and call the nominative and genitive elements 'generic' and 'specific' respectively. But a word of caution is necessary. It is by no means clear that the various 'generic' terms that we find in use actually correspond with different genres in a strictly musical sense. There are no clear-cut rules of composition that distinguish a lament from a salute. If there once were such rules, they have ceased to be handed down traditionally and are now waiting to be rediscovered. Usually however the general musical character of a piece is felt to be appropriate to the title, and on this basis it is reasonable to adopt the term 'generic' if only for want of anything better.

4. CONFLICT AND CONFUSION?

Many tunes are known in different sources under different names, and some names recur attached to different tunes. This is only to be expected in an art which worked by oral tradition over a wide area and a long period of time. But it needs to be stated clearly

that some of the confusion of names is apparent rather than real. In the first place there may be diverse English translations of the same Gaelic original – 'The Vale of Sorrow' for 'The Rout of Glenfruin', the place name being understood as *Gleann a' Bhròin*; or titles picking up different points from the same tradition – 'Black Donald's March', 'The Battle of Inverlochy', 'Donald Balloch's March'.[12] These and other examples were collected by Iain MacInnes (1988: 162) from early records of competitions, where pipers no doubt gave the names of their tunes in Gaelic only and the officials had to translate them as best they could.

But more importantly it would be perfectly possible for the same tune to have as many as three 'original' names, one each from among the above types, even in the mind of the same person. Several clear cases have already been recognised. The tune which has the functional title of 'Glengarry's March' was also called *Cill Chrìosd*, and it had associated with it a set of words beginning *Chì mi thall ud an smùid mhòr,* 'Yonder I see the great smoke'.[13] The connection between the three names is that the tune commemorates the atrocity alleged to have taken place at the Church of Kilchrist, near Muir of Ord, Ross-shire, when the worshippers were burned alive as the church was fired by a raiding party of MacDonells of Glengarry.[14] Another example: in 1829, when the Highland Society was making an effort to establish names of tunes, the Secretary, Mr George Robertson, enquired and reported that 'the tune of Ribean Gorm is called by all pipers The Robertsons' Gathering' (PS 5: 128). In the same way, 'The MacKenzies' March' was and is called *Tulloch Ard*, taking its name from the traditional gathering place of the MacKenzies, a hill close to the seat of the clan chief (MacKenzie (1998: 88). In the latter two examples we have a functional title and a given name, but no song text.

A story told at a later date shows how the informant neatly, and no doubt unconsciously, distinguished two types of name. It is a tale of how Raonull Mac Ailein òig (Ronald MacDonald of Morar) made the tune *An tarbh breac dearg*. The Camerons had trapped Ronald into an encounter with a bull. 'Ronald killed the bull . . . He composed a piobaireachd by the side of Lochiel, and . . . when he went home, he went to see MacDonald of Keppoch, and played the tune to him. The Laird of Keppoch asked for the tune to be a Welcome tune for himself, and Ronald gave it.'[15] Presumably then, the tune could have been additionally titled *Fàilte Mhic Raonuill,* and thence 'MacDonald of Keppoch's Salute', though it has not entered the literature as such. Another well documented case is the tune *Ceann na drochaide bige,* 'The End of the Little Bridge'. The tune was noted by Niel MacLeod of Gesto, from Iain Dubh MacCrimmon, together with a story of MacLeods and Camerons fighting on the same side, and he adds 'Macleod of Macleod calls this tune his gathering or battle tune, and the Camerons call it their gathering tune or battle tune, and . . . they both seem to have an equal right to it . . .'.[16] Whatever the 'rights', it seems that the tune could have been called something like *Cruinneachadh* [or *Port tionail*] *Mhic Leòid* by some people, and *Cruinneachadh Chlann Chamshròin* by others, while both sides could have agreed on *Ceann na drochaide bige.*

Evidently then a tune can simultaneously have a functional title, a given name, and a song text. A few more examples will be enough to make the point (spellings and punctuations modernised):

Functional	Short	Textual
Fàilte Mhic Gilleathain(F)		*Slàn gun tig Seonachan* (K2)
Lochnell's Lament (K1)	*Spìocaireachd Iasgaich* (K1)	*Tha spìocaireachd iasgaich am bliadhna . . .* (K1)
MacLachlan's March (H)	*Moladh Mairi* (H)	*'S moladh mu da thaobh . . .* (H)[17]
The Grant's Gathering (D0)	*Craigellachie* (D0)	—
Lord Breadalbane's March (D0)	*Bodaich nam Briogais* (D0)	*Tha bodaich nam briogan a nise gar fàgail* (K0)
The Camerons' Gathering[18]	*Pìobaireachd Dhomhnuill Duibh* (D0)	*Pìobaireachd Dhomhnuill . . .* [18]
—	*An daorach mhòr* (K1)	*Tha'n daorach ort, s' fhearr'd thu cadal . . .* (K1)

Table 2

It is also entirely possible that a piper could have been aware that a tune which he knew by name was the gathering of a certain clan, without ever having having to put it in so many words. This could explain the wording used by MacLeod of Gesto in a document of historical notes,[19] where he refers to 'a very old battle tune *called in Gaelic* 'Druim Thalasgair'' (my italics), as if to suggest that in English it would be called something else. It is even worth pausing to consider whether Type I, 'functional' titles should be classed grammatically as proper names at all. Might they not be purely appellative, as if to say

1   MacKenzie's gathering is called 'Tulloch Ard'

with exactly the same syntax as

2   MacKenzie's house is called 'Castle Leod'?

Or to put it more concisely, should 'gathering' have a capital G or not? A point which might be urged in favour of this extreme view is that in the Campbell canntaireachd manuscript nearly all the type I titles are in English, in contrast to the other types which are nearly all Gaelic.[20] But equally this could be explained on the basis that the writer was not confident in translating Gaelic to English, and the Type I titles would obviously be easier to handle. A safer conclusion to draw would be that Type I titles were generally regarded as relatively formal, so they would tend to be put into English

when writing, while the other names were commonly used in speech. (It has been aptly remarked that in modern times the high register of Gaelic is English).[21]

If we need reassurance that Type I names have genuine Gaelic roots we can find it in the fact that they do occasionally turn up in Gaelic in sources which are generally biased towards English, e.g. 'Cunah Mic Cui' (= *Cumha Mhic Aoidh*) in the MacArthur manuscript (A); and also in the handful of names which have the form of Type I but do not refer to aristocratic patrons, or even to human subjects at all (see below, Section 5.1). We can also refer to a significant number of songs which have *Cumha . . .* or *Fàilte . . .* names; though as noted above we need to beware of names which might have been attached by later editors. Best of all, though rare, are instances where Type I names are found embedded in a text:

> Bu bhinn do mheòir air a cliathaich
> 'Nuair a dh'iarrainn Cumha 'n Easbuig,
> Cumha Nì Mhic Raghnaill làmh ris,
> Cumha Màiri 's Cumha Ghill-easbuig.

'Your fingers were sweet on its [the harp's] side when I would ask for *Cumha 'n Easbuig, Cumha Nì Mhic Raghnaill* as well, *Cumha Màiri* and *Cumha Ghill-easbuig'.* [22, 23]

There are of course plenty of instances of genuinely different names being attached to the same tune, and some of these undoubtedly reflect traditions based on different clans or regions. A well known example is the 'Lament [for] Patrick More MacCrummen' (D0), published under that name by Donald MacDonald, who came from Skye, but called 'Couloddins Lament' (C2) by Colin Campbell, who lived in Argyll. There are also instances of names originating from different historical periods – 'The Battle of Maolroy' (D1), fought at Mulroy in 1688 (Gregory [1836] 1881: 415) being the same tune as 'Isabel Mackay' (K0), a name dateable to about 1745 (Grimble 1979: 31).

In some cases even the same piper would accept different names for the same tune. The famous tune now best known as 'MacIntosh's Lament' is recorded in early sources under what look like variants of the name *Cumha Mhic a h-Àrasaig* (one variant is 'O Hara's Lament'[24]). John MacCrimmon had a version which MacLeod of Gesto noted as 'Caugh Vic Righ Aro' (G). Gesto's comment is worth quoting in full (L. MacDonald, 1883):

> *Caugh Vic Righ Aro, alias* the son of King Aro. Who this son of King Aro was I could not understand from John Maccrimmon, further than that he considered the tune was played in consequence of the death of one of the first chiefs of Mackintosh, killed in battle (perhaps the battle of Largs) with King Alexander against Haco, when a brave chief of Mackintosh fell.

In other words John MacCrimmon knew the 'Aro' name but also accepted the MacIntosh connection. For all we know he might have called the tune *Cumha Mhic an Tòisich* or *Cumha Mhic a h-Àrasaig*, interchangeably according to context. But that seems to have been exceptional: in the majority of cases where names reflect distinct traditions, they have come from independent sources, like the previous examples. The

converse situation, of the same name being attached to more than one tune, is less common, and will not concern us here. In some cases at least it seems to have happened simply by mistake at the point where the tune came to be written down; in other cases it may be a result of the same song text being sung to more than one tune.

5. TYPE I: FUNCTIONAL NAMES

5.1 *Cumha*

This is the standard word for 'Lament.' It is not used in ordinary contexts in modern Scottish Gaelic (any more than 'Lament' is used in ordinary contexts in modern English) but it is well known from its use in titles, especially of pibrochs, but also of harp tunes and songs or poems. It is a strong, high and formal word, and in those parts of the Gaidhealtachd where it does remain in use it has still not lost its power. In Irish it can mean 'homesickness' and more generally it conveys the sense of irreparable loss. Recently a lady from the Aran Islands explained it thus 'If you lost fifty pounds, that would be *bròn;* if you lost your dearest relative, that would be *cumha'*.[25] A rare appearance of the word in a Scottish context other than a tune title is entirely consistent with this:

> Cha b'è cumha mo leannain
> Ged a dh'fhanadh è bhuam,
> Ach a cumha mo bhràithrean
> Tha cnàmh anns a' chuan,
> Cumha Eachainn is Lachlainn
> Dh'fhàg tana mo ghruag.

'It is not because of mourning for my lover, / though he were to stay away, / but lamenting for my brothers, / who are lying dead in the sea. / Grieving for Hector and Lachlan / has thinned my hair.'[26]

The high sense of *cumha* comes through also in the explanation of what is evidently a pipers' joke. 'Cumh na coshag', i.e. *Cumha na còiseag* is the name found in one source (DJ) for the tune otherwise known as 'Sir James MacDonald of the Isles' Salute'. The story of the tune is that Sir James was on a hunting excursion in North Uist when another member of the party, Colonel John MacLeod of Tallisker accidently shot him in the leg. He recovered, and their host, William MacDonald of Vallay, composed the tune for him, to celebrate.[27] (Celebration was doubly in order as the incident had almost sparked an ugly uprising among the local people who thought the shooting was deliberate). The official title may or may not have been *Fàilte Ridir Seumas nan Eilean* (Ko), but the name recorded by Donald MacDonald junior has a ring of authenticity, combining the high seriousness of *cumha* with the playful diminutive of *còiseag*.[28]

The word *cumha* is masculine, though the number of pipe tune names in which we can tell this is small. There is only one occurrence of the word followed by an adjective, in the name 'Cumhadh dubh Shomhairle' (Do) which Donald MacDonald

(1820) prints and translates as 'A doleful lament for . . . Samuel', and one instance of it preceded by the definite article 'An Cumha' which is the heading of a pipe tune (not a pibroch) printed by Angus MacKay in 1843.[29]

The mh is silent according to present-day speakers, and one indication of this in the old sources is an English name, 'Samuells Black dog' (C2), which looks like a misunderstanding of the Gaelic name just quoted, the author having heard *cumh'* as *cù*. On the other hand, MacAlpine's dictionary, first published in 1832, offers the pronunciation ku$^{v2'}$-a, the symbol $^{v2'}$ meaning that 'the v is only slightly sounded, the object of mh being chiefly to give the nasal twang to the preceding vowel'.[30] (There are other symbols, not shown here, to indicate that the u is short, the a is obscure, and the accent falls on the first syllable).

Orthodox modern Gaelic would have *cumha* with two syllables as standard, modified when the next word begins with a vowel, either by contraction to *cumh'* or by insertion of *dh-* to divide the syllables. A review of the spellings in our sources gives a different picture. The 'vernacular' writers generally reduce it to one syllable in various spellings, 'cumh', 'chumh' or 'chumbh', regardless of the following word (only in one case out of 12 does that word happen to begin with a vowel). Of the 'literary' writers, Donald MacDonald has the one-syllable 'cumh' for the first four occurrences in his book (D0), then 'cumhadh' for the last two, and 'cumhadh' again throughout his manuscript (D1) – except for 'chumhadh' and 'cumah', once each. Angus MacKay (K0, K1–K3, KK, KS) writes 'cumha' every time, that is, 89 occurrences, several of them before a vowel. It seems clear that in actual pronunciation the terminal a was always weak, if present at all, and the spellings *cumhadh* and *cumha* reflect book-learning rather than speech. It is not clear when if ever the final dh is meant to be pronounced, though we do have the strange spelling 'caugh' in one tune name (G), as quoted above.

In almost every instance the word following *cumha* is the name of a person, and as already noted, this name is in the genitive case. It is certainly so in Angus MacKay's spellings, and usually also in Donald MacDonald's. But to establish a point like this it is better to look at the earlier records where the writers tried to represent the sounds of the words and were probably not influenced by a formal knowledge of grammar. Here is a selection out of many instances where the initial consonant of the specific element of the name is lenited, or the vowel is slenderised, or the form of the article is that of the genitive case:

Cumh' Mhic-o-Arrisaig (F)	*Cumha Mhic a h-Àrasaig*
Chumh Mhic Caoie (C1)	*Cumha Mhic Aoidh*
Cumh Alister Yeerich (DJ)	*Cumh' Alasdair Dheirg*
Cumhadh 'n aon Mhic (D1)	*Cumh' an aona mhic*[31]
Cumhadh na Cloinnidh (D1)	*Cumha na cloinne*
Cumh na h-ithinn (JK)	*Cumha na h-inghinn*
Cumha na Mbrathar[32]	*Cumha nam bràthair*

Among other points of grammar, we note that when the following name is feminine it is not always lenited, thus 'Chumbh craoibh na Teidbh' (C1) or 'Cumha Ban-righ Anne' (K1). According to the grammar books this is a rule, i.e. feminine names do not change their initial consonants in the genitive;[33] but in practice this rule is not always observed today, and it seems not to have been observed in those days either. Even the careful Angus MacKay gives *Cumha Chaitrine* (K1); and he gives *Cumha Ban-tighearna Anapuil* in one place (K1), but *Cumha Bhan Thighearna Mhic Dhòmhnuill* in another (K0, also *Bhan-tighearna* in K0 index).

Another twist in the rule of the genitive affects the pronunciation of *Fear* in a laird's title. The form 'Cumha Fear Chountullich' as given by Angus MacKay (K2), is considered correct, at least by some present-day speakers, though Peter Reid has 'Fir' in 'Cumh Fir Ceanloch nan Eala' (R). The use of *fear* rather than *fir* is a matter of formal, high-register diction in contrast to common speech.[34] It is perhaps not stretching the point too far to note that it is Angus MacKay who uses it, and he might have thought it the more appropriate choice in writing.

One reason for emphasising these details (which can seem perfectly obvious to a native speaker) is that there is a real difficulty when it comes to translating some of these names into English. In practice, the old writers almost invariably render the Gaelic genitive into the English possessive, at least when a person is involved, thus 'Lochnell's Lament' (R), 'The Bard's Lament' (A), 'Lord Kentail's Lament' (JK). No distinction is made between the person who is the subject of the lament and the person who is doing the lamenting. The only cases where we can be sure what is meant are those where there is an explanatory tradition, or at least a more explicit English translation of the title, recorded in the same source, as in 'Lament for Patrick òg MacCrimmon' (K0), ascribed to a known composer, Iain Dall MacKay,[35] or 'Lament for an only Son'(L3), rather than 'The Lament of (= made by) the Only Son'. (In the latter case there is some other evidence of a tradition, for we have a variant name 'Lost the Only Son' (C1) which sounds like an imperfect translation of the opening words of a song[36]). There is a more modern pibroch name in which the distinction is explicit, but only in English – 'His Father's Lament for Donald MacKenzie.' The tune was made by John Bàn MacKenzie, for his son who died in 1863, and was first written down by his nephew in 1866.[37] John Bàn was certainly a Gaelic speaker, but we have no record of what name he himself gave to the tune, nor do we have a version of the existing name in Gaelic.[38, 39]

This ambiguity of reference can puzzle a native speaker as much as it puzzles anyone else. The poem quoted above (p. 31) is a case in point.[22] Sorley MacLean noted the difficulty in the course of his attempt to date the poem from one of the tune titles mentioned in it: 'is 'Cumha Nì Mhic Raghnall' a lament by or for some daughter of a chief of Keppoch?'[40] It seems possible that we still have this tune, under the name of *Cumha na Peathair,* 'The Sister's Lament', for Donald MacDonald gives its story in an extended headline to the piece in his published book ([1820]: 53):

Allister Macdhonnil, Ghlaish, a chief of the Macdonalds of Keppoch, was cruelly murdered in his own house with his brother, a youth of 16[,] at the instigation of the next in succession. Their natural sister, frantic with grief, expired at their side, swallowing their blood. The air was composed on this melancholy event.

It is true that Donald MacDonald's last sentence favours a lament *for* rather than *by* the sister but if there had once been a text which purported to be her dying words that could swing the balance in favour of 'by'.

The grammar of nominative + genitive is the same in the few examples of laments attached to places or inanimate objects. The English titles are in various forms, some possibly representing traditions which would have explained the names, but the specific elements in the Gaelic titles are still in the genitive. Here are a few examples, listed first in the original spellings, then in modern versions:

Cumh Chlaibh (D0)	*Cumha chlaidheimh*
Cumha Casteal Dhunaomhaig (K1)	*Cumha Chaisteal Dhùn-Naomhaig*
Cumadh Chraobh na'n' Cheud (DJ)	*Cumha craobh nan teud*
Cumh na Coshag (DJ)	*Cumha na còiseag*
Cumha na Suipeirach Big (K2)	*Cumha na suipearach bige*
Cumha na Cuideachd (K1)	*Cumha na cuideachd*

5.2 *Fàilte*

This is the other common 'function' word in pibroch names. In everyday Gaelic it means 'welcome' and we find it with that meaning in song texts – 'Failte dhuit a Dhuntreoin' = *Fàilte dhuit a Dhùntreòin* '[You are] welcome, Duntroon',[41] *Thàinig Eòbhan . . . Fàilt' air Eòbhan,*[42] 'Ewen has come, Welcome Ewen' – see also the story about a Welcome for Keppoch, above; but in translations of tune names it is invariably 'Salute'. Like *Cumha* it also occurs in some of the older names of harp tunes, such as *Fàilte Mhic Coinnich,* 'Seaforth's Salutation' (DOW). Like *Cumha* it almost always stands unqualified at the beginning of the name, though we do have an occasional adjective – *Fàilte bheag Mhic Leòid,* 'MacLeod's less [= shorter] Salutation' (another harp tune from Daniel Dow). And finally, as the following examples show, *Fàilte,* like *Cumha,* is attached to a noun, usually a personal name, in the genitive case:

Failt' a Phriunse (ER)	*Fàilt' a' Phrionnsa*
Failt Dherse Oig (H)	*Fàilte Dheorsa òig*
Failte mhic-Gilleóin (F)	*Fàilte Mhic Ghill' Eathain*
Failte Bhodaich (D1)	*Fàilte Bhodaich*
Fhailt na Misk (C2)	*Fàilte na misge* [43]

Again we have the failure to distinguish between a salute made by someone, and a salute dedicated to someone. We can assume that most if not all the actual names on record are

actually the second case. In present-day Gaelic there would be nothing wrong with an expression like *Fàilte dhan a' Phrionnsa*, meaning 'A Salute to the Prince' or 'Welcome to the Prince', but the tune name is always *Fàilte a' Phrionnsa*, in various spellings.

5.3 Cruinneachadh

This is now the standard word for 'Gathering', but although clan 'gatherings' were reputed to be a very important part of the piobaireachd repertoire, there are not many actual tune names containing the word *cruinneachadh,* and its authenticity is not clear.

We should note first that the military usage of the English-language word 'gathering' itself seems to be more Scottish than English. According to H. G. Farmer, it was used in 17th- and early 18th-century Scottish military writings to denote a drum beating which in southern English parlance would normally have been 'The Assembly' (Farmer, 1950). A quotation which supports this is from T. Urquhart in 1653: 'Immediately the soldiers had done with eating and drinking . . . a gathering should be beaten for bringing them together.'[44] The earliest writer on piobaireachd, Joseph MacDonald, used the word freely, and he made it clear that to him it was a generic term both in terms of function and musical content (Cannon, 1994: 75):

> The Gatherings . . . consist chiefly of Allegros diversified with very curious Cuttings, & Different Time also. They are the most animating of Pipe Compositions, as they were originally intended to assemble the Highlanders under their respective Chiefs upon any emergency . . . Evry Chief had a Gathering for his Name . . . The MacLeans & MacDonalds Gatherings are good Examples . . .

Joseph's remarks are largely borne out by the later records which contain a large number of 'Gatherings' named in the way he indicates, and many of them, though by no means all, feature the repeated low-hand notes now known as triplings. The problem is to know what was Joseph's Gaelic word for them. In a short glossary he lists just five expressions which are apparently genre terms: 'Cuairst', 'Slighe', 'Poirst Tinail', 'Cumhe' and 'Failte' (Cannon 1994: 81). Only the last two are still in use. An anonymous editor in 1803 glossed 'slighe' as 'a march' and 'poirst tinail' as 'a gathering for the Highland clans', and for 'cuairst' attempted a definition which is obscure and may have been mutilated by the printer (Cannon, 1994: 99, 108). All that is clear is that *cuairt* had something to do with playing a group of tunes in a sequence without a break. But it does seem clear that 'poirst tinail', i.e. *port tionail*, is a 'gathering tune' in Joseph's sense. Does this mean that the names of the tunes mentioned by Joseph would have been *Port tionail Mhic Gilleathain* and *Port tionail Mhic Dhòmhnaill?*

On the basis of modern usage it could be argued that *port tionail* is preferable to *cruinneachadh.* For some speakers at least, the word *tional* has the stronger transitive sense of gathering in the sense of calling or bringing together units which are scattered, whereas *cruinneachadh* tends to be used of an assembly of people who have already come together of their own volition, or a collection of inanimate objects.

The facts remain, that no tune name containing *tionail* has come down to us from any source; that none of our 'vernacular' sources uses any Gaelic generic term for 'gathering', and that when *cruinneachadh* first appears in a piping context it is used by a non-Gaelic writer who quite possibly gets it wrong. This is Ramsay of Ochtertyre who contributed the introductory dissertation to Patrick MacDonald's collection of 1784. There in two pages he used the word four times, in ways that strongly suggest that he did not distinguish it clearly from *pìobaireachd* – e.g. 'a *pibrach,* or *cruineachadh . . .* still rouzes the native Highlander'.[45]

Turning back to the tune names in the piping literature, prior to Angus MacKay we have just four examples of *cruinneachadh,* two noted by Donald MacDonald, two by Peter Reid.

Cruimeachadh Chlaun Raonuill (D0)   D. MacDonald, 1820
Cruimeachadh Mich Chille [sic] Chaluim (R)   P. Reid MS, 1826
Cruimeachadh Chlan Nab (R)   P. Reid MS, 1826
Cruineachadh Chlann a Lain (D1)   D. MacDonald MS, 1826

It is also odd that in his published book, MacDonald spelled the word with a letter m, but in his later, unpublished manuscript, changed over to the letter n. The fact that Peter Reid also has the letter m is less significant, as Reid evidently knew MacDonald's book, and his music writing practices are also heavily indebted to MacDonald. But Donald MacDonald's initial effort looks very much like a mistake, which would imply that he himself had not been brought up to use the word.

In Angus MacKay's works the spelling is always *cruinneachadh,* with two n's as in the usual dictionary spellings. He has seven names, all with 'clan' or similar plural references:

Cruinneachadh na'n Grandach (K0)
Cruinneachadh Chlann Choinnich (K0)
Cruinneachadh Chlann Domhnuill (K1)
Cruinneachadh na Suthearlanach (K2)
Cruinneachadh na' Fineachan (K3)
Cruinneachadh Chlann Raonuill (K1)
Cruinneachadh Chlann a Leain (K3)

The quotations from Ramasay of Ochtertyre do suggest that *cruinneachadh* had some traditional basis,[46] and of course it is possible that there was a regional dfference, with *port tionail* as the usual word in the North and *cruinneachadh* in some other area.[46A] But ever since the time of Walter Scott the concept of the 'clan gathering' has been a highly charged and romantic one, epitomised in Scott's poem 'The MacGregor's Gathering', first published in 1818 (Alex. Campbell, 1816–18, ii: 91–97). It is also clear that Angus MacKay was constrained to find and publish pipe music for as many clans as possible.

These are two more reasons for wondering how many of his 'cruinneachadh' names are authentic.

5.4 Rowing Tunes

This example is a negative one. There are traditions of tunes being played at sea, particularly in a galley, *birlinn,* to keep the rowers in time, and several tune names seem to reflect this. But we do not know of any generic term for a 'rowing tune', corresponding to *iorram* for a rowing song. The nearest we can come is one example, 'Porst Iomramh Mhic Leod' recorded by Donald MacDonald with English title 'MacLeod of MacLeod's Rowing Piobaireachd' (D1). Did other maritime chiefs have particular rowing tunes alongside their salutes and gatherings? If we had even one other *port iomraimh* we would be justified in calling it a generic or functional term, but for the present we must leave it there.

We do have 'Bior-linn Tighearna Cholla, The Laird of Coll's Barge' (K1), and 'Vuirlin Corrich Chaoil' (C2) which is presumably a rendering of *Bìrlinn Choirechoille* or some similar name. In the same source 'Tharrin Mach bhat Mhic Cload' (C2) is presumably *A' tarruing a-mach bhàta Mhic Leòid,* 'the landing (literally, pulling out) of MacLeod's boat', and 'Porst na Lurkin' (C1) has been read as *Port na Lurgainn,* and called 'The Boat Tune' (MacIver, 1966). There is also a tune actually named 'The Boat Tune', *Port a' Bhàsta* (K1). Names like *Togail o Thìr,* 'Weighing from Land' (K3), and *Fàgail Ceanntìre,* 'Leaving Kintyre' (K3) might also signify rowing tunes, but as regards their verbal forms, all these names belong more easily in our other categories.

5.5 Words meaning 'March'

The term 'march' has been a source of much confusion in connection with piobaireachd. First, as is now recognised, we must avoid thinking in terms of soldiers marching in step on a parade ground: that was not the way soldiers marched even in regular armies before the mid-eighteenth century (Murray 1994: 11) and it certainly has no place in Highland armies or clan battles. The earlier meaning of the word in English was certainly movement of troops, but it would be movement over whatever terrain was necessary, at whatever speed could be maintained. But piobaireachd was 'martial music', and presumably included music to play while a march was in progress. In fact 'march' was Joseph MacDonald's standard English word for 'pibroch', and a number of tunes were listed in the earlier records as 'marches' but tended to be redesignated later on as salutes, laments or gatherings.

There is a Gaelic word *màrsadh* or *màrsail* but it is not common in pibroch names:

Marshall Mhic Allain	(L3)
Marsah na shisalach	(C1)

Mairsall Na Grantich	(C2)
Mairsail Alastair Charich	(D1)
Marsal na Suherlanach	(D1)

The word seems a fairly obvious borrowing from English (the letter pair rs denotes a distinct phoneme with a sound like /rʃ/ which very often stands in for English /rt/, /rtʃ/ or /rdʒ/)[47] and to it we can add other examples, also from vernacular sources, where the English word is imported without change into the Gaelic name: 'March Chlan Lean', i.e. 'The MacLeans' March' (SC) and 'March i Dubh Lord Bradalban' (DJ). Angus MacKay also noted (K3) the form 'March a Mhorar Breadalban', which was given to him by one of his informants, the blind piper Ronald MacDougall. It seems clear that 'march' whether Gaelicised or not, was a fairly recent borrowing from English.

The word *siubhal* is found in two early lists of tunes i.e. 'Siubhal Mhic Allain' (L4), translated in the same document as 'Clanranald's March', and 'Siubhal clann Choinnich' (L6). It is common enough in other contexts, with the sense of travel or movement, and it seems to have this rather than any technical sense in *A' siubhail nan Garbhlaich,* 'Crossing the rough hills', the name of a pipe jig,[48] and 'Suihel Shemes' (D0), i.e. *Siubhal Sheumais*, the 'Lament for the Departure of King James'. It does of course have the technical meaning of a variation in music, but it is not found in any other traditional tune names and it seems to have been avoided by later editors.

The word which Angus MacKay regularly used for 'march' was *spaidsearachd* but there is reason to question its authenticity in all but a few cases. The one that holds up best is *Spaidsearachd Dhòmhnuill Ghruamaich.* This is in the 'Specimens of Canntaireachd' in the spelling 'Spatcharach dolgruamach' as well as in three other sources in more orthodox spellings (H, D0, K1).[49] The other occurrences of the word amount to five names, but each is recorded once only, and all are in the works of Angus MacKay, with corresponding English titles using the word 'march'. It looks as though he is translating from English to Gaelic rather than Gaelic to English. This is not to say that he was personally responsible for giving the word its wider currency. Iain MacInnes noted[50] that already by the 1820s *spaidsearachd* was displacing other words like *màrsail* and *pìobaireachd*. There is also a very interesting tradition of *spaidsearachd* being used in a place name. According to Henry White, the MacDougalls, pipers to MacDougall of Dunollie, had a school for pipers at Kilbride, and 'a flat strip of green sward behind it is called *Iomaire na Spaidsearachd* – the Marching Furrow' ('Fionn', 1904: 140).

One early record seems to confuse *spaidsearachd* with the rarer word *spaidearachd.* The latter features in the title of a song, aptly translated 'The Barra Boastfulness'[51] and in two pibroch sources as 'Spaddarich Bharach' (C1) and 'Spadaireachd Bharra. The Pride of Barra' (KK). The error is in the MacArthur manuscript (A) which has 'Spaidsearachd Bharroch, or the pride of Barroch.' The case for *spaidearachd* as a separate word has been set out by Frans Buisman.[52]

Another rare word to add in here is *faicheachd* in *Faicheachd Chlann Dòmhnuill,*

'The Parading of the MacDonalds' (K2). It is related to the noun *faiche*, meaning a field, especially a flat field such as a meadow, and hence a parade ground; but it is only known in this one name.

5.6 Words meaning 'Battle'

We have about a dozen different tunes named 'The Battle of X.' The English word 'battle' itself occurs in 'Batail an t-Sraim' = *Batail an t-Sròim,* (K1, now called 'The Battle of Strome'), but the usual Gaelic word is *blàr,* and indeed we have what is probably the name of the same tune noted as 'Blar Strom' (L6). The *blàr* names mostly come from the book and manuscripts of Angus MacKay, but two are recorded before him: 'Blar Bhatarnis. The Battle of Waternish' (R, 1826), and 'Blare Vuster' which is taken to mean 'The Battle of Worcester' (C2, 1797).

It is worth asking how and when a particular battle came to be enshrined in folk memory as 'The Battle of X'. In modern times, it seems to happen as a result of military propaganda working through journalism or other mass media. The soldiers who suffered in The Battle of the Somme, surely did not care to think of it in such poetic terms, but later on the survivors may have been ready enough to accept the label. In earlier days, perhaps the 'Battle' names came into circulation from songs composed after the event. We have at least one tradition that confirms that a *Blàr* name was once in common use. One of the MacRae chiefs, who took part in the Battle of Park, in 1485, was remembered by the epithet *Coinneach a' Bhlàir,* 'Kenneth of the Battle' and the singular form suggests that the battle was indeed known as *Blàr na Pàirc,* perhaps even just *Am Blàr* to the local people, since it was claimed, as late as 1904, that the site of the battle, near Kinellan, Strathpeffer, was 'still pointed out.'[53]

Another word often associated with battles is *là* or *latha,* 'day'. Although it does not occur in musical sources, literary and historical commentators seem to like it. The name 'Drum Thalasgair' may actually be a contraction of *Là Dhruim Thalasgair* or *Là Blàr Dhruim Thalasgair,* 'The day of (the battle of) Druim Thalasgair' ('Fionn' 1904: 107). Also there are songs and poems containing another word for 'day' in the same sense, as in *Chaidh an diugh òirnne,* 'The day went against us' ('Abrach' 1875: 18). and the same usage was once normal in English, if only in poetry.

The word *cath* for 'battle' is rare and it always has an antique or poetic feel. We have tunes commemorating two old heroes, *Eòghann Càthach,* 'Ewen of the Battles' (K2, though *càthach* is actually an adjective 'warlike' or 'military'), and *Eachann Ruadh nan Cath,* 'Red Hector of the Battles', otherwise Hector Roy MacLean (K2).[54] But it occurs twice only in the nominative position, in 'Cath na'n Eun na An Càth Gailbheach. The Birds['] Flight or The Desperate Battle', two names for the same tune in the same source (K2).[55, 56] The first name may refer to an old folktale, the second to a relatively early historical event. The tune probably has a long history behind it, as it is melodically connectable to a previous piece, 'The Battle of Harlaw'.[57]

Another Gaelic term, not common but well attested, is *ruaig,* translated 'rout': *Ruaig Ghlinne Freòin* (variously spelled) is in four sources (C1, H, D0, K2); 'Ruaig Ben Doeg' (R) and 'Ruaig air Chlann a Phie' (K3) in one each. In one case the term is applied to an individual, as 'Ruaig air Caiptean nan Gall, The Retreat of the Lowland Captain' (K2) – but this sounds like a relatively recent coinage. (The word is regularly followed by the preposition *air* when applied to persons, but not to places.) No doubt all these names were coined by the winners rather than the losers of the respective conflicts!

6. ENGLISH AND GAELIC

The thinly Gaelicised words *batail* and *màrsail* have already been discussed. This is perhaps the place to mention other names which contain mixtures of English and Gaelic.

One source contains a 'Failt Mr Martin' (SC), and two have 'Failte Lady Margaret' (SC, DJ). Although 'Mr Martin' has not been identified there was a family of that name in Skye, one of whom was the factor of the MacLeod estate who wrote the well known 'Description of the Western Isles' at the end of the seventeenth century.[58] 'Lady Margaret' is Lady Margaret MacDonald (Haddow 1982: 139), the wife of Sir Alexander MacDonald of Sleat, whom she married in 1739.[59] She was a daughter of the ninth Earl of Eglinton. It seems more than likely that these two individuals were known even to the Gaelic speakers in their neighbourhood by their English titles. Mixing of English into Gaelic has been a common practice at least for the last three centuries, and these examples are surely authentic. But we can understand that the publishers of piobaireachd collections, patronised by the nobility and gentry, in the era of Celtic romanticism, would avoid these mixings. Sure enough, Angus MacKay changes 'Failte Lady Margaret' into 'Failte Bàn-tighearna Mhic Dhomhnuill. Lady Margaret Mac Donald's Salute' (K3).

7. TYPE II: TECHNICAL NAMES

Although not numerous, and not always easy to interpret, these are of particular interest since they offer a glimpse into the working methods of the old composers. Grammatically they mostly follow the pattern of Type I, i.e. two nouns, the second in the genitive case.

7.1 Pìobaireachd

This word, although well known, still presents problems. A common view among modern Gaelic speakers is that it means simply 'piping', and this is certainly true as far is it goes. In present day usage among English-speaking pipers however it is a genre term meaning a piece of music of the kind we are dealing with here, just as another piece of music might be a march, a jig or a reel. Since pipers usually also insist on spelling the word in the Gaelic way (though not with the length-mark), this has the effect of creating a plural form in the English way, 'piobaireachds'; bizarre in writing but not a

problem in speech. In standard English dictionaries it is 'pibroch', a form dating back to the early eighteenth century,[60] and first attested in works of Scottish writers. Few pipers who are not native Gaelic speakers make any difference in pronouncing these two forms.

By the time the pibrochs themselves came to be written down, this word, however spelled, was being used by pipers, at least when writing in English. Colin Campbell used the expression 'one of the Irish piobarich' (C1); John MacGregor wrote the heading 'Peobaireachd' over many of the tunes in the MacArthur manuscript (A); Peter Reid has 'The Earl of Ross's Pibrach' (R) and Donald MacDonald (D1) has 'MacLeod's Rowing Pibrach' (also spelled 'piobaireachd'). Angus MacKay uses the word in this sense too many times to mention.

None of this is surprising. Obviously a word is needed; and it is normal for words to change their range of meaning when they cross from one language to another. The problem is to know what was the corresponding word in Gaelic.

Contrary to what has been thought, the word *pìobaireachd* does seem to exist as a generic in the Gaelic names of some tunes. And contrary to what we might expect, it is not a neologism introduced by Angus MacKay. There are no fewer than seven names beginning with this word. They are not documented as far back as the earliest English/Scottish literary usages, but two are recorded in the 1780s, and they all predate MacKay. In one case the word is followed by an adjective, thus 'Piobrachd Ereanach', glossed as 'An Irish Pibrach' (L4). In the others it is followed by a noun or a noun phrase, and several of the spellings indicate that, just as with *cumha, fàilte,* etc, the following noun is in the genitive case. Two of these following nouns are personal names, Donald Dubh (several occurrences) and the Earl of Ross (R); one is a clan name, Clan Ranald (DOW); one is an object, the White Banner of MacKay (R); and three are place names, the Park (C1, K1), Dunyveg (SC, K0), and *aon Cnochan* (C1). The two involving personal names could, at a stretch, be translated as 'The piping of Black Donald' and 'The piping of the Earl of Ross', but it cannot be suggested that either of these individuals was actually doing the piping. At the very least we have to admit that *pìobaireachd* in these names is a true noun meaning 'a piece of pipe music' and we might reasonably go further and propose it for admission to the dictionaries as a genre term thus: *pìobaireachd,* noun (fem.), 'a pibroch'.

7.2 Port

This is a well known term for a piece of music, and specifically instrumental music. It is recorded in the titles of sixteenth and seventeenth century harp pieces, all of which are distinctively instrumental and non-vocal in character (Sanger and Kinneard 1992: ch. 14). It is not universal in present-day Gaelic[61] except for the term *port-à-beul*, and significantly this means a vocal performance in which the tune is paramount, since traditionally it was a way of providing music for dancing when no instrument was

available. There are at least thirteen pibroch titles beginning with *port*, most if not all followed by a noun in the genitive, so the natural translations are 'Mary's Tune' (C1), 'The Tune of Strife' (K1, KS), 'The Boat Tune' (K1) etc. In some cases the English translation simply omits the word 'tune', and this too seems natural, as for example Port a' Mheadair, 'The Bicker' (K1). For one tune Angus MacKay has two alternative titles, *Port nan Dòirneag*, and *Blàr nan Dòirneag* (K1). We can suspect that there once a good deal of flexibility, and that other tunes named after places or events could have been called *Port . . .* , interchangeably with *Blàr . . .* , *Pìobaireachd . . .* , etc.

Finally among *port* names we highlight those which seem to point to features of the music itself. We have *Am port leathach,* 'The Half-finished Piobaireachd' (K0), also recorded as 'leacran' (C2). We have *Port na lùdain* (JK), otherwise *Port na lùdaig* (DJ, K3, KS), 'The Little Finger Tune' (K3, KS). It is not quite clear why the tune is so named, though it does feature movements of the little finger, and also the note low G which is made by closing the lowest hole of the chanter with the little finger. The name 'Port a Chrun-luath' (K2) is easily translated 'the Crunluath tune' though again it is not obvious why this tune and no other should be so called.

The most intriguing names in this group are two which appear to feature the word *ùrlar,* which is the usual Gaelic term for the opening theme of the pibroch. It is normally translated into English as 'ground', and has been so at least since 1760 when it appeared in Joseph MacDonald's *Compleat Theory*.[62] This does not agree with standard musical usage since in the classical European tradition a 'ground' means a bass part which is repeated throughout a piece, while various airs or variations are played over it. Bagpipe music of course does not have a bass in this sense, but there is a sense in which a pibroch has a true ground, in that there is an underlying sequence of notes on which all the parts are founded, even though those notes may be implied rather than played explicitly. But the two names referred to here – both from the Campbell manuscript – rather recall earlier English use of the word 'ground'. They are 'Porst Ullare' (C1) and 'Porst Ullar mhic Eachin' (C1). In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries a piece of music founded on a ground bass could itself be titled a 'ground'. There are nameless pieces called simply 'A ground' (one in a Scottish manuscript)[63] or 'The Irish Ground',[64] and others named after composers such as 'Farinelli's Ground', 'Mr. Reddin's Ground'.[65] Our two pibroch names might therefore be translated as 'A Ground' and 'MacKechnie's Ground'. If this is true it reminds us that piobaireachd has its connections with a wider world of music – a thesis for which there is other evidence, and which deserves to be explored elsewhere.

7.3 Gleus and Glas

The verb gleus has general meanings of 'prepare' or 'put into trim', and in music, to tune an instrument. *Deuchainn-ghleusda* or *Deuchainn-ghleusadh* is on record as a piping term, i.e. a tuning prelude, attested by Joseph MacDonald in 1760 (Cannon 1994: 59, 96) and repeated or copied by subsequent writers (D0, K0). We have it as the generic part of a tune name in *Deuchainn-ghleusda Mhic O Charmaig*, the title of a harp piece

referred to in a poem by Donald MacVurich.[66] The same, or a similar expression has an earlier history in Irish, as a scribe's term for a pen-trial (Donnelly 1984, 1989). *Gleus*, in any grammatical form, has dropped out of piping literature and tradition, but it seems that a memory of it survives in a most interesting observation made by Bridget MacKenzie in her recent book, *Piping Traditions of the North of Scotland* (1998: 261). She quotes Mr Eric Murray, of Rogart, on the compositions of Donald Sutherland, a pibroch player of the late-nineteenth/early twentieth century, who used to make what he called 'wee' or 'light' piobaireachd:

> He [Mr Murray] calls such a work by the term 'aglase': this word seems to be derived from Gaelic, probably the Gaelic *a'ghleus*, meaning an exercise, often in the sense of a musical exercise. The term 'aglase' was often used of the finger movement which was characteristic of the work . . .

In pronunciation the 'a' was obscure and the stress was on the second syllable; in other words the expression rhymed with the English 'a place'.[67] It would be even more fascinating to know what finger movement was referred to, but Mr Murray himself is not a piper, and all we have is, to complete this quotation from Bridget MacKenzie:

> he describes this as 'Doublings backwards'. It was peculiar to this type of work, and not played in any other. People used to compose these wee piobaireachds, which were not as wild or heavy as the 'full' piobaireachd. They seem to be a form of composition which has been lost to us today.

Three tunes in the Campbell Canntaireachd are titled 'A Glase' (C1), 'A Glas' (C2), 'A Glass' (C2). They have been read as *A' ghlas* and translated as 'a Lock'[68] – though of course it should read '*The* Lock' if the Gaelic 'A' is taken into account. But the first spelling suggests again a connection with *gleus.* On this basis we would take the first title as having been written in English, with 'A' as the indefinite article, and the full expression, again, rhyming with 'a place'. It would imply that the writer realised that 'glase' was a generic musical term, without necessarily implying that he knew what it meant. But it does not explain the other two spellings, which rather support the suggested translation 'lock'.

That suggestion was undoubtedly based on the present day understanding of another tune name, one of the most frequently recorded in our sources:

1778	L1	Glaisvair	
1784	PD	A' ghlas mheur	A bagpipe lament
1784	L3	Glasmhear	A Principal piece
1785	L4	Glais-mheur	A favorite piece
c.1800	C2	Glass Mhoier	
>1811	H	'Ghlas Mheur	Lock on fingers
1820	D0	A Ghlass Mheur	The Finger Lock

| 1840 | K1 | A Ghlas Mhiar | The Finger Lock |
| <1853 | SC | Glas Mhir | |

It has been pointed out (MacInnes 1988: 232) that the earliest writers seem to have been unable to suggest any English translation. Perhaps the name was obscure even to pipers themselves. It has also been argued (ibid.) that the 'lock' names were put into circulation by Donald MacDonald following the publication of his book (D0) in 1820, though it must also be noted that there are piping folktales which explain the word in terms of a piper under an enchantment who could could only play when the 'lock' was taken from his fingers (Haddow 1982: 81). We cannot discard these traditions insofar as they provide evidence that the identification *glas* = 'lock' was understood at least by some pipers. It is tempting though to suggest that for others the word was in fact *gleus*. This is supported by two of the four pre–1800 spellings which have it as 'glais'. Could it be that behind this name there lies an expression which at one time meant nothing more than 'the finger exercise'?

7.4 Cor

This word is obscure and doubtful. It appears as a genre term in connection with harp music in Scottish, Irish and Welsh sources.[69] We have one tune name in the Campbell canntaireachd that might contain it, 'Cor beg mhic Leain'.[70]

7.5 Caismeachd

This word is found in three names, all from Angus MacKay, who translates it 'warning' in each case:

Caismeachd Eachainn Mhic Ailean na Sop	(K0)
Caismeachd a Phiobaire da Mhaighsteir	(K0)
Caismeachd da Dhuntron	(K1)

I suggest that the first of these is largely genuine, the second spurious, the third dubious at best. *Caismeachd Ailean nan Sop* is a poem whose text dates back to 1537, but the title may be no older than the earliest written text, which is of the eighteenth century. Although we are used to deriving pibroch names from songs, in this case Colm Ó Baoill (1996, 1998) makes the opposite suggestion, that the title involving the word *caismeachd* was applied to the song on the basis of the title of the pibroch.[71] It does at least seem that Angus MacKay had a Gaelic source, as his English at this point is stilted, and even his punctuation is out of control – 'Hector MacLean (the son of Alan na Sop)'s Warning'.

In contrast, the second name in the list sounds like a translation from English into Gaelic. The tune is firmly linked to a song, *A Cholla mo Rùin*, the text of which conveys a story about a piper warning his master against falling into a trap. Significantly,

Angus gives it two Gaelic titles, and the full heading in his book reads 'Caismeachd a Phiobaire da Mhaighsteir na Piobaireachd Dhunnaomhaig. The Piper's Warning to his Master or Piobaireachd of Dunyveg. About the year 1647 (K0).' It is hard to imagine pipers habitually using a name which refers to one of themselves in the third person, and with a word like 'master'. It is easier to believe that Angus was following the English part of the title written in Peter Reid's manuscript, 'Colla mo' Run. The pipers warning to his master' (R), and that the common names were *Pìobaireachd Dhùn Naomhaig* and *A Cholla mo Rùin*, the second of which is confirmed in other sources (D1, DJ). As for the third name in the list, the tune is another one that has much the same story attached to it.[71] It is one of several tunes that Angus learned from Ronald MacDougall, the blind piper of Dunollie, and not from his father, and there is room for some uncertainty as to what exactly his informant called it. Angus wrote 'Caismeachd da Dhuntro[n.] Duntron's Warning' as a heading to the tune, but 'Caismeachd Dhuntroìn' and 'Duntroon's Warning' in the indexes of the MS. In the first of these four the last letter is unclear but there is no doubt about the word 'da', so the title is not in the standard form of nominative + genitive. Presumably it means 'A warning to Duntroon'. It is equally clear that the Gaelic title in the index is meant to be in the standard form, even though modern usage would put the length-mark on the letter o and write *Caismeachd Dhùntreòin*. It is at least possible that Angus MacKay was told what the tune was about, but never heard it given a proper name as such.

It would not be worth spending so much time on this uncommon word were it not for the fact that it turns up regularly in Gaelic literature with a musical sense. Among the songs of Mary MacLeod we find *Sàr mhac Mhic Leoid . . . bu bhinn caismeachd sgeoil* translated as 'MacLeod's excellent son . . . who was a melodious theme of story'.[72] Admittedly this is a figurative use, but Duncan Bàn MacIntyre is more explicit:

Pìob is bratach ri crann
'S i caisimeachd ard mo rùin

'Pipe with flag on staff, playing the loud march which is dear to me'.[73] Presumably it is on the strength of quotations like these that the word *caismeachd* is glossed in dictionaries as, for example, 'the quick part of a tune on the bag-pipes; an alarm to battle; a war song.'[74] Later the word seems to have acquired the meaning 'pipe tune', or specifically 'march' in the modern sense, if only among non-pipers,[75] and the Victorian song 'The March of the Cameron Men' was Gaelicised as 'Caismeachd Chloinn Chamrain' in 1912.[76] The latter has been condemned as 'rank bad Gaelic' (A. MacLeod, 1955), but this did not stop the Piobaireachd Society from adding yet another instance in 1980, 'Caismeachd nam Frisealach, The Frasers' March' (PS 13: 418).

7.6 Aon-tlachd

This word can be written off as spurious, or perhaps we should just say, relatively modern. Angus MacKay used it in Aon-tlachd Mhic Neill, 'Lachlan Mac Niell Campbell Esqr.

of Kintarbert & Saddle's Fancy' (K1) but there is strong evidence that originally he had no name for the tune.[77] The name is in line with a large number of fiddle and pipe tunes called in English 'X's favourite', and indeed Angus MacKay uses that phrase himself, abbreviated, in the index to his manuscript 'Lachlan Mac Niel Campbell Esqr's Fav.'

Another name which has caused puzzlement might be mentioned here: in the Campbell MS is the name 'Fannet' (C2) which has never been satisfactorily translated. Archibald Campbell suggested ([1948] 1953: [2]) that it might be equated with the Gaelic *fanaid,* which means 'mockery' or 'scorn'. Besides the obvious meaning just mentioned, the word 'Fancy' had an earlier history as a musical term, the English equivalent to the Italian Fantasia, meaning simply a piece of instrumental music in relatively free form. (A known Scottish example dates from c. 1600).[78] Could *fanaid* have been influenced by 'fancy' in this musical sense? Unfortunately there does not seem to be much chance of verifying this one way or the other.

8. CONCLUSIONS

Our review of the data has suggested that pibroch names fall, fairly neatly, into four classes, and it may be suggested further that these go into two broad categories: on the one hand functional titles (our Type I) together with titles (Type II) based on generic words like 'march' or 'gathering'; and on the other hand names which refer in some way to history or local tradition, embracing our Types III and IV. This article has of course been concerned mainly with names of the first category. It has also emerged that the same tune can bear names of more than one type, simultaneously and without inconsistency.

It is now necessary to point out however that this multiple naming is not by any means spread evenly over the various functional types. It is far more characteristic of the 'gathering' and 'march' names than of the laments and salutes. In fact, in Table 3, the first two items were almost the only examples of 'salute' and 'lament' names that could be found, whereas the list of marches and gatherings could easily have been extended.

The unevenness of this distribution is underlined by some other points which were mentioned above: the diversity of titles for gathering/march/battle tunes; the doubt about the authenticity of *cruinneachadh;* and the fact that in Joseph MacDonald's list of five genre terms the only two which are still in use are *cumha* and *fàilte.* We might even conjecture that Joseph's expression *port tionail* was mainly used to form simple appellatives of the sort suggested in Section 4 above (page 29).

A strong statistical trend like this must be telling us something, but what? One distinction which is suggested is that Salutes and Laments would tend to be commissioned specially, and might even be jealously guarded in the sense that it might be felt that no one but the musician and the patron would need to know them. On the other hand, and obviously, a gathering tune to be used as an actual call signal on

the battlefield would have to be known to every person involved. And not just known, but familiar by tradition: it is hard to imagine the chief's followers being required to sit down and memorise pieces of music as part of their martial training. But the distinction between private and public can never have been absolute, and indeed our data show that it was not. The diversities of naming which we have accepted as genuine show this: in the supposedly private category we have noted that the tune known to one piper as 'Couloddin's Lament' was known to others as 'The Lament for Patrick Mòr MacCrimmon', while in the 'public' category there are numerous examples where different authorities seem to agree on the same name.

We should qualify this point in another way too. Tunes for use as Laments would not all be private, any more than 'Lochaber no more' and 'The Flowers of the Forest' are private today. The tune *Cha till mi tuille* is subtitled in one source 'a lament played at funerals' (R); and there are tunes with unspecific titles *Cumha na Mairbh*, 'Lament for the Dead' (K1), or awkwardly but revealingly 'One of the Deads Lament' (C2).

But the basic distinction remains as one which must have been inherent in the social context in which *ceòl mòr* was played. And from this we may suggest, even more tentatively, a further distinction. It could be that the formal, privately commissioned salute or lament was once the province of the harper, while the piper was concerned primarily with public and especially military music. The social history of bagpiping in the late mediaeval to early modern times is still very much a field for research, but some broad generalisations are now widely accepted. It does seem that pipers rose in status in the course of the seventeenth century, and that harpers, whatever their status, declined in numbers, until by the eighteenth century the ceremonial music of the Highlands was almost entirely piobaireachd. Again the distinction is to some extent obvious. A harp would not be much use on the battlefield, though it could have its place in camp, the night before the battle. The bagpipe does not seem the obvious choice for a ceremonial tune indoors, though it certainly became so in time. The suggestion that the *ceòl mòr* of the pipes owes a lot to previous harp traditions has often been made, but hard evidence is inevitably difficult to find.

One way to support such a suggestion would be to examine the musical character of bagpipe laments on the one hand, and gatherings on the other, and to try to demonstrate that the former do still retain idiomatic characteristics of the harp. That is work for the future, but to anticipate one possible difficulty, we must be prepared to allow for the facts that, whatever their origins, compositions for either instrument have been handed down and modified over several generations, and that in the later part of our period there were piper-composers of genius who could adapt old conventions perfectly to the new instrument. So although 'The Battle of Harlaw' (DOW) may have originated as pibroch, we actually have it as a fiddle piece, while on the other hand majestic pibrochs like the laments for the Laird of Anapool (A, G, K1) and for Lady MacDonald (A) are attributed to known pipers in the eighteenth century. But these speculations take us further afield. It is hoped that this article has at least succeeded in demonstrating that

the study of tune names can lead to new historical insights and a better understanding of the music.

NOTES

1 Early versions of this article were included in lectures at the 11th International Conference on Celtic Studies, University College, Cork, Ireland, July 1999, and at the School of Scottish Studies, Edinburgh, Scotland, February 2001.

2 For general accounts see MacNeill (1968); Cannon (1987).

3 Some titles in the Campbell canntaireachd MS (C1, C2) suggest that the author was not completely at home in Gaelic, but there are others that suggest lack of fluency in English and it may well be that more than one person had a hand in completing the document. These questions are best deferred until the manuscript has been edited and published in full.

4 The standard repertoire of the present day is contained in the current series of books published by the Piobaireachd Society. See PS 1–15.

5 http://www.piobaireachd.co.uk

6 The most extensive study to date is that of MacIver (1966).

7 I am grateful to Frans Buisman for a preview of an essay on transformations of piobaireachd in 18th-century music collections, which includes a comprehensive review of non-bagpipe sources of the type referred to here.

8 See especially chapter IV, Section 2. Besides extensive discussions, and citations of tune names, MacInnes gives (1988: 327–331) a concordance of all tunes mentioned in extant competition records, 1783 to 1841 and (1988: 316–320) a tabulation of the sources.

9 I thank Dr Wilson McLeod particularly for stressing this point. His recent study, which includes (2000: 212–258) a comprehensive list of Scottish bardic poems, avoids names and titles altogether and uses only the opening words to identify the pieces.

10 Sharpe MS (c. 1790), NLS Ing. 153, quoted D. Johnson (1984: 141, 249).

11 Several length-marks have been added and one spelling updated.

12 The name *Pìobaireachd Dhomhnuill Duibh* has been attached to different Black Donalds and different battles. We need not take the historical details seriously but Donald

MacDonald, whose ancestral roots were in the Trotternish (MacDonald) district of Skye, gave the tune to Clan Donald, whereas John MacCrimmon and/or his patron Niel MacLeod of Gesto, who came from Duirinish, gave it to Clan Cameron (the MacLeods not having been involved in either of the rival traditions). See D. MacDonald ([1820]: 106) and Alex. Campbell [1815].

13 J. F. Campbell (1880: 34); K. MacDonald (1888–9: 34). The spellings are Campbell's, with the addition of the length-mark on *chí*.

14 For accounts see the Skeabost MS, in L. MacDonald (1883: 434–435), note on Tune XX; K. MacDonald (1888–9); and other sources summarised by Haddow (1982: 123). The story was told to Johnson and Boswell when they visited Armadale in 1773 and evidently heard the tune played (S. Johnson [1775] 1924: 71).

15 Story from Mr Peter MacDonald, Sheil Bridge, Acharacle, communicated in 1909 (PS 4: 106).

16 Skeabost MS, note on Tune XII. See L. MacDonald (1883: 434–435).

17 The text is from a footnote in the source manuscript (H) which reads in full 'This Peobrach was Composed by MᶜLachlan's Lady Praising a Natural Production. Viz S: Molach mu 'da Thaobh &c.' There are extended titles and text fragments in other sources as well, none of which have yet been edited.

18 Music transcription and song text in Alex. Campbell [1815].

19 Skeabost MS, Note on Tune XV. See L. MacDonald (1883: 434–435). The name is misprinted as 'Druim Phoulscon' but another version of the tune is titled by Angus MacKay 'Druim Thalasgair (na) Blàr Bhaterneish. The battle of Waternish' (K1).

20 In C1 and C2, about half the titles are Type I, and about half are in Gaelic. But the Type I titles are 85 per cent English, the other types 95 per cent Gaelic.

21 I thank Ronald Black for this observation.

22 The song is *Cumha Lachlainn Daill,* by Sileas na Ceapich. See Ó Baoill (1972: 108–113), and Mac Gill-eain (1985: 247–8).

23 To this we might add the story, or joke, of how Iain Dall made the lament for his tutor, Patrick òg, only to find that the latter was still living. ' "Indeed" said MacCrummon, "Cumha Phadruig òig 's e f'hein beò fhathast! . . . I shall learn then the Lament for myself!" '. See Note XXXV in *Historical and Traditional Notes* (1838: 9).

24 Titles in early music collections are as follows. 'Cumh' Mhic-o-Arrisaig. O Hara's Lament' (F); 'Cumha Mhic a h Arasaig. McIntosh's Lament' (PD); 'Cumhe Mhichdintósich' (ER); 'Cumha Mhic a'h Arasaig. MᶜIntosh's Lament' (R); 'Cumhadh Mhic a'h Arasaig. Macintosh's Lament' (D1); 'MacIntosh's Lament' [no Gaelic] (DJ); 'Caugh Vic Righ Aro' (G); 'Cumha Mhic an Tòisich. Macintosh's Lament' (K0). Also '*cumha* fir Arais, *the elegy of the Chief of Aros',* in the entry for *cumha* in MacAlpine (1832); *Cumha Fear Aros* mentioned by A. D. Fraser (1907:144); *Cumha Mhic a Arois[,] no cumha Mhic-an-Tòisich*, title of text in 'Abrach' (1873); *Cumha Mhic a Arisaig*, alternative title of text in A. & A. MacDonald (1911: lvi and 336).

25 I thank Mícheál Ó Geallabháin for information on modern Irish usage, in several letters with citations from Donegal, Monaghan and Kerry.

26 *Cumha Bhràithrean,* 'Lament for brothers'. Tolmie Collection (1911: 202).

27 See Note XLI in *Historical Notes . . .* (1838: 10).

28 My thanks again to Ronald Black for this observation.

29 MacKay (1843: 85). The tune is entitled 'An Cumha. Mac Gregor's Lament'. It is the same air as *John MacGregor's Strathspey* (Cannon 1979).

30 N. MacAlpine (1832: page [v] and s.v. *cumha).*

31 John MacInnes points out that the second two words can be considered as one, hence *Cumha an aonmhic,* the a of *aona* as written above being thus an epenthetic vowel.

32 Poem: Turner MS (1894: 333). The text of the poem makes it clear that this is plural, 'The Brothers' Lament'. In the pipe literature, Angus MacKay has a pibroch which he titles in the (more modern) plural in one MS, singular in another, 'Cumha nam Brathairean. The Brothers' Lament' (K1); 'Cumha Bhràthair. The Brothers Lament' [no apostrophe; length-mark in index but not in text] (KK).

33 In line with this, John MacInnes points out the place name in Raasay, *Uamh(a) Catriona duibha,* which Angus MacKay, born in Raasay, would presumably have known.

34 I thank John MacInnes for this point.

35 The fact that earlier sources name the same tune after Patrick Mòr MacCrimmon – see MacInnes (1988: 192) – makes no difference to the point at issue here.

36 A referee suggests the reading *Call an aona mhic* 'The Loss (Drowning) of the Only Son', which would suit the name of a song rather the first line. (On the spelling *aona mhic* see note 31).

37 PS 9: 273; and editorial notes, p. 275. The original documents are filed in the Kilberry Papers, folder 163, now bound in NLS MS 22112.

38 Two analogous non-pibroch names are 'Ossian's Lament for his Father' in J. & A. Campbell (1909: 1) and 'The Boy's Lament for his Kite [or Dragon]', two names for the same tune, in MacPhee (1876 [1978]: 9) and Glen [1903: 8]. These may be traditional but they do not occur in the piping literature in Gaelic.

39 Relatively modern editions of poems sometimes distinguish between maker and subject, in titles like 'Cumha maighdean air son a leannan', MacVean (1836: 56, 62); 'Chumadh a bhaird an deigh a leannan – The bard's lament after his love', D. Campbell (1862: 189); *Cumha le Iain Ciar, bràthair Fear Thaighinnis, air do nighean Righ Spainte bhi air a tilgeadh . . . ,* first published c. 1890, possibly from an earlier MS source (McCaughey 1996).

40 Mac Gill-eain (1985: 247–8) goes on to say 'Normal Gaelic usage would indicate a lament for, . . . ' but he still leaves the question open. Older writers MacPherson (1868: 22) and 'Fionn' (1904: 96) had said that the lament was composed *by* the sister, but Colm Ó Baoill (1972: 179) quotes the Rev. William Matheson as stating firmly that the title should mean 'Lament *for* not *by* Nì Mhic Raghnall'.

41 First published by Kennedy (1835: 176); discussed by Black (1972–4: 233).

42 Unsigned item in *An Gaidheal* (1875: 310). Lines 8–10 read Thàinig Eóbhan, / Faoilt air Eóbhan, / Failte air Eóbhan. 'Fionn' (1904: 4) quotes it but amends *Faoilt* to *Failt.*

43 This spelling assumes that the meaning is 'Salute to drunkenness', following MacIver (1966).

44 Sir Thomas Urquhart [Laird of Cromarty, 1610–1666], *The first book of the works of Mr. Francis Rabelais,* 1653. Cited, *OED.* s.v. 'gathering', 4.b.

45 Ramsay (1784: 13). The next reference is unexceptionable, 'the pipers being ordered to play a favourite *cruineachadh,* the Highlanders, who were broken, returned'; but the third reference repeats the apparent error, 'the poetry of the northern Scalds . . . differs as widely from other poetry . . . as the *pibrach,* or *cruineachadh,* does from the music of the nations around' (1784: 13), and finally (1784: 14) 'the Irish are said to have no *pibrachs*, or *cruineachadhs* among them.'

46 As also does Donald MacDonald's mistaken spelling, since m for nn could suggest that he had misread a handwritten source, which we no longer have.

46A A further conjecture would be that *port tionail* would tend to govern a personal name in the singular while *cruinneachadh* would govern a plural, thus *Port tional Mhic Leòid*, but *Cruinneachadh nan Leòdach.*

47 Examples: *Dheòrsa* = George; *Marsail* = Marjory; *sporsail* = sporting. The fact that 'rs' is a phoneme distinct from /rs/ is shown by the fact that in spelling it is flanked by broad vowels, but in speech it still comes across to an English ear with a soft /rʃ/ sound.

48 Gunn ([1848] 1867: 99, and index, p. VI). In the text the spellings and wordings are 'Shuibhail na Garbhlich. Traverse the rough hills'; in the index 'Shiubhal nan Garbhlich. Traversing the hills.' Compare a couplet from the song *Oran an t-Sealgair:* Fhir a shiubhlas an garbhlach, / 'S a thig dhachaidh 's an anamoch.' MacDonald and MacDonald (1911: 225).

49 These three sources are not independent, as K1 incorporates almost all the material of D0, and D0 incorporates almost all of H; but at least we can say that the later authors did not go against their predecessors.

50 MacInnes (1988: 177). Iain counted the occurrences and time periods of the four generic terms for march in competition records (i.e. not in musical scores), as 'siubhal', 2, 1785–6; 'marshal', 5, 1783–1823; 'piobrachd', 3, 1785–1844; 'spaidsearachd', 12, 1824–1838.

51 'A Spaidaireachd Bharrach, The Barra Boastfulness', MacDonald and MacDonald (1911: xxxviii and 230); 'An Spaideareachd Bharrach, The Barra Boasting', Campbell and Collinson (1977: 124–129, 232–237, 322–324).

52 F. Buisman and A. Wright (2001: 76, editorial note on Tune 7). Also two different tunes are involved but that does not affect the point under discussion.

53 'Fionn' (1904: 80). A referee points out other names of battles surviving in folk memory in legends or clan sagas, e.g. *Blàr Traigh Ghrunnart* in Islay, and *Blàr na Lèine,* in the Great Glen.

54   'Eòghann Càthach. Ewin of the Battles' (K2), 'Ewan Cauch' (JK); 'Cumh Eachann
      Ruaidh na'n Cath. Hector Roy Mac Lean's Lament' (K2), 'Cumha Eachann Ruaidh na'n
      Cath. Hector Roy of the Battles Lament. (A. MacLean)' (KS).

55   MacKay's headline reads 'Cath na'n Eun na An Càth Gailbheach. The Birds Fight or The
      Desperate Battle.'

56   There was also a Hebridean folk dance called *Cath nan Coileach* 'The Bickering of the
      Cocks' see Flett and Flett (1952–5: 117).

57   Cannon (1974); D. Johnson (1984: 135, 142). If the Harlaw name was ever current in Gaelic
      it would have sounded very similar: the form *Là Chatha Gharbhaich* is in the heading of
      the Harlaw Brosnachadh in McLagan MS 222, though MS 97 has *La Tharlà* which well
      represents the Aberdeenshire Scots pronunciation of 'Harlaw'. See Thomson (1968: 147,
      153).

58   Martin ([1703] 1934). The tune is now best known as 'The MacLeods' Salute'.

59   *Burke's Peerage.* See under (Bosville-)MacDonald. I am grateful to Frans Buisman who
      traced this information.

60   The earliest known occurrence of the word in print is in 1724, in a stanza added by Allan
      Ramsay (1724, 2: 256) to the ballad 'Hardyknute': To join his King adoun the Hill / In
      Hast his Merch he made, / Quhyle, playand Pibrochs, Minstralls meit / Afore him stately
      strade. The ballad is not considered to have been old at the time of first publication (c.
      1710). It is attributed to Lady Elizabeth Wardlaw (1677–1727) but the quotation stands
      as a sample of what Lowland Scottish literati knew or thought about piobaireachd. See
      OED, 'pibroch' (but the date 1719 is incorrect) and Roy (c. 1984).

61   That is to say, not all speakers use it; but it is on record in an eloquent spoken passage on
      the subject of Highland music, from Joe Neil MacNeil of Cape Breton (born in 1908),
      with the clear meaning of 'tune' as distinct from the words that might be sung to the tune.
      See Shaw (1992/3: 41).

62   Cannon (1994: 81, 107). It appears in a glossary entry, 'Callip, Eurlair a Phuirt' which I
      have read as two alternative names for the same thing, i.e. *Calp', ùrlar a' phuirt,* 'The head
      [or] ground of the tune'. The spelling of the first syllable may reflect Joseph MacDonald's
      North Sutherland pronunciation. I have heard the word pronounced **/ju:la:r/** by a present-
      day speaker from the same district.

63   *Ane Ground,* in Elliott (1964: 198).

64   In Playford's *Dancing Master,* 11th ed. (1701); reprinted in Barlow (1985: 102).

65   See Sadie (1980: s.v. 'Ground'). Earlier detailed studies with numerous examples include
      Greenhouse (1945–6), Miller (1948), McGuinness (1970).

66   Matheson (1970: liv–lv). The title itself may be satirical rather than actual – it occurs in
      a poem attacking the blind harper Roderick Morison, but it would lose its point if 'X's
      tuning prelude' were not a *possible* title of a harp composition.

67   B. MacKenzie, private communication.

68   PS 11: 320, evidently following MacIver (1966).

69 Sanger and Kinneard (1992: 190), quoting e.g. the expression 'puirt is cuir is orgain'. In another context Colm Ó Baoill suggests (1972: 179) that *Do chur chiùil* may contain a technical term.

70 On the other hand Ronald Black points to the meaning of *cor* as 'condition or state', suggesting a derisive title 'the low state of MacLean', which is perhaps in keeping with the fact that the source is a Campbell compilation.

71 Black (1972–4); Haddow (1982: 38–55). The tune is nowadays better known as 'The sound of the waves against the Castle of Duntroon'.

72 *Marbhrann do Shir Tormoid Mac Leoid . . . 1705*, line 1082 in J. C. Watson (1965: 88).

73 *Oran do'n Eideadh Ghaidhealach,* lines 3538–9 in A. MacLeod ([1952] 1978: 240).

74 MacAlpine (1832); cf. W. J. Watson (1932: 344) 'an alarm of battle, march tune, signal.'

75 Colm Ó Baoill (1998: 91–2) suggests a popular etymology connecting *caismeachd* with *cas* = 'foot'.

76 Unsigned musical item in *Celtic Monthly,* 19: 240.

77 Lachlan MacNeil Campbell of Saddell and Kintarbert, himself a piper, lived until 1852 (MacKenzie 1999). Angus MacKay wrote the manuscript KK for him, including this tune without a name; but the name is entered in Angus' own manuscript (K1) and in that of his brother John (JK, dated 1848). The inference is that the tune was nameless when KK was written, but that Angus (or his patron) named it shortly afterwards.

78 See S. Sadie (1980: s.v. 'Fantasia').

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