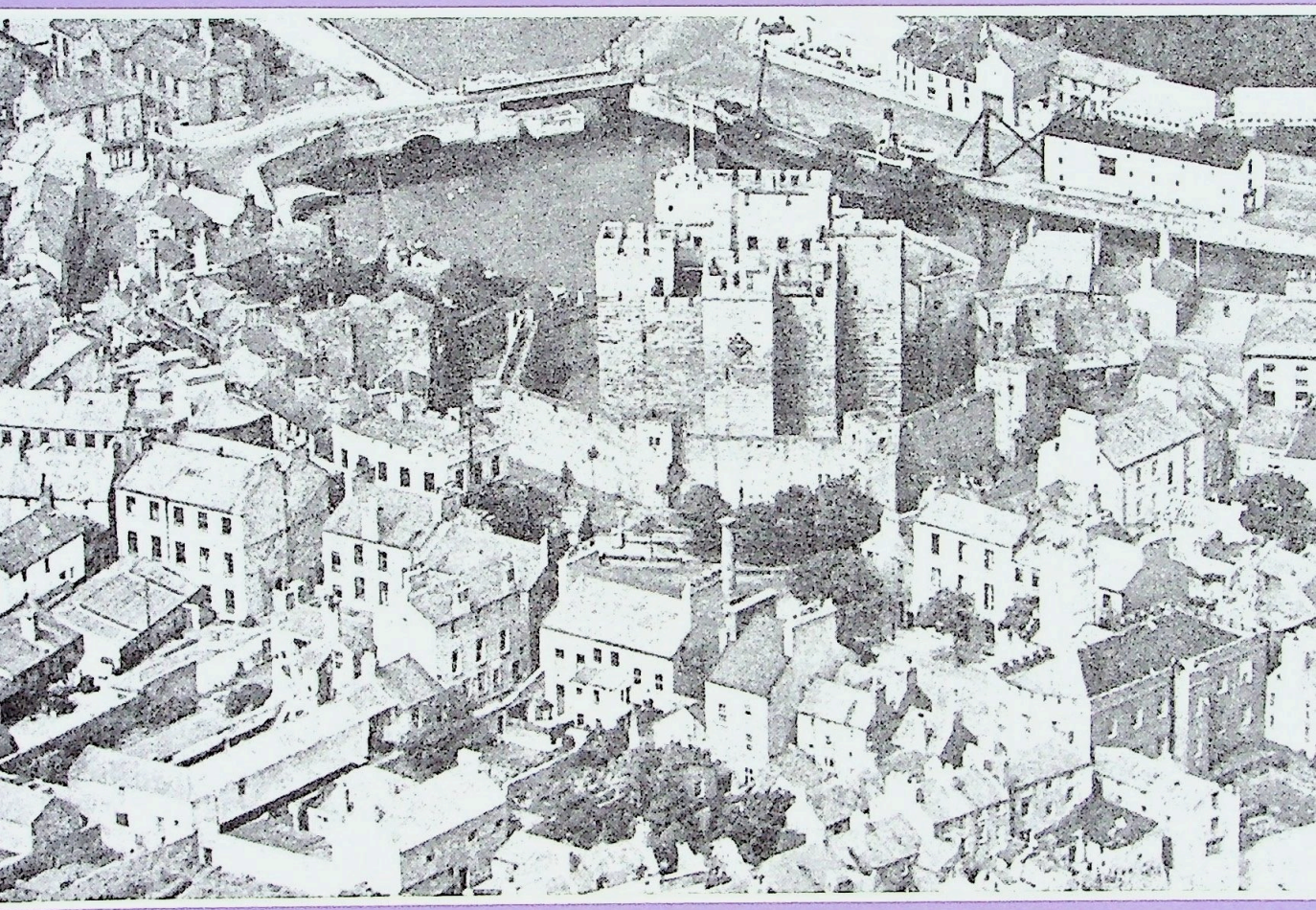
Scottish Studies

Volume 20 : 1976



UNIVERSITY OF EDINBURGH

Scottish Studies

The Journal of the School of Scottish Studies
University of Edinburgh

20

1976

SCHOOL OF SCOTTISH STUDIES
UNIVERSITY OF EDINBURGH

PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN AT
THE UNIVERSITY PRESS
ABERDEEN

Scottish Studies

VOLUME 20

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Norseman and Native in the Kingdom of the Isles

*A Re-assessment of the Manx Evidence**

BASIL MEGAW

A valuable study of place-names in documents of the twelfth to fourteenth century recently led Dr Margaret Gelling to conclude that, following Viking settlement in the ninth century, Gaelic had ceased to be spoken in Man until re-introduced from outside the island (? Galloway) after 1300. By re-dating a key document, and by taking wider evidence into consideration, the following study shows that, despite the general predominance of Norse place- and personal-names, Gaelic must have held its own in the time of the Manx kings of the Isles during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. It is suggested that the undocumented Viking settlement may have been accomplished by a Scandinavian mercenary force initially under native rule, thus allowing for substantial continuity. (A different possibility will be argued by Mrs Gelling in a further paper now in preparation.)

Two appendices investigate (A) the status and background of the papal bull of 1231 to the bishop of the Isles, with its interesting list of the islands in the diocese of 'Sodor', and (B), in a series of notes, the treen and quarterland system, and the related problem of the age of the 'keeills'.

I *The Problem*

The Western Isles, for us the last stronghold of Gaelic speech in Britain, were known paradoxically to the mediæval Gaels themselves as *Innse Gall*, 'the Isles of the Foreigners or Norsemen'. The evidence of place-names recently discussed by Professor Nicolaisen (1969), though unfortunately not closely datable, shows how widespread and long-lasting were the effects of actual Scandinavian settlement there. In the absence of contemporary evidence, however, we can only guess to what extent Gaelic may have survived generally, or in particular localities, during the 'Norse' centuries, or indeed how it came to supersede the language of the Foreigners. Oral tradition is in this matter largely irrelevant, since tales of the 'Lochlannaich' generally have a legendary or literary origin and are unhistorical.

To turn to the Isle of Man for help in this problem may at first sight seem a little

* The first part of this article (sections I to IV) is based on a paper read at the VIIIth conference of the Council for Name Studies in Great Britain and Ireland, in Edinburgh, 2–5 April 1976.

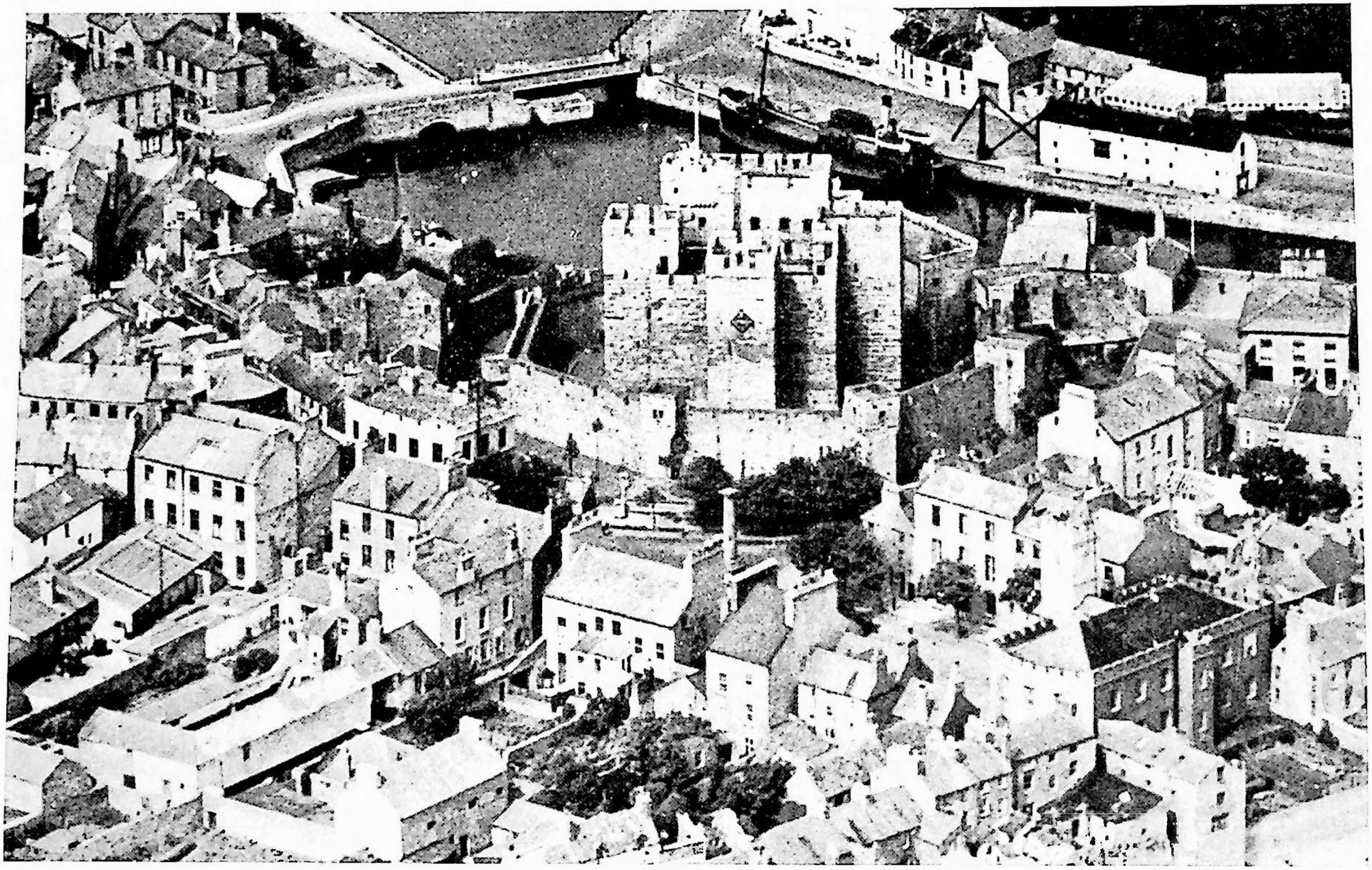


PLATE I Castle Rushen: the twelfth-century headquarters of the Manx Kings of the Isles, and seat of a Scottish administration under Alexander III and Robert I.

(*Photograph by courtesy of the Manx Museum*)

eccentric but is historically sound, since to the Scandinavians Man formed an essential part of the *Suðreyjar* ('Southern Isles', *i.e.* as opposed to the 'Northern Isles' of Orkney and Shetland), and indeed was a chief seat of the kingdom of the Isles (Fig. 1) probably from the tenth century. The cathedral of the Isles still stands, roofless, on St Patrick's Isle at Peel (Fig. 2); and even as late as 1422 a pronouncement in the Manx statute book could look back to the time when eight members of the court of Tynwald—a third of the 'Twenty-Four Keys'—had come from 'the Out Isles' of Scotland. Though not considered by Professor Nicolaisen, Man also has the advantage—as Dr Margaret Gelling has lately reminded us—of having a series of twelfth- and thirteenth-century documents, providing a key to contemporary name-forms, and thus at least partially to the languages spoken during the rule of the native-born kings under Norwegian suzerainty. This material has now been assembled and discussed by an unusual succession of experts: J. J. Kneen for Manx, Professor Carl Marstrander for Irish and Norse, and now Dr Gelling, a place-name scholar of wide experience; so the evidence is uniquely available, although the historical interpreter without their qualifications—such as the present writer—must needs tread warily and with humility. Although in what follows I occasionally make bold to disagree with one or other of these scholars, I count myself fortunate indeed in having had the opportunity of friendly discussion of these and related topics with all three over many years, and I offer my comments as a tribute to their invaluable and stimulating work: in the case of Kneen and Marstrander their

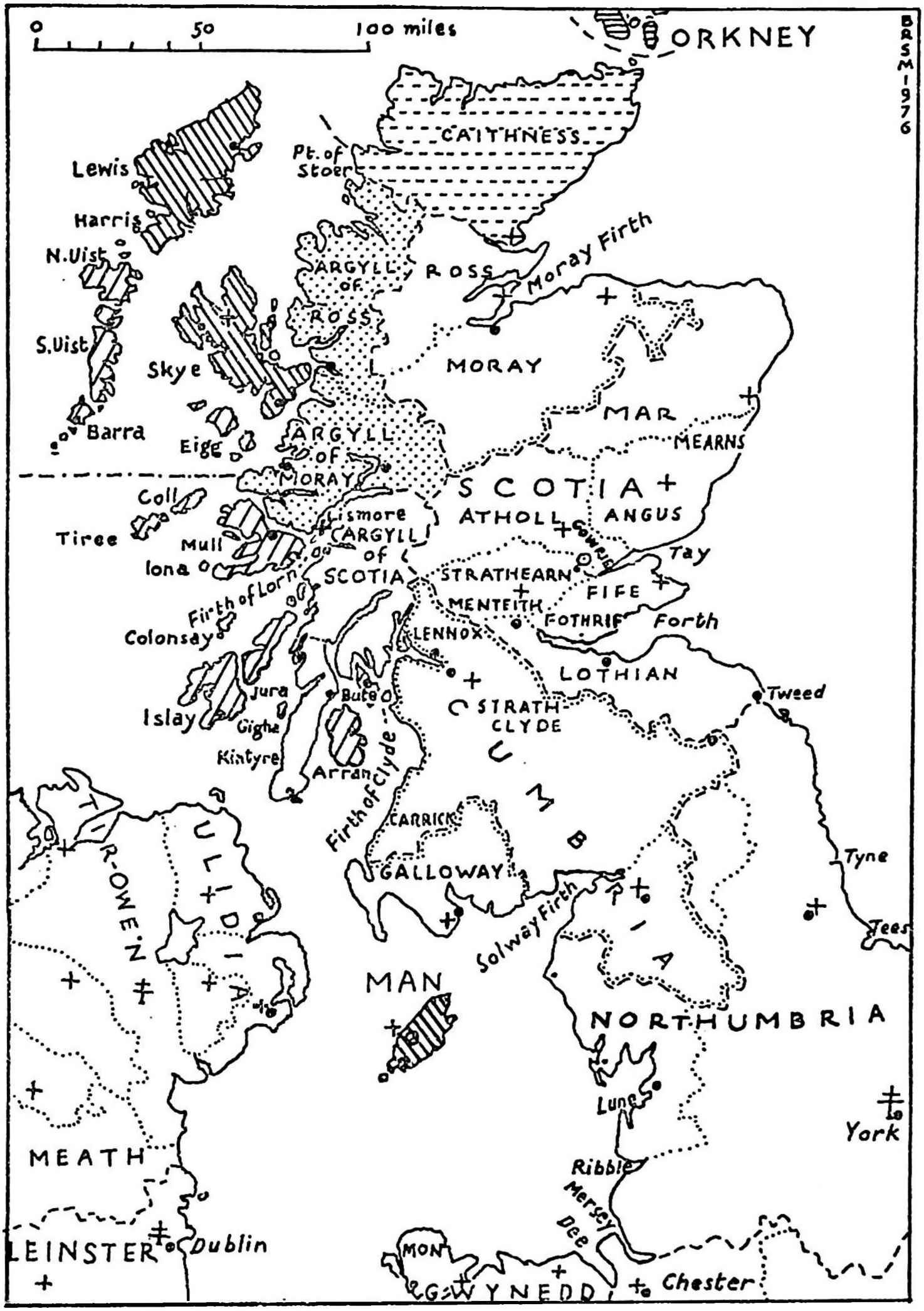
FIG. 1 (opposite) The Manx kingdom of the Isles

The diocese of the Isles (*shaded*) established *c.* 1135, corresponds to the greatest extent of the Manx kingdom, under the often nominal suzerainty of the king of Norway from *c.* 1098.

The partition of 1156 between Godred II of Man and Somerled of Argyll is perhaps reflected by the late tradition of a major division comprising those Isles northward of Ardnamurchan (the 'Skye and Lewis groups') and those southward (the 'Mull and Islay groups')—the Argyll islands. A corresponding division of the adjoining mainland into North and South Argyll, also marked by Ardnamurchan and the river Shiel—though this probably had an earlier existence (*cf.* the 'half *Skot-land*' of Orkneyinga Saga)—perhaps reflects the tradition of a boundary on the Shiel between Somerled's father and the 'Northmen' early in the twelfth century. The inclusion of 'Argyll of Moray' (with what became the lordship of Garmoran) in the new diocese of Argyll formed under Somerled's sons *c.* 1183, doubtless implies an enlargement of Somerled's mainland kingdom; the undocumented annexation by Somerled or his sons of the Uists, Barra and the Small Isles (subsequently associated with Garmoran)—in addition to the Argyll isles of the southern Hebrides—may be assigned to the same period (*broad shading*).

All the Isles, north and south, continued to be held under the often nominal suzerainty of Norway until 1266 when, with Man, they were bought by Alexander III. Mainland territories within which the Manx kings (Glenelg at least) and the Orkney earls held varying lordships (*stippled*), in North Argyll and Caithness respectively, were after the lost treaty of *c.* 1098 evidently subject to the overlordship of the king of Scots.

The chief stronghold of the Manx kingdom from the late twelfth century was Castle Rushen (Plate I). Though the cathedral at Peel in Man was the effective see of the Isles (*Sodorensis*), the church of Skeabost in Skye seems at times to have claimed that position, perhaps initially from the time of bishop Wymund in *c.* 1135.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ARGYLL OF MORAY
SCOTIA
Coll
Tiree
Mull
Iona
Lismore
ARGYLL of SCOTIA
ATHOLL
ANGUS
Tay
STRATHEARN
FIFE
MENTEITH
FOTHRIF
Forth
Firth of Lorn
Colonsay
LENNOX
LOTHIAN
Tweed
Jura
Bute
Islay
Gigha
Kintyre
Arran
STRATH CLYDE
CUMBRIA
Firth of Clyde
CARRICK
GALLOWAY
Tyne
Tees
Solway Firth
TYR-OWEN
ULIDIA
MAN
NORTHUMBRIA
Lune
York
MEATH
Ribble
Mersey
Dee
LEINSTER
Dublin
MON
GWYNEDD
Chester

complementary monographs each extend to more than 600 printed pages; a particularly useful feature of Marstrander's work that is often overlooked being a careful phonetic rendering of many of the names that appear in Kneen's corpus noted down from native speakers of Manx in 1929 and 1930.[1]

Although ruled before the Viking Age by kings of British[2] descent (MacQueen 1961: 8–12), inscriptions show conclusively that bilingual Irish communities were already

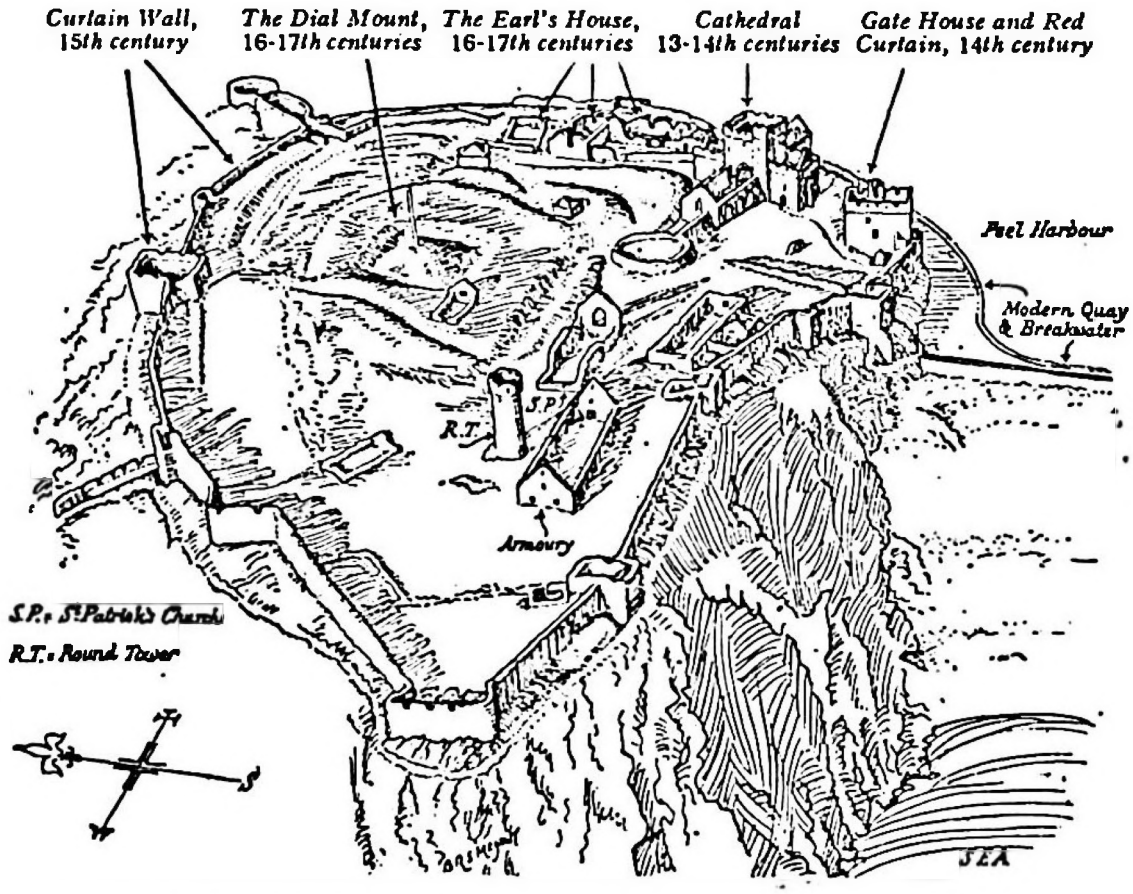


FIG. 2 St Patrick's Isle, Peel: the see of the mediæval diocese of the Isles

The once tidal islet now known as Peel Castle but formerly Holmepatrick or *Insula Patricii* (translating the vernacular), is said by Jocelin of Furness, *c.* 1190, to have been chosen by St Patrick (though that is unhistorical) as the seat of his disciple St German, whom he placed as bishop over the Manx. Possibly from *c.* 1135, when the regular diocese of the Isles (Sodorensis, *i.e.* 'of the Suðreyjar') was established under king Olaf of Man, the parish church of Kirk German here became the cathedral of the Isles: the present building was erected or rebuilt by bishop Simon 'of Argyll' (1226–48): Jocelin's reference evidently implies a twelfth-century predecessor on St Patrick's Isle. From 1153 until the fourteenth century, the Isles formed part of the vast Norwegian archdiocese of Nidaros (Trondheim).

The islet is named from the abandoned parish church of Kirkpatrick, or 'St Patrick of the Isle', of tenth- or eleventh-century Irish type, with associated round tower (both altered later), which crown the highest point: this may have been the first Manx cathedral in the days of bishop 'Roolwer' (ON. Rólfr), *c.* mid eleventh century. It may previously have served as the seat of an abbot of Irish type, since what seem to have been the original endowment lands in the adjoining sheading of Glenfaba are recorded as the 'manor of Appyn' (1377).

Within the same parish, at a central cross-roads three miles east of the cathedral, lies Tynwald Hill; and within the shelter of the islet itself lay the entrance to one of the principal Manx harbours.

(*Block by courtesy of the Manx Museum.*)

settled amongst the British in Man by the fifth or sixth century (Jackson 1953:173). The background may well have been similar to that of contemporary Galloway and Scottish Dalriada, though Bede—no lover of the Britons—still reports Man as British *c.* 730. How—or even how directly—a Norse dynasty came to succeed the earlier native kings is unknown, but from then on during three centuries prior to 1266 not one of the known kings bore a Celtic name.

The unrecorded settlement-phase is marked archæologically by many pagan 'Norse' graves, mainly of the ninth century (Bersu and Wilson 1966:xii; Wilson 1974:19, 44–5)—but, most significantly, none of them are women's graves. At least eleven Norse place-names in *-staðir* may also be assignable to this phase (Marstrander 1932:330, 355; *cf.* Nicolaisen 1969:9–11)—more than in any of the Hebrides except Lewis. *-Staðir* names are distributed equally in both the old 'Southside' and 'Northside' districts of the island (Marstrander thought more lay in the North), though there seem to be blank areas in west and south-west. Cross-slabs of essentially native type reappear from about 930 (Wilson 1971:1–18), but those inscribed were then invariably in Old Norse: no Gaelic (or even Latin) inscriptions are known from this time onwards. Indeed there are in Man more Norse inscriptions of the Viking period (*i.e.* before 1100) than even in the Northern Isles, or for that matter in any other region of Britain or Ireland. All this suggests that Norse speech may well have occupied as dominant a position in Man as in any of the Western Isles—though whether the evidence really reflects the situation in the ruling circle and among the chief landowners rather than the population at large is the crux of the matter.

II *The Place-Name Evidence*

In two most competent and useful articles, which should certainly be more widely known, Dr Gelling (1970–1) has lately reassessed all the place-name evidence preserved in contemporary Manx documents of the twelfth to the fourteenth century, wholly discarding in the process on account of its 'modernised' spelling the copy of the papal bull of 1231 to the bishop of the Isles (see further, Appendix A). Her bold, if provisional, conclusions may be summarised thus:

1 Elsewhere in areas of mixed speech place-names in contemporary documents accurately reflect the linguistic situation of the time, since they served a purely practical purpose. On that assumption the Manx evidence implies that Old Norse had virtually driven out Gaelic speech long before 1266.

2 Had the island's population continued to be bilingual after the Viking settlement, one would expect some instances of both Gaelic and Norse names for the same place to have survived.

3 The very few Celtic place-names recorded in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries (*e.g.* the river-name 'Dufglas') are best regarded as 'fossil' names—*i.e.* merely borrowed

from the earlier natives by the original Viking settlers in the ninth century—and therefore afford no clue to the linguistic situation in the thirteenth century.

4 Consequently it would seem that Manx Gaelic must have been introduced from some area outside the island after 1266, that is following the end of the period of Norwegian suzerainty. (Incidentally this was also the view of the native Manx scholar, J. J. Kneen (1925:xvi), although Marstrander reached a different conclusion, in part depending on the unreliable papal bull.)

5 The undated abbeyland bounds, attributed by Mrs Gelling and others to about 1370—and thus of the relevant period—appears to show a significant increase at that time in the proportion of Gaelic place-names, including for the first time several characteristics of Manx nomenclature, such as names in *Balla-*, and the so-called 'inversion compounds'. For Mrs Gelling this document is crucial, and in her view reflects the impact of the newly-reintroduced Gaelic, and the approaching demise of Norse speech in the island—an event which she therefore attributes to the fifteenth century, when the northern English Stanley régime became effective.

Invaluable though her survey is, and the discussion of the problems is masterly, the more I have thought about the historical conclusions the less am I fully convinced by them. The main defect in the argument (as it seems to me) stems from a chronological error for which Mrs Gelling is not responsible—the date of the key document—and for the rest, perhaps from relying too exclusively on a relatively small collection of place-names to resolve this type of problem. Whether or no my views are any more convincing, what follows should have an interest considerably wider than the particular subject.

On Mrs Gelling's main arguments I offer the following comments:

(a) Of the place-names recorded before 1266—mostly 'lost' settlement-names—more than half (17 out of 32) are either ambiguous (generally Latin translations) or obscure: of the rest 3 are Celtic,[3] 12 are Norse. At most 20 per cent of the usable names are Celtic, but a high proportion of this numerically poor sample evidently refers to the area of the island near the king's stronghold.

(b) After Mrs Gelling's papers had appeared, I remembered some notes I made long ago on the probable date of the abbeyland bounds, which everyone else had attributed to the late fourteenth century. My then tentative conclusion that the document was probably written by a particular continuator of the Manx chronicle whose brief additions were evidently made no later than 1275 (apparently before the events of 8 October in which his abbey was deeply concerned), has now been confirmed by the distinguished palæographer Dr Neil Ker. Having kindly inspected the original in the British Museum again for the purpose, Dr Ker informed me (letter of 6.1.73) that the writer was 'almost certainly' the same person: 'the Bounds look as if they might have been written rather later . . ., although by the same hand.'[4] The palæographic evidence for a thirteenth-century date is supported by internal evidence, as the property named

Tofthar Asmund in the document as then belonging to Rushen Abbey no longer did so after 1302.[5] (It is of some interest that the re-dating of the bounds to *c.* 1280 makes that document contemporary with an earlier, unsuccessful assertion of St Bees' claim to the property—in the time of Alexander III's governor Maurice Acarsan (Wilson 1915:489), whose rule may be assigned to the period between 1275 and 1286. Did this earlier court-action against the abbey perhaps contribute to the decision of the Rushen monks thus to record the bounds of their abbeylands at that time?)

As this important group of forty-six place-names may now be dated *c.* 1280, and certainly before *c.* 1300, it reveals the kind of names current about the close of the Norse régime (Table 1). Only eleven are Latinised or of uncertain origin. Of the rest, Gaelic forms comprise 40 per cent of the names assignable to one language or the other. In addition there are also four 'inversion compounds' which equally imply a Gaelic-speaking background, and, if included, would leave genuinely Norse names in an actual minority.

(c) More than two centuries later the much larger series of 'treen' names listed in the lord's-rent books of 1511–15, so assiduously studied by Professor Marstrander (1932 and 1937), shows little difference in the proportion: there, in my revised count, Gaelic forms comprise 43 per cent. I have excluded duplicated '*Alia*' names, which probably reflect internal colonisation; and others such as the inversion compounds which Marstrander classed as Norse, but of which the linguistic status is clearly ambiguous.

A comparable figure, 40 per cent Gaelic, is indicated by the fewer, but mostly identical or very similar forms which occur a century earlier in an important unpublished source, the sheading court roll of 1417–18. This (see Table 2) is especially significant as it shows for the first time that the treen and sheading names were already for the most part fully established in their final form at the beginning of the Stanley era. A number of treen-names—Gaelic as well as Norse—are already found, usually in a rather earlier spelling-form, as adjoining various abbey farms mentioned in the bounds of *c.* 1280, and only one of these was later apparently superseded as a treen-name. Where the evidence is sufficient, therefore, we find that the proportion of Gaelic to Norse place-names in the records tends to remain more or less constant from the thirteenth to sixteenth centuries. Consequently, it would seem, the post-1266 'Gaelic colonisation' disappears, and we can hardly doubt that most of the settlement names were already long-established, at least from the time when continuing land-records were first kept, probably no later than the twelfth century. Some may well have originated during the Norse settlement itself, and would thus reflect the speech-situation amongst the original land-takers, rather than in the period, centuries later, of the records in which they first appear.

(d) It is now worth looking at the abbeyland document (Table 1) more closely. This usually tends to define boundaries less by topographical features (as, for instance, in Anglo-Saxon charters) than by reference to adjoining farms or estates, *i.e.* by established 'record-names'—and those, as we have seen, often were Norse names. There is one

interesting exception, however, where the property at Myrescogh (Sulby), a grange of Rushen, had been acquired recently (*i.e.* before *c.* 1257) from a previous owner—the Yorkshire abbey of Rievaulx. Here the proportion of Gaelic names (66 per cent) is far higher than in the other properties, and Mrs Gelling accounts for this by suggesting that a colony of Gaelic speakers had recently settled here. For my part I think the difference is more convincingly explained by a noticeable difference in descriptive method, involving some attempt to define the boundaries by topographical features, and those might well involve local names used by the country-folk. Only two out of the fourteen relevant names in this section seem to be principal settlement-names, as against fifteen out of twenty-one in the remainder.

That the Myrescogh bounds had a different origin from the rest is I think confirmed by a further peculiarity. Though in the same hand, the section-heading indicates the purpose as defining the boundary with 'the land of *Kirk Christ*' not (as in the other sections) with 'the land of the king'. This phrase has hitherto been thought to refer to the adjoining (king's) lands of the parish of Kirk Christ, Lezayre, though that would not in itself explain the need for the different wording. Indeed the monks' boundary would here also concern the neighbouring parishes of Ballaugh, Jurby and Andreas, and if compiled at the same time and with the same purpose as the others, why should these bounds exceptionally refer to any parish? Surely this section, with its heading, derives from an older text whose purpose was first restricted to defining the eastern boundary of the monks' land with a single adjoining property, that known as *Kirkchrist juxta Ramsa*, around the parish church, and which soon after 1252 was granted to the bishop—together with 'half the fishery in Myrescogh' (Oliver 1861–2:3–15, 30). Whether the older text was written after 1252, to record the respective shares of the bishop and the Rushen monks mainly in the unenclosed eastern Curragh and the equally unfenced hill-grazings, or related to a similar demarcation between the previous owners, the subsequent addition (as I think) of the rest of the monks' boundaries evidently followed the descriptive method of the original text, without changing the heading. That the text in its earlier form may have been written before Rushen's acquisition of the property is indeed suggested by the reference in the heading to 'the land of the monks of Myrosco', for the place had originally been a small monastery of Rievaulx monks.

That there really were two linguistic levels co-existing in the place-names of the Sulby area—and presumably other areas—is supported by the fact that, in apparent contradiction of the Gaelic tendency in the names in that section of the abbey bounds, the treens of the sheading-district concerned show a slightly above-average proportion of Norse names. One of the reasons for the small proportion of Gaelic names in the twelfth- and thirteenth-century charters may, however, be related to the fact that all the places they refer to lay on the Southside, many of them in the neighbourhood of the royal stronghold: this is a feature also of the Southside sections of the abbeyland bounds as a whole, as only 26 per cent of all the usable names there are Gaelic.

Incidentally, the appearance of *Asmundertoft(es)*, a normal ON. compound, in our

TABLE I

Manx place-names of c. *1280 from the Abbeyland Bounds, showing the high proportion of Gaelic names in the Sulby section as compared to the others*

Source: B. L. Cotton MS Julius A vii, sec. 4

Gaelic	*Norse*	*Gaelicised (or modified Gaelic)*	*Latinised*	*Uncertain or ambiguous forms*	*Total*
(a) *Malew Abbeylands*					
Russyn (abbey, river, castle) [mod. Rushen]	Oxwath (ford)	Kyrkemychel; or villam Thorkel [1511 Kyrke-Mychell]	villam castelli [1511 Castelland, alias Scarclowte; mod. Scarlet]	Bylozen [mod. Billown]	
Aryeuzryn [1511 Arerman (?-*uran)]	Trollatofthar	Crosyuor	pratum monachorum [1867 Abbey Meadow]	Hentr(a)e (arable land)	
Balcsalach / Balcsalazc / Balsalzc [mod. Ballasalla]	Staynarhea		villam MacAkoen [mod. Ballakeigen]	Mouru / Mouro (stream) [mod. Awin Ruy]	
	Fanc (glen)		villam Thorkel; alias Kyrkemychel	Cornama(*n*) [mod. Cordeman]	
	Worzefel (mountain) [*c.* 1316 Warthfel, mod. Barrule]			Byulthan [mod. Balthane]	
	Rozefel [mod. Granite Mountain]				
	Oxrayzer [mod. Shenvalla]				
	Totmanby [1511 Totnamby, mod. Tosaby]				
	Corna (river) [mod. Santanburn]				
	Herynstazc [mod. Orrisdale]				
3	10	2	4	5	24

[*Continued over*]

TABLE I—*continued*

[*Gaelic*]	[*Norse*]	[*Gaelicised*]	[*Latinised*]	[*Uncertain*]	[*Total*]
(b) *Sulby, or Myrescogh, Abbeylands (Lezayre parish)*					
{Hescana[-]appayze {Hescanakeppage (lake) [1703 Cappagh] Kor (wood) Leabba* Aukonalḳay Glennadroman [mod. Glentramman] *Karraycl[-]eth (rock) Leathkostray Hath Arygegormane Dufloch [*cf.* 1703 Dolla(u)gh]	Myrosco (wood) [1505 Myrescogh] Bryseth (stream) Sulaby (river of) [mod. Sulby river]	Kyrkecrist [*c.* 1257/1505 villa de Kyrcrest juxta Ramsa]		Munenyrzana Rozelean Duppolla (on stream)	
8	3	1	—	3	15
(c) *Skinscoe Abbeylands (Lonan and Maughold parishes)*					
Rynkurlyn [mod. Rencullen]	Skynnescor [mod. Skinscoe] Laxa (harbour, river) [mod. Laxey] Gretastaz (*villam*) [1511 Grettest (treen) mod. Gretch (farms)]	{Tofthar Asmund (arable land) {Toftha Asmud [*c.* 1154 Asmundertoftes; mod. Ballellin]	capellam sancti Nicholai [1643 Crot kill Nicholas]		

		Orumsouz (arable land) [*c.* 1200 Ormeshau; mod. Barony Howe]				
	1	4	1	1	—	7
TOTALS	12	17	4	5	8	46

Notes: The letter *z* is apparently used to represent Gaelic *ch* and *gh*, and also Norse *ð*. It may occur once for *s*, possibly in error (*Oxrayzer*).

Section (a): *Fanc.* This name is placed in the Norse column, following Marstrander and Mrs Gelling, who favour ON. *fang* ('fishing, or hunting, place'), as perhaps more probable in a thirteenth-century place-name than Gaelic *fang* ('sheep-fold').

Section (b): *Leabba Aukonalkay.* The first part of the name is agreed to be Gael. *leaba* ('bed, grave'), but the defining part has not hitherto been successfully read. Irish parallels suggest that a mythological or saint's name could be involved.

Karraycl[-]*eth.* The first element is Karrayc- ('rock'), but the second is uncertain.

Hath Arygegormane. The first part of the name is agreed to be Gael. *áth* ('ford'). Mrs Gelling (1971:171) has transcribed the second part differently, but after re-examination of the MS, Kneen's reading seems virtually correct: the first element is *Aryge-*, initially written *Aryze-*, both forms representing Gael. *áir(i)ghe* ('shieling'). Mrs Gelling, who dismisses the idea of an *áirighe* in this location, has overlooked the point (made by my wife) that Manx names in Eary- probably refer to former shielings at relatively modest elevations, which soon became enclosed farmland, in contrast to the abandoned shieling-sites identified by field archaeology at higher altitudes, one of which was occupied in the twelfth century (P. S. Gelling 1962–3).

Uncertain or ambiguous forms. Discussed by Mrs Gelling (1970–71). *Heutre*(*-trae*) looks like Welsh *Hendre*, 'old farm' (equivalent to Manx *Shenvalley*), but if it were, one might expect the *-f* (or *-v*) of the second element to be preserved, unless (as is likely) it represents a spoken form.

Duppolla. If Gaelic, *Duſ-* might be expected (*cf. c.* 1200 *Duſpol* (Kirkcudbrightsh.); while *Dupwath*, 13th c., in Cumberland, might be urged in favour of a non-Gaelic source. The *-a* might (though it need not) indicate an ON. stream-name.

TABLE 2

Place-names in the Court Roll of 1417–18

Most settlement-name forms were evidently already established long before the lord's-rent book of 1511–15. Sources: unpublished court roll, Manx Museum Library; lord's-rent book, 1511–15 (Talbot 1924). The 1428 forms in col. C and Note 3 are from an unpublished garrison inquest roll, Manx Museum Library

(A) *1417–18 roll*	(B) *1511–15 equivalent (with parish, where relevant)*	(C) *Other forms (modern, unless dated)*
NORSE TREEN-NAMES		
Le Calfe	Le Calf (Rushen)	the Calf of Man the Calf (Isle)
Scard	Scard (Rushen)	Scard
Scarclout	Scarclowte (Malew)	Scarthlat (1595); Scarlett farm
Baldall	Baldall (Braddan)	Baldwin (valleys)
Raffe	Rauff (Lonan)	the Rhaa (farm)
Raby	Raby (Lonan)	Raby
Cornay [mill of]	Cornay (Maughold)	Cornay, or Cornaa
NORSE SHEADING-NAMES		
Ayre	le Ayre	*cf.* Kirk Christ Lezayre (1511–15); Ayre sheading
Midel(l) Medall	Medall	*cf.* Medall [treen] (Braddan) (1511–15): Middle farm; Middle sheading
Gaurf	Garff	*cf.* Grauff [treen] (Lonan) (1511–15): Grawe farms; Garff sheading
OTHER NORSE NAMES		
Tynwald [court]		Tynwald Hyll (1408)
Ramsay [town]		Ramsey (ON. **Hrams-á*)
GAELIC TREEN-NAMES		
Knokhauley [in Glenfaba]	Knokallowe (Patrick)	Knockaloe (farms)
Molynlowen	Molynlawne (Kirk Andreas)	Mullenlowne (farm)
Gilcagh	Gilcagh (Kirk Andreas)	Gilcagh (farm)
GAELIC SHEADING-NAMES		
Glenfaba	Glenfaba	Glanfaban (1377); Glenfaba sheading
Russhen	Rushen	Rushen; Rushen sheading *cf.* Knock Rushen (farm)
OTHER GAELIC NAMES		
Balysallagh Balisallagh [village]		Balesale (1428); Ballasalla
Douglas [priory]	Douglas (Conchan)	Dowglas [town] (1428); Douglas

TABLE 2—*continued*

{Balylagh / Balilagh}[parish]	Balylagh	Ballaugh
'KIRK-INVERSIONS'		
Kyrkesantān		(Kirk) Santan, Santon
Kyrkemaro(u)n'		(Kirk) Marown
Kyrke(e)patr*ick* opon Drom		*cf.* Keeill Pharick y Drommey (German)
Kyrk(e)mych*ell*	Kyrke Mighell (Michael)	Kirkmich*ell* (1428): Kirk Michael
Kyrkmagh*ald*		Kirkmaghald (1428): Kirk Maughold
Kyrkcryst [Lezayre]		Kirkrist (1428): (Kirk Christ) Lezayre
Kyrkebrand*an*, Kyrkebradan (etc.)		Kirkbradan' (1428): (Kirk) Braddan
Kyrkelonan'		(Kirk) Lonan
OTHER NAMES (ENGLISH OR HYBRID)		
le Holme [town?]	Halmtoun [mill] (Patrick) [for Holmtoun]	the holmeton (1428); Peel (town)
Pele [castle]		the Pele (1428); Peel Castle
Portu' mars [harbour]		{? Port Mooar (Maughold) [*cf.* Latin *maris* = Manx *moar*]

Note 1 Final syllables omitted in the MS are supplied *in italic.*

Note 2 *Knokhauley:* The identification with Knockaloe is tentative, but virtually certain, and would seem to confirm the derivation of Knockaloe from **Cnoc-Amhlaimh*, 'Olaf's hill or mound' (but see Marstrander (1932:214), who was unaware of this early form).

Note 3 The unpublished 1428 roll also includes the following in addition to the names indicated by that date in col. C: *Kirksayntronyan'* (St Trinian's chapel, Marown), and the parish churches of *Kirkbride*, *Kirkarbory* and *Kirkmalew*; with *Mirescogh* (the northern Curragh), *longnese* (Langness point) and *Raynold(es)way* (Ronaldsway harbour, now Derbyhaven).

fourteenth-century documents has been taken to imply currency of the Norse word-order and inflexion for this name until that time (Gelling 1971:172–3)—and thus the survival of Norse speech. This is surely unlikely, as the two instances referred to probably only represent copying of the obsolete name as found in the original twelfth-century grants and copied into the same transcript source. The re-dating of the Gaelicised form, *Tofthar Asmund* (Table 1, sec. (c)), to *c.* 1280 supports this conclusion: even that date does not establish the time at which the Gaelicised form *first* came into use in speech. It may, however, indicate the possibility that the Norse plural-inflexion survived in the spoken language until *c.* 1280 (*cf. Trollatofthar*, Table 1, section (a)).

(e) 'If', asked Mrs Gelling, 'Gaelic names existed for Barrule, Ramsey, and all the other names in this category, why did these hypothetical Gaelic equivalents not emerge into general use?'—*i.e.* following the demise of Norse speech.

The point is very important, but a list of possible equivalents can, in fact, be produced. Many of these were mostly well-known while Manx was still widely spoken. First, the

parish churches, normally referred to as 'Kirk Patrick', 'Kirk Maughold', *etc.* (though now often without the 'Kirk'), all had their vernacular Gaelic form: *Keeill Pharick, Keeill Maghal, etc.*, or more specifically *Skyll* or *Sk'eeil(ey) Pharick, Sk'eeil(ey) Maghal, etc.*, representing *skeerey-killey* . . ., 'parish-church of'. Actually, the 'official' forms themselves might theoretically represent anglicised Gaelic ones in which the Norse loanword *kirk-*, borrowed into Middle English, has replaced Gaelic *cill-* (*cf.* Nicolaisen 1960:61–7; the earliest evidence for the type in Manx sources is *Kyrkemychel, Kyrkecrist, c.* 1280.) Tynwald Hill was always *Cronk Keeill Eoin* ('the mount of [St] John's church') to Manx speakers—and who, after all, can say which of those alternative, unrelated in names is really the older? The church name has the older (Irish) form of John, not the Eastern Gaelic *Ean*, and is doubtless pre-thirteenth century at the least. The Norse name of Peel harbour, with its islet, is represented by 'Holm(e)', 'Holme patrik' (1377), 'Patrikysholm' (1392, Cal. Papal Letters), later 'Holmetown', but the vernacular was *Purt* (or *Balley*) *ny Hinchey*: here the former currency of **inis*,[6] a word unknown to the Manx dictionaries, is implied, with no doubt *-patraic* understood (*cf.* the Latin form in the chronicle), and this Gaelic island-name is also likely to be earlier than the thirteenth century. Indeed an origin in the eleventh century would seem to be the latest period likely for the establishment of the implied name **Inispatraic*, to judge by the Irish-type church of St Patrick of the Isle and its associated round tower. (The supposed reference to the islet in Irish annals, *c.* 797, relates to *Inispatraic*/Holmpatrick off the Dublin coast.) 'The Myres', the normal late-mediæval name of the northern marshes, is always 'The Curragh(s)' now; and the same Gaelic word occurs in a Manx place-name already recorded in 1315. The abbey farm called 'Oxrayzer' (ON. 'ox-cairns') *c.* 1280, has apparently survived under the alternative name Shenvalley (Manx, 'old farm'). Marstrander (1932:207–8) paired Elby Point (ON. *hale-bor*, 'tail farm') and The Niarbyl (Manx *yn arbyl*, 'the tail'), a tail-like series of partly-tidal rocks. Kneen and Marstrander also noted that in Lonan the obsolete treen-name of Rig (ON. *hryggr*, 'ridge') had embraced the two quarterland farms of Baldromma, Manx 'ridge farm' (Marstrander 1932:180). Among the hills Sartfell and Slieau Dhoo are nearby (though not adjacent), in Michael parish; as are Barrule (ON. *varðu-fjall*, 'watch or beacon hill')[7] and Cronk ny Arrey Lhaa (Manx, 'day-watch mount') in Rushen parish: the forgotten Norse name of the latter peak is found in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century sources as 'Echewle', and 'Adjule' (ON. 'edge-hill'). And there are other, more tentative, pairs.

While, in the absence of early documentation, it is impossible to prove that any of these vernacular equivalents is as old as the Norse period, the possibility that some are cannot simply be disregarded—especially since we now have good evidence that many Gaelic place-names were current at the close of the Norse régime. There is also the point made by Marstrander (*e.g.* 1934:291) that the surviving Norse names of some of the hills and streams may after all represent translations of the lost pre-Norse names (*e.g.* Snaefell, ? < **sliabh sneachta*: *cf.* a hill so named in Donegal). An instance when the old native name may in part be represented is Struan y Craue, for a small stream near

the Sulby river-mouth, formerly 'Ramsa' (ON. 'wild-garlic river'; *cf.* Gaelic *creamh*). On the other hand names like Folieu ('below the mountain'), unknown in Irish to Marstrander (1934:315), probably originated in Man from the Norse, in which the type was common, but even so would equally imply bilingualism.

On the tendency of Scandinavian place-names to outlive vernacular Gaelic names, the late Éamonn de h-Óir observed that numerous Irish place-names, mainly unconnected alternatives to names of Scandinavian origin, often never appeared in writing at any period but survived in Irish language contexts: 'it was the Scandinavian name that was taken over by the incoming English, and that persisted in use by English speakers since' (de h-Óir 1972–3:197–200). There may be little firm evidence that English was much spoken in Man before the fourteenth century, yet long before that, and while Norse was dominant, English merchants, sailors and officials must have been familiar with Manx landmarks, rivers, headlands, hills and harbours. Moreover, some English monks and clergy (and no doubt others) evidently settled there and became administratively influential just as early as they did in Ireland. Both these considerations suggest how Norse names could have become 'established', as in Ireland, in preference to local Gaelic names long before the Stanley era. It should also be remembered that there was in Man an important tradition of writing in Norse up to the time when land-records (of English type) were first kept. On the other hand Manx Gaelic was, for reasons discussed by R. L. Thomson (1969:177, 179–80), very much less of a written language than Irish.

There is, moreover, one positive characteristic of Manx Gaelic names which should be early, though Mrs Gelling has reservations: the presence of names in Slieau- and Carrick. Professors MacQueen and Nicolaisen both regard Scottish names in *Sliabh-* (Slew-, *etc.* 'hill') and Carraig ('rock, cliff'), which have a restricted distribution, as pre-Viking—as indeed they do the names in Kil-('church or chapel') also common in Man. The problem is to know how long such names continued to be given in particular situations. The studies on which these conclusions are based (*cf.* McNeill and Nicholson 1975:4–5) were not available at the time when Marstrander wrote, but it should in any case be remembered that when Marstrander emphasised the 'recent' appearance of the Manx Gaelic place-names, he seems to have meant that few if any generic names of *prehistoric* type occur—*i.e.* none earlier than such as might be expected to have accompanied the coming of Christianity, or settlements of fifth to eighth centuries. Most, of course, will be later.

Before leaving the subject of the Manx place-names, one may ask a more general question. Do they in fact display characteristics which would support the suggestion that Gaelic speakers were introduced after 1266 in numbers sufficient to cause a language change? A complete answer would, to begin with, involve an exhaustive comparative study of the names of Man and Galloway: at the nearest the two areas are separated by only 18 miles of sea and, in theory, an historical basis could be found for a settlement—but of unknown size—from Galloway in or about 1275. This is not the place to attempt such a survey but, thanks to Kneen's work on the Manx names and to Professor

Nicolaisen's recent studies of particular south-west Scottish names, one significant point of difference is already apparent. Whatever resemblances there may be, the apparently complete absence in Man of names in *achadh-* ('enclosed field'), so common in south-west Scotland (and indeed in the rest of Gaelic Scotland and Ireland), presents a real obstacle to the theory of any new Gaelic settlement in Man in the thirteenth century. And there are other notable absentees such as *blàr* and the church-term *clachán*, to go no further in the alphabet. This, admittedly, is negative evidence, but the absence of *achadh-* names is particularly significant as this settlement term was in such common use in south-west Scotland in active name-formation during the very period we are considering (Nicolaisen 1975a:173–4; 1975b:4–5; 1970:19–23, 33). Even the word *achadh* finds no place in the Manx dictionaries. With the results we have already obtained, this negative place-name evidence seems to me fairly conclusive.

III *Epithets and Patronymics*

This subject, and the two following sections, lay outside the scope of Mrs Gelling's study of the place-names, but they are vital to the solution of her problem.

The determined way in which the Manx kings adhered exclusively to the personal names of their Scandinavian ancestors has already been mentioned. Though 25 per cent of the persons named in the local Norse inscriptions of the tenth and eleventh centuries bore names of Gaelic origin, and Marstrander (1932:337) convincingly maintains that these must imply a free population of equals—not slaves or bondmen—no similar hint appears in the royal line at any stage during the next two centuries. Considerations of state may explain this; for, by contrast, their cousins of Argyll, who began effectively to encroach upon the Isles kingdom from Somerled's day (d. 1164), made no such effort to conceal their mixed, largely Gaelic origins. For the Manx kings, on the other hand, the 'Norwegian dimension' must have seemed an indispensable political shield against the increasingly powerful neighbours which threatened Man and the Isles during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

A surer guide to the everyday speech of the Manx court-circle exists in the chronicle—a work explicitly concerned with the kings themselves, and compiled under their sway. The only epithets applied there to particular kings are not Norse but Gaelic words. Thus Godred I (1079–95) is styled Godred 'Crovan', apparently Gaelic **crobh-bhán*, 'white-handed', a term discussed by Ó Cuiv (1957:284), who compares it with Cathal *Croibhdearg*. The interpretation is provisional, but no recent commentator has doubted that the epithet is Gaelic. Yet it is not one that can be dismissed as an Irish epithet, since Godred figures in Irish sources as *Gofraidh Méarach*, or *Méránach* (from *méar*, 'finger').

A later Godred (Reginald's son), who after brief rule in the Isles was killed in Lewis in 1231, is named as Godred '*Don*'—Gaelic *donn*, 'brown, brown-haired'; though a good, almost contemporary Norwegian source, perhaps momentarily confused with the

island kinglets, or just mistaking *donn* for *dubh*, calls him 'the Black' (Hákon's Saga, ch. 167).

This use of Gaelic epithets in the native dynasty of Man is decisively confirmed in the case of Olaf II (d. 1237), to whom the chronicle assigns no such distinction: yet he was posthumously referred to in the English Close Rolls of 1251—doubtless quoting a contemporary letter from Man—as '*Olavi Duf*' (C.R. 1927: p. 177; *cf.* Hákon's Saga, ch. 166 and 167: *Ólafr svarti*.). Long afterwards Olaf was still remembered in Highland tradition as '*Amhlamh Dubh*' (Skene 1876–80:3, 401); and his grandfather as '*Amhlamh Dearg*' (d. 1153). I know of no literary source available to the MacVurich seanachaidh from which these epithets could have been derived.

The companions and officials of the kings, as represented mainly by witness-lists of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, provide evidence fully consistent with that of the royal epithets. Omitting royalty, and the occasional outsiders, eleven names of Gaelic origin appear there as against fifteen Norse names. Fashion in such matters is no sure guide to contemporary speech, but the occurrence of some patronymics in vernacular form (most are of course concealed in Latin) is decisive.

An early instance is 'MacMaras', a Manx leader slain in battle in 1098 (Chron. *c.* 1257: the opposing leader of the other part of Man is described as an earl, *comes*). The implied Gaelic form is supported by the recurrence of the name in an important witness-list of *c.* 1135, where the second of the secular witnesses is named as the son of 'MacMars', the father possibly being the same leader (Oliver 1861:3). 'Fogal McHaskall', seneschal of Magnus, last native king of Man, witnessed a charter between 1254 and 1265 (text of 1329; Oliver 1861:92), and he may have been a relative of Sir Gilbert MacAskyl, who held the same appointment under the then English lord of Man two generations later (1311). Between these dates, Duncan MacGoffry was justiciar of Man in 1290, a patronymic incorporating *Guðrøðr* in its Gaelic form that could well imply a link with the former native dynasty. Another name in the same category is known from the abbeyland bounds, *c.* 1280; and as it is there incorporated in an established place-name, this is doubtless also referable in origin to the recently-ended period of native rule: *villa Mac Akoen* is identifiable with the quarterland farm of Ballakeigan (earlier Ballacagen). Place-names of the 'Bale-Mac-' type are found amongst the earliest land-grants in Scotland, and the patronymic in such cases is thought to refer to a person of importance, founder of a branch of a family or clan.

Though limited, such evidence as survives for the period before 1266 thus reveals that the precursors of the characteristic Manx Gaelic surnames in Mac-, subsequently reduced to C-, K- and Qu-, were already in being during the 'Norse' régime. On the other hand there is not a single instance in the Manx documentary sources of the usual Norse type of name-formation, with the ending *-son* (or *-dotter*), to set against the positive evidence of patronymics and epithets in Gaelic form. It can hardly be doubted that these imply a background of spoken Gaelic from the eleventh to the thirteenth centuries. It has even been suggested that the occurrence in a rune-inscription of Norse

names in what appears to be Gaelic word-order (*A sunr B*) could represent a translation of a Gaelic patronymic in *Mac-* as far back as the tenth century (Olsen 1954:225–6; *cf.* Gelling 1970–1:138–9). In view of the other evidence now assembled, the suggestion seems far from improbable.

IV *The Literary Evidence*

One of the oldest bardic poems in Irish was composed in honour of Reginald, king of Man, not later than *c.* 1200 (Ó Cuív 1957). The existence of this panegyric, lauding the Gall king's supposed descent from native Irish monarchs of the past, and even hinting at his possible (if far-fetched) claims to the high-kingship of Ireland, surely implies a ready comprehension of Gaelic speech and thought in Manx court-circles at the close of the twelfth century. We know too that Reginald's father was buried at Iona (1188), as Godred Crovan (d. Islay 1095) probably had been also.

That Gaelic, and not Norse, was then positively characteristic of Man seems to be inferred by a phrase preserved by a later mediæval Welsh historian in allusion to the year 1193, when Reginald of Man temporarily overran Anglesey in support of his brother-in-law of Gwynedd: by the Welshmen this episode was referred to as 'the Gaelic summer'—*haf y gwydyl* (Lloyd 1911:2. 588). Though contained in a later composition, *O oes Gwyrthyrn*, the original source of the phrase is almost certainly earlier than 1284 (information from Dr B. G. Owens, per Mr M. D. Lloyd): the Manx reference being of no importance at a later period, it probably derives from a lost contemporary poem on the achievements of the successful brother who soon drove out Rhodri, Reginald's ally. Since the princes of North Wales were not only descended from the earlier Manx dynasty, but had on at least one other occasion (1094) invoked the aid of the Manx fleet to help them in their struggles in Anglesey, this Welsh evidence on the subject is unlikely to be misinformed. Moreover, as we now see, it is consistent with substantial evidence from Man itself.

It must have been either during Reginald's reign or that of his father that John the priest of Maughold, writing in Old Norse, invoked the aid of 'Christ, Malachy, Patrick and Adamnan', while another of his inscriptions ends with the old native Ogam alphabet—as neat a revelation of the thoroughly Gaelic milieu of this ostensibly 'Norse' priest as one could hope for (Olsen 1954:202–5). Though Malachy, the reforming native archbishop of Armagh, was not officially canonised until 1190, he was accepted as a saint soon after his death in the arms of St Bernard of Clairvaux in 1148. John's inscriptions are probably the latest evidence available for the use of Norse runes in Man—and possibly, apart from Orkney, in all Britain and Ireland. Why runes were so commonly used in Man has yet to be explained (Page 1971:167): perhaps elsewhere the Church resisted earlier and more strongly such echoes of old idolatry? Cross-slabs also ceased to be erected about the same time as Manx runes disappeared, perhaps owing to the influence of the reforming churchmen of the day.

As there are apparently no Norse inscriptions later than the twelfth century, when Gaelic was evidently already widely spoken, it is possible that Norse speech died out in Man within a generation or two of the end of the native dynasty—that is, soon after 1300. The suggestion that some doughty Norse-speakers may have stood their ground until forced to emigrate by the rigours of Stanley rule in the early fifteenth century (Gelling 1971:174) seems to me too late: such an exodus—though hardly a large one—did, it seems, occur in 1275, after the battle of Ronaldsway and the total collapse of the Manx rising against the Scots. By the close of the fifteenth century the Norse name of **Conisacre* treen [*Conisakir* 14th c.], 'the king's demesne', once surely one of the best-known places in the whole island as it included Ronaldsway with its spacious harbour, was evidently not only forgotten but also already meaningless to the lord's clerks: the mangled '*Conyssare*' of 1506 (for **Conysacre*) thus survived to our own day in the rentals as 'Comissary', an incomprehensible ghost-name.

v *Administrative Origins*

In the light shed by our reassessment of the onomastic and literary evidence, it is necessary to review some other aspects of the 'Norse heritage' in Man.

The 'treen', the farm-land unit (almost a diminutive proto-parish) upon which taxes were once based, has been equated by Marwick and Marstrander with the Hebridean 'ounce-land', Gaelic *tìr-unnge*.[8] The ounce-land has often been claimed as characteristically Norse (*e.g.* McKerral 1944:54 ff.); but, although certainly known in Orkney in a Norse version of the word, *eyrisland* (vernacular 'ursland'), this unit is found nowhere else in the Scandinavian world (*cf.* Marwick 1952:210). By contrast the *unge*, or ounce, as a value of silver or (less usually) of gold, was evidently in general use in Ireland, possibly even before the Viking period—sometimes quite specifically as the amount imposed as an annual land-tax due to a king or overlord. The most natural explanation might seem to be that the Gaelic *tìr-unnge* corresponded, at least in the Isles, to the *tír-mbó* ('cow-land') of the seventh-century Irish laws. In Ireland the *tír-mbó* was evidently regarded as the normal holding of a freeholder, for which he paid his lord an annual tribute of 'a cow with its accompaniment', elsewhere equated in value with an ounce of silver in the early eighth century (Binchy 1941:8, 68, 77). It is of interest that the *tír-mbó* has also been discussed recently as the Irish equivalent of the Saxon 'hide', or land of a single family (Charles-Edwards 1972:14).

Unfortunately for the simple solution, the treen and ounce-land as we know them do not seem to fit the freeman's holding. In Man, at least in later times, the quarterland (Manx, *kerroo*, *kerroo-balley*; Sc. Gaelic, *ceathramh*) was the characteristic holding, which passed 'from ancestor to heir'. The treen, on the contrary, was evidently a notional grouping for tax and other purposes of a number—normally four—quarterland farms. So far as I am aware, the origin of the Irish and Scottish quarterlands, usually regarded as subdivisions of a townland or *baile*, has not hitherto been explained, or even closely

dated.[9] The Manx documentary evidence is too late to elucidate the problem but, as an entirely tentative suggestion to stimulate discussion, the four-quarterland unit might be compared to the Carolingian system whereby four *manses* (later five) combined to provide and support one fighting man—one *manse* (the farming entity of which the homestead was the centre) providing the man, the other three his equipment and upkeep (Hollister 1962:42–3). That system was associated with the establishment of a professional military or naval force, and might thus be directly relevant to a time when Norse mercenaries were being introduced into the Gaelic social order.

If so, Marstrander's conclusion that treens represent a land-system that existed long before the Viking settlement would not meet the case, but his main argument was based on acceptance of the traditional antiquarian belief that each treen originally had an 'Early Christian' *keeill* (chapel) and *rhullick* (family burial-ground). The subject merits further investigation, and not only in Man: at present all that is certain is that the keeill burial-ground sites are pre-parochial, and a number—but by no means all—have produced evidence of use before the ninth century (Kermode and Bruce 1968:71–3). Others were certainly in use in the tenth and eleventh centuries, if not later, and (though this is not conclusive) lack signs of earlier origin. Dedications where they survive include a number of obscure saints, likely to be early, but many others, including Patrick and Bridget, are certainly later (Appendix B, sec. 2). The fully-developed treen and quarterland 'system' doubtless incorporated pre-existing native, or 'Early Christian' foundations, and extended these to serve the changed conditions of the Norse period. In the Jurby district a series of six prominently-sited pagan burial-mounds, two of them proved by excavation to be those of ninth-century Norse settlers, are distributed individually over as many quarterland farms: this might suggest that those quarterland farms may then have been the principal holdings in that area, as they remain today (Fig. 3). Whether they were already grouped into treens for administrative purposes in the ninth century is of course not known, but it does seem likely that the holdings that came to be known as quarterlands represent in general a very early land system (see Appendix B).

The hypothesis that the treen developed in a Gaelic *milieu*, whether under Carolingian influence or not, is supported by a previously-unexplained term in a Manx land-grant by Godred II (1153–87), which Professor Barrow has lately elucidated. Now for the first time we have the clear implication that the dues paid to the twelfth-century kings from Manx estates normally comprised—in addition to 'secular [military] service', what the grant calls *pecunia* (*i.e.* 'moveable wealth; cattle') and '*(a)conveth*'[10]: clearly these are the familiar *cáin* and *coinnmheadh*, that is tribute, and 'hospitality' or billeting (Barrow 1969:22). Thus under the rule of the native-born kings of the Isles, of the so-called 'Norse' dynasty, the provision of hospitality to the king or his men was known officially by the old Gaelic term invariably used in the same sense in Scotland and Ireland. It was later asserted in the Manx Chronicle that the *tributa regalia* were imposed by Godred Crovan after gaining power (*c.* 1079), when he claimed outright ownership

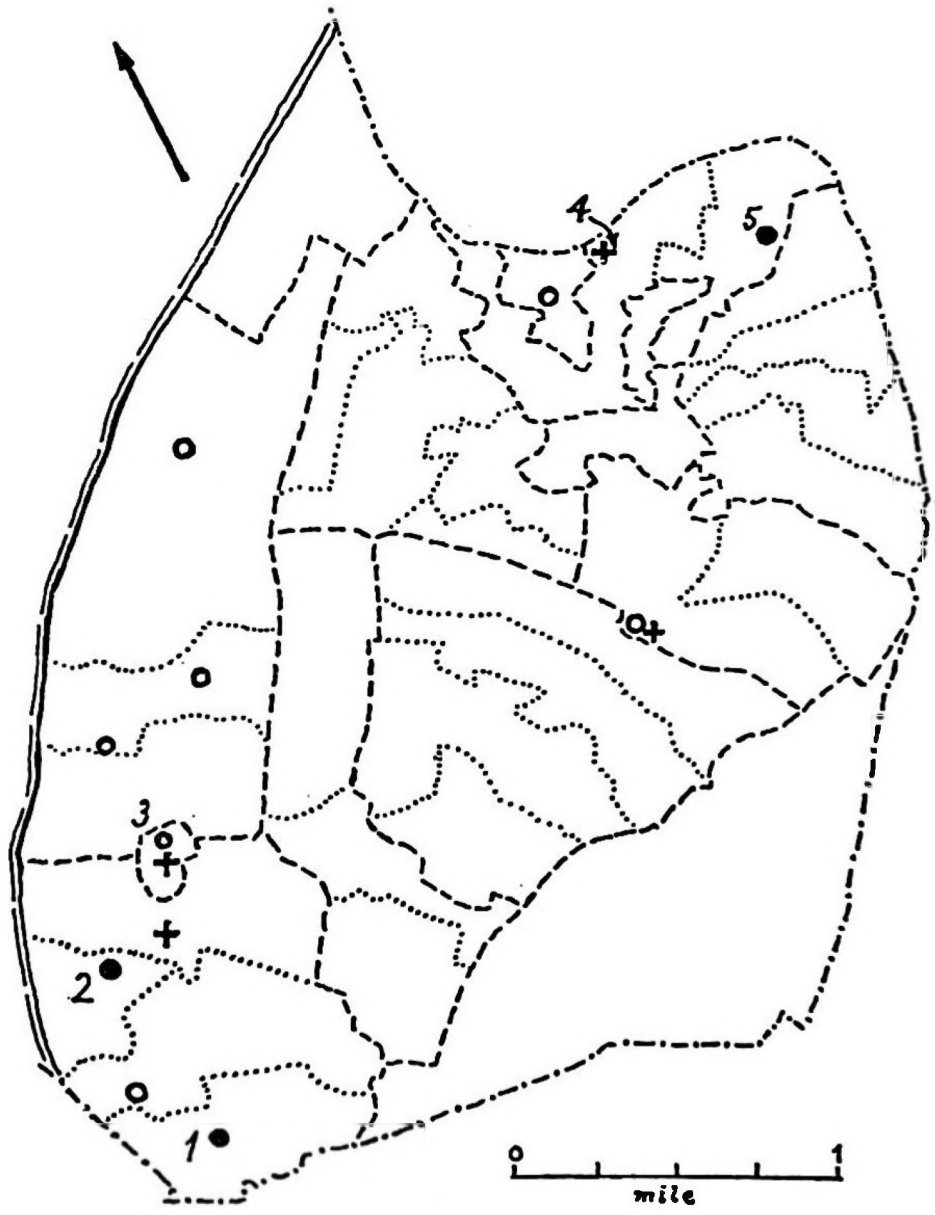


FIG. 3 Pagan grave-mounds on the Jurby coastal ridge

The small parish of Jurby, between sea (*left*) and marsh (*south*), showing boundaries of treens (*bold, pecked lines*) and quarterland farms (*dotted lines*). Though the coastal quarterlands have been reduced by erosion, the surviving glacial ridge flanking the shore was probably always the highest point. The eastern third of the parish comprised ecclesiastical properties (glebe, 'particles', and bishop's barony), apparently associated with (4), the early church-site of 'Kirk Ooslan' (? St Constantine), where stood a rune-inscribed cross-slab of the tenth century. Here according to local belief was the first parish church, and perhaps the unlocated estate of **Dýra-bor* (Jurby).

All burial-mounds so far examined in the parish have yielded Viking grave-goods of the ninth century (Bersu and Wilson 1966). Open circles denote unexcavated burial-mounds. Proved Viking graves:

1 Ballateare
2 Cronk Moar
3 Jurby churchyard (*not* from the mound there)
5 Ballachrink

Six out of eight quarterland farms on the coastal ridge each appear to have been distinguished by a prominently-sited grave-mound, perhaps the burial-places of the first generation of Norse settlers. This distribution would seem to support the identification of the farm-units of the ninth century with the traditional quarterland farms.

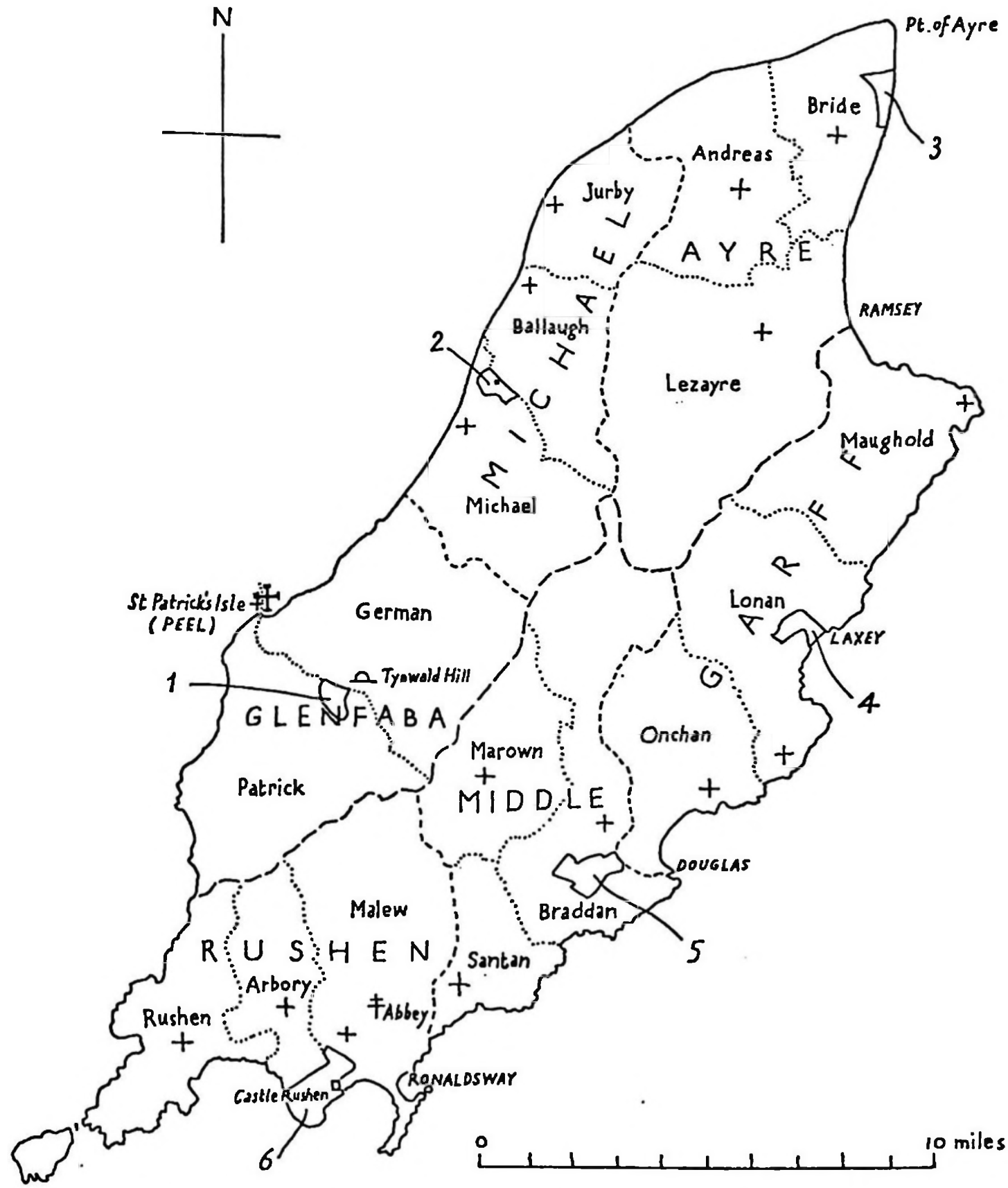


FIG. 4 The mediæval administrative divisions of the Isle of Man, showing the location of the treens from which the six sheadings (court-districts) were evidently named.
1 **Glenfaba(n)* (cf. Glenaspet); 2 *Kirk Michael of Ballachurry* (now Bishopscourt); 3 **Le Ayre* (now Third Cranstall, including 'Ballaragh'); 4 *Grauff* (*cf.* the Grawe quarterlands); 5 Midell (Middle); 6 *Rushen* (now Scarlett, including Knock Rushen quarterland and Castle Rushen).
Asterisk indicates 'lost' treen-name, location tentative.

Sheading names in capitals, parish names lower case. The S.W.–N.E. watershed divides the 'Northside' and 'Southside' districts, each with three sheadings, administered from Castle Rushen and Peel Castle respectively.

Parish churches are marked by a cross, two of these being situated on the islet of St Patrick, at Peel: that of St German served as the cathedral of the Isles (*Sodorensis*). It is believed that there were originally sixteen parishes, Marown and Santan having probably been separated before 1291.

of all the lands in the island; such renders are likely to have a much earlier origin, however, though the dispute as to the legal status of the occupiers of the treens and quarterlands was not finally resolved—in their favour—until 1703.

That the Manx official concerned with collecting the dues from the treens was known as the *moar*, a variant of the term borrowed into all the branches of insular Celtic, ultimately from Romano-British Latin *maior*, 'steward' (Jackson 1953:299), is in full agreement with the belief that it was an indigenous system, and not of Norse origin, upon which the kings of the Isles depended in the twelfth century and earlier for maintaining themselves, their households, and (not least) for fighting men and ships.

Even the widely-held view that the 'sheadings', six court-districts into which Man has been divided since the middle ages, are characteristically Norse may be questioned. The Scandinavian hypothesis, first seriously argued by Vigfusson (following E. W. Robertson's lead in 1872), had support from the redoubtable Horace Round (1895:76, *n.*). Yet Round seems to have depended on the assertion that in such matters thirds and sixths were Scandinavian, conveniently ignoring the six 'commotes' of nearby Anglesey, the heartland of the native British kingdom of Gwynedd, with which Man had significant early links. (Round also overlooked in this context the six 'lathes' of seventh-century Kent; and the probability (Thomas 1964) that Brythonic Cornwall also originally comprised six divisions (later increased to nine), subsequently called 'hundreds'.) Vigfusson (1887; 1888) depended on his derivation of sheading (*shedyng*, 15th c.; *sheetin*, Manx) from a supposed ON. **scegð-ping*, 'ship-division'. But the term is not found, and Marstrander therefore finally discarded it—and also the Oxford Dictionary's Middle English proposal—in favour of ON. *séttungr*, 'a sixth part' (Marstrander 1937:410, 431).

Whatever the origin of the word, however, the thing itself seems likely to be pre-feudal, and comparable to the Welsh commote (*cymmwd*, 'neighbourhood'), which was also a court-district (Lloyd 1939:1–300; Jones 1972:299–302). Like the commotes, the sheadings were also grouped together in larger primary divisions, two in Man, three in less hilly Anglesey. It has not been remarked previously that the names of all the individual sheadings imply that each had formerly been administered from a treen-estate (or perhaps from a particular quarterland within the treen) within the district that bore the same name: Glenfaba(n), Kirk Michael, (le) Ayre, Grauff (now Garff, but *cf.* the Grawe quarterlands), Midell (Middle), and Russin (Rushen). Four of these are identifiable with virtual certainty, the other two provisionally (Fig. 4). These former sheading-centres all seem to have been farms, not primarily defensive sites (with the possible exception of Rushen), and would thus be directly comparable to the *maerdref*, 'the (royal) steward's demesne-farm or township', of the Welsh commotes, where the pre-feudal renders and services were paid from the surrounding farms to the peripatetic king or prince. They would also correspond to the 'primitive shire' centres in parts of England and Scotland discussed by Professor Barrow (1973:7–68). In recent centuries the moar was a parish official, so that there were two or three in each sheading, 17 moars

in all; but it is significant that the earliest (fifteenth century) statutes refer to the six moars, one for each sheading, like the *maer* of a commote.

The coroner of the sheading (Manx, *toshiagh jiorrey*; *cf.* Scots *toshachdera* [Dickinson 1941]), was of superior status, as the fine for resisting him was £3 compared with 6s. 8d. in the case of the moar. It has been suggested that the early 'moar of the sheading', as distinct from the parish moar, was in fact the coroner (Craine 1955:57). The coroner's overall responsibility within the sheading for maintenance of the coastal watch and ward suggests that his precursor may once have had wider powers than those suggested by the feudal title. Was there some connection with the three coroners who administered the three 'wards' of Islay, each ward (it seems) once comprising two mediæval parishes (Lamont 1966:iv, 3, 76)? This term, derived from Anglo-Saxon *weard*, originally signified a defence-district, which was doubtless also an early aspect of the sheading. The native term in Islay seems to have been the Gaelic *rann*, 'division' (Watson 1926: 496), which is also the meaning of sheading according to the Oxford Dictionary. Other divisions of what had been Scottish Dalriada were administered by officials latterly called coroners (as Dr Bannerman has reminded me) and, if there is a real connection with the Manx official of the same name, this would strengthen the belief that the sheadings may ultimately be traced to the indigenous kingdoms of the Dark Age.

Even the Tynwald assembly need not be regarded as exclusively of Scandinavian origin. The name refers to the untilled field or plain on which the midsummer assembly gathered, and indeed still does so; but there is, after all, perhaps little else necessarily 'Norse' about the assembly itself, and the place-name might be a translation of an earlier native one. In recent times old people simply referred to the occasion as 'the Fair' (*cf.* Irish *óenach*, which also had both meanings), and the place itself as St Johns, after the chapel in which the court meets before and after the open-air proceedings. The core of the original ceremony seems to have concerned the acknowledgment of the king by his 'barons and all other', and the taking of oaths upon the 'Three Relics of Man'. It was at 'The Hill' (Manx *Cronk Keeill Eoin*) that the recognition of the heir-apparent took place (Megaw 1950:166, 169 *n*); and doubtless also the inauguration of the new king. The installation of the king's deputy (now lieutenant-governor), is still marked by the presentation of the staff of government, formerly a 'long white rod', by one of the two deemsters (Manx *briw*; Gael. *breitheamh*, 'judge'), though nowadays performed at Castle Rushen (Megaw, E. M. 1945–6); and this probably derives from the mediæval inauguration ceremony, having Irish and Hebridean parallels (O Corráin 1972:35–7; Dillon 1973). Even the pavilion erected on the Hill, documented from the seventeenth century, could perhaps be seen as the last representative of the type of temporary ritual house, woven of white peeled rods, where the Irish kings used to receive the acknowledgment of their vassals. Again like the Irish inauguration-mounds and places of annual assembly, the Manx '*Tingvalla*' is located at a prehistoric burial-place, and it seems quite possible that the artificial mound of the Hill itself may be older than the Age of the Vikings. Illuminating references to the concept of the royal heir formally seated upon

his forebear's grave-mound in order to establish his claim to his rightful inheritance can be found in Norse literary sources (*cf.* Ellis 1943:105–11), and these doubtless have a bearing on early insular custom: yet, without prolonging the discussion, I suggest that they are perhaps more likely to have a common origin in remoter practices rather than the result of direct cultural borrowing.

VI *Conclusion*

Despite the initial appearance of a 'monolithic' Norse state persisting between Britain and Ireland throughout four centuries, the real situation was clearly different. The settlers had become Christian within a century, at most, of their arrival: this alone reveals the effective influence of the native culture on the incomers. From the outset, *c.* 930, long before the eleventh-century Dublin kings secured temporary control, people with Gaelic names figure prominently in the earliest runic inscriptions. These in Professor Shetelig's view represent, not the kings and their circle, but the freehold farmers of the day: one of the earliest, for instance, carved by Gaut himself, is on a monument erected by a Máelbrigte, son of Aedhacán the smith.

However the Norse settlement of Man had come about in the first place (and the saga-writers, Norse or Irish, tell us nothing reliable about this), there is no historical evidence that the rulers of Norway ever attempted to control, or tax—let alone visit—Man until the Viking Age was past (Shetelig 1940:1. 24–5; Johnsen 1969). Even after the intrusion of king Magnus Barcleg and his death in Ireland five years later in 1103, the Sudreys—thereafter nominally under Norwegian suzerainty—were generally left to fend for themselves until the thirteenth century. The feudal render of 10 gold marks paid by the Manx king to a new king of Norway during the last century of the régime may initially have been an arrangement actively sought by the former to ensure protection from more immediate threats. Still in the thirteenth century the island's taxes were due only to the king of Man (Johnsen 1969:20–2).

A true estimate of conditions in Man, I suggest, has to balance substantial evidence of a powerful and persistent Scandinavian element in the ruling circle and the chief landowners against a background of native continuity, presumably with widespread bilingual ability in much of the population. On conditions in the ninth century the absence of Norse women's graves amongst those of the settlers argues for continuity on the distaff side at the critical settlement-stage. In the absence of historical sources for Man at that period, such evidence as we have would allow us to envisage the possibility that the first Scandinavian settlers may have been invited by the then rulers of the island to assist them as allies or mercenaries, and that they settled virtually as soldier-colonists—much like the first English in Britain. A closer parallel might be the first Anglo-Norman adventurers in Ireland, whose leader Strongbow obtained the kingdom of Leinster illegally by marrying his ally's daughter. Something very like this, though on a smaller scale, may well have occurred in Man three centuries earlier. Perhaps the settlement in

Argyll of Somerled's partly-Norse ancestor from Ulster, Godfrey son of Fergus (Sellar 1966), at the behest of the king of Scots in the ninth century, might also be seen in this kind of context: that Argyll settlement has the added interest for our present purpose of being a more or less contemporary movement, and also long lasting in its effects.

Certainly this kind of explanation would seem consistent with the considerable amount of later evidence for the image of the king of the Isles as leader, or provider, of war fleets—*e.g.* to Dublin in 1091, *c.* 1155, and 1171; to Anglesey in 1094 and 1193; to Ulster in 1154 and 1205; to Caithness in 1199, on behalf of the king of Scots. Thereafter King John and Henry III engaged successive kings of Man to 'guard the coasts' towards England and Ireland respectively, and in one case the size of the fleet normally to be provided is given as fifty galleys. (Earlier the Argyll fleet, a potential rival, had apparently been limited by Godred Crovan, according to the Manx chronicle—though under Somerled it eventually got the better of his grandson.) Such naval mercenaries were the forerunners, clearly, of the West Highland '*gallóglaich*' bands, usually thought to have originated only in the thirteenth century (MacNeill 1919; McKerral 1951), but surely a constant element in Sudreyan life from the early Viking period—and perhaps even earlier. That they might sometimes be recompensed in lands, besides portable wealth, may well have been as true of the ninth century in Man as of the fourteenth in Ireland. Indeed the Jurby evidence (Fig. 3) might represent a plantation of Norse settlers there to provide for coastal defence at a strategically sensitive point.

As Professor Ó Cuív (1975) has recently suggested, it seems as if the Irish—and he might have added, the Welsh also—generally expected foreigners settled in their land, be they 'Gauls', Norsemen, or (still later) Norman-English, to adopt the role of mercenaries, hired troops, so that 'Gall' came early to acquire this secondary meaning. Hence, perhaps, the unchivalrous reputation of the twelfth-century Gaelic-speaking Gallowegians (MacQueen 1973:27) whose name, *Gallghàidhil*, perhaps implies their earlier leaders' occupation and training in the manner of the hired warriors rather than substantial Norse descent—of which (unlike the Manx) their place- and personal-names show scant trace.

In this respect the contrast with the Gallowegians' close neighbours, the kings of Man, is indeed so striking that it could have justified an all-out claim by the latter to the qualities and lineage of the old warrior sea-kings of the North. This is precisely the image accorded to Reginald of Man, both in the Irish bardic poem and the Orkneyinga Saga; and it is equally reflected in William of Malmesbury's reference to Maccus, a tenth-century king of the Isles, as *archipirata*, literally 'chief sea-warrior'. This, too, was the image promoted in visual form by the twelfth- and thirteenth-century seals of the kings of the Isles themselves: on one side the lion of valour or a mounted warrior, on the other (Fig. 5) a sailing warship full of armed men (Megaw 1959–60). The warship, which is not here displayed as an heraldic charge on a shield, was evidently the emblem of the kings of the Isles: heraldically the Manx kings bore, at least from the thirteenth century, the famous 'three legs' clad in chain mail on a red field, and that possibly

derived from an old native emblem of the island since in Manx tradition the device is supposed to have associations with the eponymous deity Manannán mac Lír—to whom in the seventeenth century the mediæval sword of state (which displays the 'legs' in four places) was also attributed. (The earliest occurrence of the warship is on the broken eleventh-century cross-slab at Iona, carved in a Manx style from a slab of Manx slate—contemporary, or nearly so, with Godred Crovan who, dying in Islay, was doubtless buried in the churchyard on Iona.)

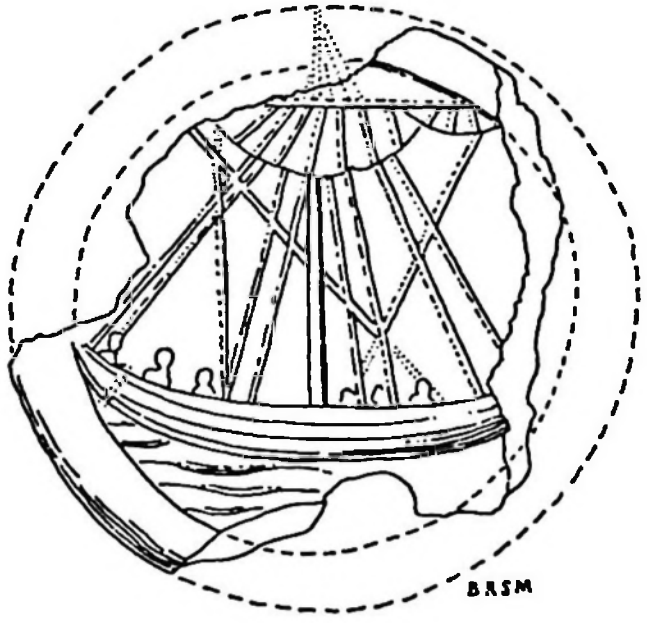


FIG. 5 Seal of Harald, king of Man and the Isles, 1246. After a facsimile drawn about 1641 for *Sir Christopher Hatton's* [MS] *Book of Seals*. The original was destroyed in the Cottonian Library fire of 1731. From the twelfth century the Manx kings and their rival cousins, the Argyll kings of *Innsigall*, both displayed on their seals a sailing warship 'full of armed men'. The inscription surrounding the emblem on this Manx seal is not recorded but was probably: *Sigillum Haraldi regis Mannie et Insularum*; prior to the thirteenth century their style was simply *rex Insularum*.

(*By courtesy of Northamptonshire Record Office.*)

Finally, the tenor of this reassessment seems to suit the archæological evidence for ordinary life recently obtained from excavations even in the Northern Isles. There surviving place-names are almost entirely Norse—yet at Buckquoy there were signs that 'there was a greater degree of overlap than hitherto suspected between the local inhabitants and the early Norse settlers which points to considerable integration, aided by basic similarities between the two peoples' (Ritchie 1974:34).

More light on the wider field will in due course be shed as a result of excavations such as those of Mr Crawford at Udal in North Uist, and of comparative study on lines of which I have attempted hardly more than a sketch. Meanwhile it can be seen already —for example, from Professor Duncan's splendid survey (1975)—that ideas about the nature of Dark Age and early mediæval communities, especially in Scotland where documentation is often so inadequate, have usually been far too simple. Even in Ireland

the wealth of apparently relevant but often, perhaps, unrepresentative material, both secular and religious—to say nothing of the propaganda and fictional material of the twelfth century masquerading as history (Hughes 1972:284–300)—has fostered the impression of a highly improbable 'national' homogeneity. We have imagined that the arrival of the Norse settlers must have had a cataclysmic effect on the smooth pattern of Christian native society whereas, if we but knew, they may have seemed (though we need not pursue this perennial controversy) hardly more than just another plaguey group much like the old unruly neighbours. The barrier between native groups of bond and free, for which Manx evidence is entirely defective, is likely to have been at least as, if not more, important.

In the Isles, where settled communities had deep roots in prehistory, Gaelic was still a comparative newcomer when the Norse settlers arrived, the time-interval between the Dalriadan and Viking settlements being comparable merely to that which separates us from, say, the Protestant plantation of Ulster. It is quite possible that in parts of Skye and the Outer Isles, for instance, Gaelic speakers had not fully assimilated Brythonic, Pictish, or indeed (conceivably) even some pre-Celtic speech-groups, when the Vikings arrived. Even in so small an area as Man we have conclusive evidence that no fewer than four languages—British, Irish, English, and the churchmen's Latin—were in use between the fifth and the eighth century. Before the days of other means of communication oral ability was of course general, and a new language, however different from one's own (*cf.* Jackson 1962:5–6), was—when necessary—simply coped with. No doubt this was happening all the time, and at various levels, not merely in the more cosmopolitan world of royal court and church. In these circumstances such patchy evidence as we possess cannot be understood (if at all) in isolated compartments, or in rigidly linguistic or racial terms. Such an anachronistic and unreal approach would obscure the essential nature and underlying resemblances that doubtless characterised our polyglot insular communities as they emerged together from what seem to us the mists of the Heroic Age and the old Indo-European world.

If in the latter and more speculative part of this paper I have overstressed the likelihood of substantial cultural continuity between the Manx population of the eighth century and their successors of the thirteenth, I hope that the idea of a total break now seems less certain than it did. At the least, Manx Gaelic must be considerably older than Mrs Gelling had thought. The questions raised are much wider than the geographical limits might suggest, and the discussion needs to be kept open and fed by further research in other areas—and in more than place-names—if only because the earlier part of this very long period when, clearly, Norseman and native both were changed, still remains historically so dark.

In a further paper (intended for a forthcoming volume of *Dinnseanchas*) Mrs Gelling, while accepting part of my argument, will indicate another way of interpreting the rest of the evidence, maintaining her belief in an entirely Norse-speaking population, whose *rulers* became bilingual in consequence of connections outside the island community.

I confess that I myself, many years ago, strongly urged a comparable view,[11] before the unhistoric character of most of the late literary sources was so fully realised. Even now, in the absence of decisive contemporary evidence for the ninth and tenth centuries, one must allow that it remains a possible, or at least a partial, explanation of our new paradox. For, if, we have learnt nothing else from this investigation, we now see that even our 'Scandinavian' kings were characteristically Gaelic speakers.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

To the staff of the British Library, Public Record Office, National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh University Library, and the Manx Museum Library, I offer my thanks for their courtesy and permission to study the manuscript sources listed below. I am grateful to Monsignor David McRoberts, STL, FSA, of the Scottish Catholic Archives, who made available to me in the National Library of Scotland the manuscript of Fordun's *Scotichronicon* in his charge.

I am also much indebted to Dr Neil Ker, FBA, for his great kindness in scrutinising the original manuscript of the Manx Chronicle in the British Library before giving me his advice on the date of the Abbeyland Bounds, and to Mr Myrddin Lloyd, lately Keeper of Printed Books in the National Library of Scotland, for his help and advice concerning the passage quoted from *O oes Gwrthyryn*. The late Mr Kenneth Povey, Librarian of Liverpool University, kindly helped me in the preliminary stages of my study of the bull of Gregory IX to bishop Simon, 1231. Professor Kenneth Jackson, FBA, generously helped me with several problems, and saved me from a number of errors, though he is not (of course) responsible for those that remain.

Finally I offer my warm thanks to Dr Margaret Gelling for the stimulus provided by her admirable articles on the mediæval place-names of the Isle of Man, with only one part of which I have come to disagree. I have benefited from her initial comments on a draft of this article, and look forward to her review of the debate between us.

Appendix A

The bull of 30 July 1231 to Simon, bishop of Man and the Isles

(A. W. Moore 1890; R. Lane Poole 1911)

Though twice published since its discovery in 1888 in the library of the Manx bishop, and the text scrutinised by many leading Scottish historians—not excluding the critical Lawrie—it is strange that, Mrs Gelling apart, no one has asked if this is a forgery. No less remarkable, despite all the effort devoted to identifying the various Western Isles listed in the bull (it is a partly-damaged paper copy of *c.* 1600), the clear signs of a connection with Fordun's list of the Isles (*c.* 1380) seem to have been entirely overlooked. In view of the current interest in Fordun's sources, if for no other reason, this merits investigation.

Skene was surprised that, having so little to say about the mainland districts of Scotland, Fordun should be able to give 'a detailed account of the islands with their ecclesiastical foundations' (more especially perhaps of the Argyll and Clyde Isles), and suggested that he had travelled there in search of material (Skene 1871–2:2. 386–8). While this is possible, it seems at least as likely that his list of islands is based on material such as might be sent him from Iona, in answer to a request for historical information. That the shorter list in the Manx bull was subsequently abstracted from a copy of Fordun's chronicle would appear to be a rational way to account for the resemblances between them; yet, surprisingly, there are some indications that the borrowing may have been in the reverse direction. Fordun, or perhaps an Iona correspondent acting on his behalf, may well have extended his enquiries to the experienced Manxman, bishop John Duncan, ruler at least until 1387 of the diocese that still embraced all the Western Isles other than Iona and Lismore. (He had previously been papal *nuncio* and collector of revenues in Ireland.) Even after being superseded in the Scottish Isles by the nominee of the rival pope, Duncan's Hebridean links continued, as negotiator with the Lords of the Isles on behalf of the English crown between 1388 and 1405 (for notes on his career see Cradock 1930; Watt 1969:202). Despite the probable loss of records during the recent wars, the Manx bishop would certainly have been able to supply a list of the islands from which he claimed revenue (those with parochial churches), and the list in the 'bull of 1231' might correspond with few variations to such a list contributed by him to Fordun's *Scotichronicon*. Both lists are equally 'diocesan' in form—that is, they begin with Man and the cathedral, and proceed northwards by way of the Clyde and Argyll islands, ending with Skye and the Outer Isles. While Fordun's list has some thirty names, with others not in the Isles diocese (and also some descriptive detail), compared to twenty names in the Manx one, what establishes the connection between the lists is the antiquarian opening phrase, 'the island called Eubonia, now Man', common to both of them. This early literary ghost-name had recently gained renewed currency through the widely-available *Polychronica* of Ranulf Higden, the Chester monk (d. 1363). From this source the 'rediscovery' of the ancient name for Man would soon become known to the bishop, the more readily because Chester was a principal port for the island. Fordun certainly used Higden, but this morsel would hardly have the same appeal for him as for a Manxman.

There are indeed other specific hints that the short Manx list may have provided the initial model for Fordun's list of islands—though we must always remember in making our comparisons (Table 3) that in neither case do we have the original text. In none of the manuscript versions of Fordun that I have seen[12] does Eigg appear, though it is very properly included in the Manx list. In place of Fordun's *Helant Leneow* the Manx list has the first part of this name in the superior form *Elath* (probably for original **Elach*), corresponding to Monro's *Ellach Nanaobh* (Munro 1961:51). That the Manx list is not based on Fordun is also suggested by its forms for Jura and Tiree, which could hardly be copied from those of Fordun. There is supporting evidence that Manx

forms in *Dur-* had already begun to change to *Jur-* in the course of the fourteenth century, and the Manx form *Iurye* is probably independent of Fordun's *Dura*. It is even less likely that Fordun's *Tyree* could have been copied as *Chorhye*; but initial *Ch-* for *T-* was a common Manx pronunciation-spelling and, if the word is regarded either as a simple misreading of **Cherhye*, or a metathetic shuffle for **Chyrhee*, this could also be accepted as an independent Manx rendering of the name subsequently corrected for the *Scotichronicon* (whether by Fordun himself or a Hebridean helper) to the more usual Scots form. Other comparisons, though less convincing, may point to the same conclusion. Whereas the Fordun list of the Scottish isles begins with Arran, the most southerly and one of the largest, the Manx one starts with Bute, which was politically and ecclesiastically the chief of those in the Firth of Clyde. Fordun's *Gya*, an odd form for the fourteenth century, could suggest an imperfect correction of the defective Manx *[G]*eya*; *Cole*, the Manx list's form for Coll, is for the period more regular than Fordun's *Coel*, which could derive from it by metathesis. (Further points are discussed in Table 3.)

One is therefore inclined to believe that Fordun's initial source was a Manx list of the Scottish isles in the Sodor diocese, either in a version of the 'bull of 1231' (if it was then available) or some corresponding 'diocesan' list, in either case enlarged by someone with more particular knowledge especially of the Argyll and Clyde isles.

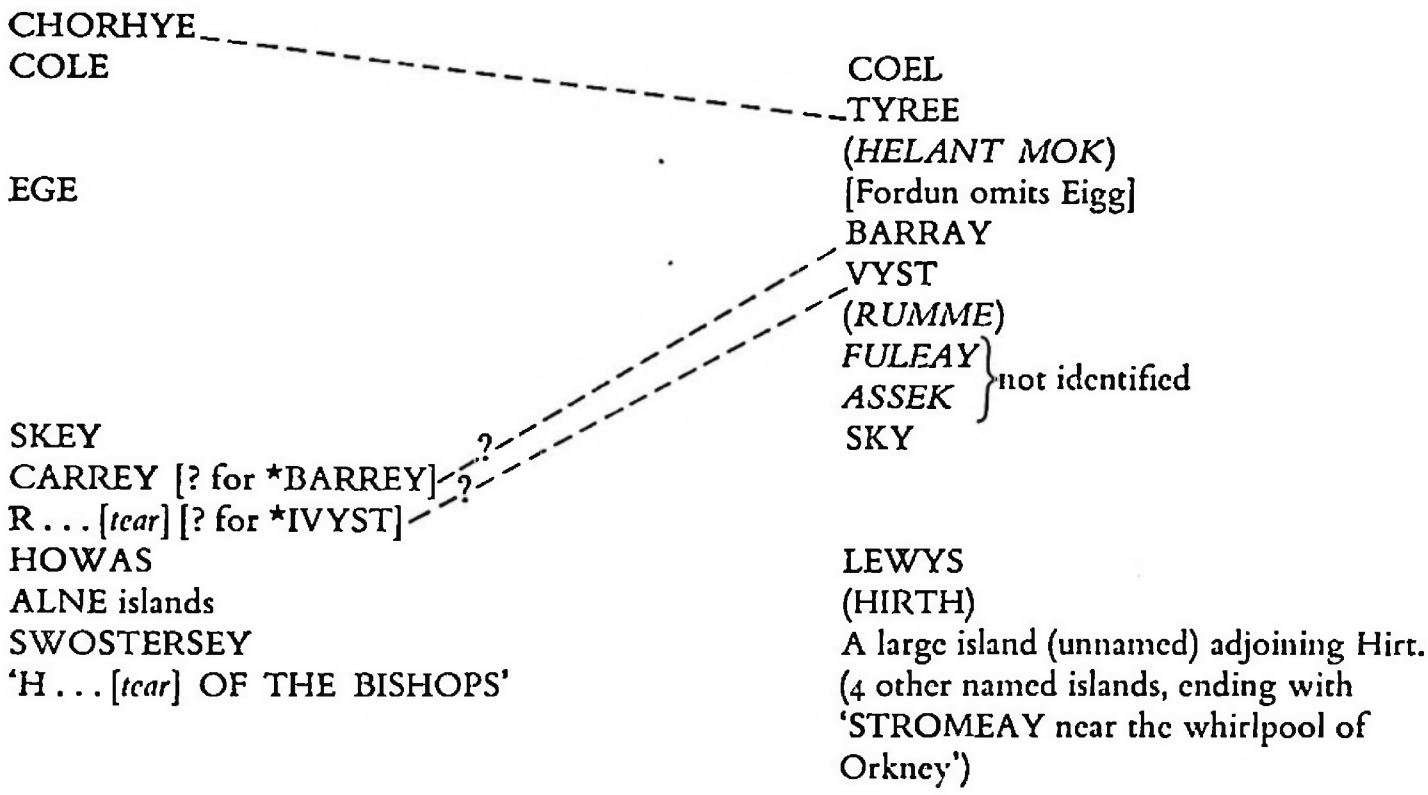
Internal evidence shows that the bull can hardly date from the period of bishop Simon (*c.* 1226–48), however, as two of the properties it purports to confirm to the bishop were not granted until after his death.[13] One is referred to in the bull as 'the place itself, called *Holme*, *Sodor* or *Pile*, where the said cathedral church is situated', with its liberties, appurtenances, etc. In the thirteenth century one would expect the full name Holmepatrick and, as Mrs Gelling has pointed out, the occurrence of the name Peel (*Pile*) also suggests a date not earlier than *c.* 1300. King Magnus's grant to Simon's successor, between 1252 and 1265, names the place simply as 'the island of St. Patrick entire with its appurtenances', *etc.* Another property ostensibly confirmed by the bull in 1231, described as the lands of 'Ramsey', is probably identical with the vill of '*kyrcrest iuxta Ramsay*' (evidently the land known as the Lezayre 'particles'), which was also not granted until after 1252. Moreover, two parish churches are wrongly described in the bull as (the lands of) 'St. Maughold and St. Michael adjoining', whereas these are on opposite sides of the island. They were named by bishop Mark in 1299 merely as 'the churches of SS Michael and Michald [read **Machald*] in Man', which he had granted to Furness abbey: perhaps in the source from which the bull's phrase derived a place-name had followed the word *adiacente*, as the earlier church of Kirk Michael evidently adjoined the bishop's mansion at Ballachurry. The mistake also appears in a confirmation of the bishop's rights dated 1505, to which Mrs Gelling has rightly drawn attention on account of the suspicious resemblance of the spelling of the place-names to those in the 'bull of 1231'. Those singularly close resemblances might suggest that both the copy of the bull 'of 1231' and, in part, the bishop's confirmation charter of 1505

TABLE 3

The Isles as listed in (A) the Manx 'bull of 1231', and (B) Fordun, c. 1380. The sequence of names is that in the respective documents: a broken line links corresponding names where the sequence differs. Names in italics occur only in list (B): those in round brackets lacked parish churches (or, in some cases, were not part of the Sodor diocese) and would therefore not be expected in list (A). In each case the original texts are in Latin

(A) *The Manx 'bull of 1231'* (*copy of c. 1600*)	(B) *Fordun (bk. II, chap. 10) c. 1380* (*text of fifteenth century*)
I[a] 'The cathedral church of St Garman of Sodor in the island called EUBONIA now MANNIA'	'The Isles of Scotia between Scotia and Hibernia . . . Beginning first from the south is the island formerly called EUBONIA, now MANNIA . . . in which is the episcopal see of Sodor.'
I[b] 'The place itself, called HOLME, SODOR, or PILE, where the cathedral church is situated: and the church of St Patrick of the Isle.'	
II 'One third of all tenths of all churches in the island of Eubonia or Mannia.'	
III One third of all tenths of all the churches of:	
BOTHE	ARANE
ARAN	(*HELANT INLAYSCHE*)
	ROTHYSAY or BOTHE
	(*COMBRAYE MAJOR*) } [Not in Sodor]
	(*COMBRAYE MINOR*) }
	(*BLADAY*)
	INCHEMERNOCK
	(*AWERYNE*)
	(*RACHRYNE*)[Not in Sodor]
EYA [? for GEYA]	GYA
	(*HELANT MACARMYK*)
ILE	ILE
	(*HELANT TEXA*)
	COLOUNSY
IURYE	DURA
SCARPEY	(SCARBAY)
	(*LYNGAY*)
	(*LUYNG*)
	(*SUNAY*)
	(*SELEC MAJOR*)
	(HELANT LENEOW)
ELATH	
COL . . . [The order, and later inclusion of Coll, implies Colonsay]	(*GARVELEANE*)
MULEY	MULE
	(*CARNEBORG*)
	HY COLUMBKILLE [Independent of Sodor]
	SANCTI KENETHY
	(*KERNERAY*) [Var. *Kenueray*]
	LISMORE [The see of Argyll bishopric: independent of Sodor]

TABLE 3—*continued*



Note on List (A): Scarba and Elachanave, though ecclesiastically noteworthy, not being known to have had parochial status, are unexpected in a list of islands from which the bishop of Sodor might claim revenue. The absence of Iona is on that ground correct, of Canna not so.

The obscurity of the last six names in the list contrasts with those from Bute to Skye, all of which are identifiable with little difficulty. By *c.* 1600 the last section of this part of the text may have become less easy to read, though two of the six names might be intelligible to us but for tears in the surviving copy; no doubt part of the obscurity is due to the copyist's unfamiliarity with the form of initials used in his original.

With his experience in the Scottish records, Maitland Thomson showed (in Poole 1911:261) that the last six names should refer to the Long Island, the principal mediæval divisions of which are normally given as Barra, Uist and Lewis: all three of these in fact occur in Fordun's list in that sequence if one excepts the four islands there misplaced between Uist and Lewis.

In his *Carrey* the Manx copyist presumably mistook a small initial *b-* for *C-*; and, with allowance for further misread initials, the next two names could be taken for **Iv*[*ist*] and **Lowes*, or comparable forms. Fordun's *Hirth* (St Kilda) and unnamed 'large' island adjoining might then correspond to the Manx list's '*Alne* islands'—possibly for **Hirt*, allowing for difficulty in reading the original. The last two items in the Manx list have resisted identification.

derive not from the original fabrication but from an intermediate copy of the bull in which the place-name spellings had already been 'modernised', perhaps about 1500.

Rather than believe that the 1505 confirmation was one source for the bull, I suggest that the fabrication occurred during the generation or so after *c.* 1360 (Higden)—a period, incidentally, when the Manx church must have been struggling desperately, first to replace the losses (no doubt including diocesan records) caused by incessant warfare, and second, to hold together the far-flung islands of the diocese then splitting politically between the competing spheres of England and Scotland. Furthermore, the cathedral

was in ruins, and St Patrick's Isle occupied as a fortress by the garrison of the English lord. The last chapter added to the chronicle at this time, possibly in the bishop's own hand,[14] testifies to the 'very many offerings' made to bishop Duncan at his installation in his own cathedral in 1377: and, if we may not charge him (or his officials) directly with fabricating the 'bull of 1231', he would at least have had a pressing incentive. So had other bishops, no doubt, but the Isles were no longer the concern of his successors: and, moreover, Duncan's episcopate coincided with the passing revival of interest in 'Eubonia'. However that may be, if Fordun did seek information from Man, as well he might, bishop Duncan would certainly be his likeliest correspondent, and some such list of the Isles might result. Had Fordun merely limited his enquiries to Iona, however, the abbot would still be likely to have received from bishop Duncan a copy of the list—or the 'bull', if it then existed—as a safeguard for the bishop's claim upon the Isles.

Appendix B

Treens and quarterlands, and the age of the keeills

1 The earliest comprehensive lists (none of which are complete for the whole island in a single year) show that by about the year 1500 the farmland of the Isle of Man comprised some 730 quarterlands, corresponding to holdings which in their modern, improved state vary widely but are commonly between 50 and 180 acres, the majority being around 90 acres (Davies 1956: 109), exclusive of the former common grazings. Although 'intacks', *i.e.* rented enclosures of common land (referred to technically as 'waste'), were authorised from the fifteenth century and doubtless earlier, their different status was carefully maintained, so that, in effect, the mediæval tenure-pattern is well recorded, and has been accurately mapped by Dr Elwyn Davies (1956).

There may once have been as many as about 220 treens: 179 treens of lord's-land are recorded *c.* 1500, comprising about 594 quarterlands, and there were in addition about 147 quarterlands of monks' and bishop's land where no treen organisation had survived. However, as some earlier intacks may have come to be reckoned as quarterlands (and even occasionally perhaps as treens), the twelfth or thirteenth century total is unknown, and about 200 treens seems a safer estimate. As already mentioned, a series of names of lord's-land treens are found *c.* 1280 for lands bordering the abbey properties, while on monastic lands others no longer known evidently occur earlier—*e.g.* those designated *Villa* in Latinised form, including no doubt several 'lost' names listed in the Rushen Abbey confirmation grant, 1153. Thus, whatever the social and economic effects of war, famine and plague in the fourteenth century, the names of the land-units of the preceding era seem to have survived substantially in the treen system under the Stanleys. The population has been estimated at about 12,000 at the beginning of the sixteenth century (A. W. Moore 1900: 1. 302).

It is often assumed that the treen represents the 'original' holding, equivalent to the

Saxon 'hide', and that it was subsequently sub-divided (normally, though by no means invariably) into four quarterlands. That is not my view, though the matter requires further consideration. Only the lord's-land treens are named in the early rent (or tax) lists, but these (I suggest) may in fact preserve the name of one of the constituent quarterlands in each case, much as the name of each sheading repeated that of a particular holding within its district. As the quarterland names were not normally otherwise noted before the seventeenth century, such designations as they may have borne would tend to be forgotten and replaced by the name of the family in occupation (*e.g.* Ballagawne, Ballaconley; or, on the abbey demesne, Christian's Ground, *etc.*). Hence the (mistaken?) idea that quarterlands are recent.

The valuable geographical description of the treens and quarterlands published by Davies (1956; *cf.* also Flatrès 1957: *passim*; 213–7), is based on a comprehensive mid-nineteenth-century survey (Woods [1867]), itself ultimately founded as regards the holdings on the early rent-books (*cf.* Talbot 1924). My own interpretation of the possible origins and relationship of treens and quarterlands differs in some respects from Davies's provisional suggestions—which it was not his purpose to pursue. The two monographs by Marstrander (1932; 1937) are complementary, and in some respects conflict with each other, following Marwick's reaction to the first. Despite occasional signs of haste, these contain a wealth of information and perceptive ideas. Though in Norwegian, generous English summaries and many tables and maps are provided.

A recent discovery (Crellin 1969) has confirmed the existence of earlier rent-books than those previously known, similarly arranged under treen-names. In the 1490s the individual amounts of lord's rent differed (being usually somewhat lower) from those established about 1505—which (except for doubling after the 'Act of Settlement', 1703) continued virtually unchanged until abolished by Tynwald in 1913. Marstrander's discussion of the rent-totals for the treens and parishes must therefore be scrutinised afresh. The name-forms in the 1506 (Southside) book from the Earl of Derby's muniments, and in the incomplete '1490s' (Northside) book in the Manx registry, occasionally show significant variation from the published '*Manorial Roll 1511–15*' (Talbot 1924), and reconsideration of some of the interpretations offered by Kneen and Marstrander is now desirable—not least because silent alterations have been noticed in Talbot's posthumous edition.

As regards Scottish parallels, the late Dr Hugh Marwick and the late Andrew McKerral both assured me that in their opinion maps of 'urslands' and 'tirungs' could not be produced for any of the Northern and Western Isles to compare with those of Man. In a literal sense this is probably correct, but much scattered evidence does exist which should be worth mapping, though unexpected 'breaks' in the continuity of land-units may be encountered as seems to be the case in Islay (Lamont 1957–8). Already during the period of Norwegian suzerainty in the Isles, pennylands appear to have existed in Argyll as individually-named holdings, so these also would merit cartographic study if reliable evidence can be found.

2 For recent thinking on the age of the keeills the *Manx Archaeological Survey* (Kermode and Bruce 1968), especially J. R. Bruce's conclusions in the sixth report, should be consulted. A convenient, if tentative, list of dedications of the keeills and of the parish churches—which probably occupied sites of former keeills—appears in Marstrander (1937:335–7), followed by this conclusion: 'no keeill can be shown to have been dedicated to any saint later than Adamnán who died three generations before the coming of the Norwegians'. Curiously Marstrander here omits *Kirk Maloney*, found in 1585 as the name of a keeill (since destroyed) on Ballelby (Patrick), apparently associated with a local family of 'MacLoney' and thought to commemorate Mael Domhnaigh, abbot of Tamhlacht, d. 937 (Marstrander 1934:327). Here the prefix Kirk- for a chapel, instead of the normal Kil- (*Keeill-*), might also be consistent with an origin in or after the tenth century. A cross-slab from the site has been supposed to be pre-Viking, but its simplicity is notably sophisticated and, as with many Scottish and Irish monuments, might well suit a late survival of an early tradition. On the assumption that it would not be 'a normal keeill', Marstrander also disregarded the lost church of St Olaf (d. 1030) on the unidentified *villula* of Euastad (possibly in Maughold) named in a twelfth century charter.

Some keeills overlie graves with different orientation, and are therefore not as old as the associated cemetery. In several other cases keeills are sited on what look remarkably like pagan burial-mounds, not only the notable 'Cronk yn Howe', Lezayre (Bruce and Cubbon 1930). After study of Mr Bruce's careful field-notes, plans and sections, and discussion with the excavator, the late Professor Bersu was convinced that at this site a keeill, with timber-lined and other graves, had here been superimposed on a Viking boat-grave, destroying in the process all but a few definite indications—chiefly groups of clench-nails (Bersu: unpublished lecture).

Surely another indication of the lateness of some keeills is the siting of several on farms bearing names in Eary-, and on some others similarly located on the upper margins of the old cultivated land between 500 and 750 feet O.D. Presumably several of these permanent enclosures from the moorland followed earlier use as shielings and, as the keeills are unlikely to be much later than the twelfth century, these instances may be related to an expansion of farmland after the Norse settlement.

Care should be exercised in regard to the supposed dating-evidence of carvings and other finds from the keeills. Marstrander naturally followed Kermode's pioneer reports in this, but the age of the cross-slabs and fragments encountered is often quite uncertain, and usually doubtless later than Kermode thought. Kermode also reported finding fragments of 'urns', but in at least two instances the fragments he preserved are certainly not pottery but lumps of burnt clay, possibly from earlier wooden structures. One site (Ballahimmin, German) did produce a sherd, but its relation to the keeill is unknown; a prehistoric cremation-burial was, however, found in an inverted urn beneath the floor of the very odd keeill on Corrody farm (Lezayre), which stands within a small circular kerb or enclosure: despite its interest, however, this juxtaposition has no bearing on the

age of the supposed keeill. Equally, where fragments of Viking Age carvings have been found reused as building-material in keeill walls, these may well represent only later repair-work. The altar-slabs, recognised by Professor Thomas (1971), *e.g.* those from destroyed keeills on the Calf of Man and Ballavarkish (Bride), are presumably good evidence that some at least of the chapels pre-date the conversion of the Norse settlers.

Clearly comparative research in other areas where similar chapels and cemeteries are found (*e.g.* Islay) should yield valuable results, particularly if supported by skilled excavation of carefully-selected sites.

NOTES

1 In 1951 Professor Marstrander's original notebooks containing much other unpublished material were presented to the Manx Museum by the Norwegian government, and are now available for study there.

2 This British dynasty is accepted generally or in part in most recent Irish studies (*e.g.* Byrne 1968: 398; MacNiocaill 1972: 112); but only Professor MacQueen's interpretation seems to fit the various strands of evidence satisfactorily. On the supposed but unlikely connection with Rheged, and its location, *cf.* Hughes (1973: 191).

3 I have given 'Ballacgniba' (*c.* 1220) the benefit of the doubt. Mrs Gelling's strictures on the forms in the transcript are largely justified, but now that we have other evidence for names in *Bale-*, *Bali-*, in the 13th century this one seems less improbable, allowing for modification of spelling at the time of the copy of 1504. [Mrs Gelling now comments that my willingness to accept 'Ballacgniba' is unscholarly; but in any case the sample is too small to base much upon.]

4 Dr Neil Ker had first observed that it is difficult to date the textura of the abbeyland bounds [fos. 53, 54]; but, having scrutinised the original, he agreed that this is 'probably—I think almost certainly—by the same hand as the entries for 1263 to 1274 on fo. 49 [*i.e.* the first continuation of the main chronicle], and the six lines *Post symonem . . . furnes* on fo. 51 [*i.e.* entries for *c.* 1253–74, the first continuation of the list of bishops]. And I would agree that the writing by this hand on fos. 49^{v}, 51, is contemporary with the 1274 entries or not much later. But the bounds look as if they might have been written rather later than this, although by the same hand. The addition in the lower margin of fo. 53^{v} [concerning Ballagilley, *etc.*] is after 1300'.

Internal evidence as to the date of the entries by the first continuator of both chronicle and list of bishops also suggests that he ceased these labours very soon after the burial of Richard, bishop of the Isles, which (as he notes), took place at Furness, and which the annals of Furness assign to 25 March 1275 (Anderson 1908: 381, *n.* 7). These entries (and completion of earlier gaps), perhaps the first additions for nearly eighteen years, may well reflect a short-lived wave of enthusiasm consequent upon the election of Gilbert, his own abbot, as next bishop of the Isles. Even if the writer was already aware of Alexander III's repudiation of Gilbert, however, his entries can hardly have been made after 8 October 1275, when the Manx rising under their self-appointed king was destroyed at the battle of Ronaldsway, and his own abbey of Rushen despoiled by the Scottish army. Of those dire events he gives no hint, presumably because (surely) they had not yet occurred when he laid down his pen.

Some while later, evidently, the same clerk (or, if caution be insisted upon, perhaps another writing an identical hand), without adding anything further to the sad history of his times, did what he might to secure his abbey's rights by boldly recording the bounds of the landed properties of Rushen on the pages left blank at the end of its chronicle. From another source we know (*see above*) that the abbey's title to at least one section of those lands was in fact assailed in a local court held

between 1275 and 1286, and probably around the year of 1280. While this in itself may be no more than a remarkable coincidence, there seems little doubt that the abbeyland bounds were indeed entered in the chronicle *c.* 1280.

5 The settlement-name *Tofthar Asmund* is 'lost', but the location of the property can be established with confidence. The bounds informs us that it marched with *Rynkurlyn*, now called Rencullen or Ballig, a farm of lord's land, that is, *not* church or monks' land. As the stream between them is named as the division between the lands of Rushen Abbey and that of the king (or lord), it is clear that Tofthar Asmund was abbeyland when the document was compiled.

Of the two, or at most three, farms with the topographical qualification, only Ballellin is known to have belonged to monks of any kind before the Reformation—those of St Bees priory (Woods [1867]: Maughold plan). Thus Ballellin quarterland was Tofthar Asmund, possessed by Rushen Abbey until surrendered to St Bees by quitclaim of 1302 (Wilson 1915: 75–7). As the bounds was compiled at a time when the property was still claimed by Rushen, the attribution of the bounds to the thirteenth century is confirmed.

6 The statement that *inis* was unknown to the compilers of the Manx dictionaries needs qualification. Neither Kelly nor Cregeen include this in their alphabetical list of Manx words, but Cregeen (1835) does mention '*inch*, or *innys*', in explaining the name *Purt ny Hinshey*. The context suggests that he had inferred the former existence of the word in Manx in the light of this place-name and his knowledge of Irish and Scottish Gaelic.

As an alternative to the usual word, *ellan*, 'an island', *innys* also appears in the English-Manx section of Kelly's dictionary (1876); but this section was compiled posthumously, and only in part from Kelly's MSS of 1795 and *c.* 1805, much material from later sources—including Cregeen—being incorporated by his editors. While not indicated as a 'borrowing' from Cregeen, I suggest this as its probable source.

7 Because 'no sign of the characteristic [Gaelic] transformations such as Barrule for *Worthefel*' appears in the abbeyland bounds, Mrs Gelling concluded that such changes had not occurred at the time of that record; and she argues further that the spelling *Gnebe* (1515), for modern Greeba mountain, 'makes it clear that the change of *-n-* to *-r-*, . . . a Gaelic phenomenon, had not occurred in Manx place-names in the early sixteenth century'. Both surely are unwarranted assumptions, however, because obsolete spellings tend to persist through the influence of older written forms (as we have noticed already in the case of *Asmundertoftes*, above). Spelling may be a very misleading guide to contemporary or, at least, vernacular pronunciation. It must be many centuries since most Manx names in Knock- were pronounced other than *kro(n)k-* by most country people; and, despite the usual sixteenth-century record-forms for such personal names as MacNyven (Kneen) and MacNele (Kneale), occasional variants such as McRele show that pronunciations used until our own day by speakers of Manx Gaelic, *e.g. creen* and *crail*, were already general.

8 Marstrander (1937: 389–90; English summary, 424) demonstrated phonologically the link first suggested by Marwick on other grounds.

The 'pennyland' subdivision of the *tìr-uinge* has not survived in Manx records, apparent instances in some names of late enclosures referring only to the rents then paid. Dr Bannerman (1974: 141) has argued the case for a pre-Viking, Gaelic origin for the pennyland also. McKerral's dictum is anything but sure: 'Wherever we encounter pennylands, half-penny lands and farthing lands we may be sure that we are in the footsteps of the Norse' (review in *Scottish Historical Review* 30 (1951: 174). The belief that the 20-pennyland *tìr-uinge* was a purely Norse imposition based on the adoption of 'the Anglo-Saxon ounce (*ora*) of 20 pennies' has suffered a further blow since Dr Sally Harvey (1967: 228) has established that 'there was only one *ora*, that of 16d'. There was, however, an Irish *unga mor* of 20 pennies, presumably related to the Hebridean pennyland system.

9 In considering this problem it should be remembered that in the English midlands the quarter-hide

(virgate) was the characteristic holding. The term might suggest a physical subdivision of the hide, yet there is no need to assume this had occurred any more than that the Manx treen had been a tenurial entity subsequently partitioned. As with davach in Scotland, hide and virgate were evidently terms which came to be applied in new areas to various pre-existing entities.

10 In the mediæval transcript of the lost grant, and subsequent confirmations, this word *ac(on)uez*, etc., has a superfluous *a-*, perhaps from anticipation of what followed it ('*et a(b)*'), or influenced by the common phrase, *e.g.* '*liberas . . . a can et* [*a*] *conueth*' (PSAS 90 (1959): 219). The Manx texts survive in the Register of St Bees (B. L. Harley MS 435).

11 'The strong Irish, or Scottish, features of Manx–Viking culture may best be explained by the mingling of the immigrants with the Celtic peoples, partly through trade and constant campaigning, but more especially through the fosterage system and intermarriage with powerful native families, as we read of in Irish annals and Norse sagas. In this process the survivors of the previous inhabitants of the Isle of Man may have played only a minor part' (Megaw 1950: 155–6).

12 Besides Skene's printed text (Skene 1871–2), I have consulted the manuscripts of Fordun set out in the References. All the surviving groups, Skene's I to IV, are covered in the discussion, as Skene's printed text represents his Group III.

13 Moreover the papal registers show that documents of June, July and August 1231 are dated at Rieti, not Rome; Roman documents are dated 'Laterani', not 'Romae' (Auvray 1890–).

14 This suggestion is not only based on the near-autobiographical character of the entry, the longest of any in the episcopal list, but also on the additions in the same hand to earlier entries, otherwise unique in this document. In three cases the number of years for which the office was held is added; while the additional note that bishop Thomas, a Scot (d. 1348), was 'the first to exact procurations of 20 shillings from the Manx churches, and first to exact from the island's rectors a tenth of their dues from strangers engaged in the herring fishery', is precisely the kind of information that bishop Duncan, with his previous experience in ecclesiastical finance and canon law, would be likely to record. That the bishop should visit Rushen is only to be expected (indeed, as a Manxman, it is probable that he was a former member of that house), and a likely occasion is suggested by his presence at a general chapter of the diocese held at the nearby parish church of Kirk Malew on 5 February 1376–7, just eleven days after his installation in his ruined cathedral.

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'The joy of my heart': Robert Burns as Folklorist

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A discipline comes of age when it recognises the study of its own history as a valuable and important area for examination. Coming after the development of various techniques and principles, the study of its history reveals the evolution of the past into the present and gives a discipline solidity and depth. A widespread interest in historical matters has grown up over the past few years in folkloristics,[1] especially in the United States where this interest has been stimulated by such works as Richard M. Dorson's *The British Folklorists*, witness a recent issue of the *Journal of the Folklore Institute* in which Dan Ben Amos (1973:113–24) cogently suggests an additional reason for examining the past: it may reveal avenues for study and approaches to material discarded in their time, but which upon reflection reveal to current students new and interesting areas for research. A study of the history of a discipline is a positive and mature sign.

Many persons have contributed to a discipline's development, of course, making an historian's task difficult if not impossible. Dorson's book puts special emphasis on the exciting nucleus of persons who worked in England in the mid- to late-nineteenth century, most of whom were active in the Folklore Society. A variety of Scottish folklorists and proto-folklorists like Robert Chambers (an early urban folklorist), Sir Walter Scott (an imitator, utiliser and 'editor' *par excellence*), and Hugh Miller (an early functionalist), to name but a few, are included. But by and large Scottish figures are limited and the ballad and folksong history is left out, no doubt because S. B. Hustvedt in two earlier treatments (1916, 1930) had uncovered much of the story. But Hustvedt deals only with ballad scholarship, mostly with editors, and does not take into consideration the lyric and other non-narrative folksongs, for which there is ample printed evidence. Thus, anyone who focused on these latter, largely choosing to stress lyric folksong, has been left out of the major historical treatments of British folklore. Robert Burns (1759–96) is one such figure.

It is my contention that Robert Burns belongs to the history of folklore, that in fact he was a folklorist, and that he deserves a prominent place in the history of folksong scholarship. Robert Burns collected and edited and annotated. In his collecting he was a participant-observer long before Malinowski: a contextualist observing what he collected in a living, functioning milieu long before the current stress on its importance.

He was intuitively aware of what many have more recently suggested: one collects best from those one knows best. Burns also edited; and in this instance he was a man of his time: today his principles are unacceptable. But he was not of his time in his approach to collecting and annotating. Toward the end of his life he began to annotate extensively items he had collected, though his annotations were largely unknown and unpublished for years after his death. Unfortunately, he worked in isolation and his positive and advanced approaches were not influential: he had no direct contact with the mainstream of folksong enthusiasts. It was virtually a hundred years before his sophistication was seen again. An examination of his work years ago might well, as Ben Amos suggests, have altered the course of folksong scholarship. In retrospect his modernity is extraordinary, and the purpose of what follows is to give Burns the place he deserves in the history of folkloristics.

Robert Burns's own environment was largely a traditional one and as a participant in his culture he, like all people, unconsciously absorbed a variety of traditional elements. In this sense everyone is his or her own folklorist, picking up, mostly without being cognisant of doing so, material which enables them to sort out experience, to respond—in fact, to live. In a famous biographical letter to Dr Moore after he had received acclaim as a poet, Burns described the influences he had come under when he was a boy, and specifically mentions his mother, and an old woman, loosely connected with the family, who provided him with an early stock of songs, tales, legends, beliefs, proverbs, and customs: 'In my infant and boyish days too, I owed much to an old Maid of my Mother's, remarkable for her ignorance, credulity and superstition.—She had, I suppose, the largest collection in the country of tales and songs concerning devils, ghosts, fairies, brownies, witches, warlocks, spunkies, kelpies, elf-candles, dead-lights, wraiths, apparitions, cantraips, giants, inchanted towers, dragons and other trumpery.'[2] This sort of material he recalls and uses spontaneously throughout his life, though more so in the first years of his success as poet: he perhaps grew away from his background later; but he remained in frame of reference a product of a traditional milieu. A look at a variety of his letters provides an instant example of individual utilisation of folklore in context. How naturally he describes a new girl with whom he had had little success as yet to his friend James Dalrymple and quotes 'An Auld Sang o' my Mither's' perhaps in future anticipation:

> Kissin is the key o' love,
> An' clappin is the lock,
> An' makin o's the best thing
> That ere a young thing got.
>
> (Ferguson 1931:no. 84)

Or how easy it is, when writing to a jeweller, Mr Francis Howden, about altering some jewellery perhaps for his own marriage, for him to say *apropos* of marriage, 'Everybody knows the auld wife's observation when she saw a poor dog going to be hang'd—"God

help us! it's the gate we hae a' to gang!"', which further recalls his grandfather's sage advice to 'Leuk twice or ye loup ance!' (*op. cit:* no. 167). The variety of sayings, phrases, names,[3] song lines and titles, and more, that come up in the course of his letters shows the debt which he owed to his whole traditional environment, because it provided him with a frame of reference easily understood by his correspondents.[4]

Burns was more than an unconscious redactor of course: at times he quite consciously observed—though it is hard to draw a distinct line between conscious and unconscious observation—the world around him, its practices and customs, its songs and music, its beliefs and sayings. He was quite self-conscious about this. On his travels he collected historical traditions,[5] proverbs, sayings and he confessed to Mrs M'Lehose, the Clarinda of his correspondence, that 'I like to have quotations ready for every occasion.—They give one's ideas so pat, and save one the trouble of finding expression adequate to one's feelings' (*op. cit:* no. 178). And on the same subject, he said to Mrs Dunlop, 'Do you know, I pick up favorite quotations, & store them in my mind as ready armour, offensive or defensive, amid the struggle of this turbulent existence' (*op. cit:* no. 524). No doubt many of these quotations were traditional, probably proverbial. In 1782 or 1783 he told several correspondents, 'I am . . . studying men, their manners & their ways, as well as I can. Believe me Tom [Mr Thomas Orr], it is the only study in this world will yield solid satisfaction' (*op. cit:* no. 10).[6] His conscious as well as unconscious observations formed the basis of his own poetical and song productions and later developed—with reference to song—into a full-blown conscious collecting for collecting and preservation's sake.

When it comes to songs (texts and tunes), Burns unconsciously absorbed many of them from his childhood. And his interest in song was, in a short and highly fragmented life, the most persistent interest—one might add influence—in his life. He wrote his first song 'O once I lov'd' when he was seventeen to praise his female harvest companion, Nelly Kilpatrick; it was composed to be sung to the traditional tune she often sang, 'I am a man unmarried'. This combining of his words with an existing tune seems spontaneous and was a practice which persisted throughout his life—even on his death-bed when he wrote the song beginning 'Fairest maid on Devon banks' to the tune 'Rothiemurchies Rant'. He wrote lines to existing tunes, mostly traditional, quite naturally. But later, after 1787 when he met James Johnson, the Edinburgh engraver, his collecting of tunes (to which he added words), and simultaneously the collecting of texts (some to be presented as collected and others to be edited), became indeed conscious. In his collecting and gathering of songs for inclusion in *The Scots Musical Museum*, Burns did not discriminate clearly between folksongs usually anonymous and passed on orally, and songs by known authors often learned from chapbooks or song collections. Both kinds formed the basis of popular music in eighteenth-century Scotland and such collections as Joseph Ritson's *Scotish Songs*, Johnson's *Museum* (*The Scots Musical Museum*), and Allan Ramsay's *Tea-Table Miscellany* reflect this juxtaposition of old and new, traditional and non-traditional—in fact they are examples of popular taste; and

Burns, too, reflects this aesthetic preference. But he was also able to stand back and distinguish between these divisions of popular song and to describe and annotate the items. It is largely in connection with his work for *The Scots Musical Museum* that Burns can be called a folklorist or proto-folklorist.

A chance meeting of James Johnson and Robert Burns in 1787 brought Burns's unconscious interest in folksong, and song in general, to the very conscious level. Johnson planned in his publication to preserve the traditional music of Scotland[7] (one volume of what became a series of six was almost ready for press when the two met). What was meant by *traditional* is debatable: perhaps simply music which bore some intuitive mark of Scotland, either being sung by her people or composed—tune or text—by a native.[8] Johnson's was not the first Scottish collection to be printed: earlier in the eighteenth century Watson's *Choice Collection of Comic and Serious Scots Poems* (1706, 1709, 1711), W. Thomson's *Orpheus Caledonius: A Collection of Scots Songs* (1725–33, second edition in two volumes), Allan Ramsay's various publications, David Herd's *Ancient and Modern Scottish Songs, Heroic Ballads* (1769/76, second edition in two volumes), to mention but a few miscellanies, had led the way. All were in part stimulated by a genuine antiquarian and patriotic urge to preserve what was Scottish (and in other circles ridiculed) before it was forgotten in the onslaught of English culture which began with the Union of the Crowns in 1603 and picked up momentum after the Union of Parliaments in 1707.[9] Unlike the majority of eighteenth-century collections, the *Museum* printed for each tune a text, for each text a tune—outwardly not reflecting the persistent bias of printing only one or the other in totality. But it becomes clear, primarily through Burns's correspondence, that the purpose of the *Museum* was essentially to preserve the tunes of Scotland; and to make them more memorable—perhaps more singable—words were provided, because tune and text, in the view of Johnson and Burns, were inseparable. That the tunes took precedence is amply illustrated by various statements of Burns such as 'Here, once for all, let me apologise for many silly compositions of mine in this work. Many beautiful airs wanted words . . .'[10] and '. . . I often gave Johnson verses, trifling enough perhaps, but they served as a vehicle to the music' (Dick 1962:no. 120). The tunes were foremost but they had to have a text to make them whole, a concept not universally accepted in ballad and folksong scholarship until the mid-twentieth century and still only given lip-service in some quarters.[11] Burns met Johnson; he liked the engraver's plan; he began to make contributions: by the second volume he was virtual editor, certainly prime director of the project. He wrote prefaces and contributed items, texts and tunes, giving directions on how they should be arranged and presented.[12] He solicited items from others; he made lists of contents; he urged Johnson to get the work into print, in some of the twenty-one letters directed to him[13]; and he read proof.[14] He described these and other activities and enthusiasms to various correspondents (Ferguson 1931:no. 193).[15] Assuredly, the *Museum* occupied all the time he could give it, for he was thoroughly in sympathy with its aims.

Burns personally contributed the bulk of the material ultimately published in *The Scots Musical Museum*. Much of this material he procured by active, conscious collecting, though we know little beyond this about his technique except for the glimpses he left in written appeals to correspondents for songs—texts or tunes or both—that he had heard from them before or had reason to believe they knew.[16] Such appeals are usually prefaced by a brief, enthusiastic report of the *Museum* and its purpose, followed by a request for an item. While a contemporary of Burns, Professor Gillespie, 'related how Burns was in the habit of tying his horse outside her [Kirsty Flint's] cottage door and sitting by her fireside while she sang "with a pipe of the most overpowering pitch"' (Dick 1962: *Songs*, Preface xi), we seldom know exactly how he collected or from whom, one notable exception being the tunes he specifically stated were collected from his wife, Jean Armour Burns, whose rural background was and continued to be traditionally oriented:[17] Burns describes her voice as being 'the finest "wood-note wild" I ever heard' (Ferguson 1931:no. 272). Usually he simply records that an item was collected. Tradition makes much of Burns's personality, of his instant capacity for rapport: he undoubtedly found collecting natural, easy and congenial.

Direct, stated evidence of his conscious collecting is derived from three sources: his letters (Ferguson 1931); the annotations of *The Scots Musical Museum* in an interleaved copy (Dick 1962: *Notes*) which he prepared for his neighbour at Ellisland, Robert Riddell of Glenriddell; and the Excise Manuscript, Edinburgh University Library, Laing II. 210[9] (E.U.L.).[18] In general Burns tells his friend and correspondent John Richmond that considerable amounts of his time on his Highland tour were taken up with learning Highland tunes and picking up Scotch songs (Ferguson 1931:no. 146). To the Reverend John Skinner, author of the popular 'Tullochgorum', he says, 'I have been absolutely crazed about it (Johnson's *Museum*), collecting old stanzas, and every information remaining respecting their origin, authors, &c, &c' (Ferguson 1931:no. 147). But more specifically he relates that he has collected 'O'er the moor amang the heather' from Jean Glover to whom he attributes it. In this instance, almost the only one, he also gives a brief look at her and her background as 'a girl who was not only a whore, but also a thief; and in one or other character has visited most of the Correction Houses in the West. She was born, I believe, in Kilmarnock. I took down the song from her singing as she was strolling through the country, with a slight-of-hand blackguard' (Dick 1962:no. 328). Of the song beginning 'My Harry was a gallant gay' sung to the 'Highlander's Lament' he says, 'The chorus I pickt up from an old woman in Dunblane . . .' (*op. cit.* no. 209) and the song text of 'Auld lang syne' 'from an old man's singing' (Ferguson 1931:no. 586). The 'Bob o' Dumblane' he learned 'on the spot, from my old Hostess in the principal Inn there', and he quotes several verses as a sample (E.U.L., p. 2). But he collected tunes as well. He indicates that he 'first heard the air ("Bhannerach dhon na chri") from a lady in Inverness, and got the notes taken down for this work' (Dick 1962:no. 157). He tells George Thomson in one of his fifty-six letters which contain a variety of cogent statements about songs that he still has 'several M.S.S. Scots

airs by me, which I have pickt up, mostly from the singing of country lasses' (Ferguson 1931:no. 554). He collected a tune, never before collected or printed from a' country girl's singing': 'Craigieburnwood' (*op. cit.*:no. 557). And in another letter to Thomson he asks, 'Do you know a droll Scots song, more famous for its humor than delicacy, called, The grey goose & the gled? . . . Mr. Clarke took down the notes, such as they are, at my request, . . . (*op. cit.*:no. 637).[19]

These are concrete statements in Burns's own words. Other evidence for Burns's collecting comes from the annotations of the *Museum* executed by William Stenhouse (1853) with additions by David Laing and Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe. Stenhouse annotated the items in the *Museum* referring to a vast body of historical material as well as to considerable amounts of holograph material some of which appears to be no longer extant. Stenhouse's work is generally held in good repute and his evidence must be considered. On the basis of his research, he claims that a number of items (excluding those definitely written by Burns) were transmitted to James Johnson by Burns and a quantity of these he says were collected by him as well.[20]

In addition to Stenhouse's direct statements about Burns's own collecting and Burns's own indications, there are indirect evidences in the letters (Ferguson 1931), the interleaved copy of the *Museum* (Dick 1962:*Notes*), and the Excise Manuscript (E.U.L.). In these far more numerous instances, one surmises that the items were collected.[21] For example, of 'Waukin o' the fauld' Burns says,

> There are two stanzas still sung to this tune, which I take to be the original song when Ramsay composed his beautiful song of that name in the Gentle Shepherd.—It begins:
>
> O will ye speak at our town,
> As ye come frae the fauld, &c—
> (E.U.L. p. 1)

He does not say he collected this, but he probably did, or recalled it from his youth as was the case so often.[22] In the Excise Manuscript Burns, annotating 'Saw ye nae my Peggy', indicates that

> The original words, for they can scarcely be called Verses, seem to be as follows; a song familiar from the cradle to every Scotish ear.
>
> Saw ye my Maggie,
> Saw ye my Maggie,
> Saw ye my Maggie,
> Linkin o'er the lea?
>
> High kilted was she,
> High kilted was she,
> High kilted was she,
> Her [coa]ts aboon her knee.—

What mark has your Maggie,
What mark has your Maggie,
What mark has your Maggie,
That ane may ken her be?
(E.U.L. pp. 7–8)

Of 'Hughie Graham' Burns says, 'There are several editions of this ballad. This, here inserted, is from oral tradition in Ayrshire, where, when I was a boy, it was a popular song' (Dick 1962:no. 303). Of 'The beds of sweet Roses,' he says, 'This song, as far as I know, for the first time appears here in print. When I was a boy it was a very popular song in Ayrshire. I remember to have heard those fanatics, the Buchanites, sing some of their nonsensical rhymes, which they dignify with the name of hymns, to this air' (*op. cit.*:no. 7). And he most emphatically says, 'Dainty Davie—I have heard sung, nineteen thousand, nine hundred, & ninety-nine times . . .' (Ferguson 1931:no. 586). This kind of recollection or self-collection is most common in Burns's comments on the songs in the *Museum*. That Burns did collect cannot be disputed though it is impossible to know for certain how he went about it—whether he collected by 'learning' the songs himself or whether he noted them down in writing: probably a combination. It is also possible that some of his collecting was even more haphazard—that he actually wrote down only bits and pieces which perforce had to be highly edited later to make a whole. However, he collected.

Burns's knowledge of the popular song repertoire of his time was not limited to oral experience and collecting: he knew of the wider repertoire in diachronic depth through the collections of tunes and texts, or one of the other, which so abundantly flooded the market in eighteenth-century Scotland—not to mention the broadsheet and chapbook material with which he was no doubt familiar. This combination of first hand and derived knowledge of Scotland's song forms the basis of his editorial work for the *Museum* and later for his commentaries on individual items. By his own admission, he was an expert, having 'paid more attention to every description of Scots songs than perhaps any body living . . .' (Dick 1962:no. 13). As a boy he possessed a collection of songs and 'pored over them, driving my cart or walking to labour, song by song, verse by verse . . .' (Ferguson 1931:no. 125). He was familiar with the list of songs in [Wedderburn's] *The Complaynt of Scotland*, with Ramsay's work—especially *The Tea-Table Miscellany*, with Bishop Percy's *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry*, the controversial *Ossian* of MacPherson, David Herd's *Ancient and Modern Scottish Songs, Heroic Ballads*, Ritson's collections of English and Scottish songs, and John Pinkerton's work. In a letter to George Thomson which further supports his claim to thorough book-knowledge of the subject, he requested Thomson to send him the tunes for which he wanted words, together with the first line of the usual text: 'I say, the first line of the verses, because if they are verses that have appeared in any of our Collections of songs, I know them . . .' (Ferguson 1931:no. 507).[23] Books primarily on tunes he referred to even more frequently: he often mentioned Oswald's *Caledonian Pocket Companion*

and in addition the collections by Aird, McGibbon, Gow, Cummin, Anderson, Dow, McDonald and Corri. In fact Burns can say in a letter to Johnson, 'I want much Anderson's Collection of strathspeys &c., and then I think I will have all the music of the country' (*op. cit.*:no. 452).[24] His examination of books was not limited to the texts and tunes: he was familiar with the historical material in introductions such as Ritson's famous essay on Scottish songs, with theoretical and historical treatises like Dr Beattie's *Essays on Poetry and Music* and William Tytler's *Dissertation on the Scottish Music*, and with such relevant periodical publications as *The Bee*. He was aware of various controversies such as those revolving round editorial principles: he knew the criticism levelled against Pinkerton (*op cit.*:no. 569). Burns, in fact, must have known virtually all the important collections of his day and they, together with his collecting, influenced his editing work for the *Museum*.

In a letter to William Tytler of Woodhouselee, Burns writes:

> Inclosed I have sent you a sample of the old pieces that are still to be found among our Peasantry in the West. I had once a great many of such fragments; and some of these here entire; but as I had no idea that any body cared for them I have forgotten them.—I invariably hold it sacriledge to add anything of my own to help out with the shatter'd wrecks of these venerable old compositions; but they have many various readings (*op. cit.*:no. 126).[25]

This letter written in 1787 approximately four months after his first meeting with James Johnson augured well for Burns's work in collaboration with him. But as so often has been the case with previous and subsequent editors, the actions of Burns did not live up to this bold and praiseworthy sentiment. Few texts reached Johnson in an unaltered form; many were amended or corrected because they were judged to be indelicate ('Let me in this ae night'); some texts were enlargements of a traditional fragment—a chorus, a stanza, or several lines ('I'm o'er young to marry yet'); some took off from a tune title and were inspired by it and the tune ('The Gardner wi' his paidle—or, The Gardner's March—'); some texts were inspired by a traditional idea ('A red red Rose'); many were imitations of traditional song form and diction ('Montgomerie's Peggy'); others were written completely by him or were by known authors; and some were taken from broadsheets. As a poet, he probably could not help touching up here and there, much as he did with his own poems and songs, many going through successive editions, multiple re-creations, having some relationship with the oral re-creative process. As a product of his time, he followed the existing editorial practices recognising that certain subjects were taboo in polite society (*op. cit*:no. 554). Like others, before and after him, the urge to conflate, to create a perfect version was no doubt great; but mostly he edited, altered, amended so that the songs could be preserved. In his editorial work he was also influenced and governed by an aesthetic ideal moulded in part by the traditional milieu from which he came; and his aesthetic ideal at times so reflected the traditional aesthetic preference that some of his own compositions and

editions were picked up and transmitted orally, in chapbooks, in published editions, re-entering the popular musical repertoire from which their inspiration had sprung.

The tunes which Burns as virtual editor of the *Museum* communicated to Johnson had three sources: those collected from oral tradition, those written by contemporaries and friends like Allan Masterton and Robert Riddell of Glenriddell, and those abstracted from one of the many books of tunes available to Burns. Dick has suggested that Burns did Scots music a very good turn indeed in this latter endeavour, for he only abstracted the basic melody, leaving the florid embellishments behind, thus restoring them to something approximating to their original state in oral tradition. Burns, not being a professional musician, was much less likely to touch up the tunes. His editorial practices did, however, sometimes lead him to choose only a portion of a tune (especially of the dance and instrumental ones found in books) to accompany a text, or to alter the tune slightly to accompany the text accurately. In the Hastie Manuscript (B.M.), for example, he gives the following note to the tune 'Braes o' Balquhidder', beginning 'When in my arms, wi' a' thy charms': 'Note. The chorus is the first, or lowest part of this tune—Each verse must be repeated twice to go through the high, or 2nd part. . .'. The fact, too, that he saw the tunes as foremost may have added to his general reluctance to alter them.

Before discussing Burns's annotations of his material, it is necessary in passing to mention that Burns's collecting and study of tradition were not limited to the *Museum* and George Thomson's *Select Scottish Airs*[26] or, for that matter, to songs. There is, however, another book of songs associated with Burns's name, *The Merry Muses of Caledonia*, which was first published four or five years after Burns's death. This collection of bawdy songs has caused over the years considerable embarrassment to certain Burns's enthusiasts because an admitted interest in bawdry is antithetical to middle class morals. It is interesting to note that enthusiasts have long recognised Burns as a collector with reference to the *Merry Muses*—better to have collected than written! And probably the first recorded instance of Burns's collecting is a version of the bawdy song 'Brose an' Butter' which exists in holography for 1785 on the back of the draft of a letter to Margaret Kennedy of Daljarrock. Burns, like many before and afterwards, enjoyed such songs, collected them for his and his friends' edification and worked over many of them in ways similar to his editorial practices *vis-à-vis* the texts for the *Museum* (Ferguson 1931:no. 488).[27] It is much more difficult, however, in this case to discover originals on which he worked as their circulation was oral rather than written, save for such manuscript collections as those he made. Burns circulated his manuscript among friends and fellow enthusiasts (*op. cit.*:no. 604) and had Peter Hill make a copy of it for Andrew Erskine. Gershon Legman and James Kinsley conjecture that Peter Hill pieced together the 1800 edition entitled *Merry Muses of Caledonia; A Collection of Favourite Scots Songs, Ancient and Modern; Selected for use of the Crochallan Fencibles*,[28] using the copy made of Burns's manuscript, holograph material such as letters containing bawdy songs sent to

his friends, and existing oral material shared by members of the Crochallan Fencibles (an Edinburgh male convivial society to which Burns belonged).

In at least one instance, there is evidence of Burns's interest in legends—possibly consciously collected but just as possibly part of his early traditional learning. In a letter to the antiquary Francis Grose whom Burns had advised concerning antiquities in Ayrshire which should be included in *Antiquities of Scotland*, Burns told Grose three legends associated with the ruins of Alloway Kirk (*op. cit.*:no. 401); Grose agreed to include a drawing and description of the church if Burns would provide a poem. Burns did, using one legend primarily, turning it into a superb legend-poem, retaining the spirit and contextual apparatus such as hints of verity, so associated with legend-telling. The poem 'Tam o' Shanter' is again an example of Burns's use of the traditions he had collected and absorbed. Other poems show Burns consciously describing the traditions and customs he saw around him and brought together. The poem 'Halloween' is a splendid example, carefully annotated with illuminating footnotes by the author and preceded by this statement: 'The following POEM will, by many Readers, be well enough understood; but, for the sake of those who are unacquainted with the manners and traditions of the country where the scene is cast, Notes are added, to give some account of the principal Charms and Spells of that Night, so big with Prophecy to the Peasantry in the West of Scotland' (Kinsley 1968:1. 152, no. 73). Continuing to be a student of 'men, their manners, and their ways', Burns also collected bits of antiquarian knowledge, often relating to material objects: he tells Mr David Blair the traditions behind a dirk which Burns must have given to Blair (Ferguson 1931:no. 682); he collected a country musical instrument which he wanted drawn on his coat of arms and he described it in considerable detail to George Thomson (*op. cit.*:no. 647). This is not to mention the variety of proverbs and sayings it appears he consciously recorded when they took his fancy. Burns was interested in people, in what made them tick, so he often collected and recorded the striking qualities he saw in them.

Not only did Burns collect and subsequently edit songs, but he also annotated this material using as his sources his wide knowledge of oral tradition gained from first-hand and book study. Often such annotations were comparative and involved pointing out differences in various versions; sometimes they were historical and conjectural. They are not always correct, nor is proof always provided: seldom does Burns support an assertion or tell the basis of his conclusion. This is understandable when one realises what a limited amount of time was actually at Burns's disposal for this kind of work. Incidentally, his astute comments certainly undermine the frequent and widespread notion about Burns, that is, that he was unlettered, a heaven-taught ploughman. Many of the annotations are exceedingly valuable and show the depth of his knowledge on the subject of folksong.

Over and over again Burns pinpoints the unique qualities of Scots music, qualities which make him love it and qualities which distinguish it from other national musics: 'There is a certain something in the old Scotch songs, a wild happiness of thought and

expression, which peculiarly marks them, not only from English songs, but also from the modern efforts of song-wrights, in our native manner and language' (*op. cit.*:no. 147). But he also developed a more exact notion of a Scottish music as containing

> a certain irregularity . . . a redundancy of syllables with respect to that exactness of accent & measure that the English Poetry requires, but which glides in, most melodiously with the respective tunes to which they are set . . . There is a degree of wild irregularity in many of the compositions & Fragments which are daily sung to them by my compeers, the common people—a certain happy arrangement of old Scotch syllables, & yet, very frequently, nothing, not even *like* rhyme, or sameness of jingle at the ends of the lines.—(Ewing 1938: 37–8).

He tells Thomson (who often criticised some of the Scottish songs for just those reasons that Burns, would praise them, and who wanted to Anglicise them), 'let our National Music preserve its native features.—They are, I own, frequently wild, & unreduceable to the modern rules; but on that very eccentricity, perhaps, depends a great part of their effect' (Ferguson 1931:no. 559).

Not only was Burns at pains to define Scotland's national, traditional music, but he was also aware of differences between ballads, stories told in song, and the more lyric folksongs he personally favoured. Although he frequently uses the word *ballad* interchangeably with *song*, he specifically advises Thomson in a way which indicates his knowledge of their inherent differences when he says, 'You must, after all is over, have a Number of Ballads, properly so called.—Gil Morice—Tranent Muir—Mcpherson's Farewell—Battle of Sheriffmuir, or, We ran & they ran . . . Hardiknute—Barbara Allan . . .' (*op. cit.*:no. 586).

Burns was also anxious to provide histories, backgrounds to the songs he collected and edited. He wanted to know who the author was: as a poet himself, he knew an extraordinary pride in authorship and imputed such to others. And he felt sorry for those whose names were lost: always he saw an individual author behind a song. He was quick to attribute authorship where possible and since a number of pieces in the *Museum* had known-authors, this was not difficult.[29] But he was aware of the inherent problems involved in discovering who an author was, recognising the unpredictable nature of oral and popular channels of transmission. With some amusement he told Thomson, 'I myself, have lately seen a couple of Ballads sung through the streets of Dumfries, with my name at the head of them as the Author, though it was the first time ever I had seen them.—' (*op. cit.*:no. 646). Here he is referring to a broadsheet or chapbook attribution capitalising on his name and fame to sell a product, an advertising gimmick with diachronic precedent. Actually, Burns planned to publish an edition of all the songs he wrote for George Thomson and for the *Museum* 'lest I should be blamed for trash I never saw, or be defrauded by other claimants of what is justly my own' (*op. cit.*:no. 695); but his early death prevented this. To the Reverend John Skinner he wrote, 'I have heard your "Tullochgorum", particularly among our west-country

folks, given to many different names, and most commonly to the immortal author of "The Minstrel", who indeed never wrote anything superior to "Gie's a sang, Montgomery cried" ' (*op. cit.*:no. 203). Of many songs, he can only say they are old, their author's name is lost (Dick 1962:nos. 9, 93; E.U.L., pp. 6, 7, 9, 10). Often he indicates what portion of the text is his or Ramsay's or some other known author's, often giving a sample of the old verses.[30] He can make such statements because of his wide oral and book knowledge which prepared him for his comparative comments.

Burns recognises other results, too, of sometimes long oral tradition (a term which he uses Dick 1962:no. 303) such as the variation that develops in texts (Ferguson 1931:no. 557), tunes and titles,[31] though he does not speculate on its causes. Of 'Wally, waly' he says,

> In the west country I have heard a different edition of the 2nd Stanza. Instead of the four lines beginning with 'When cockle shells' &c; the other way ran thus:
>
> O, wherefore need I busk my head,
> Or wherefore need I kame my hair
> Sin my fause luve has me forsook,
> And says he'll never luve me mair.
>
> (Dick 1962:no. 158)

In the song 'For lake of gold she's left me, O!', he says, 'the country girls in Ayr Shire instead of the line:—"She me forsook for a great Duke"; say "For Athol's Duke she's me forsook", which I take to be the original reading' (*op. cit.*:no. 163). Burns saw too that in oral transmission words may be changed or altered when not understood, and gives the interesting example of the alteration of the Gaelic title and words 'Leiger m'choss' to 'Liggeram Coss' (Ferguson 1931:no. 593).

He recognises regional variation as well:

> The people in Ayrshire begin this song ['Johnny Faa, or the Gypsie Laddie']:
>
> The gypsies cam to my Lord Cassili's yet.
>
> They have a great many more stanzas in this song that I ever yet saw in any printed copy. The Castle is still remaining at Maybole where his lordship shut up his wayward spouse and kept her for life (Dick 1962:no. 181).

Elsewhere he says this is one of the few songs he thinks definitely originated in Ayrshire (*op. cit.*:no. 161). But he also knew that songs with wide distribution could be and were often localised (*op. cit.*:no. 191). Burns wanted, then, to know the place of origin if possible: 'This tune ["The ither morn"] is originally from the Highlands. I have heard a Gaelic song to it, which I was told was very clever, but not by any means a lady's song' (*op cit* :no. 345). Of 'Go to the Ew-bughts, Marion' he says,

> I am not sure if this old and charming air be of the South, as is commonly said, or of the North of Scotland. There is a song apparently as ancient as *Ewe-bughts Marion*, which sings to the same tune, and is evidently of the North. It begins thus:

The lord o' Gordon had three dochters,
May, Marget, and Jean,
They wad na stay at bonie Castle Gordon
But awa to Aberdeen.

(*op. cit.*: no. 85)[32]

He also conjectures on the subject of date of origin: 'Bess the gawkie' 'shews that the Scotish Muses did not all leave us when we lost Ramsay and Oswald, as I have good reason to believe that the verses and music are both posterior to the days of these two gentleman' (*op. cit.*: no. 4). And of 'There's nae luck about the house', in his words 'one of the most beautiful songs in the Scots, or any other language', he postulates that 'It is long posterior to Ramsay's days. About the year 1771 or '72, it came first on the streets as a ballad; and I suppose the composition of the song was not much anterior to that period' (*op. cit.*: no. 44). In a more complex vein, he writes about 'Highland laddie':

> As this was a favorite theme with our later Scotish Muses, there are several airs & songs of that name.—What I take to be the oldest, is to be found in the Musical Museum, beginning, 'I hae been at Crookie-den'—one reason for my thinking so is, that Oswald has it in his coll.[n] by the name of, 'the auld Highland laddie.'— It is also known by the name of 'Jinglan Johnie,' which is a well-known song of four or five stanzas, & seems to be an earlier song than Jacobite times.—As a proof of this, it is little known to the peasantry by the name of 'Highland laddie,' while every body knows Jinglan Johnie.—The song begins
>
> Jinglan John, the meikle man
> He met wi' a lass was blythe & bonie.
>
> (E.U.L. p. 10)

Burns also attempts to discover possible routes of dissemination. On this subject Burns several times notes the similarity between certain Irish and Scottish tunes (Ferguson 1931: no. 576) and suggests how difficult it is to know where they were really begun or how they spread. On the latter point he suggests that a body of material, especially tunes, was common to both because 'the wandering Minstrels, Harpers, or Pipers, used to go frequently errant through the wilds both of Scotland & Ireland, & so some favorite airs might be common to both' (*op. cit.*: no. 576). And further he adds, 'In the neighbourhood & intercourse of the Scots & Irish, & both musical nations too, it is highly probable that composers of one nation would sometimes imitate, or emulate, the manner of the other.—' (*op. cit.*: no. 647). Of 'Jockie's Gray breeks' he says, 'though this has certainly every evidence of being a Scotish air, yet there is a well known tune & song in the north of Ireland, called, "The Weaver & his shuttle O", which though sung much quicker is, every note, the very tune.—' (E.U.L. p. 6).

Although he tended to lump all the popular songs—oral and written—together, he recognized their differences, that the oral songs had a certain quality which made them memorable and transmittable: 'The two songs in Ramsay, one of them evidently his

own, are never to be met with in the fireside circle of our Peasantry; while, what I take to be the old song is in every shepherd's mouth.—' (E.U.L. p. 8). Ramsay he imitated but also judged: the old words had something Ramsay did not. Burns recognised this and so did his 'compeers'.

In addition to these notes which touch on matters of authorship, oral tradition and its characteristics like variation and localisation, routes of dissemination and place of origin (all of which show an amazing amount of sophistication for a tenant farmer/exciseman beset with financial, family, and health difficulties), there is a variety of interesting historical notes which adds to the history of the songs annotated. In the Excise Manuscript especially, Burns includes a number of anecdotes and traditions which are related to songs:

> I insert this song ('Bob o' Dumblane') to introduce the following anecdote which I have heard well authenticated. In the evening of the day of the battle of Dumblane (Sheriffmoor), after the action was over, a Scots officer in Argyle's army observed to his grace, that he was afraid the Rebels would give out to the world that *they* had gotten the victory—'Weel, weel', returned his Grace alluding to the foregoing ballad; 'if they think it be na weel bobbit, we'll bob it again.'—(E.U.L. p. 2).

Burns provides an anecdote about how the song 'Kirk wad let me be' helped a Covenanting clergyman escape a band of soldiers, who were in search of him, by acting in a very unministerial way and loudly singing the song—maybe even composing it on the spot (*op. cit.*: p. 3); and he describes a 'dramatic interlude at country weddings' which uses the first stanza of the same song (*op. cit.* p. 3). The second Bishop of Chisholm, of Dunblane, he has heard, would like to hear 'Clout the Caldron' if he were going to be hanged because of its soothing qualities (*op. cit.* p. 11). He gives the tradition, commonly known, about 'Dainty Davie':

> This song, tradition says, & the composition itself confirms, was composed on the rev. David Williamson's begetting the daughter of Lady Cherry trees with child, while a party of dragoons were searching her house for him to apprehend him for being an adherent to the Solemn League & Covenant.—The pious woman had put a lady's night-cap on him & had laid him abed with her own daughter, & passed him to the soldiery as a lady, her daughter's bedfellow (*ibid.*).

Elsewhere he quotes Stephen Clarke's opinion that the tune 'Cumnock Psalms' was based on a Catholic chant (Ferguson 1931: no. 637). And of the much-used tune 'Hey tutti taitie', Burns says, 'There is a tradition, which I have met with in many places of Scotland, that it was Robert Bruce's March at the battle of Bannock-burn' (*op. cit.*: no. 582). He occasionally provides information, often anecdotal, about the authors of various songs as he did with Cunningham the player, author of 'Kate of Aberdeen'.[33] He discusses topographical points such as the location of the birch trees in 'The bush aboon Traquair' (Dick 1962: no. 80). He quotes Dr Blacklock as a source of various

historical notes (*op. cit.*:nos. 89, 160). He explains elements in songs out of his vast knowledge:

> The title of this air [14th of October] shews that it alludes to the famous King Crispian, the patron of the honorable Corporation of Shoemakers. Saint Crispian's day falls on the fourteenth of October, old style, as the old proverb tells:
>
> 'On the fourteenth of October
> Was ne'er a sutor sober!'
>
> (*op. cit.*:nos. 174, 188)

He often implies that a song is based on fact (*op. cit.*:no. 174).

But above all, Burns repeatedly confirms his theoretical position that a song is a unity of text and tune. When he writes to Johnson or Thomson or various casual correspondents about songs, he almost invariably gives the names of both text and tune, or a few lines of the text and then a name for the tune. So that for 'This is no mine ain house' which appears in the *Museum*, he says that only the first half stanza is old: Ramsay wrote the rest; then he writes four verses of old words which is followed with the important, completing information: 'The tune is an old Highland air, called *Sluan truish willighan* '(*op. cit.*:no. 216). In addition he suggests that the tune itself often conveys the spirit of its title (*op. cit.*:no. 18) which he believes alludes to the first text used to the tune. Texts, he felt, because they were so often localised, were replaced with new words in a new locale or at a later time; but tunes persisted, being, in his words, 'the language of nature' and thus more universally applicable, and persistent (*op. cit.*: no. 16). It goes without saying that he recognised that more than one text might be sung to a given tune; conversely a text might itself be sung to different tunes. It takes, however, a text and a tune to make a song. Burns knew this and his annotations and letters amply show that he did more than pay lip-service to this position.

The evidence that Burns knew something beyond the texts and tunes of the songs is not overt at all. To find these valuable statements of sources, his own and those of others, his historical notes and theoretical views, one must go behind the printed material which he published, or which he knew was published, and consult his letters, his annotations of song in the interleaved copy of the *Museum* and the Excise Manuscript as well as the valuable historical work done subsequently by such persons as Stenhouse, Laing, Sharpe and Dick. It is only then that Burns as folklorist—collector, historical student, annotator (and song writer for that matter)—can be seen. His annotations are most valuable, for as Henry G. Farmer has said, '. . . the history of the "auld sangs" of Scotland would not have been so well documented had it not been for the poet's discreet and lengthy annotations . . .' (Dick 1962:*Songs* p. vi).

No doubt there is a variety of reasons why the annotations were not published: certainly additional cost was one; purpose and audience were others. Burns began his work for the *Museum* in the guise of National Bard and he became, through his editorial and poetic work, the collective voice of the people. He was not anxious to admit how

many songs were his own because he tried to pass them off (in the *Museum*) as Scotland's voice, as some of the prefaces he wrote for the *Museum* illustrate: 'Ignorance and Prejudice may perhaps affect to sneer at the simplicity of the poetry or music of some of these pieces; but their having been for ages the favorites of Nature's Judges—the Common People, was to the Editor a sufficient test of their merit' (vol II, Preface 1 Mar. 1788). And 'Consciousness of the well-known merit of our Scotish Music, and the national fondness of a Scotch-man for the productions of his own country, are at once the Editor's motive and apology for this Undertaking . . .' (vol. III, Preface 2 Feb. 1790). He could hardly then admit himself to be the author or amender of half the items.[34] Some of his edited songs as well as original ones did, however, have all the earmarks of traditional pieces, circulating orally themselves: 'Why is he great, but from this, that his own songs at once found susceptible ears among his compatriots; that sung by reapers and sheaf-binders, they at once greeted him in the field, and that his boon companions sang them to welcome him at the alehouse?' (Dick 1962:Introduction XXVII). Burns did not admit his rôle and thus his texts alone are limited in usefulness in determining what was actually circulating before and during his time; they are inaccurate records of collecting unless one looks behind them to his own annotations and those of subsequent scholars.

But there is evidence that Burns—unlike many collector-editors of his time and afterwards—began to realise as he delved more and more into the subject through collecting, active participation, and study that the annotations he was capable of making were of equal importance to the texts and tunes he had recovered. In a letter to George Thomson referring to Thomson's plan to re-publish Dr Beattie's *Essays on Poetry and Music*, Burns says, 'On my part, I mean to draw up an appendix to Dr's essay, containing my stock of anecdotes, &c, of our Scots Airs & Songs' (Ferguson 1931:no. 535). But, even more important, he wrote to James Johnson—probably in 1792—asking for another copy of the *Museum* interleaved so 'that I may insert every anecdote I can learn, together with my own criticisms and remarks on the songs. A copy of this kind I shall leave with you, the Editor, to publish at some after period, by way of making the Museum a book famous to the end of time, and you renowned for ever (*op. cit.*:no. 513).[35] One might add, that such a publication would certainly have placed Burns in the very vanguard of folksong scholarship, if not as its leader. However, the book—if begun—was never completed. Earlier he had annotated some items for Robert Riddell of Glenriddell in the interleaved *Museum*. No doubt the hypothetical interleaved book would have followed that plan but would have been more exhaustive. Farmer has even suggested that the Excise Manuscript contains missing pages from the Riddell interleaved *Museum*, though this is highly improbable; but it is possible that the Excise Manuscript, certainly written after November 1791 when Burns became an exciseman and thus had access to the paper on which it is written, was a preliminary beginning of the fuller annotations Burns projected. The notes and comparative comments are generally more expansive in the Excise Manuscript than in the interleaved *Museum*.

That the hypothetical interleaved Museum was not completed is a great loss, but that it was planned adds immeasurably to Burns's stature as a folklorist and scholar.

It is impossible to condone in terms of modern standards of collection and transcription the editorial work of Robert Burns except by saying that at least he provided in his annotations information which gives some indication of the original on which he worked and it seems probable he intended to supply more. While this is not a viable excuse today, it is historically accurate to say that he was following the editorial principles of his time—those of Ramsay and especially of Percy. His editorial work differed in quality and kind from theirs because he was a poet *and* a product of the songs' traditional milieu himself, so that what he did to the texts was more likely to fit the folk aesthetic preference, thus having more chance of being accepted by the folk. His technique is perhaps analogous to the oral re-creative process. It is interesting to note here that the most rigid and vitriolic editor of Burns's time, Joseph Ritson, is amazingly easy on Burns whom he calls 'a natural poet of the first eminence' when he notes in a footnote only that

> Mr Burns, as good a poet as Ramsay, is, it must be regretted, an equally licentious and unfaithful publisher of the performances of others. Many of the original, old, ancient, genuine songs inserted in Johnsons *Scots Musical Museum* derive not a little of their merit from passing through the hands of this very ingenious critic (Ritson 1794:I. LXXV, 69 n.).

Sir Walter Scott, a poet too, followed Burns, not Ritson, in his own editing, and said of the songs Burns edited that he 'restored its original spirit, or gave it more than it had ever possessed' (Scott 1809:30).

Gershon Legman who has studied thoroughly Burns's editing of bawdy songs says

> . . . that Burns was wrong in attempting to 'purify' the bawdy Scottish folksongs he collected, and in part wrote, in the polite versions he later produced specifically to accompany and to preserve the musical heritage of their folkloristic tunes. To the modern folklorist, Burns did almost equally wrong in attempting to improve these folk-collected texts, even when his improvement consisted not of expurgating them but of making them, in some cases, a good deal bawdier and always more personal. This is, however, the right of every folk-poet and singer . . . Legman 1965:LXV.[36]

At least in the case of the *Museum* he gives information which makes it possible to discover what he has done.

Robert Burns undoubtedly deserves a place in the history of folksong study and thereby folkloristics. Most of the people enumerated as folklorists or proto-folklorists in eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century Scotland such as Scott, Allan Cunningham, R. H. Cromek, William Motherwell, C. K. Sharpe, James Hogg, John Pinkerton, and Robert Jamieson were ballad enthusiasts: Burns did not ignore narrative folksong; he was actually interested in all divisions of folksong but he favoured the lyric and he was not alone in preferring or publishing lyrics. A number of collections such as those by Allan Ramsay had appeared, and lyric folksongs were regularly included in predominantly

ballad collections; but Burns is alone as a lyric enthusiast in collecting, annotating, and developing a theoretical position about the material. As such he should be seen as a central figure in the history of folksong study. Because his focus was different from the dominant ballad interest and because his contact with this interest was indirect and limited to print, he has been overlooked.

It is easy to understand why—beyond the difference in focus, either narrative or lyric—Burns has been ignored, for he differs in a number of ways from this group of ballad men. Many of these men were primarily editors: he was in addition a conscious collector and a knowledgeable scholar who realised the necessity for considerable annotation. With the exception of James Hogg, Burns is the only one of these men who came from the very background where traditional songs were culturally functional.

Unlike these men, Burns's work was done primarily in isolation. He did meet or correspond with a variety of antiquaries and *cognoscenti* of his day: his neighbour at Ellisland, Robert Riddell of Glenriddell, who has some claims to being an amateur folklorist and antiquarian himself; William Tytler (*Dissertation on the Scottish Music*), Dr Beattie (*Essays on Poetry and Music*), and Dr Blacklock—all three said to be textual collaborators to the *Museum* (Ferguson 1931:no. 145); the Reverend Hugh Blair, David Stewart Erskine (11th Earl of Buchan), James Sibbald, and William Smellie. But he wrote to and knew these men as Scotland's poet, a rustic bard, rather than as genuine antiquary and scholar. His contact with activities and interests similar to his own was through the written printed books and there is every reason to believe he knew just about everything available. In this isolation he differs from the ballad men whose complex network of communication, actual and through correspondence, has led subsequent researchers to see that the pool of resources, the fund of material, in fact the sources of collection during this period were much more limited than it was once thought. A number of editors, for example, drew upon the traditions of Mrs Brown of Falkland. Burns's sources were different: they were only his.

In a sense, Burns occupies a *cul-de-sac* in the history of folksong study: he took from tradition and the books available but he had no direct contact with persons involved in similar endeavours during his lifetime. But he did have an influence: he and his works by their example were among the stimulating forces in the rise and development of German Romanticism, which later re-stimulated the earlier interest and study of Scottish traditional material here exemplified by Burns. Certainly he posthumously influenced the persons who came after him, especially on the sticky subject of editing. Allan Cunningham was most probably led to his forgeries, that is, imitations of traditional songs passed off as traditional, because of Burns's success in doing that himself. Scott, too, follows him. It is interesting to note the number of known ballad scholars and editors who also worked on Burns, mostly as editors (and who were doubtless influenced by him). Allan Cunningham published an edition of *The Complete Works of Robert Burns*; R. H. Cromek, the influential and important *Reliques of Robert Burns* and editions of his works; James Hogg and William Motherwell, *The Works of Robert*

Burns, whose commentary was enriched by communications from Peter Buchan. Incidentally, Motherwell served at various times as secretary and president of the Paisley Burns Club. Robert Chambers edited *The Life and Works of Robert Burns* as well as other more limited publications; C. K. Sharpe annotated the annotations of Stenhouse's *Illustrations of the Lyric Poetry and Music in Scotland*, intended to accompany the *Museum*. Sir Walter Scott admired Burns's work and reviewed books on him as in the *Quarterly Review* for 1809; and Scott's son-in-law John Gibson Lockhart published a *Life of Robert Burns*. And at the end of the nineteenth century, Andrew Lang, a folklore scholar more broadly-based than the ballad editors above, edited both *Selected Poems of Robert Burns* and *The Poems and Songs of Robert Burns*.

Vis-à-vis folk song, Burns might be called a saviour because, in the words of many commentators, he 'rescued' old wrecks and saved them by editing, making hitherto unprintable songs printable: in this sense he was a populariser, preparing the songs for that collection of popular taste, *The Scots Musical Museum*. Burns can also be called a revivalist—a person who witnessed a decline in interest in songs, a waning of their influence, but worked over them until they had renewed vitality (Keith 1922:83–4).[37] Indeed, there are many ways to look at this remarkable man: as poet and song writer; as magnetic personality remembered in anecdote, legend, celebration, and song; as common man who made good but remained true to his roots. To this list may be added folklorist, folksong scholar, for he consciously collected and edited and studied and annotated a body of songs—especially lyrics, which were largely being overlooked by ballad enthusiasts of the time—as well as observing 'men, their manners, and their ways'. The magnitude of his achievements justifies the popular opinion of him as a man 'unco by-ordinar' '. Certainly one could say of Robert Burns, both in his practice and intent, as he said of the antiquary Francis Grose,

> A chield's amang you, taking notes,
> And, faith, he'll prent it
>
> (Kinsley 1968:1. 494, no. 275).

NOTES

1 Folkloristics is the scholarly study of folklore—the study, in the broadest sense, of the traditional, learned, repetitive ways of responding to situations in life. Folklore may include verbal 'gut reactions' to common situations, resulting in the satisfying articulation of a principle, time-honoured, in proverbial form. It may enable an individual to build a house without recourse to written plans—in accordance with traditional and conventional precepts learned by an individual as a member of a culture and repeated by him as other individuals likewise repeat the pattern. In addition, folklore includes certain artistic, educative *genres*, like song and narrative.

2 Ferguson 1931: no. 125. All references to Burns's letters are to Ferguson's edition; only letter numbers will be given.

3 In writing to William Pitt (Ferguson 1931: no. 311) about the unfair tax on Scotch whisky, he signs the letter with the appropriate and traditionally recognisable appellation, John Barleycorn. And in a tongue-in-cheek letter to Charles Sharpe, the father of Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe (Ferguson

1931:no. 446), sending along words he had written to an air by Sharpe, he signs himself Johnie Faa—again an appropriate signature, for he described the differences of class between himself and Sharpe early in the letter.

4 A variety of other letters show Burns's spontaneous use of traditional material; Ferguson 1931: nos. 42, 56, 58, 96, 110, 117, 125, 140, 147, 152, 154, 173, 174, 178, 188, 209, 218, 237, 252, 259, 264, 290, 304, 321, 325, 338, 385, 413, 417, 426, 437, 506, 507, 557, 561, 569, 588, 605, 614, 629, 659 provides examples.

5 As an example, see Ferguson 1931:no. 137.

6 The words to 'study men, their manners, and their ways' are a quotation from Pope. In another letter (Ferguson 1931:no. 13), to his former teacher John Murdoch, describing his general activities and responses, before the publication of his first volume of poems some three years later, Burns says, 'In short, the joy of my heart is to "study men, their manners, and their ways"; and for this darling subject, I chearfully sacrifice every other consideration.'

7 The other musical collection with which Burns was connected, George Thomson's *Select Scottish Airs*, ultimately, because of Burns's interest, came close to duplicating the *Museum's* aim. Originally, Burns was to write or provide twenty-five English songs to accompany Thomson's selection of tunes. Burns provided far more by sending, unsolicited, texts written or chosen by him to fit a Scotch air. Finally, Thomson like Johnson—of whom he was jealous—hoped to include all the 'Scotch airs.'

8 Later, when Burns felt they had used all the Scottish tunes, he suggested and finally included tunes from related Irish tradition. See Ferguson 1931:no. 664.

9 Burns's own conception of the *Museum*, too, was a patriotic one. See Ferguson 1931:no. 288 as an example, as well as the Prefaces to the 3rd and 4th volumes of the *Museum*.

10 Burns, *Notes on Scottish Song* in Dick 1962:no. 103. Unless otherwise indicated, references to Dick will refer to *Notes on Scottish Songs by Robert Burns* and item numbers will be given.

11 Because Burns so consistently associated his own words with pre-existent tunes, Dick (*Songs* 1962: Preface, v) calls him a 'tone-poet'.

12 The Prefaces to vol. 2, 3, 4 are undoubtedly by Burns. And the notes written on the pages of songs sent to Johnson by Burns (B.M.) enlarge the view of Burns as editor: for example, to item 19 'Tune, Niel Gow's lamentation for the death of his brother' Burns adds: 'Note—it will be proper to omit the name of the tune altogether, & only say—"A Gaelic Air" '. In the Hastie Manuscript (B.M.) there are at least forty-six directions of this kind out of approximately one hundred and forty-eight items in Burns's hand.

13 Examples of encouragements and directions to Johnson can be seen in Ferguson 1931:nos. 452 and 513.

14 See, for example, Ferguson 1931:no. 506.

15 'I am engaged in assisting an honest Scots Enthusiast, a friend of mine, who is an Engraver, and has taken it into his head to publish a collection of all our songs set to music, of which the words and music are done by Scotsmen.—This, you will easily guess, is an undertaking exactly to my taste.—I have collected, begg'd, borrow'd and stolen all the songs I could meet with.'

16 Ferguson 1931:nos. 145, 193, 203, 598 are examples of this written collecting technique.

17 See Ferguson 1931:no. 568 ('There was a lass, and she was fair'):no. 644 (The Posie'), Dick 1962: no. 308 ('A Southland Jenny that was right bonie') for examples. From Dick 1962:no. 188 we additionally discover that 'This edition of the song ("Up and warn a' Willie") I got from Tom Niel of facetious fame in Edin.r' And in Ferguson 1931:no. 636 he says that he collected 'Ca' the yowes to the knowes' from a clergyman, a Mr Clunzie.

18 These latter two are included in Dick 1962. The latter, appended to the book, was edited by Davidson Cook and was first published in the *Burns Chronicle and Club Directory* 31 (January 1922). Any

quotations, however, are from the original manuscript (E.U.L.). Cook's edition is not entirely accurate.

19 Stephen Clarke was the musical collaborator of Burns for the *Museum* and on numerous occasions he transcribed tunes for Burns. But there is every indication that when he was not available—he lived in Edinburgh and Burns in or near Dumfries during most of the collaboration—Burns was capable of notating the melodic line himself. In the Hastie Manuscript (B.M.), Burns gives a few bars of item 52, 'Ca' the ewes' but completely writes out the melody for a verse of item 122, 'Here's his health in water'. Over the years there has been much discussion of Burns's musical capabilities: early biographers, taking their cue from Burns's childhood teacher John Murdoch, claimed him a musical illiterate. Murdoch's estimate was based on a limited exposure to Burns; and Burns's own subsequent performance suggests that he was extremely well-informed musically. He must certainly have read music for he chose tunes for some of his own texts out of the available songbooks; he altered certain parts of tunes—particularly dance tunes—to fit the texts he had in mind; he played the fiddle and used it to help acquaint himself with tunes before writing for them. For a discussion of Burns's musical aptitude, see Dick (*Notes* 1962: Introduction).

20 Stenhouse lists 76 items as edited by Burns, mostly from traditional sources; 44 tunes probably collected but certainly communicated to Johnson (157, 175, 231, 264, 308, 326, 327, 345, 346, 348, 362, 365, 373, 377, 378, 392, 398, 400, 405, 406, 410, 411, 412, 414, 416, 430, 434, 444, 448, 456, 461, 462, 476, 484, 486, 492, 495, 497, 498, 499, 551, 581, 593, 597); 36 texts sent to Johnson, presumably collected but not edited (188, 205, 208, 233, 236, 237, 281, 303, 320, 326, 327, 328, 345, 346, 348, 359, 361, 365, 372, 377, 384, 392, 397, 400, 411, 416, 424, 428, 444, 459, 461, 462, 473, 484, 579, 581).

21 See the following as examples: Dick 1962: nos. 9, 11, 25, 47, 85, 93, 162, 181, 182, 216, 315, 324; E.U.L.: 1, 2, 5, 6, 8, 9, 10, 11; Ferguson 1931:no. 130, 267, 290, 586, 605, 644, 667, 684. Of many items Burns identifies an old portion on which he based his song. Such fragments were either collected or remembered.

22 The following represent items probably recalled from his youth: Dick 1962:nos. 7, 33, 41, 51, 158, 234, 313; Ferguson 1931: nos. 126, 264, 385, 557, 567, 635, 644, 659, 667.

23 For additional discussion of Burns's song library see Cook 1927.

24 See Dick (*Songs* 1962: Preface and Bibliography) for a fuller description of Burns's musical books.

25 Included in this letter to Tytler are parts of six items, headed by the title *Fragments*: 'Rowin't in her apron', a stanza to the tune 'Bonie Dundee', 'Young Hynhorn', 'Willie's rare', 'The Lass o' Livistone', and 'Rob Roy'. Most of these have been admitted under one guise or another into the Burns's canon by literary students although there is every reason to believe that in this instance Burns simply wrote down what he had himself learned orally or collected.

26 Burns's work for Thomson, coming after the initial work with Johnson, is less influenced by collecting and involves much editorial work, especially on book-derived texts.

27 Gershon Legman (1965) suggests that Burns often added verses to the end of bawdy songs and fragments he collected. And many of these songs were the 'indelicate' verses he rewrote or discarded completely in his work on the *Museum*.

28 Legman 1965: Introduction liv-lv and Kinsley 196:55–21. See also Gershon Legman, *The Horn Book: Studies in Erotic Folklore and Bibliography* (New Hyde Park, New York: University Books Inc., 1964).

29 For examples of attribution of authorship from the interleaved *Museum* alone, see Dick 1962: nos. 8, 20, 36, 37, 46, 49, 69, 91, 97, 102, 104, 120, 121, 126, 133, 141, 162, 166, 176, 184, 186, 190, 197, 201, 205, 208, 218, 228, 246, 269, 278, 285, 289, 293, 330, 340.

30 See as examples, Dick 1962:nos. 16, 18, 25, 47, 51, 68, 96, 103, 107, 140, 162, 216, 231, 258, 290, 323; Ferguson 1931:no. 646; E.U.L.: pp. 1. 2, 11, 12.

31 See Dick 1962:nos. 151, 176, 209, 247, 278, 312, 315, 323, 324, 337, 338; Ferguson 1931:no. 577.

In the Hastie Manuscript (B.M.), Burns says in his note to item 142 'Auld King Coul' I have met with many different sets of the tune and words but these appear to be the best'.

32 This verse from Child 237 is another example of collected or recollected material.

33 For examples see Dick 1962:nos. 35, 102, 201.

34 During Burns's lifetime volumes of the *Museum* did not name him as author of many items he could have claimed. He did have a letter code, several letters of which referred the initiated to his works. See Ferguson 1931:no. 280.

35 This portion of the letter has perished and is published by Ferguson on the authority of Cromek who had printed it and who may have seen the original.

36 Parenthetically, following Legman's suggestion, one can surely say that Burns would undoubtedly have been an informant *par excellence*. And perhaps in a certain sense he should be viewed as such, as a remarkably original yet tradition-bound redactor of oral material.

37 Dick (*Songs* 1962: Foreword, VIII): '. . . we must not forget that it was his flair for and apperception of the old and neglected melodies, that prevented the loss of much of Scotland's proud heritage from her social and cultural past which otherwise would certainly have fallen into desuetude'.

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Neoplatonism and Orphism in Fifteenth-Century Scotland

The Evidence of Henryson's 'New Orpheus'

JOHN MACQUEEN

In a previous study (MacQueen 1967:24–44) I have tried to show that the long *moralitas* which Robert Henryson (?1420–*c.*1490) appended to his *New Orpheus*[1] has at least as much relevance to the main narrative as have the *moralitates* of the better known *Morall Fabillis*. For this paper I assume that a relationship has been established, and that the narrative has an allegorical element at least as strong as that of the *Morall Fabillis*. In the latter, however, the relation between story and moral is sometimes elaborate, even tortuous. To the *Taill of the Paddok and the Mous*, for instance, which in several ways parallels *New Orpheus*, Henryson subjoined a double *moralitas* (MacQueen 1967:110–21), the first part of which is on the tropological level, the second on that of allegory proper, 'whan a man understondith bi a bodili thyng that he redith of in story, an other gostli thyng that is betokened therbi'. A main object of this paper is to suggest that *New Orpheus* resembles the *Taill of the Paddok and the Mous* in that it should be read on the level both of tropology and allegory proper; that Henryson's explicit *moralitas* is, as he himself indicated, tropological:

> gud moralitie,
> Rycht full of fructe and seriositie— (423–4)

but that, incorporated in the poem, there is ample evidence for a second level of allegory proper, based on Neoplatonic doctrine, metaphor and numerology. Much, but not all, of this may be paralleled in works which were generally familiar during the Middle Ages, in particular, the commentaries of Macrobius and Chalcidius, but there is more than one hint of direct influence from Italy of the Quattrocento. If this is so, there are considerable implications for the intellectual life and culture of fifteenth-century Scotland.

Before Henryson's time, the story of Orpheus had also established itself as folk-narrative or fairy-tale, exemplified by the romances *Sir Orfeo* and the fragmentary *King Orphius* (Bliss 1954; Stewart 1973). In this tradition, Pluto and Proserpine became King and Queen of Faery, the Otherworld, that is to say, generally familiar in Celtic and Lowland British popular belief. Henryson admits this level; two features, for

instance, of his Hell—the bridge (line 262) and the thorny moor (line 289)—are drawn from this tradition. The servant girl too describes Eurydice's death in terms of capture by the fairies:

> Erudices, your quene,
> Is with the fary tane befor myne ene. (118–19)

Only the servant girl, however, uses this term, and it seems probable that Henryson intended his primary audience to distinguish her reaction as belonging to a level intellectually and philosophically lower than that which I hope to show is implicit in the remainder of the poem.

The narrative part of *New Orpheus* consists of fifty-two seven-line stanzas, with which are combined the five ten-line stanzas of the lyric 'Complaint of Orpheus' (lines 134–83). Verbal corruption is present in the three early texts,[2] but much of this may be emended with a fair degree of certainty. The allegory largely depends on stanzas 25–7 of the narrative, the text of which may be reconstructed thus:

> 25 In his passage amang the planetis all
> He herd ane hevinlie melody and sound
> Passing all instrumentis musicall
> Causit be rolling of the speris round;
> Quhilk ermony throw all this mappamond,
> Quhill moving ces, unite perpetuall,
> Of this quik warld Plato the saull can call
>
> 26 Thar leirit he tonys proporcionate
> As dupler, tripler and epitritus,
> Hemiolius and eik the quadruplat,
> Epogdous richt hard and curious;
> And of thir sex, swet & delicious
> Richt consonant five hevinly symphonyis
> Componit ar, as clerkis can devys.
>
> 27 First diatesseroun, full sweit, I wis,
> And diapasoun, symple & duplate,
> And diapente, componit with a dis;
> Thir makis five, of thre multiplicat.
> This mery musik and mellifluat,
> Complete, & full with noumeris od & evyn,
> Is causit be the moving of the hevin. (219–39)

Stanza 26 lists the six arithmetical ratios on which Pythagorean and Platonic musical theory is based; *dupler*, the ratio 2:1; *tripler*, 3:1; *epitritus*, 4:3; *hemiolius*, 3:2; *quadruplat*, 4:1, and *epogdous*, 9:8. The five corresponding consonant musical intervals, 'multiplicat' from the three basic—*diapasoun*, *diapente* and *diatesseroun*—follow in stanza 27; *dia-*

tesseroun, a fourth, corresponding to *epitritus*, 4:3; *diapasoun*, an octave, to *dupler*, 2:1, and *bisdiapasoun* ('diapasoun . . . duplate') or double octave, to *quadruplat*, 4:1; *diapente*, a fifth, to *hemiolius*, 3:2, and *diapente-and-diapasoun*, a double fifth, to *tripler*, 3:1, these together constituting 'diapente, componit with a dis'. The words 'swet & delicious/ Richt consonant' should be taken as qualifying only the five symphonics, not the six 'tonys proporcionate'; *epogdous* is not a consonant ratio.

Even on a superficial examination, it is not difficult to see why Henryson described these ratios as 'full with noumeris od & evyn', and called the series musically complete. For the modern reader, however, the relationship between this and the Neoplatonic Anima Mundi or Soul of the World (the created universe, that is to say) may not be so obvious. Soul for Plato was non-corporeal, and therefore abstract, but more 'real' than body. As a consequence it was closely related to the abstractions of number which underlie and govern the physical universe. At the same time, it seemed obvious that if the universe was in fact animated by a soul, its physical structure should demonstrably correspond to its numerical basis. The substance of the soul Plato (*Timaeus* 35a. Lee 1971:46–7) held to be compounded of three abstracts, Existence, Sameness and Difference (*οὐσία, τ'αὐτό, τὸ ἕτερον*); this substance in turn was subdivided in terms of a formula, the first part of which runs thus (Lee 1971:47): God

(a) first marked off a section of the whole, and then another twice the size of the first; next a third, half as much again as the second and three times the first, a fourth twice the size of the second, a fifth three times the third a sixth eight times the first, a seventh twenty-seven times the first. (*Timaeus* 35 b–c)

This is usually and most easily interpreted in terms of the series 1, 2, 3, 4 (2^2), 9 (3^2), 8 (2^3) and 27 (3^3), but Plato does not limit his words to interpretation in terms only of a single numerical series. Chalcidius for instance, the fourth century commentator on the *Timaeus* whose work (Wrobel 1876; Waszink 1962) was so influential in the Middle Ages and early Renaissance, based part at least of his commentary on the parallel series 6, 12, 18, 24, 54, 48 and 182, and something of the kind is necessary if the later subtleties of the Platonic formula are to be understood. Plato himself introduced a ratio of 256:243 (2^8:3^5), which corresponds to the musical interval of a semitone.

The most straightforward interpretation, however, will serve for an introduction to Henryson's text. The series is linked to the physical universe, first by the fact that it is made up of seven integers separated by six intervals, corresponding, for instance, to the spheres of the seven planets, separated by the musical intervals, and so producing the music of the spheres, the seven phases of the moon, the seven-year periods of human life, and the seven orifices of the human head (Stahl 1952:109–17). A Christian interpreter would almost certainly add the seven days of creation and the seven ages of the world. Like the universe, the number seven is self-generating and self-sustaining (Stahl 1952:102). The series, further, consists of the monad, representing the mathematical point; 2 and 3 which represent the one-dimensional straight line; 2^2 and 3^2, which

represent two-dimensional surface; and 2^3 and 3^3, which represent three-dimensional volume (Stahl 1952:99). The abstract basis of the dimensions and properties of physical space is thus included. These and other important points are well-made in a work with which Henryson almost certainly was familiar, the early fifth-century commentary by Macrobius Ambrosius Theodosius on the concluding section of Cicero's *Republic*, the *Somnium Scipionis:*

> The fabrication of the World-Soul, as we may easily see, proceeded alternately: after the monad, which is both even and uneven, an even number was introduced, namely, two; then followed the first uneven number, three; fourth in order came the second even number, four; in the fifth place came the second uneven number, nine; in the sixth place, the third even number, eight; and in the seventh place the third uneven number, twenty-seven.
>
> Since the uneven numbers are considered masculine and the even feminine, God willed that the Soul which was to give birth to the universe should be born from the even and the uneven, that is from the male and female . . .
>
> And then the soul had to be a combination of those numbers that alone possess mutual attraction since the Soul itself was to instil harmonious agreement in the whole world. Now two is double one and, as we have already explained, the octave (diapason) arises from the double; three is one and one-half times greater than two, and this combination produces the fifth (diapente), four is one and one-third times greater than three, and this combination produces the fourth (diatessaron); four is also four times as great as one, and from the quadruple ratio the double octave (bisdiapason) arises. Thus the World-Soul, which stirred the body of the universe to the motion that we now witness, must have been interwoven with those numbers which produce musical harmony in order to make harmonious the sounds which it instilled by its quickening impulse. It discovered the source of these sounds in the fabric of its own composition. (*Commentary* II. ii. 17, 18–19. Stahl 1952: 192–3)

Perhaps by mere inadvertence Macrobius does not mention one interval already discussed, diapente-and-diapason, a double-fifth, corresponding to the ratio 3:1, the triple, which is certainly present in the formula, and which is mentioned by Henryson. More understandably, he makes no reference to the ratio 9:8, the epogdous, at least partly because the corresponding interval, the tone, is dissonant—is not, in Henryson's terminology, a symphony. Henryson himself, quite properly, does not refer to it in his third stanza, which deals with 'symphonies'. Plato, on the other hand, refers to the epogdous in the later and subordinate portion of his formula in a way to explicate Henryson's brief reference to it as 'richt hard and curious'. The ratio appears to be present in the fifth and sixth integers of the primary formula, but this Plato, to judge by his subsequent elaborations, specifically excluded from the primary level; it is produced at a secondary stage of the process (Lee 1971:47–8):

> (b) Next he [God] filled in the double and treble intervals by cutting off further sections and inserting them in the gaps, so that there were two mean terms in each interval, one exceeding one extreme and being exceeded by the other by the same fraction of the extremes [harmonic mean], the other exceeding and being exceeded by the same numerical [arith-

metic mean]. These links produced intervals of 4:3 and 3:2 and 9:8 within the previous intervals, and he went on to fill all intervals of 4:3 with the interval 9:8. (*Timaeus* 35c–36b)

It is to illustrate this part of the complete formula that Chalcidius (Wrobel 1876:107–10; Waszink 1962:89–92) introduces the series already mentioned, 6, 12, 18, 24, 54, 48 and 162: a series which fits the primary formula, but makes no provision for squares and cubes. Between 6 and 12 Chalcidius inserts the two mean terms 8 and 9. 8 exceeds 6 by one-third of 6, 2; 12 correspondingly exceeds 8 by one-third of 12, 4. 8:6 and 12:8 thus stand in the ratios 4:3 (epitritus) and 3:2 (hemiolius). 9 is half-way between 6 and 12 and so exceeds 6 and is smaller than 12 by a figure of 3. 9:6 thus stands in the ratio 3:2 (hemiolius) and 12:9 is 4:3 (epitritus). The ratio of the two mean terms is obviously 9:8, epogdous. The integers of that part of the formula which is related to the basic 6 by the factor 2—12, 24 and 48—have mean terms, 16, and 18, 32 and 36, which follow the same pattern. Those related by the factor 3—18, 54 and 162—have mean terms 9 and 12, 27 and 36, 81 and 108, where the lower mean stands in hemiolius relationship to the lower extreme, and the upper mean in the same relationship to the upper extreme. The ratio 4:3 exists only in the means of the integers linked by the factor 2, and therefore, according to Chalcidius, when Plato said that God filled all intervals of 4:3 with the interval 9:8, he was referring only to the series linked by the factor 2.

The octave corresponds to the interval diapason and the ratio dupler, 2:1, but because the interval is also one which in musical terms includes eight diatonic degrees, made up of five tones and two semitones, it is vitally related to the interval of a tone, epogdous. This forms the basis of the final sentences of the Platonic formula (Lee 1971:48):

(c) This left, as a remainder in each, an interval whose terms bore the numerical ratio of 256 to 243. And at that stage the mixture from which these sections were being cut was all used up. (*Timaeus* 36b)

Chalcidius (Wrobel 1876:116–19; Waszink 1962:98–9) interprets this in terms of the series 192, 216, 243, 256, 288, 324, 364½ and 384. The extremes of the series stand in the ratio 2:1—they represent, in other words, the first two integers of the initial Platonic formula (a), and represent the relationship of the octave, diapason or dupler. In terms of (b), the means are 256 and 288. 256 exceeds 192 by 64, which is the third part of 192, and is less than 384 by 128, which is the third part of 384. 288 is midway between 192 and 284, and is separated from either by 96, which is half of 192 and one quarter of 394. 256:192 corresponds to 4:3, epitritus or diatessaron; 384:256 corresponds to 3:2, hemiolius or diapente. 288:192 corresponds to 3:2, hemiolius or diapente; 384:288 corresponds to 4:3, epitritus or diatessaron, and 288:256 corresponds to 9:8, epogdous or a tone. When the other integers are added to the series, four additional ratios—216:192, 243:216, 324:288 and 364½:324—are produced, and all are epogdous, thus creating five intervals of a tone within the series. The remaining two ratios,

256:243, mentioned by Plato, and 384:364½ are precisely equivalent (the quotient in both is 1.0534979), and represent an interval of a semitone. The two semitones complete the octave, and with it the musical structure of the Soul of the World.

It should now be obvious that the formula, as summarised by Henryson, is 'complete & full with noumeris od & evyn' in a way much more specific than might have been expected, and that the later complications of the formula are governed to a very large extent by the exigencies of the 9:8 ratio, which indeed is 'richt hard and curious'. Henryson, we may take it, had the full formula from the *Timaeus* in mind, and gave it expression as complete as was consonant with the structure of his poem. And it is consonant; it is not merely a pedantic outgrowth on a narrative which otherwise would have been more effective. The poem in fact is constructed on Neoplatonic principles to illustrate Neoplatonic doctrine. The formula for the Soul of the World is not confined to three stanzas (where indeed it is implied rather than stated); it is built into the total narrative structure, and controls its meaning.

As has already been mentioned, the main body of the poem, excluding the *Moralitas*, consists of 52 seven-line stanzas of narrative, and five ten-line stanzas of lyric complaint. The description of the music of the spheres occupies stanzas 25–7 of the narrative. It ends, in other words, with the stanza whose number concludes series (a) in the Platonic formula, the first masculine cube. Several properties of the formula have already been noted; to these it should now be added that the sum of the first six integers (1, 2, 3, 4, 9 and 8) equals the seventh integer (27), and correspondingly that if the sixth integer, 8, is subtracted from the seventh, the resulting number, (19) is the sum of the first five integers. 27, that is to say, represents not only itself, but also the sum of the other six integers. Significantly, the narrative progression of *New Orpheus* is interrupted by the lyric complaint when 19 stanzas have been completed; when the narrative resumes, 8 stanzas bring us to stanza 27 and the end of the description of the Soul of the World. The first 19 stanzas in turn fall fairly readily into subdivisions of 1, 2, 3, 4 and 9. The first stanza is a prologue to the whole; the next two emphasise the need for precautions against human degeneracy; the three stanzas following begin the genealogy of Orpheus; the next four begin from Calliope, the mother of Orpheus, and end with his birth, when she

> gart him sowke of hir twa palpis qwhyte
> The sweit licour of all musik perfyte. (69–70)

The nine stanzas, 11–19, deal with the marriage of Eurydice to Orpheus, which apparently is ended, to the violent grief of Orpheus, when Eurydice is captured by Proserpina. In the eight stanzas which follow the lyric complaint, Orpheus descends from the stars to earth by way of the seven planets, and learns the universal music of the spheres. The first twenty-seven stanzas, it is thus tolerably clear, represent the complete primary series of the Platonic formula, with 27 representing both itself and the sum of the preceding six integers, and with each of these six integers itself marked by a

significant point or change of direction in the narrative. Henryson, we may presume, intended the sensitive reader to notice that his exposition of the Soul of the World concluded at a numerologically significant point, and that all the narrative up to that point was in effect an emblematic representation of the factors which underlie stanzas 25–7.

It is clear too that Henryson meant the Platonic formula to refer to Orpheus as well as to the Soul of the World. Sometimes one might even suspect that Orpheus is himself an allegory of the Soul of the World. His genealogy, for instance, spans three generations: the mortal Orpheus, his father Phoebus, a god, and his grandfather, Jupiter, supreme among the gods. Genealogical relationship is represented by the metaphor of the relationship of a stream to its source:

> Lyke as a strand of watter or a spring
> Haldis the sapour of his fontale well,
> So did in Grece ilk lord & worthy king:
> Of forbearis thai tuke tarage & smell. (22–5)

The detail here might be regarded as strikingly Neoplatonic. Orpheus' triple descent corresponds to the three levels, the One, Mind and the Soul of the World (*τὸ ἕν νοῦς* and *ψυχή*), which make up the Neoplatonic Trinity (Whittaker 1918:53–6). Jupiter might appropriately represent the One, Phoebus Mind, and Orpheus the Soul of the World. One might compare, for instance, the woodcut, designed by the German humanist Conrad Celtes (1459–1508) as a tail piece for Tritonius's *Melopoiae* (1507). 'He adopted', says Edgar Wind (1967:252–3), 'the traditional iconographic type of the Holy Trinity combined with the Deësis, but substituted pagan figures for the Christian. In the place of God the Father blessing Christ he introduced Jupiter hovering over his son Apollo, while the part of the Holy Ghost is transferred from the dove to the winged figure of Pegasus, whose hoof brings forth the fountain of Helicon—"the spirit moving over the waters". The Virgin Mary at Christ's side is replaced by the virgin-goddess, Minerva, and the forerunner and announcer John the Baptist by the divine messenger Hermes. In the centre of the triads, Apollo playing the lyre is supplied with his trinitarian attribute, the tripod (specially inscribed with its name). The nine Muses framing the scene correspond to the nine angelic choirs of the celestial hierarchy.' Wind further describes this as a diagram showing the agreement between Orphic (that is, Neoplatonic) and Christian theology. The relationship between Orpheus, musician and poet, son of Apollo, and Pegasus, the symbolic representation of poetry, is easy and obvious.

So too it is easy to parallel Henryson's metaphor of the 'fontale well' in Neoplatonic writing. In Plotinus (MacKenna 1956:380), for example, we find:

> Seeking nothing, possessing nothing, lacking nothing, the One is perfect and, in our metaphor, has overflowed, and its exuberance has produced the new; this product has turned again to its begetter and been filled and has become its contemplator and so an Intellectual-Principle [*i.e.* Mind]. (*Ennead* v. 2. 1)

In the same way, Mind overflows and produces the Soul of the World. The term 'emanation' is precisely descriptive.

In Macrobius (Stahl 1952:143–5) the metaphor persists:

> God, who both is and is called the First Cause, is alone the beginning and source of all things which are and which seem to be. He, in a bounteous outpouring of his greatness, created from himself Mind. This Mind, called Nous (*νοῦς*), as long as it fixes its gaze upon the Father, retains a complete likeness of its Creator, but when it looks away at things below, creates from itself Soul. Soul, in turn, as long as it contemplates the Father, assumes his part, but by diverting its attention more and more, though itself incorporeal, degenerates into the fabric of bodies . . . Soul . . . out of that pure and clearest fount of Mind from whose abundance it had drunk deep at birth, endowed those divine or ethereal bodies, meaning the celestial sphere and the stars which it was first creating, with mind . . . Accordingly, since Mind emanates from the Supreme God and Soul from Mind, and Mind, indeed, forms and suffuses all below with life, and since this is the one splendour lighting up everything and visible in all, like a countenance reflected in many mirrors arranged in a row, and since all follow on in continuous succession, degenerating step by step in their downward course, the close observer will find that from the Supreme God even to the bottommost dregs of the universe, there is one tie, binding at every link and never broken. This is the golden chain of Homer which, he tells us, God ordered to hang down from the sky to the earth. (*Commentary*, I. xiv. 6–7, 8, 15)

These passages are linked to *New Orpheus*, not only by the doctrine of the Trinity and the metaphor of emanation, but also by the emphasis placed on degeneration as one emanation succeeds another.

> It is contrar the lawis of natur
> A gentill man to be degenerat,
> Nocht following of his progenitour
> The worthy reule, and the lordly estate. (8–11)

So at least Henryson declares at the beginning of the poem, which none the less tells the story of Orpheus' decline, by way of his marriage to Eurydice, his loss of her, and his consequent descent through the spheres into the lower world of almost insatiable desire. During his descent, the degeneracy is briefly reversed by his experience of the celestial music which enabled him to win a conditional and temporary respite from the nether world, but the old ascendency was reasserted before the rescue of Eurydice had been completed.

Some features, however, do not fit this particular allegorical interpretation. The scheme, for instance, would seem to distort the role of Calliope and the other Muses in the narrative. (Henryson follows Macrobius (Stahl 1952:194) and a number of earlier writers, who consider 'the nine Muses as the tuneful song of the eight spheres and the one predominant harmony that comes from all of them'). Almost certainly, it is better to regard the genealogy, not as an allegory of the Trinity, but as a reflected and partially

distorted image of it at a lower level of emanation. The Soul of the World exists separately from Orpheus, who nevertheless belongs sufficiently to the same order to have his own music modulated amd tempered by the music of the spheres.

To this interpretation there are no particular obstacles. The Platonic formula is common to the individual soul and the Soul of the World (Lee 1971:57–8):

> So speaking, he [God] turned again to the same bowl in which he had mixed the Soul of the Universe, and poured into it what was left of the former ingredients, mixing them in much the same fashion as before, only not quite so pure, but in a second and third degree. And when he had compounded the whole, he divided it up into as many souls as there are stars, and allotted each to a star . . .. To ensure fair treatment for each at his hands, the first incarnation would be one and the same for all and each would be sown in its appropriate instrument of time [*i.e.* 'body'] and be born as the most god-fearing of living things. . . . After this necessary incarnation, their body would be subject to physical gain and loss, and they would all inevitably be endowed with the same faculty of sensation dependent on external stimulation, as well as with love and its mixture of pain and pleasure, and fear and anger with the accompanying feelings and their opposites; mastery of these would lead to a good life, subjection to them to a wicked life. And anyone who lived well for his appointed time would return home to his native star and live an appropriately happy life. (*Timaeus* 41d–42b)

The marriage of Orpheus and Eurydice, I suggest, represents the immediate spiritual antecedents of human incarnation, with the establishment of the possibility of contact with the physical world, and so with sensation and desire. Incarnation actually begins when Eurydice is captured by the powers of the lower world.[3] The shattering effects of the process on the rational soul Plato describes in terms of his formula (Lee 1971:59):

> The result was that, though the three pairs of intervals of double and triple, and the connecting middle terms of the ratios three to two, four to three, and nine to eight could not be completely dissolved except by him who put them together, they were twisted in all directions and caused every possible kind of shock and damage to the soul's circles, which barely held together, and though they moved, did so quite irregularly, now in reverse, now sideways, now upside down. (*Timaeus* 43d–e)

I have already noted how in *New Orpheus* the sequence of the first twenty-seven stanzas is broken after stanza 19 by the five intruded stanzas, each of twice-five lines, which constitute the lyric complaint. In terms of the poem, this lacks the true music, briefly recovered by Orpheus in his descent through the spheres. Elsewhere (MacQueen 1967:41) I have indicated that the music of the complaint exerts power only on *silva*, brute matter; at any more spiritual level it is ineffective. The passions which accompany incarnation, and which are represented by the complaint, have distorted the formula 1, 2, 3, 4, 9, 8, 27, significantly between the masculine square and the feminine cube, 9 and 8, which is also the vital interval of a tone. The distortion is produced by the impact of loss, grief and unsatisfied desire which accompanies incarnation. The pentad of

twice-five-line stanzas, I suggest, forms an emblem of the five bodily senses, through the medium of which the original balance of the soul is damaged and disturbed.

Eurydice herself does not represent the body; she too is soul, but in a lower, dual aspect. The Platonic doctrine of the triple soul, as set out, for instance, in the myth of the *Phaedrus* (Hackforth 1963:493), is here very relevant:

> As to soul's immortality then we have said enough, but as to its nature, there is this that must be said . . . Let it be likened to the union of powers in a team of winged steeds and their winged charioteer. Now all the gods' steeds and their charioteers are good, and of good stock, but with other beings it is not wholly so. With us men, in the first place, it is a pair of steeds that the charioteer controls; moreover one of them is noble and good, and of good stock, while the other has the opposite character, and his stock is opposite. Hence the task of our charioteer is difficult and troublesome . . . All soul has the care of all that is inanimate, and traverses the whole universe, though in ever-changing forms. Thus when it is perfect and winged, it journeys on high and controls the whole world, but one that has shed its wings sinks down until it can fasten on something solid, and settling there it takes to itself an earthy body which seems by reason of the soul's power to move itself. This composite structure of soul and body is called a living being. (246 a–c)

In human beings, the charioteer represents the rational aspect of the soul, properly concerned only with the world of abstract reality. The steeds represent the metaphorically upward and downward urges which beset the appetitive part of the soul. Henryson in his *moralitas* indicates how Orpheus corresponds to the charioteer, Eurydice to the steeds. Orpheus

> callit is the pairt intellectif
> Of mannis saull, in wndirstanding fre,
> And separate fra sensualite.
> Erudices is our effectioun,
> Be fantasye oft movit wp & dovn;
> Quhilis to resoun it castis the delyte,
> Quhilis to the flesche settis the appetite. (428–34)

When Eurydice proposes to Orpheus that they should marry, she is playing the part, *mutatis mutandis*, of the noble steed; when she flees from Aristaeus, that of the ignoble yoke-mate (MacQueen 1967:34–5). Henryson's handling of this latter episode, however, is not purely Platonic; the emphasis falls in a Scotist way on the non-rational Will as the active instrument of virtue, which takes the masculine initiative, as Orpheus had failed to do, and seeks unsuccessfully to impose restraints on the appetitive. When this fails, the appetitive turns inevitably to hell, a term whose meaning for Henryson will be discussed later in this paper, and thither reason, in the person of Orpheus, has no choice but to follow.

All this suggests an explanation for one of the most puzzling features of the poem. By his marriage to Eurydice, Orpheus became king of Thrace, a region with a definite

location on the surface of earth. Yet he begins his search for the lost Eurydice, not in his own territory, but apparently in the empyreal heaven ('Syne passit to the hevin', 186), and continues by way of a descent to earth through the spheres of the fixed stars ('By Wadlyng Streit', 188—*i.e.* by the Milky Way), and the seven planets, Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, Phoebus, Venus, Mercury and the Moon. On earth's surface only one feature is mentioned, the 'gravis gray' (244)—'groves' in all probability rather than 'graves', but a play on words is palpably intended. (I have already mentioned the philosophic and scientific use of Latin *silva* as 'brute matter', Greek ὕλη, and it seems likely that this too contributes to the total meaning.) The next place mentioned is the gate of hell, and hell is the location of the entire remainder of the narrative.

Henryson himself tells us that he based his poem on Boethius' *Consolation of Philosophy* III, Metre xii, *Felix qui potuit boni/Fontem uisere lucidum*, and if we compare the two poems, it would almost seem that the basis for the entire heavenly journey, together with the excursus on the Soul of the World and musical ratios, was a misunderstanding of the first line of one couplet (Stewart 1918:294):

Inmites superos querens
Infernas adiit domos. (17–18)

'Complaining that the powers above were cruel, he approached the dwellings below.'

In medieval Latin spelling, *querens*, 'complaining' and *quaerens*, 'seeking' both appear as *querens*, but it is surely impossible that Henryson confused the two, and gave the present participle a perfective aspect—'having sought the cruel powers above, he approached the dwellings below'. In a scholar of Henryson's attainments, such a mistake seems unlikely; it is more probable that the reference to the powers above simply give him the opportunity to elaborate the Neoplatonic ideas which he already associated with the story of Orpheus.

The descent of the soul through the spheres certainly has good Neoplatonic authority. Macrobius, for instance, discusses (Stahl 1952:132–3) three opinions held by philosophers, the third of which he is himself inclined to favour:

> According to this sect, which is more devoted to reason, the blessed souls, free from all bodily contamination, possess the sky; but the soul that from its lofty pinnacle of perpetual radiance disdains to grasp after a body and this thing that we on earth call life, but yet allows a secret yearning for it to creep into its thought, gradually slips down to the lower realms because of the very weight of its earthy thoughts. It does not suddenly assume a defiled body out of a state of complete incorporeality, but, gradually sustaining imperceptible losses and departing farther from its simple and absolutely pure state, it swells out with certain increases of a planetary body: in each of the spheres that lie below the sky it puts on another ethereal envelopment, so that by these steps it is gradually prepared for assuming this earthy dress. Thus by as many deaths as it passes through spheres, it reaches the stage which on earth is called life. (*Commentary* I. xi. 11–12)

The astrological stages by which full corporeality is reached are defined with some precision (Stahl 1952:136–7):

> In the sphere of Saturn it obtains reason and understanding, called *logistikon* and *theoretikon*; in Jupiter's sphere, the power to act, called *praktikon*; in Mars' sphere, a bold spirit or *thymikon*; in the sun's sphere, sense-perception and imagination, *aisthetikon* and *phantastikon*; in Venus' sphere, the impulse of passion, *epithymetikon*; in Mercury's sphere, the ability to speak and interpret, *hermeneutikon*; and in the lunar sphere, the function of moulding and increasing bodies, *phytikon*. This last function, being the farthest removed from the gods, is the first in us and all the earthly creation; inasmuch as our body represents the dregs of what is divine, it is therefore the first substance of the creature. (*Commentary* I. xii. 14–15)

The process of incarnation is, in one sense, a death of the soul, a descent to the infernal regions, a metaphor which may be developed in more ways than one (Stahl 1952:131–2):

> Some ... declared that the immutable part of the universe extended from the outer sphere, which is called *aplanes* (ἀπλανής, 'not wandering'), the fixed sphere, down to the beginning of the moon's sphere, and that the changeable part extended from the moon to the earth; that souls were living while they were in the immutable part but died when they fell into the region subject to change, and that accordingly the area between the moon and the earth was known as the infernal regions of the dead ... A second group preferred to divide the universe into three successions of the four elements: in the first rank were arranged earth, water, air and fire, the last being a purer form of air touching upon the moon. In the rank above this the four elements were again found, but of a more refined nature, so that the moon now stood in the place of earth—we just remarked that natural philosophers called the moon the "ethereal earth"—water was in the sphere of Mercury, air in the sphere of Venus, and fire in the sun itself. The elements of the third rank were thought of as reversed in order, so that earth now held last position and with the other elements drawn inwards the lowest and highest extremities ended in earth; thus the sphere of Mars was considered fire, the sphere of Jupiter air, the sphere of Saturn water, and the *aplanes*, the fixed sphere, earth. The men of old handed down the tradition that the Elysian fields were in this sphere, destined for the pure souls. The soul, when it was dispatched to a body, descended from these fields through the three ranks of the elements to the body by a threefold death. (*Commentary* I. xi. 6, 8–9)

The reference to the Elysian fields is derived ultimately from the Plain of Truth in the *Phaedrus* (Hackforth 1963:494–5):

> Of that place beyond the heavens none of our earthly poets has yet sung, and none shall sing worthily. But this is the manner of it, for assuredly we must be bold to speak what is true, above all when our discourse is upon truth. It is there that true being dwells, without colour or shape, that cannot be touched; reason alone, the soul's pilot, can behold it, and all true knowledge is knowledge thereof ... And while she (the soul) is borne round, she discerns justice, its very self, and likewise temperance, and knowledge, not the knowledge that is neighbour to becoming, and varies with the various objects to which we commonly ascribe being, but the veritable knowledge of being that veritably is. ... Now the reason

> wherefore the souls are fain and eager to behold the plain of Truth, and discover it, lies herein—to wit, that the pasturage that is proper to their noblest part comes from that meadow, and the plumage by which they are borne aloft is nourished thereby. (247a–8c)

In the light of these passages, the reader is justified in taking Thrace as an allegorical term for the Elysian fields or the plain of Truth, the original home of the unitary soul—Orpheus and Eurydice—on the outer surface of the *aplanes*, from which it begins its descent to corporeality. Corporeal life, equally, is represented by Hell, the place of sensual experience and unsatisfied desire, from which Orpheus fails to rescue Eurydice. That life, however, is alien to either part of the soul. Incarnation is complete with the arrival of Eurydice in Hell, but she can never be satisfied with her changed status, which affects her like starvation or a wasting disease:

> Quod he, 'My lady leil, and my delyte,
> Ful wa is me till se yow changit thus;
> Quhar is thi rud as ros with cheikis quhyte,
> Thy cristall eyne with blenkis amorus,
> Thy lippis red to kis delicious?' (352–6)

The comment of Pluto:

> War scho at home in hir cuntre of Trace,
> Scho wald refet full sone in fax & face— (364–5)

almost certainly contains a veiled reference to the passage from the *Phaedrus* already quoted: 'the pasturage that is proper to their noblest part comes from that meadow, and the plumage by which they are borne aloft is nourished thereby.'

In Hell, the first creature which Orpheus encounters is the three-headed Cerberus, and it is notable that in a well-known document of Renaissance Neoplatonism, the *Practica musice* (1496) of Franchinus Gafurius, the three-headed Cerberus is the central figure of a diagram illustrating the music of the spheres. His serpent-like body extends beyond the *aplanes* to form a looped support for the throne of Apollo, and his three heads rest, not in Hell, but on the sphere of earth, labelled TERRA. He is not, that is to say, regarded by Gafurius as in any everyday sense of the word, an infernal monster; as Wind observes (Wind 1967:265), in the world of time as opposed to eternity, 'the triple-headed monster, *fugientia tempora signans*, retains a shadowy vestige of the triadic dance that the Graces'—whom Gafurius identifies collectively with Thalia, a Muse, present also in the underworld—'start under the direction of Apollo'. In Henryson's underworld of corporeal existence, the triadic theme receives further emphasis by the presence there of the three Furies, grouped round the wheel usually and more properly associated with the three Fates, and of the three exemplary sinners, Ixion, Tantalus and Tityus.

I have already commented on the likelihood that the five stanzas, each of twice-five lines, which form the lyric complaint, emblematise the five bodily senses. The same

meaning is probably to be discovered in the twenty-five (5^2) stanzas devoted by Henryson to Orpheus' journey through Hell. Hell is corporeal existence, the realm of the five senses; infernal experience begins as soon as the soul in its descent has passed the sphere of the moon. Next to the descent of Orpheus through the spheres, the most unexpected feature of the narrative is probably the appearance in a classical Hades, not merely of Biblical figures such as Pharaoh and Jezebel, but also of others from the pre-Reformation[4] church:

> Thair fand he mony pape and cardinal,
> In haly kirk quhilk dois abusioun,
> And bischopis in that pontificall,
> Be symony and wrang intrusioun;
> Abbotis and men of all religioun,
> For ewill disponyng of that placis rent,
> In flam of fyre war bittirly torment. (338–44)

The presence of these figures, and the use in line 339 of the present tense, goes some way to emphasise that the Hell of the poem is more than exemplary and remote, that it is part of immediate experience— *this* world and *these* five senses.

Near the beginning of this paper, I referred briefly to another numerological feature of the poem. The total length of the narrative, fifty-two seven-line stanzas, fairly obviously corresponds to the fifty-two seven-day weeks of the year. The poem as a whole, that is to say, in some sense represents the year; in what precise sense the Neoplatonists generally, and Macrobius in particular, may help to determine. In their estimation, there were several types of year, ranging from the year of the moon, 28 days, through the year of the sun and of the other planets, to the World-Year, or Great Year, which occurs (Stahl 1952:221) 'when all stars and constellations in the celestial sphere have gone from a definite place and returned to it, so that not a single star is out of the position it previously held at the beginning of the world-year, and when the sun and moon and the five other planets are in the same positions and quarters that they held at the start of the world-year. This, philosophers tell us, occurs every 15,000 years' (*Commentary* II. xi. 10–11). The sun's year however has a particular importance for souls in their descent to mortality. The most northerly and southerly points in the annual movement of the sun through the Zodiac were marked by the summer and winter solstices in Cancer and Capricorn. Macrobius, following Porphyry, erroneously assumed that the solstices are to be found where the Milky Way crosses the Zodiac (Stahl 1952: 133–4):

> The Milky Way girdles the Zodiac, its great circle meeting it obliquely so that it crosses it at the two tropical signs, Capricorn and Cancer. Natural philosophers named these the 'portals of the sun' because the solstices lie athwart the sun's path on either side, checking farther progress and causing it to retrace its course across the belt whose limits it never trespasses. Souls are believed to pass through these portals when going from the sky to the earth and returning from the earth to the sky. For this reason one is called the portal of men

> and the other the portal of gods; Cancer, the portal of men, because through it descent is made to the infernal regions [*i.e.* life on earth]; Capricorn, the portal of gods, because through it souls return to their rightful abode of immortality, to be reckoned among the gods. (*Commentary* I. xii. 1–2)

The soul, that is to say, enters the material universe from the Elysian fields at the point on the inner surface of the *aplanes* which marks the summer solstice, and begins its descent by the Milky Way or, as Henryson (line 188) names it, Wadlyng Street.

The reference to Watling Street has an unmistakable significance; rather less obvious is the probability that Orpheus entered Watling Street at the point in the poem which corresponds structurally to the summer solstice. The poem contains only one verbal reference to the calendar year. The death of Eurydice occurs when she is walking 'in till a Maij mornyng', a reference which occurs in line 93 of the narrative. Orpheus reaches the *aplanes* in line 136 of the narrative (line 186 of the complete poem). In terms of the total structure, each line of the narrative represents one day of the year. If we assume that line 93 represents 1 May, line 136 will represent 13 June, and in terms of the unreformed Julian calendar of the fifteenth century, 13 June might be considered the summer solstice. Orpheus, the soul, enters the created universe by the portal of men. The winter solstice is represented by line 369, the middle line of the stanza in which the music of Orpheus gains a conditional remission for Eurydice:

> Than Orpheus befor Pluto sat dovne,
> And in his handis quhyte his harp can ta,
> And playit mony sweit proporcioun,
> With base tonys in Hypodoria,
> With gemynyng in Hyperlydia;
> Til at the last for reuth & gret pete,
> Thai wepit sore, that couth him heir or se (366–72)

It is notable that at this point 'terms of art', the technical vocabulary of musical theory, reappear. Hypodoria and Hyperlydia were the lowest and highest of the fifteen classical Tonoi or Keys, and in terms of the music of the spheres correspond to the Moon, the lowest, and the *aplanes*, the highest. The choice of those *tonoi* implies that Orpheus in his playing utilised the full range from lowest to highest, and so by producing a 'proporcioun' which corresponds to the music of the spheres and the Soul of the World, gave Eurydice and himself the opportunity to return from the world of incarnation to the Elysian fields by the portal of the gods. The portal itself is represented numerologically by the central line of the stanza. It seems likely too that in the closing lines of the forty-eighth narrative stanza:

> And on thai went, talkand of play & sport,
> Quhill thai come allmast to the vttir port (385–6)

the words 'vttir port' refer specifically to the portal of gods.

At the most literal level, *New Orpheus* is a story of tragic love. But not only at this level. Love earthly and divine is central to Neoplatonic thought, and although the love of Orpheus and Eurydice is 'wardlie' (line 89), directed to bodies and incarnation, it is not therefore totally separate from the more divine passion. The poem ends with a paradoxical definition by Orpheus of love under both aspects:

> Quhat art thow, Luf, how sall I thee diffyne?
> Bitter and sweit, cruell & merciable,
> Plesand to sum, till vthir playnt & pyne,
> Till sum constant, till vther wariable. (401–4)

Unexpectedly, but I think unmistakably, this bitter-sweet[5] definition recalls a passage (*De Amore* II. viii) in the commentary on Plato's *Symposium*, published in 1469 by the Italian Renaissance philosopher, Marsilio Ficino (1433–99):

> Do not let the fact that Orpheus has sung about the bitter afflictions of lovers trouble you. Listen carefully, I beg you, to the way in which these troubles are to be borne, and in which these lovers are to be helped. Plato calls Love bitter, not unjustly, because everyone dies who loves. For this reason Orpheus too calls Love γλυκύπικρον, that is sweet and bitter. Insofar as Love is a voluntary death, as death it is bitter, as voluntary sweet. But anyone who loves, dies. (*Ficino* [1959]: II. 323)

In relation to Henryson's poem, the combined reference to Orpheus and Plato is striking. References by Ficino to Orpheus as an authority are generally to the so-called *Orphic Hymns* (Quandt 1955), which probably belong to the late Hellenistic period, and which Ficino had himself translated by 1462 in a version which has not survived. γλυκύπικρος however is not a word which appears in any extant Hymn, and indeed, as Edgar Wind (1967: 162–3) has indicated, Ficino was himself probably responsible for the idea that it was Orpheus, rather than Sappho, who called Love bitter-sweet:

> The assurance with which Ficino declared that 'Orpheus called Love γλυκύπικρον' is the more remarkable since Ficino is the only source for the attribution ... Since he regarded all Neoplatonic mysteries as derived from Orpheus, the presence of γλυκύπικρος in a Neoplatonic text would be sufficient for him to consider it Orphic. Now the intrusion of the term into Neoplatonic writings can be traced through at least two stages. Maximus of Tyre, in his discourse 'On the amatory art of Socrates', drew an explicit and lengthy parallel between the loves of Socrates and of Sappho, in which he remarked that, if Socrates says that love flourishes in abundance and dies in want, 'Sappho conveys the same meaning when she calls love bitter-sweet (γλυκύπικρος) and a painful gift.' The second stage is represented by Hermias's *Commentary on the Phaedrus*, 251D, which was one of Ficino's 'Orphic' sources. Here the transference of the Sapphic term to Socratic love was made without any mention of Sappho: ὅθεν γλυκυπικρόν τινες εἰρήκασι τὸν ἔρωτα. It is almost certain that in this passage Ficino would take the anonymous τινες as a concealed reference to the Orphic initiates.

If we assume, as seems reasonable, that *New Orpheus* was completed by 1490—and it

may be substantially earlier—Ficino becomes the most probable source for Henryson's lines. One might say, indeed, that during the last third of the fifteenth century any poem or treatise, combining aspirations to learning with the subject of Orpheus, was likely to result from Ficinian influence. Ficino regarded the *Orphic Hymns* as seminal for the development of philosophy.

> 'Mercurius Trismegistus [he writes in the preface to his translation of the Corpus Hermeticum] was the first philosopher to raise himself above physics and mathematics to the contemplation of the divine ... Therefore he was considered the original founder of theology. Orpheus followed him and held second place in ancient theology. Aglaophemus was initiated into the Orphic mysteries. Aglaophemus' successor in theology was Pythagoras, and his pupil was Philolaus, the master of our divine Plato'. (Kristeller 1943:25)

Ficino was himself characterised by his friend Poliziano (1454–94) in terms of the myth of Orpheus: 'Marsilio Ficino the Florentine, whose lyre, far luckier than that of the Thracian Orpheus, called back from Hell the Eurydice who, unless I am mistaken, is the true one, that is, Platonic wisdom of amplest judgement' (*amplissimi judicii*—an etymological pun on the name 'Eurydice'). Poliziano himself (1965:107–30) wrote the *Favola di Orfeo*, which, as R. D. S. Jack (1972:8–14) has indicated, offers some interesting parallels to Henryson's poem. (I must add that it is less Platonic than Henryson's, and even less Orphic.) Another well-known Orphic work of the Quattrocento is the *Conclusiones de modo intellegendi hymnos Orphei* of Pico della Mirandola (1463–94).[6] Most interesting of all, perhaps, is Pico's statement made at the end of the work which more than almost any other exemplifies the mind of the Renaissance, the *De Hominis Dignitate:*

> Nay, furthermore, they say that the maxims of Pythagoras are alone called holy, because he proceeded from the principles of Orpheus; and that the secret doctrine of numbers and whatever Greek philosophy has of the great or the sublime has flowed from thence as its first font. But as was the practice of the ancient theologians, even so did Orpheus protect the mysteries of his dogmas with the coverings of fables, and conceal them with a poetic veil, so that whoever should read his hymns would suppose there was nothing beneath them beyond idle tales and perfectly unadulterated trifles. (Cassirer 1948:253)

In the early part of this paper, the passages quoted to illustrate Henryson's work were chosen, wherever possible, from writings generally familiar to educated men in the Middle Ages. The suggestion that Henryson was familiar with Chalcidius and Macrobius need offer no difficulties to anyone. In contrast, the best ultimate source for a descent through the spheres made specifically by Orpheus is to be found in the *Orphic Hymns*, which include one to the Stars (No. 7), the Sun (8), the Moon (9), Saturn (13), Jupiter (15, 19 and 20), Mercury (28), Venus (55) and Mars (65), together with one to the Muses (76), Memoria (77), Pluto (18) and Proserpine (29)—almost the entire *dramatis personae* of *New Orpheus*.[7] This is not necessarily to say that Henryson knew the *Hymns* at first hand; an intermediary, such as Ficino, is perhaps more probable. Now it is notable

that neither Chalcidius nor Macrobius refers to the *Hymns*, or even, save in passing, to Orpheus himself; Chalcidius once only (*In Timaeum* cxxvii) and Macrobius twice (I. ii. 9; II. iii. 8), never in a context to suggest a direct relationship with *New Orpheus*. With this, contrast Ficino, in a passage (*Platonica Theologia* IV. i), where he mentions in conjunction Orpheus, Pluto and Proserpine as powers on earth, eight Muses associated with the eight celestial spheres, and the ninth, Calliope, the mother of Orpheus, equated with the Soul of the World:

> If anyone wishes to know the names of the divine spirits, let him know that the theology of Orpheus separates the souls of the spheres in such a way that each has a double power, one whose function is to know, the other to animate and rule the physical body of the sphere. Thus, in the element of earth, Orpheus names one power Pluto, the other Proserpine; in water, one Ocean, the other Thetis; in air, Jove the Thunderer and Juno; in fire, Phanes and Aurora; in the soul of the lunar sphere, one is Bacchus Licnites, the other the Muse Thalia; again, in the soul of the sphere of Mercury, one power is Bacchus Silenus, the other Euterpe; in that of Venus, Bacchus Lysinus and Erato; in that of the Sun, Bacchus Trietericus and Melpomene; in that of Mars, Bacchus Bassareus and Clio; in that of Jove, Bacchus Sabasius and Terpsichore; in that of Saturn, Bacchus Amphietes and Polymnia; in the eighth sphere, Bacchus Pericionius and Urania. In the Soul of the World, Orpheus calls the first power Bacchus Eribromus, the second the Muse Calliope. Thus, according to Orpheus, one Bacchus is placed in charge of each Muse, as a result of which the powers of the Muses are described as intoxicated with the nectar of divine knowledge. For this reason, the nine Muses with the nine Bacchi revel around the one Apollo, that is, around the splendour of the invisible Sun. (Ficino 1964:I. 164–5)

The names of the Bacchi are derived from Hymns 46, 54, 50, 52, 45, 48, 53 and 47. The order of the Muses differs in Henryson[8] and Ficino (as also in Henryson and Boccaccio's *De Genealogia Deorum*, from which he takes some details), but the equation of Calliope with the Soul of the World is significant in terms both of the lines already quoted about the birth of Orpheus, when she

> gart him sowke of hir twa palpis qwhyte
> The sweit licour of all musik perfyte (69–70)

and in terms of the later relationship between his music and the Soul of the World. It is also worth noting that Henryson places Calliope, as fourth Muse, in a position corresponding not to that of the invisible Sun, but at least to that of the Sun among the planets of the pre-Copernicean universe.

Some connection between *New Orpheus* and Florentine Platonism of the Quattrocento may thus seem to be established. But if so, how did Henryson come by his knowledge of it? It is possible (MacQueen 1967:17, 20–1) that he was a graduate of an Italian university, and thus he may actually have met, or at least sat under, Ficino or one of his disciples. But there is a second possibility, which may stand alone or complement the first. The tropological Moralitas of *New Orpheus*, mentioned at the beginning

of this paper, is based on the commentary by Nicholas Trevet (?1258–1328) on Boethius' *Consolation of Philosophy*. Henryson was incorporated in the University of Glasgow in 1462, probably to give lectures in law. At that time, *liber Boetii cum glossa Trevet* was one of the volumes in the library (Maitland Club 1843:II, 334–9) of Glasgow Cathedral, and it is not unlikely that the presence of this book in a large library adjacent to the University of which he had once been a member, was a factor in Henryson's choice of subject. Well before the 1460s strong links had been established between Glasgow and Italy. In particular, Bishop Turnbull, who founded the University in 1451, was a Pavia Doctor of Canon Law, who had been in Italy from 1433 to 1439, and made another visit before his death in 1454. Dr Durkan (1951:15 ff.) has emphasised the intellectual brilliance of Pavia in Turnbull's day; the scholars and humanists of an earlier generation there included Lorenzo Valla, Maffeo Vegio, Francesco Filelfo and Theodore of Gaza. In addition, Pope Nicholas V, who issued the bull to establish the University, and whom Turnbull probably knew personally, was a lover of arts and sciences, the founder of the Vatican Library, and 'the first, and probably the best, of the Renaissance Popes' (*Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*). As early as 1432, Italian works of some importance and rarity were to be found in the Cathedral library, most notably *liber Francisci Petrarchi cuius primum folium habet in textu Paucos homines*; the *De Solitaria Vita*, that is to say. By the 1460s it is not unlikely that others had been acquired, and that literary and philosophical developments in Italy formed a subject of discussion among the clerics of the Cathedral and University—a northern echo, as it were, of the Florentine *Accademia Platonica*. Whether Henryson came to Glasgow already acquainted with Ficino, Orphism and Neoplatonism, or whether he acquired his knowledge after his arrival, scarcely now matters; it was as a result of his acquaintance with the scholars of Cathedral and University, I suggest, and of discussions with them, that he came eventually to write *New Orpheus*. In view of the evidence, the actual composition probably postdated his transfer about 1468 (MacQueen 1967:21) to Dunfermline, and there were certainly scholars, possibly in Dunfermline, certainly in St Andrews, who shared the Italian interests of their colleagues and rivals in Glasgow. But the attested evidence of a Boethius with Trevet's commentary in Glasgow Cathedral is decisive, I suggest, for the initial influence and audience.

NOTES

1 The poem is usually called *Orpheus and Eurydice*. *New Orpheus* is the title given by Gavin Douglas in the notes to his translation of the *Aeneid* (Caldwell 1957:19, footnote). The title used by one Renaissance humanist for the work of another deserves some recognition.

2 The texts are (a) the fragmentary Chepman and Myllar print (1508), closely related to which is (b) the Asloan manuscript (*c.* 1515), ff. 247a–56b. Standing at some remove is (c) the Bannatyne manuscript (1568), ff. 317b–25a. All three texts contain substantial corruptions. In general, I have followed Asloan, as more complete than Chepman and Myllar, while closely resembling it. Bannatyne however preserves some features of an independent tradition, and I have not hesitated to adopt one or two of its readings.

In all three texts the most corrupt passage is that represented by Asloan, lines 223–5:

> Quhilk Ermony throw all this mapamond,
> Quhilk moving cess vnite perpetuall,
> Quhilk of this warld pluto the saull can call

Here, the one certain emendation is Plato for *pluto*. Chepman and Myllar originally read *Quhill* for *Quhilk* in line 224, a reading which I have adopted. The repeated *Quhilk* is obviously suspect. Anything further is little more than guess-work, but I hope that my guess is at least reasonably plausible.

For ratios, intervals and tonoi, I have used or preserved spellings which clarify the relationship between Middle Scots and Latin or Greek.

3 Compare again the *Taill of the Paddok and the Mous* (MacQueen 1967:118–21).

4 It is likely that in this stanza Henryson has primarily in mind the pontificates of Sixtus IV (1471–84) and Innocent VIII (1484–92). Of the former, Burckhardt (1958:1. 123–4) remarked, 'He supplied himself with the necessary funds by simony, which suddenly grew to unheard-of proportions, and which extended from the appointment of cardinals down to the granting of the smallest favours. Sixtus himself had not obtained the Papal dignity without recourse to the same means.'; of the latter (Burckhardt 1958:1. 126), 'If Sixtus had filled his treasury by the sale of spiritual dignities and favours, Innocent and his son, for their part, established an office for the sale of secular favours, in which pardons for murder and manslaughter were sold for large sums of money'.

5 Compare also the description of Venus in *Testament of Cresseid*, lines 232–4 (Gregory Smith 1908:11):

> In taikning that all fleschelie Paramour
> Quhilk Venus hes in reull and governance
> Is sum tyme sweit, sum tyme bitter and sour.

Here however there is no direct Orphic or Platonic reference. Compare also *Timaeus* 42a 6–7, quoted above, 'love and its mixture of pain and pleasure'.

6 It is perhaps worth noting that the attack on judicial astrology which Henryson includes in his *Moralitas* (Chepman and Myllar, lines 432–43; Asloan, lines 549–60; considerably extended, but still most probably the work of Henryson, Bannatyne, lines 559–609), parallels on a much reduced scale Pico's celebrated and influential *Disputationes Adversus Astrologiam Divatricem* (Pico della Mirandola 1946–52), published in 1495.

7 The *Orphic Hymns* use, of course, the Greek names of the deities—Kronos, Zeus and so forth. Whether or not Henryson was working directly from a Greek original, he would have used Latin forms in a vernacular poem.

8 Henryson's order, and some of his detail, is derived from a piece of mnemonic verse in an early thirteenth-century schoolbook, the *Graecismus* of Eberhard of Béthune. (See Doreen Allen Wright 1971.)

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'Abbotsford Collection of Border Ballads': Sophia Scott's Manuscript Book with Airs

AILIE MUNRO

William Macmath was one of Child's most important correspondents in the search for Scottish ballads: Child makes frequent references to his help in *The English and Scottish Popular Ballads*. Macmath kept a complete record of this correspondence, and William Montgomerie recently paid tribute to his work in an article published in 1963. In his study of Macmath's letters Montgomerie found references to the manuscript volume which is the subject of this present article; he listed it in his *Bibliography of the Scottish Ballad Manuscripts* (1966:6), and later was the first scholar to see the book at Abbotsford.

It is unnecessary here to repeat the full account of Macmath's attempts to gain access to Scott's manuscripts at Abbotsford (Montgomerie 1963:93–8). Father Forbes-Leith eventually arranged for his first visit in 1890: Macmath wrote, of this visit, 'the Reverend Father is producing the chief treasures by degrees from some repository in the private part of the mansion which no ordinary mortal is allowed to enter'. A second visit in 1891 left him still unsatisfied: Father Forbes-Leith 'had spoken of a small volume' (also referred to as 'a red morocco volume') 'containing the songs which were sung in Sir Walter's family but had no idea where it was. *Macmath had expected to find something of the kind from what Lockhart said in his edition of the Minstrelsy as to the tunes* [my italics]. Ultimately he wrote to Fr. Forbes-Leith about the red morocco volume. He got the informal answer that the family did not wish that volume published' (*op. cit.*:96–8). As will be seen, Macmath and Child had no inkling of the size of the volume.

Although Macmath saw a number of manuscripts at Abbotsford he did not succeed in gaining access to the red morocco book but he was the first to establish its existence and to lay the trail which leads to this the first introductory account of it.

Some years ago Dr Emily Lyle was able to study this manuscript: impressed by its musical content she suggested that I should look at it. Mrs Patricia Maxwell-Scott not only agreed to my request to see it but also kindly lent the book, first to the National Library of Scotland and later to Edinburgh University Library, and subsequently granted permission for the entire contents to be photo-copied. These photographs are in the archives of the School of Scottish Studies.

Miss Jean Maxwell-Scott has told me that some of the songs which Sophia, Scott's daughter, copied into the book were probably taken from separate copies and sheets

which would be used in family music-making. J. G. Lockhart, Sophia's husband, later had it bound for their daughter Charlotte, and she and her husband J. R. Hope brought it with them when they came to live at Abbotsford. It has been there ever since among the family possessions, and was known as 'the Red Book'.

The compilers of this collection of ballads would have agreed with Bertrand H. Bronson that a ballad is not a ballad when it has no tune (Bronson 1959:1. ix), for each of its 125 ballads is accompanied by a tune, with simple pianoforte accompaniment. The words and music were all written out by hand, for the most part during the eighteen years or so before the death in 1837 of Sophia Lockhart; some of the later entries may have been added after her death and before about 1850. Since the handwritings show that at least five people wrote in the book it may be interesting to look at the background to it, and particularly at the attitudes to music of the members of Scott's family during this period, and of certain musical friends of the family.

Scott himself considered that his musical ear was 'imperfect' but added that 'the airs of our native country . . . always have made the most pleasing impression on me' (Anderson 1972:29). Alexander Campbell, who had been set to teach music to the young Walter, 'would never allow that I had a bad ear; but contended, that if I did not understand music, it was because I did not choose to learn it' (Lockhart 1902:1. 44 n.). Coming from so stern and impatient a teacher of music as Campbell was known to be (*op. cit.*:44 n.) this remark should be taken seriously and not dismissed as flattery. (Years later, in his preface to *Albyn's Anthology*, Campbell acknowledged that Scott, 'whom the author may emphatically call *Friend*', had generously offered his assistance in producing this 'great National Repository' of Scottish music and poetry—Campbell 1818:ix). 'I have often wondered if I have a taste for music or no', wrote Scott in his Journal. 'My ear appears to me as dull as my voice is incapable of musical expression, and yet I feel the utmost pleasure in any such music as I can comprehend, learnd pieces always excepted' (Anderson 1972:335). He goes on to quote Jeremy in Congreve's 'Love for Love': 'I have a reasonable good ear for a jigg but your solos and sonatas give me the spleen'.

This quotation calls to mind a famous essay by Scott's contemporary, Charles Lamb, in which he describes his misery in listening to Italian opera, oratorio, and 'above all, those insufferable concertos'; although he suspects he has 'an undeveloped faculty for music' he complains of 'the measured malice of music' and of his 'inaptitude to thrid the maze; like an unskilled eye painfully poring over hieroglyphics' (Lamb 1906:46). The European literary mind is very different from the musical mind as defined by western European art-music, in which harmony and polyphony have been highly developed, but there are other kinds of music and consequently there are other musical parameters. Scott's remark concerning Alex^{r} (Sandie) Ballantyne's violin playing is most illuminating: 'I do not understand or care about fine music but there is something in his violin which goes to the very heart' (Anderson 1972:334). Clearly he liked melody, and the less confused by harmonic accompaniment, I suspect, the better

he liked it. He loved singing—but it had to be simple singing: writing of an occasion when he 'expected to see Made. Caradori . . . sing "Jock o' Hazeldean",' he says, 'I wrote the song for Sophia and I find my friends here [*i.e.* Edinburgh] still prefer her to the foreign syren' (*op. cit.*: 569). Add to this two facts: that most of the art-music played in Scotland at that time was German- or Italian-dominated, and that Scott was deeply immersed in the traditional lore and culture of his native country—and we may decide that it is surely time to stop thinking of this man as unmusical.

Of his daughter Sophia he wrote, 'she is quite conscious of the limited range of her musical talents and never makes them common or produces them out of place—a rare virtue' (*op. cit.*: 17). She and her sister Anne learned to play the harp (their instrument is still at Abbotsford) and Hogg recalled of Sophia '. . . she loved her father so . . . I shall never forget the looks of affection that she would throw up to him as he stood leaning on his crutch and hanging over her harp as she chaunted to him his favourite old Border Ballads or his own wild Highland gatherings' (Hogg 1972: 125).

Anne, his younger daughter, was also a musician. Scott wrote in his diary, 1825: 'Anne is practising Scots songs, which I take as a kind compliment to my own taste, as hers leads her chiefly to foreign music. I think the good girl sees that I want and must miss her sister's peculiar talent in singing the airs of our native country . . .' (Lockhart 1902: IV. 400).

Sophia had married J. G. Lockhart in 1820; his biographer Marion Lochhead says, of their Edinburgh days,

> The musical zenith may have passed with the great days of St. Cecilia's Hall (which was now no longer a concert hall) but it was still a musical society and a fair standard of musical accomplishment, both in singing and in harp or piano-playing, was expected of a well-educated woman. Henry Mackenzie recalled . . . unaccompanied singing by the ladies was the custom . . . They sang as they sat round the fire, nearly always the old Scots songs. He remembered too the progress or procession of instruments in fashion: first the guitar, then the lute, though it had no long vogue, then the harp; followed by the key-instruments, the spinet and pianoforte (Lochhead 1954: 90).

As we shall see, the ballad-book which is our subject was almost exclusively compiled by women. Of Lockhart's own musical abilities or leanings we know little, but his great fondness for children is well attested and it is unlikely that their daughter Charlotte would have become the fine singer she was without paternal as well as maternal encouragement.

In 1847 Charlotte married J. R. Hope, a lawyer and parliamentary barrister ('he was, Mr. Gladstone declared, the most winning person of his day'—Lockhart 1902: V. 486). Robert Ornsby wrote of Charlotte, 'Without marked accomplishments, unless [*sic*] that of singing most sweetly, with a good taste and natural power that were always evident, she had a passion for books, about which, however, she was particularly silent, as she dreaded anything like pretensions to literature' (Ornsby 1884: II. 134–5).

The music-making in Scott's family circle was led by his two daughters, but the close friendship of another highly creative family (two of whose handwritings appear in the Red Book) seems to have contributed greatly both to their musical endeavours and to their social life. In his diary for August 1814, Scott writes of a visit to Torloisk on Loch Tua, Mull, 'the seat of my valued friend, Mrs MacLean Clephane, and her accomplished daughters' (Lockhart 1902:II. 490). Of these three daughters, Margaret Douglas, the eldest, married Lord Compton (later Marquis of Northampton) on 24 July 1815, shortly after the battle of Waterloo. She and her sisters had chosen Scott for their guardian, 'and on him accordingly developed the chief care of the arrangements on this occasion' (and in fact this was the only reason he was still in Scotland. Lockhart writes, 'That he should have been among the first civilians who hurried over to see the field at Waterloo, and hear English bugles sound about the walls of Paris, could have surprised none who knew the lively concern he had always taken in the military efforts of his countrymen'. Scott left Edinburgh for his journey to Waterloo on 27 July—*op. cit.*:III. 39–42). Lockhart refers to Margaret, a year before her marriage, as 'Another friend'—(*i.e. of Scott*)— 'and he had, I think, none more dear . . .' (*op. cit.*:II. 532).

In 1827 Scott met the Clephanes in Glasgow, and wrote in his Journal 'After dinner the ladies sung, particularly Anna Jane who has more taste and talent of every kind than half the people going with great reputations on their backs' (Anderson 1972:348). Lockhart wrote that 'the others [*i.e.* Anna and Wilimina] had much of the same tastes and accomplishments which so highly distinguished the late Lady Northampton' (she had died, near Naples, in 1830), 'and Scott delighted especially in their proficiency in the poetry and music of their native isles' (Lockhart 1902:III. 250).

The girls seem to have been great friends: Sophia wrote to Lockhart, shortly before their marriage, 'I cannot think how we missed seeing you, as Anne, Miss Clephane and myself walked three times round the Calton Hill' (Lochhead 1954:72). And in a letter from Scott to his son (Cornet W. Scott, 18th Hussars, Cork) in 1819, we read of the visit of Mrs Maclean Clephane and her two unmarried daughters to Abbotsford: 'Your sisters seem to be very fond of the young ladies, and I am glad of it, for they will see that a great deal of accomplishment and information may be completely reconciled with liveliness, fun, good-humour and good breeding' (Lockhart 1902:III. 384).

So much for the general background and the persons involved in this collection of ballads and tunes: a description of the book itself is now due. It is a very beautiful manuscript, bound in red morocco with gold leaf ornamentation on the outer covers: it is 11½ inches broad by 9½ inches deep, and is slightly more than 1½ inches in thickness. The book is closed with a handsome brass clasp and lock, and the spine has the title MANUSCRIPT BALLADS with, underneath, the initials C.H.J.H. [for Charlotte Harriet Jane Hope]. The reverse sides of the outer covers are in tan-coloured morocco with much more highly ornate gold leaf decoration, and the front reverse cover has in addition the name MRS. JAMES ROBERT HOPE also in gold. These inside covers may have been the original binding, which would have been removed from the spine when the volume

was re-bound. The red leather of the outside cover is lapped over on to the inside, and joins the tan leather $\frac{3}{8}$ inch from the edge. Next to the outside covers, at both ends of the book, are the fly-leaves: these are thicker than the other pages and the upper sides have a shiny, pale yellow surface covered with a gold star-shaped pattern.

The next page in the front of the book is pale blue on both sides, and the reverse side has a charming water-colour vignette stuck on to it. This depicts a man on horseback pointing into the distance and speaking to a girl (? in boys' clothing) who is seated by a hillside path; two hounds are in the background and a bird is flying overhead. There is no clue as yet to the title of the painting, but it is signed, in the lower righthand corner and over the paint, 'W. Allan fecit 1821'. Sir William Allan was a distinguished painter and a friend of Sir Walter's; and the painting may very probably depict a scene from a ballad.

Facing it, on the right, is another pale blue page with the title

ABBOTSFORD COLLECTION
of
BORDER BALLADS

in gold lettering. There are several blank pages before page 1 of the text. The first ballad is set out with words on the left (p. 1), music on the right (p. 2), while for the next ballad the order is reversed: music on the left (p. 3), and the corresponding verbal text on the right (p. 4)—and so on. The book has two parts: in the first (and longer) one the water-mark J. WHATMAN 1819 is on eight pages, and J. WHATMAN, TURKEY MILLS, 1819 on one; while in the second the watermark BASTED MILL 1823 is found on eight pages—thus proving that the first part could not have been written before 1819, nor the second before 1823. There are a number of blank pages at the end of part two, including several ruled for music notation.

In what follows I shall refer to this book as Sophia Scott's Manuscript, to distinguish it from the older and very much smaller Abbotsford Manuscript, 'Scottish Songs', referred to in Child v 'Ballad Airs' (The Abbotsford MS is described below, p. 98).

For each ballad, the words of the first verse—and occasionally the second as well—are written underneath the vocal line. Most of the accompaniments are simple and effective, confining the harmonies to the notes of the melody although there is a tendency for the sharp 7th to appear in minor tunes even when this note is flattened where it appears—if at all—in the melody. (The thick chords which appear for the left hand in many of the accompaniments would clearly be more suited to an early nineteenth-century pianoforte than to a modern instrument.) A few accompaniments are more complex (*e.g.* with broken chords) but these are usually for the composed tunes. Only one ballad, *The Burning of Frendraught* (Child 196), has no tune, and this page—unnumbered, although incorrectly given as page 109 in the index to the first part—is interposed between pages 109 and 110. These two pages have the words and music for *Lady Frennet* (omitted from the index), which is the version of Child 196

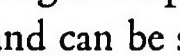
called *Frennet Hall*. Child himself does not include this version, merely referring to it as 'the modern and extremely vapid ballad of "Frennet Hall" ' (Child 1965:IV. 39); but Bronson includes it with a tune (Bronson 1966:III. 190) which is virtually the same as Sophia's Manuscript tune—which also fits *The Fire of Frendraught* version given here—so we have one tune for two versions of the same ballad.

The first part of the book has 188 pages plus an index page at the end. The second part has no index: it has 4 pages at the beginning and 22 pages at the end which are unnumbered, while in between there are 50 numbered pages. Part one contains 65 Child ballads, including a few borderline cases, such as *Young Lochinvar*—by Scott but modelled on Child 221, *Katherine Jaffery*—and *Jock o' Hazeldean*, only one verse of which is traditional (Child 293),[1] and 26 other songs; part two has 13 Child and 21 others. The non-Child as well as the Child include: 40 from Scott's *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border*, about a quarter of which are partially different from Scott's versions; songs from longer poems by Scott (*e.g.* *The Imprisoned Huntsman* and *Allan-bane's Song*, both from *The Lady of the Lake*, and *Allan-a-dale* from *Rokeby*); and songs from Scott's novels including two appearances of *The Gallant Graemes*, with two different tunes, (one of which is referred to in *Old Mortality*—Scott 1901:37), also *Hie away* (song from *Waverley*) and *County Guy* from *Quentin Durward*.

The total for the whole book is 78 Child and 47 non-Child, making 125 ballads all of which have tunes. Fifteen of these tunes are stated to be by Lady Compton or Miss Maclean Clephane, and some traditional tunes have second strains[2] which may have been added (as Dean Christie did, in his *Traditional Ballad Airs*, 1876–81—Shuldham-Shaw and Lyle 1974:11); but the printed collections of Scottish folksong which already existed at that time would be known to Sophia and her friends and it is not impossible that she herself may have noted down tunes she heard sung by the country people around Abbotsford.

A closer examination of the verbal texts is not possible here. The compilers of the book often chose what they considered to be the most important verses of a long ballad, in order that the main outlines of the story could be contained within the compass of one page; they also altered freely many lines and phrases—chiefly it would seem in order to make the words fit in with the tune more easily, but also perhaps for poetic or 'romantic' reasons on occasion.

The words show five clearly distinct handwritings: the music shows four. In a number of instances the title is written in a different hand from the rest of the page. By far the largest number of pages are written by Sophia Lockhart (Plate II): her elegant, regular, somewhat angular handwriting appears on no fewer than 90 pages of words and on 70 pages of music mostly in the first part but including 8 verbal and 11 music pages in the second part (*cf.* N.L.S. MS. 1552, in the hand of Sophia Lockhart). The next two handwritings, in order of frequency, suggest at first the two younger Clephane sisters—Wilimina, the youngest, and Anna Jane, *i.e.* Miss MacLean Clephane (*cf.* N.L.S. MS. 894, in Clephane handwritings). The first of these two hands (Plate II) appears on

47 pages of part one—8 pages of words and 39 pages of music—and one's first guess is that it could be Wilimina's, since an example of handwriting which is hers beyond all doubt has not been found. Material in the second Clephane hand (Plate II) is found on 45 pages of part two, in almost equal proportion of word-pages to music-pages, and includes the phrase 'Air, ADC [Anna Douglas Clephane,]' in a monogram: 

This monogram was used by Anna and can be seen, as written by her, in several of her letters (*cf.* N.L.S. MS 1552, in Anna Clephane's hand). The monogram in Sophia's manuscript resembles this very closely, and it seems unlikely that anyone else would use it—yet the *first* Clephane hand is more like Anna's as shown in her letters. The second Clephane hand, very flowing and legible, bears some resemblance to Mrs MacLean Clephane's (*cf.* N.L.S. MS. 934, in Mrs Clephane's hand), and she might have felt justified in using the monogram to describe Anna's authorship of a tune. Both these handwritings resemble those found in the xerox copies of the Torloisk Clephane family manuscripts (N.L.S. Acc. 6574), so it seems likely that Sophia, Anna and either Wilimina or Mrs Clephane worked at copying out this collection over the years (Anne Scott's handwriting does not appear). Lady Compton's contribution was probably the number of airs composed by her and possibly some accompaniments, but she may also have taken an active part in the compiling of the songs; her handwriting does not appear.

We cannot be as certain regarding the two Clephane handwritings as we can of the remaining two, which account for only four pages between them: the words of *Lady Maisery* (part one p. 17) are written by Lockhart (*cf.* N.L.S. MS. 820, in the hand of Lockhart), and the words and music of the last three pages of part two (*What's a' the steer Kimmer?* and *Shoul, shoul*—both with traditional tunes) by Charlotte (*cf.* N.L.S. MS. 2522, in the hand of Charlotte Lockhart).

It is, then, mainly Sophia's book, but her old friends the Clephanes contributed much to it (increasingly, towards the later part), and her husband and daughter a little. I came across a black-edged sheet of notepaper with Sophia's writing in the National Library of Scotland (N.L.S. MS. 893) containing a few ballad titles with remarks on both words and music, and a reference to 'my book', followed by a longer list headed 'Tunes and Ballads in my book and not in the Minstrelsy'. Twenty-three titles are listed, all of which *are* in Sophia's Manuscript but not in the *Minstrelsy*.

The exact determination of the music handwritings is more difficult, chiefly because there is no musical equivalent to a person's signature which settles the identity of the writer. The music-writing of the final three pages matches closely the word-writing by Charlotte—the same nib appears to be used, the style of both music and words is similar, and the title is by the same hand. We may make a very fair guess that the remaining music-hands are those of Sophia, of Anna, and of either Wilimina or Mrs Clephane.

I should like now to look at some of the musical 'finds' in Sophia's Manuscript, and have chosen two groups for consideration: (a) five tunes originally derived from

Mrs Anna Brown (see below), versions of which appear in Child v ('Ballad Airs from MS.') as from the source 'Abbotsford MS., "Scottish Songs" '; these five tunes have all re-appeared in Sophia's Manuscript, but in considerably changed and more singable forms. (b) Tunes for five Child ballads (one an appendix to a Child ballad) for which Bronson has no tunes at all.[3]

(*a*) *Five tunes derived from Mrs Brown*

These tunes are for *The Cruel Sister*, *Clerk Colvin*, *Brown Robin*, *John the Scott* and *Lady Elspat*.

David C. Fowler (1968:294–331), William Montgomerie (1969:60–75) and David Buchan (1972:62–73) have all given accounts of the three principal manuscripts which contain the ballads of Mrs Anna Gordon Brown (1747–1810). The only one of the three which includes tunes as well as words is the second, *i.e.* the fifteen ballads in William Tytler's Brown Manuscript of 1783, which was lent to Scott in 1795 and in 1800, *i.e.* before his *Minstrelsy* was published (Buchan 1972:70). (Later this manuscript was lost, but fortunately Joseph Ritson had copied it, including the music; this copy, which is at Harvard, was used by Bronson. The original manuscript was later found and is now at Aldourie.) It would seem that Scott himself copied at least some of the ballads from Wm. Tytler's Manuscript, 'with changes' (Montgomerie 1969:71), and seven of these, plus tunes, are in the Abbotsford Library as 'Scottish Songs', no. 3 (Child 1965:IV. 387 n).

> Eight pieces are missing, torn out or not copied . . . That the seven ballads copied were from Wm. Tytler's Brown MS. is confirmed by the accompanying airs. . . . In *Willie of Douglasdale* . . . lines have been ruled for music, but no music has been copied. In *Lady Maiserie* . . . the leaf with music has been torn out. In the case of *Lady Elspat* . . . Scott copied by mistake the air of *King Henry*, the next ballad in the MS. copy. No ballads are included in both WS II [the Abbotsford MS.] and the Minstrelsy. Scott probably tore out . . . the ballads he intended to print (Montgomerie 1969:71–2).

It is from this source that Child obtained the five tunes referred to, fresh versions of which are in Sophia's Manuscript, and it seems likely that Sophia's only source of Mrs Brown tunes was also this mutilated Abbotsford Manuscript.[4]

The word-pages for these five ballads are all in Sophia's handwriting; in the music-pages the words under the vocal line (and almost certainly the music too) are in the first Clephane hand, but the titles are written by Sophia.

Before comparing these versions of the tunes it is worth pointing out two facts concerning the Abbotsford Manuscript: firstly, the tunes in the original Wm. Tytler's Brown Manuscript had been noted down by Bob Scott, Mrs Brown's nephew, 'then a very young boy and *a mere novice in musick* . . . and he and I set to work but found the business so crabbed that in order to abridge our labours a little we selected what we thought the best of the Ballads whose tunes being added *in the best manner we could* were sent to your father . . .' (Buchan 1972:69–70; my italics). Secondly, a note in Sir

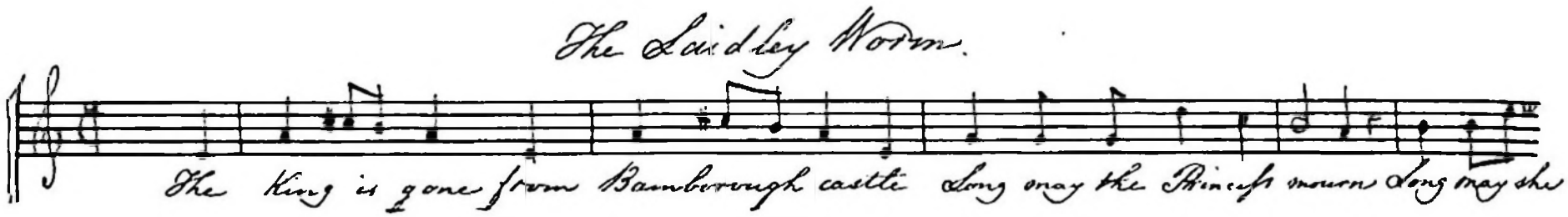


PLATE II Title and first line of three songs from Sophia Scott's Manuscript, showing the three principal handwritings: *Erlington*, Sophia Scott's writing; *The Outlaw Murray*, probably Anna Jane Douglas MacLean Clephane's; *The Laidley Worm*, possibly either Mrs MacLean Clephane's or Wilimina MacLean Clephane's.

Brown Robin.

The king but and his nobles a were drinking at the wine. The king but and his

nobles a, were drinking at the wine And he wad hae nane but his ain dawgh-

ter To wait on them at dine

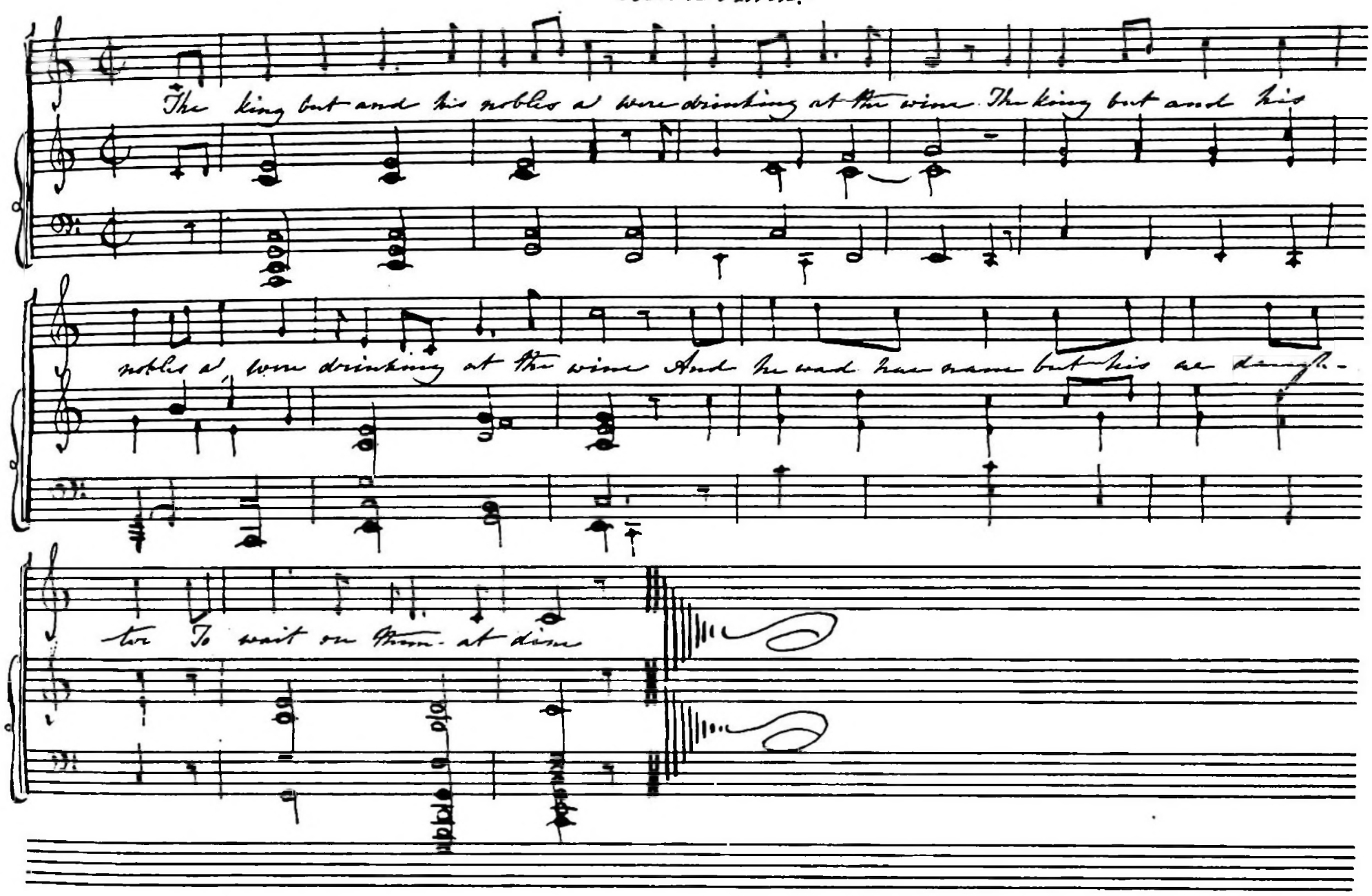


PLATE III *Brown Robin*. Part of a page from Sophia Scott's Manuscript (reduced). The title is written in her hand, and the words and music are probably in that of Anna Jane Clephane.

Walter's own hand, on folio 11 of the Abbotsford Manuscript, which includes this sentence: 'The Music is copied as exactly as possible but as I do not know the value of a single note I am no judge of its merit, which however I suspect is not great' (Montgomerie 1969:72).

One has only to glance at the five airs in Child v (pp. 411–24) to see that the 'mere novice' has produced five quite unsatisfactory tunes: they were probably beyond his powers of transcription. Two of them—Child 10 and Child 97A—are poor tunes in themselves; Child 99A and Child 247A are awkward rhythmically, and only Child 42A is acceptable as it stands. But not one of these five airs fits the words they accompany, including Child 247A which is really the tune for *King Henry* (Child 32) but which does not fit these words either. Montgomerie, in the article just quoted, also says, 'as a ballad and song MS . . . [it] can be classified only as an imperfect transcript of WT-B [Wm Tytler's Brown], incomplete and inaccurate'.

Let us now look at these five tunes as they appear in Sophia's Manuscript (Plate III and Figs. 1–4). All are unmistakably versions of those given in Child v (pp. 411–24) as from the Abbotsford Manuscript, but deftly transformed into pleasant, singable melodies all of which fit the words. The first three (figs. 1, 2; Plate III) change the time from 3/4 to 4/4 (common time is usually easier for ballad metres). In *The Cruel Sister*, Child 10, (fig. 1) the alignment of the words is not perfect in the last four bars of refrain but the intention is clear, and the grace-note above 'upon' is probably intended for the first syllable of that word. *Clerk Colvin*, Child 42A (Fig. 2) simply ignores the original repeat marks and so has no need of Bronson's conjecturally-added refrain; my only criticism of this tune is that the last note of bar 2, the quaver on G (for "they"), would have been better on the D below, thus matching the up-beat which opens the tune. *Brown Robin*, Child 97A, (Plate III) is little short of brilliant in its transformation, keeping the essential downward leaps of bars 6 and 11, and giving a credible time-structure to the whole.

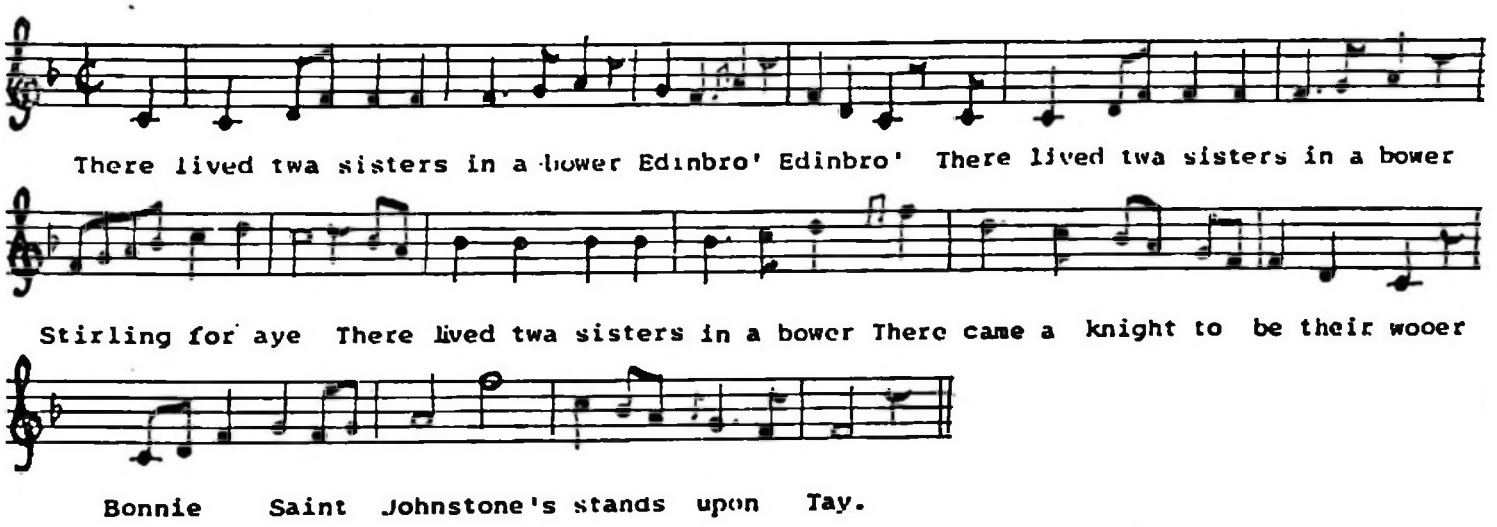


FIG. 1 *The Cruel Sister*

John the Scott, Child 99A, (Fig. 3) stays in 3/4 time but adds some dotted rhythms which lend a somewhat mazurka-like flavour, and the awkward emphasis on the

sharp 7th note of the scale is avoided by a simple downward leap of an octave from the 6th of the scale (bar 3), which contrasts nicely with the preceding two bars of rising melody. For *Lady Elspat*, Child 247A, Sophia's Manuscript (Fig. 4) keeps the tune—albeit the wrong tune—but does infinitely better than Spalding's 'revised version' which follows in Child v. Spalding's clumsy attempt to fit in the words calls to mind the questions in certain Grades of Associated Board music-theory examinations today,

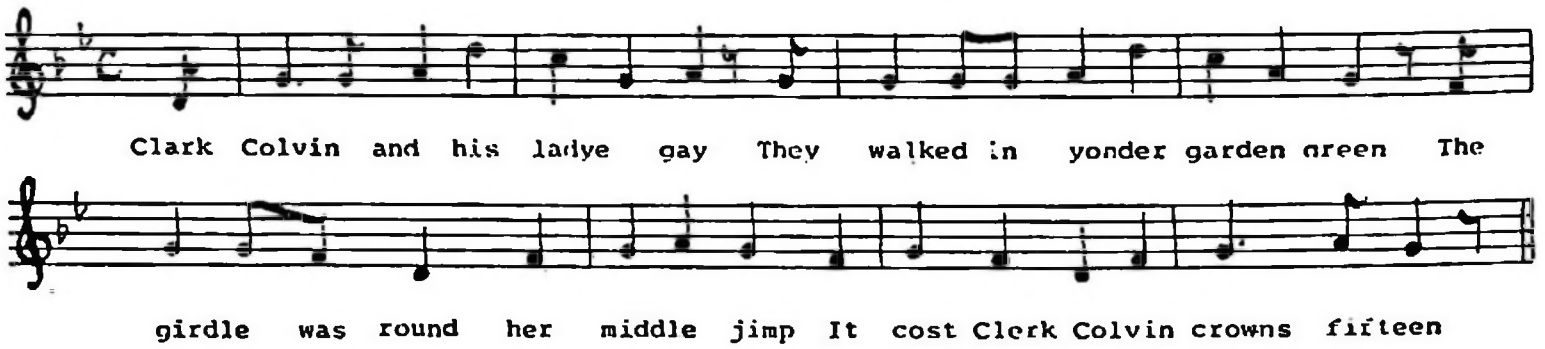


FIG. 2 *Clerk Colvin*

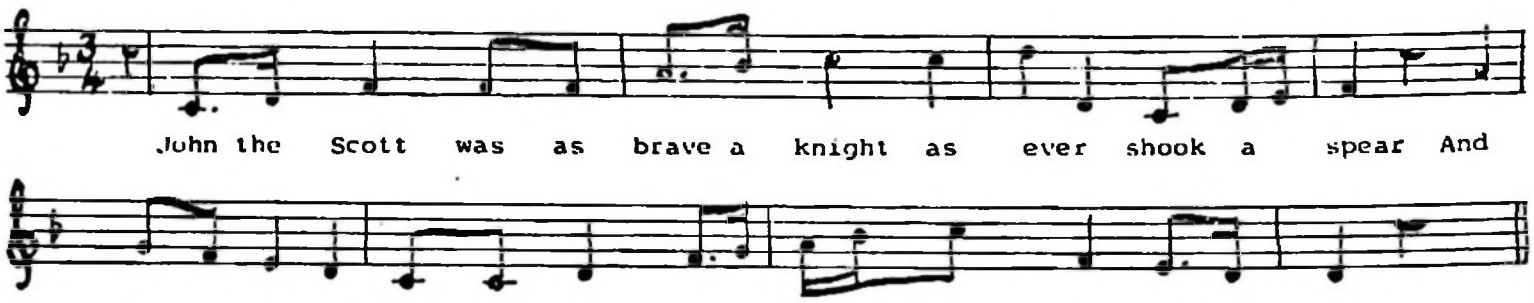


FIG. 3 *John the Scott*

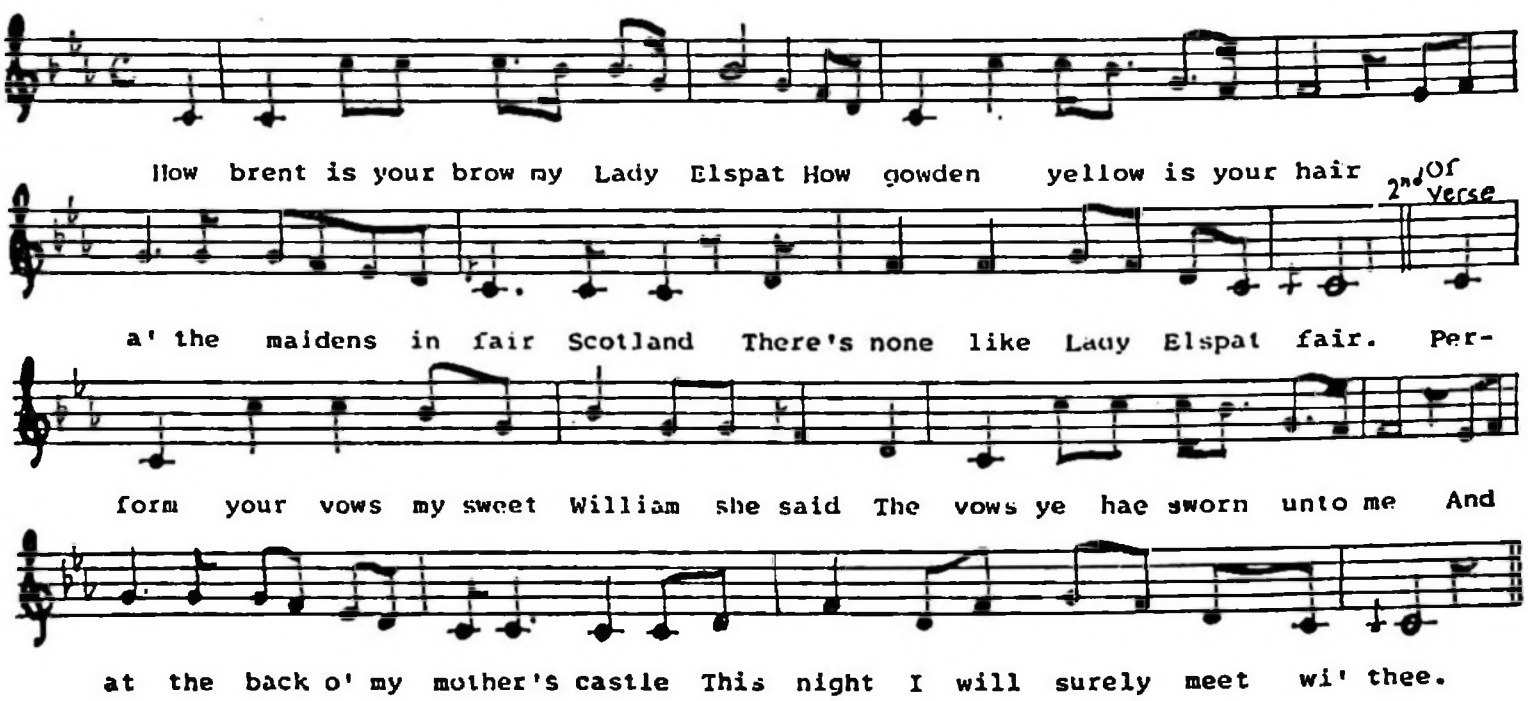


FIG. 4 *Lady Elspat*

which start 'What is wrong with the setting of these words?' It certainly shows 'violent handling' of the words, as Bronson points out in his notes to Child 32.

But now, Sophia's Manuscript has taken this same 'wrong' tune, doubled the note-lengths so that it accommodates four lines of words instead of only two, paid attention to speech-rhythms chiefly by giving the accented notes to those syllables which would be accented when the words are *spoken*, and improved the melodic shape by substituting the 2nd instead of the (minor) 3rd of the scale in bars 2, 6 and 7—and, hey presto, we have a perfectly good tune! And it fits the words.

It is interesting to note that Bronson's 'conjectural readings' for the first three ballads above (Child 10C(79), 42A and 97A) are all quite difficult to sing—in particular his Child 10 bars 1–2 and 5–6. His was of course a scholar's approach: in some ways he has treated the original Abbotsford Manuscript tunes (which as we have seen were unsatisfactory) with more respect than Sophia's Manuscript versions have—but a song after all is for singing. Sophia and her friends were not scholars but they were Scottish singers with an intimate knowledge of the traditional Scottish idiom: this makes all the difference to their treatment of the tunes.

(*b*) *Five entirely new tunes*

Perhaps the most exciting discovery in this manuscript, however, has been airs for five Child ballads for which Bronson has no tune: *Erlington*, *Hobbie Noble*, *Jamie Telfer of the Fair Dodhead*, *The Outlaw Murray* and *The Laidley Worm* (Figs. 5–9). They may not necessarily be new tunes *per se*, but they have not hitherto been found in association with these words.[5] Three of these texts are in Sophia's hand, and the others are respectively in the two Clephane hands: this applies to both word-pages and music-pages, and the music is almost certainly by the same hand as the words.

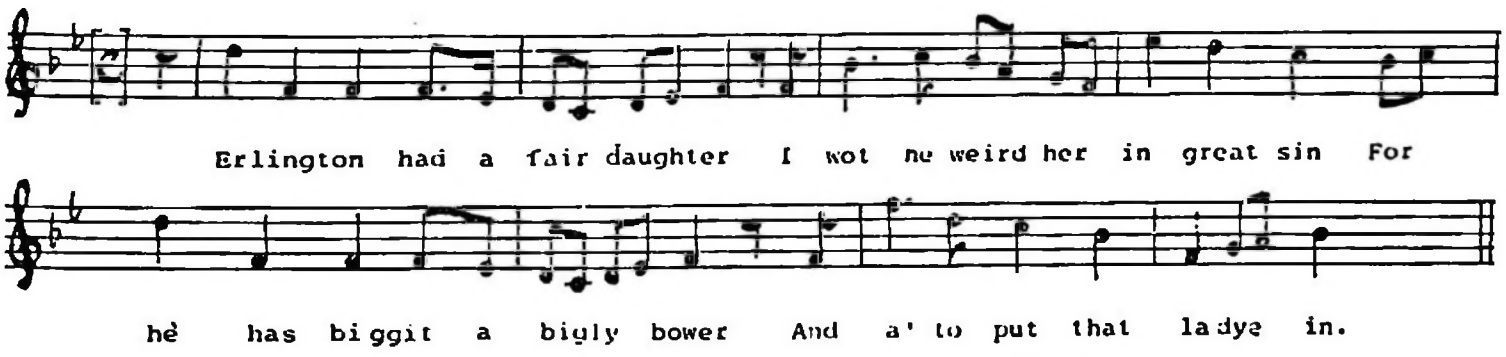


FIG. 5 *Erlington*

Erlington (Child 8A) first appeared in the *Minstrelsy*—with text formed 'from the collation of two copies obtained by recitation', says Child in his notes on it. Sophia's Manuscript version (see Fig. 5 and Plate II) is almost identical with that in the *Minstrelsy* (where verse 17 has only two lines), but omits verses 2, 6, 7, 9, 15 and the last verse 18. Several changes have again been made in the words: *e.g.* verse 12 (*Minstrelsy*) has for line 2 'People wad think I war gane mad', while in Sophia's we find 'The folk wad

think I were gane mad'—which fits the tune more amicably. Similarly with 'biggit' instead of 'built' in verse 1. Since this first verse—which is written under the tune—starts on an accented word, the upbeat in other verses might be the two quavers given (B flat and C) for the first word, 'For', of line 3: these two quavers in fact open the piano accompaniment and lead straight into 'Erlington' as shown. It is a single strain tune, form ABAC; the time-signature is omitted but it is a pleasant, straightforward common-time melody in the Ionian mode (plagal).

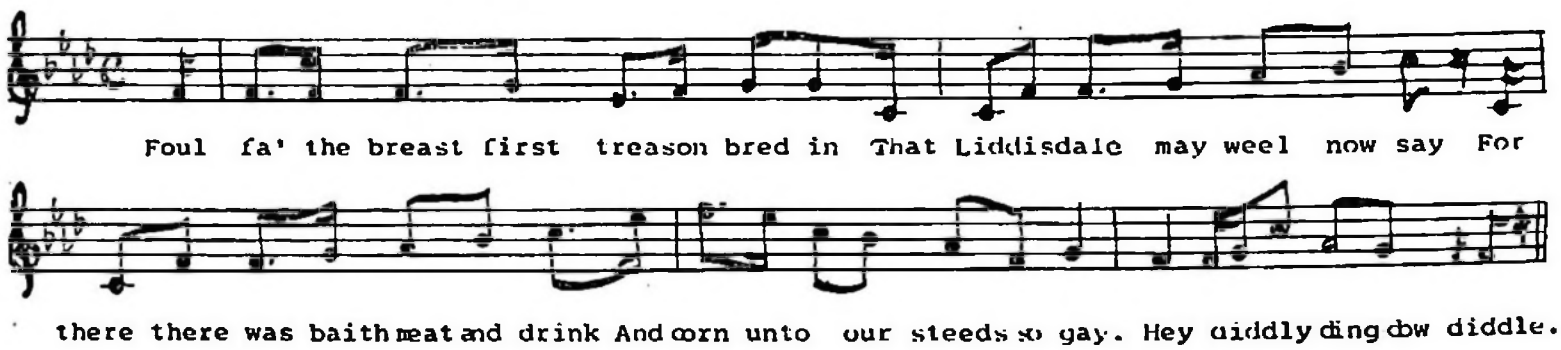


FIG. 6 *Hobbie Noble*

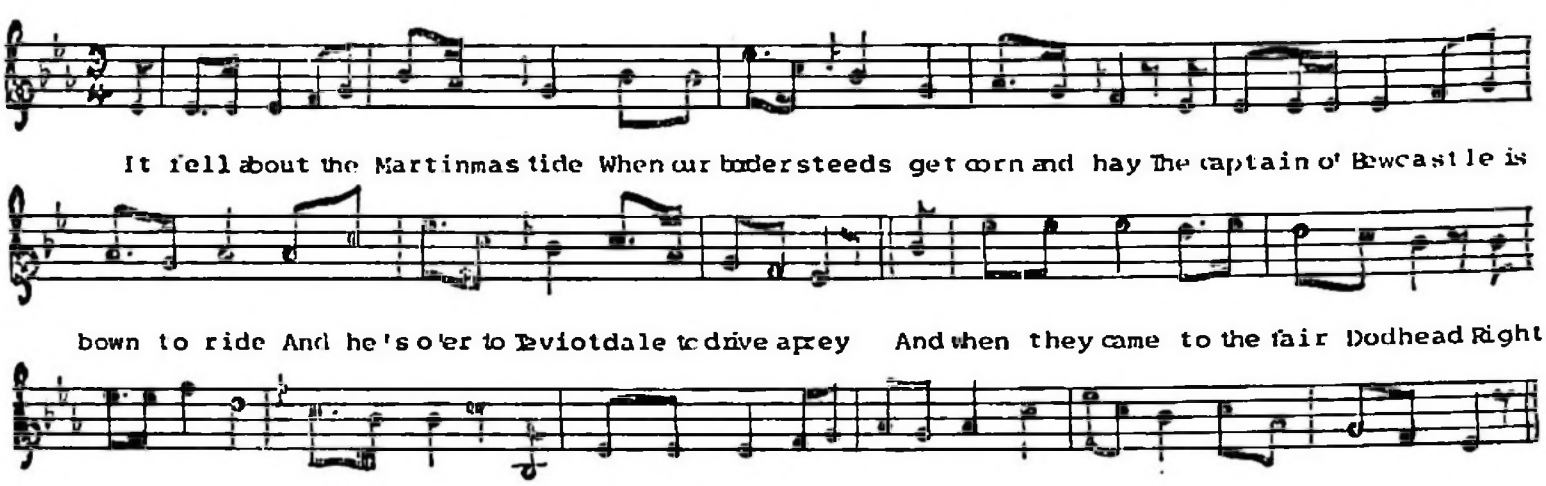


FIG. 7 *Jamie Telfer*

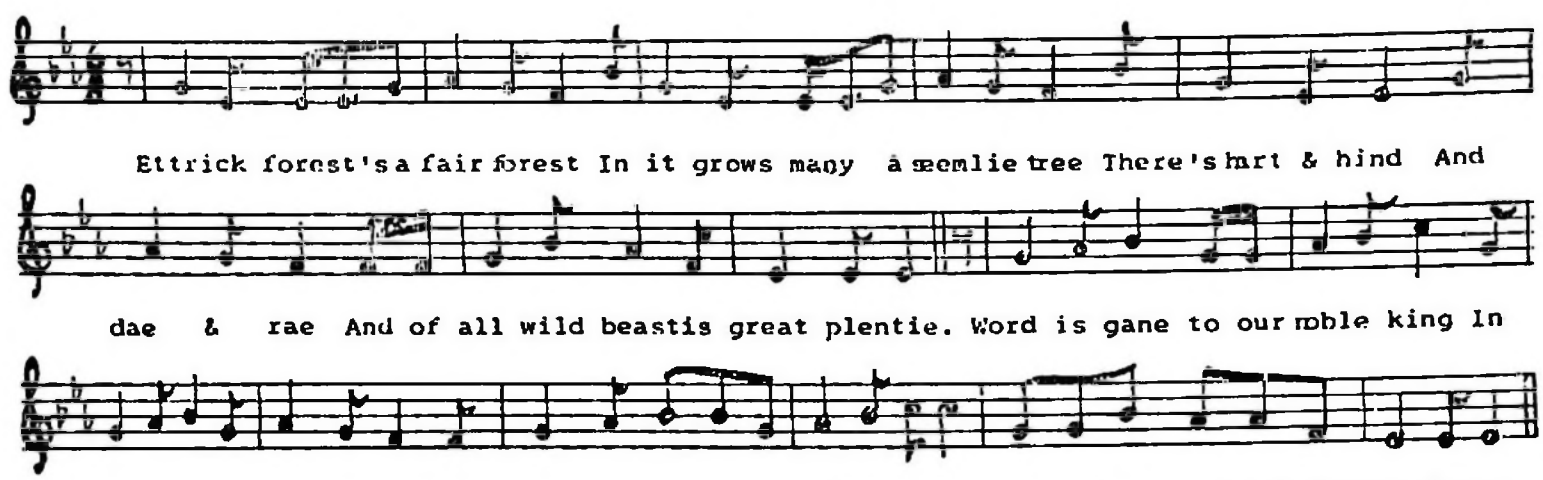


FIG. 8 *The Outlaw Murray*

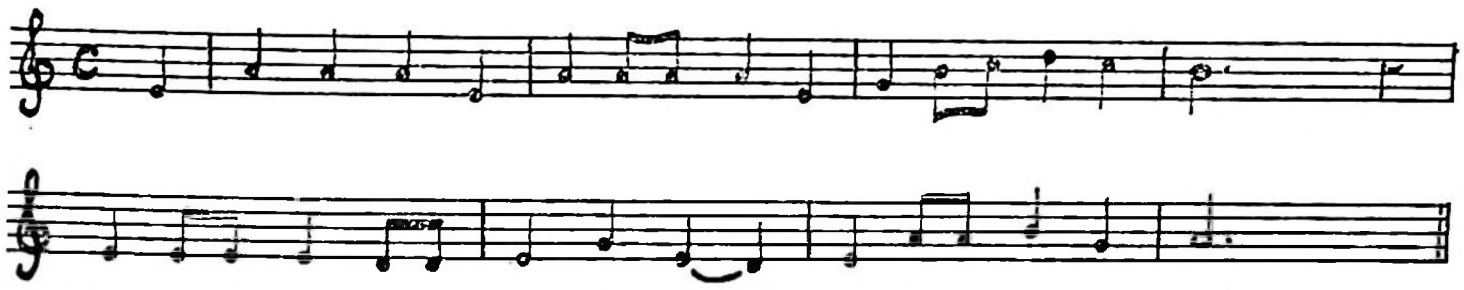


FIG. 9a *The Laidley Worm* (from Stokoe and Reay)

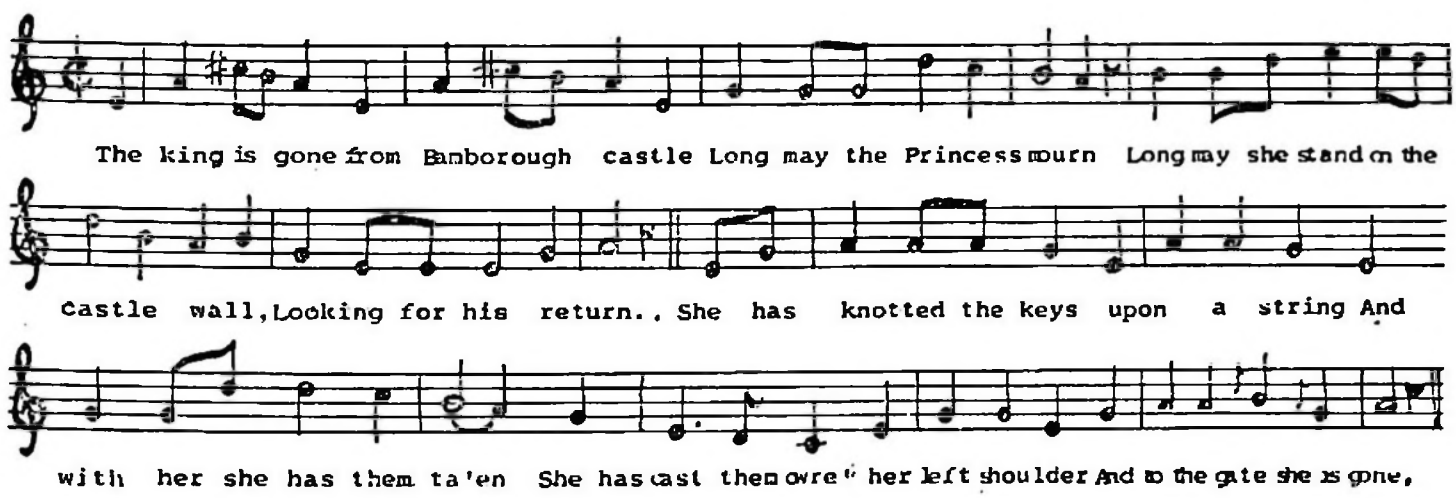


FIG. 9b *The Laidley Worm* (Sophia Scott's MS)

Since I hope it may be possible to publish a selection of the most interesting and unique items in this manuscript at some time in the future, I shall leave until then a more detailed analysis of the other four new tunes and state only the main points here.

Hobbie Noble (Fig. 6) is Child 189, the only version known, one source of which (Caw's 'Poetical Museum') Child states was 'undoubtedly Scott's source for his Minstrelsy'; the tune is again single-strain and the dotted rhythm suggests a strathspey kinship.

Child 190 gives only one version for *Jamie Telfer of the Fair Dodhead*, and it is again from the Minstrelsy, as is Sophia's version (see Fig. 7). Among those verses left out here are verses 26–7, which Willie Scott of Hawick recorded to a tune quite different from this in the recent 'Muckle Sangs' disc (Scottish Tradition 1975), and too late for inclusion in Bronson's volume IV *Addenda*. Sophia's note after the music states: 'The first part forms the whole of the ancient strain the second part added by Miss M. C.' (*i.e.* Anna MacLean Clephane). The first strain is hexatonic, the seventh note of the scale appearing only in the second strain.

The Outlaw Murray (Child 305A, also in the *Minstrelsy*) is in the first Clephane hand (see Plate II and Fig. 8). The time is 6/8, and although a two-strain melody, it is so clearly a dance-tune that the second strain may at some time have been added by an instrumentalist in order to fit the length of a dance form (it may belong to the *Keel Row* tune family). One feels the tempo must have been at least partly slowed down in order to accommodate the words, but a good singer could produce a wonderfully rousing

performance from this almost obsessively repetitive tune of limited range and small intervallic steps.

The last example, *The Laidley Worm* (see Plate II and Fig. 9b) is in the second Clephane hand, the most graceful and decorative of the five. The full title should be *The Laidley Worm of Spindlestone Heughs*, and it is not in the *Minstrelsy*; it is given by Child as an Appendix to no 34, *Kemp Owyne*, which *is* in the *Minstrelsy*. Bronson gives one tune for Child 34 (from Mrs Brown) but none for this Appendix ballad; however a tune (Fig. 9a) for a similar version of the verbal text may be found in John Stokoe's collection (Stokoe 1893: 180), and I have placed Sophia's tune underneath for comparison, and as an interesting example of variation and enlargement. The single-strain tune is almost certainly the older. If the two halves of this tune are called A and B, then Sophia's tune consists of A^{I} C A^{II} $B^{I\,6}$,—which means that instead of simply adding a second strain to the first, the new material is added in the middle section and flanked by more familiar material on either side. The variant elements are intriguing: the sharp third (which does not recur later in the tune) in bars 1–2 provides an exhilarating start; the upward leap of a fifth in bar 3, repeated a half-beat earlier in bar 11, is more dramatic than the relatively step-wise ascent in the older tune's bar 3. It could also be held that the 'feminine ending' of bars 4 and 12 is less so, and that there is a kind of stark power in the plainness of the first tune, with its three-fold repetitions of the tonic and dominant notes (the A and the E).

Whoever may have been responsible for the transformation of this tune which we find in Sophia's Manuscript, it is in my view a skilful and musical transformation. This musical sensitivity is a hallmark of the whole collection.

Appendix

List of Contents of Sophia Scott's Manuscript

(*First part*)

A weary lot is thine
Adam o' Gordon
Alice Brand
Allan-a-dale
Annan Water
Archie o' Ca'field
Armstrong's goodnight
Auld Maitland

Barbara Allan
Blow, blow thou northern wind
Brignal Banks
Brown Adam
Brown Robin

Burd Ellen
Busk ye, busk ye

Clerk Colvin
Count Albert & fair Rosalie

Dick o' the Cow

Earl Bothwell's wife
Earl Richard
Eh, quo' the Tod
Erlington

Fause Foodrage
Fair Helen of Kirkconnell

Gill Morice
Gilderoy

Hie away
Hobbie Noble
Hughie the Graeme

Jamie Telfer
Jock o' Hazeldean
Jock o' the Side
John the little Scott
Johnie Armstrong
Johnie Faa'
Johnie o' Breadislee

Killiecrankie
Kinmont Willie

Lady Alice
Lady Elspat
[Lady Frennet]
Lady Maiserey
Lady Mary Anne
Lay of the imprisoned huntsman
Lochinvar
Lord Ingram
Lord Ronald
Lord Ronald's coronach
Lord Thomas & fair Annie
Lord Thomas & fair Annet

Montrose's lines

O tell me how to woo thee

Parley a dixi a dominie

Raid of the Reidswire
Rob Roy

Roderigh mhic Alpain dubh
Rosabelle

Saw ye my father
She sat her down below a thorn
Sir Patrick Spens

Tamlane
The Baron of Brackley
The battle of Bothwell brigg
The Battle of Otterbourne
The bonnie Earl of Murray
The bonnie house of Airlie
The bonnie wee crowdin' dow
The Broomfield hill
The burning of Frendraught
The Cavalier
The cruel sister
The Douglas Tragedy
The dowie dens o' Yarrow
The gallant Graemes
The gay goss-hawk
The Jew's daughter
The Lass of Lochroyan
The Lochmaben Harper
The Lord Maxwell's goodnight
The outlaw Murray
The twa Corbies
The welcome of the lily flower
The wife of Usher's well
There was a ladye lived in the west
There were three knights
True Thomas

Waly waly
We were sisters and we were seven
William's ghost

Young Beauchamp
Young Waters

(Second part)

Allan-bane's Song
An old Factor's new Garland
Archie of Ca'field

Bonnie Dundee

County Guy, from Quentin Durward

Glee for 3 voices, from Redgauntlet

Lammikin
Leezie Lindsay

May Colvin
Mournful Melpomene
My jo Janet

Queen Eleanor

Rattling Roaring Willie

Shoul, shoul
Song, from Waverley

The Death of Jane Seymour
The Duke of Gordon had three daughters
The Fisherman's Ballad,
in Mrs. Baillie's play of the Beacon
The Fisherman's Second Song in the Beacon
The Gallant Graemes
The Harlaw, from the Antiquary
The King's visit
The Laidley Worm
The Lifting of the Banner
The Mermaiden
The Pirate's Farewell
The Queen's Maries
The Snow Ballad
The Tennis balls (English Ballad)
The Welcome
The widow of Wycombe
Touch not the nettle

What's a' the Steer, Kimmer?

Young Essex

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to thank Mrs Patricia Maxwell-Scott of Abbotsford for her generosity in making the manuscript available and in allowing this account of it to be published.

I would also like to thank the following for their kind assistance: Dr Emily Lyle who gave most generous help on various points, especially on the verbal texts; Mr J. Ritchie and Dr T. I. Rae, Keepers of Manuscripts at the National Library of Scotland, and Mr C. P. Finlayson, Keeper of Manuscripts at Edinburgh University Library; Mr Alan Bell of the National Library of Scotland for consultation on handwritings; Mr Francis Collinson, whose researches, independently, among the Scott letters brought to light the existence of the Clephane MSS at Torloisk; Mr Basil Skinner of the Extra-Mural Department of Edinburgh University, and Mr J. E. Holloway and Mr R. E. Hutchison of the National Galleries of Scotland, who examined the photograph of W. Allan's painting; Dr A. G. Thomson of the Royal Scottish Museum for information on water-marks; and Mr Peter Cooke and Mr Patrick Shuldham-Shaw for several valuable suggestions concerning the music.

NOTES

1 But see Zug, C., 1973: Scott's 'Jock of Hazeldeane', in *Journal of American Folklore* 86:152–60.

2 A single-strain tune fits the usual four-line ballad stanza; if a second strain is added, the next four lines are sung to this new part of the tune, instead of repeating the first strain. The result is a tune which is repeated for every eight lines of the ballad (or song).

3 There are many other items of interest, both verbal and musical, for future consideration, including a further twenty new tunes, *i.e.* different from any given by Bronson; and what appears to be a new

version of *Rare Willie Drowned in Yarrow* to the tune—and title—*Rattling Roaring Willie*, which twice includes the lines

'And drink will be dear to Willie
When Sweet Milk gars him die'.

There is also a Glee for three voices from *Redgauntlet*, with music by Miss Clephane (see Scott 1906: 102; Scott's footnote to page 102 ends, 'The catch in the text has happily been set to music'—a reference no doubt to this setting).

4 None of the verbal texts is in the *Minstrelsy*, except for a somewhat different version of *The Cruel Sister* which has another refrain altogether (Scott 1902:III. 352). All the verbal texts show the numerous slight changes—and others not so slight—referred to earlier. Of the fifteen ballads in Wm. Tytler's Brown MS., and hence originally in the Abbotsford MS., five are not in Sophia's MS (Ch. 6, 32, 34—though 34 *Appendix*, *The Laidley Worm of Spindleston Heughs*, is present—101 and 103). Ten are in Sophia's: one can be discounted for present purposes since its air is by Lady Compton, and four (Ch. 5, 53—with 2 versions plus 2 tunes—65 and 98) all have tunes quite different from the Mrs Brown tunes which Bronson assigns them, from the Ritson–Tytler–Brown MS. That leaves only the five dealt with in some detail here (Ch. 10, 42, 97, 99 and 247). Sophia's tune for *Lady Maiserie* (Ch. 65) is quite different from Bronson's Mrs Brown air—presumably because this music page was torn out of the Abbotsford MS.

5 These tunes have not as yet been found in the Greig–Duncan manuscripts, which Patrick Shuldham-Shaw is editing for publication. During the early part of this century, Gavin Greig and J. B. Duncan collected some thousands of folksongs in the Aberdeenshire area: so far only a few, mainly ballads of the Child canon, have been published. These manuscripts, normally kept in Aberdeen University Library, are temporarily in Edinburgh University Library while they are being edited.

6 A^{I} denotes one variant of A, and A^{II} another variant of A.

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Notes and Comments

A Discovery of Mediæval Plough-Marks in St Andrews

G. WHITTINGTON, C. J. CASELDINE and N. Q. BOGDAN

I

On the south side of the eastern end of South Street in St Andrews stands the sixteenth-century building known as Queen Mary's House (Fig. 1). As part of the continuing programme of urban archaeology in St Andrews an opportunity was taken in 1974 to excavate the cellars of this house. The main results of this excavation will be published later: this paper is concerned with one specific feature which, revealed unexpectedly by the investigation, throws light on agricultural practice in St Andrews in the mediæval period. In the northern face of Trenches A and B are markedly clear ploughing patterns (Plate IV). Their possible date, their method of formation and the agriculture of which they are part are considered here by reference to other archaeologically revealed features, to documentary evidence and to pollen analysis. Such plough marks as these are believed to be the first discovered from an archaeological site in mainland Scotland.

II

Queen Mary's House is built, as is much of St Andrews, on a raised beach site which has a flooring of coarse yellow sand in its undisturbed state. This can be seen in the foreground of Plate IV. As a consequence of this colouring, interference by man's activities is quite easily recognised, especially where this has involved the addition to the soil of organic material or the deposition of charcoal subsequent to burning. Plate IV shows a layer of very dark material, the base of which lies in a scalloped pattern: this is the result of ploughing, most probably with the old Scots plough. The plough marks are not as clear at the eastern end of the section as at the western but they are plain enough to suggest that the marks are part of a system of ploughing which is summed up in Fig. 2. The surface manifestation of the cultivation has been destroyed by later use of the site, but the subterranean evidence suggests that in the region of the 0·50 m mark on the scale there is located the centre of a furrow of a mediæval ridge and furrow system. As the trench face is not absolutely at right angles to all the plough lines it is difficult to determine ploughing dimensions. The worked soil is at least 0·25 m deep and the sod width appears to be approximately 0·20 m.

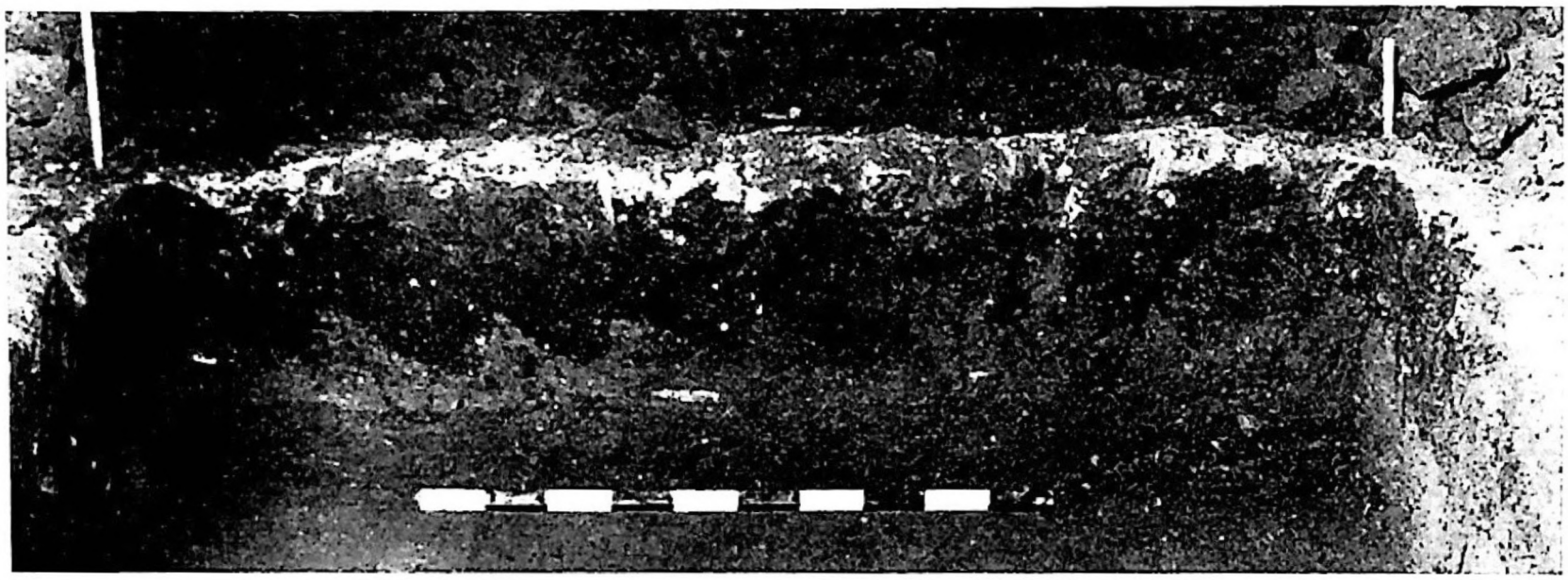

PLATE IV The plough marks as revealed in the northern face of Trench B.

Line of house facades on the northern side of South St.

SOUTH STREET

Formerly partly occupied by a track from the settlement of Argyll to the Cathedral

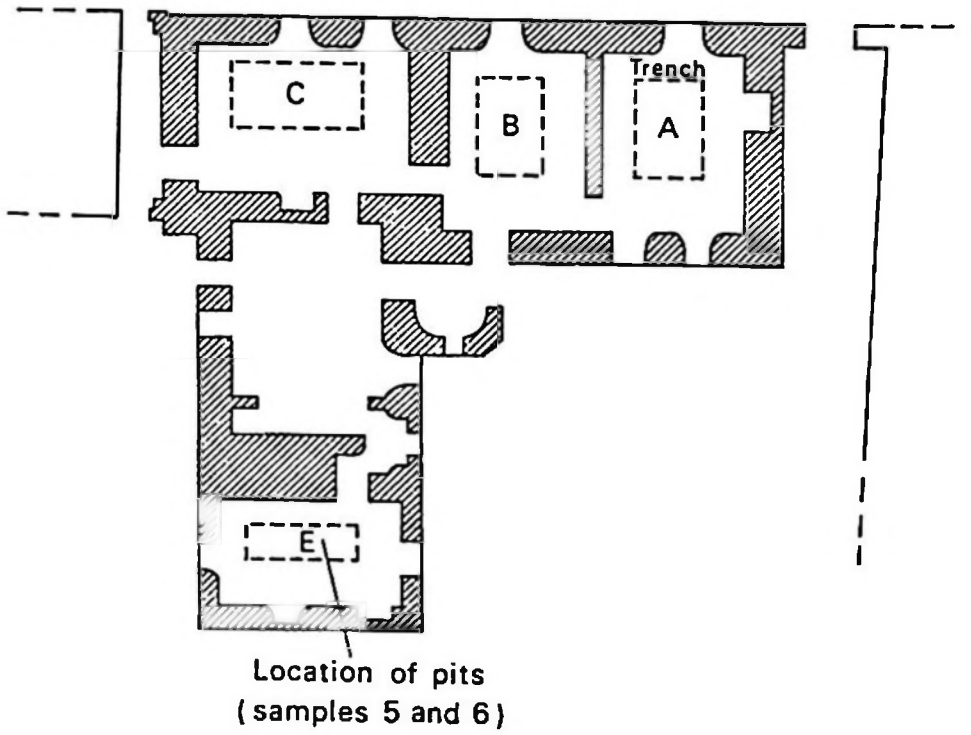

FIG. 1 A ground plan of Queen Mary's House showing the location of excavated areas. The area available for ploughing after the erection of houses on the north side of South Street and the development of the burial ground would have restricted the north-south direction to a maximum length of 64 yards.

The plough marks and the size of the furrow slice accord well with the capabilities and performance of the old Scots plough with fixed mouldboard. It is envisaged (Fig. 2) that the slices were turned away from the furrow centre to form ridges of about 3–5 m in width. There are records of the crowns of such ridges being up to 2 m above the level of the furrow but such probably only occurred on very wide and rather old ridges, neither of which conditions appear to be operative here. Because the site is located on coarsely textured sand, the soil would not have made great demands upon animal traction power and thus it is likely that the old Scots plough was here pulled by a small team; indeed perhaps in line with an observation made by J. Anderson (1794:80) who wrote 'where soil is light . . . it could be ploughed with two horses'. Depending upon the date of the construction of houses on the north side of South Street and the

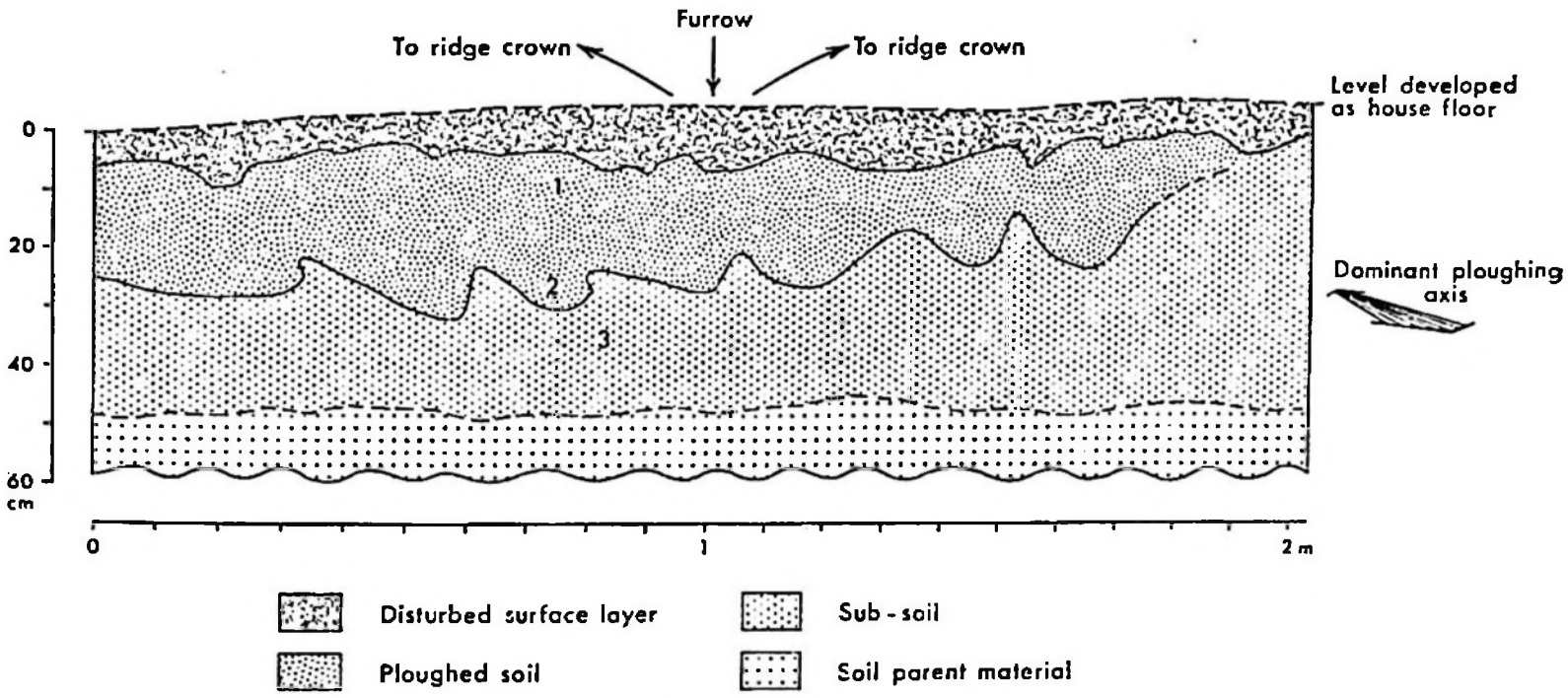

FIG. 2 A diagrammatic interpretation of the features shown on Plate IV.

first use of the ground to the south as a burial ground, the size of the plough team could be of great importance because, while the cultivation marks are commensurate with the interpretation given above, there still remains the puzzling feature of the extremely restricted space available for ploughing (Fig. 1). Whatever the reason could have been for ploughing in so limited a space, there would certainly have been no room for a large plough team with its considerable demands on a headland area for turning, nor would the ploughing appear to have been economically rewarding. In such circumstances as these, spade cultivation would appear to be much more likely but the form of the cultivation marks is against that. Indeed if repeated ploughing took place here then the remarkable sharpness of the plough marks is also puzzling: this topic will be returned to later.

III

Samples were taken for pollen analysis from the north face of Trench B at points 1, 2 and 3 (Fig. 2). Two further samples (5 and 6) were analysed from the infill of two pits exposed in Trench E (Fig. 1).

(*i*) *The pits* The infill of both pits had a high organic content, and the one providing sample 5 was waterlogged, thus providing good conditions for pollen preservation. Sample 5 had the highest proportion of arboreal pollen (AP) of any of the material analysed, giving *Betula* (birch, 17 per cent Total Land Pollen) and *Alnus* (alder, 17·4 per cent TLP) as dominant species, with *Ulmus* (elm) and *Quercus* (oak) also present: together the trees provide 39 per cent TLP. This sample also had a significant total of *Corylus* (hazel) pollen (13·4 per cent TLP). Of the non-arboreal pollen, Gramineae (grass) occurs at 24·4 per cent but in contrast to the other samples *Calluna* (heather) only provides a low total of 12·1 per cent TLP. The other herbaceous pollens occur at values of less than 1 per cent TLP, except *Ranunculaceae* and *Plantago* sp. Unfortunately the *Cerealia* grain was too poorly preserved for species identification. Evidence of waterlogging in this pit was also attested by the presence of *sphagnum* spores.

The pollen spectrum for sample 6 differs markedly from that obtained for the neighbouring but deeper pit. The arboreal pollen total is only 4 per cent. Gramineae provides 34·6 per cent TLP but *Calluna* is the dominant pollen present (52·3 per cent TLP). Only *Plantago* (plantain) of the other herbaceous species present reaches a value greater than 1 per cent TLP.

(*ii*) *The ploughed soil* All three samples from this area have similar pollen assemblages and are probably best treated as one unit. They have an arboreal pollen total of between 10 and 12 per cent with *Corylus* between 1·5 and 3 per cent. Sample 2 shows a higher percentage of *Calluna* (56 per cent) than the other two samples (34 and 39 per cent) but also has slightly lower totals in all the other herbaceous species present, including Gramineae. The main components of the non-arboreal pollen are *Compositae lig.* and *Chenopodiaceae* but *Compositae tub.* and *Plantago* sp. also occur at more than 1 per cent. Eight cereal pollen grains were isolated: on the basis of grain and anulus size and surface sculpturing (Beug 1963) they were identified as *Hordeum* sp. (barley) and *Triticum* sp. (wheat); no *Avena* (oats) pollen was found.

IV

The ploughing marks were certainly in existence before 1520, in that a stone-built house was erected on the site in that year and there is proof of continuous occupance ever since. There is also documentary evidence in St Andrews University Muniments (SL 110 PW 10) of the grant of a feu on the site by St Andrews Priory to a Janet Douglas in 1409. There is no mention of a building in that document but its form is com-

mensurate with a feu granted for building purposes. Furthermore the pits and the disturbed upper layer of the ploughed soil revealed large quantities of burned daub, which could be the remains of a house dating from the fifteenth century, possibly burned deliberately after a plague. The excavations in Trenches A and B (Fig. 1) revealed, underlying the ploughed area, a ditch which has every appearance of having been rapidly refilled, and which, from the Leuchars-ware pottery contained in the infill, dates from no later than the thirteenth century but could be as early as the twelfth. The period during which the ploughing could have occurred therefore lies between the twelfth and sixteenth centuries. There is also considerable likelihood that the terminal date could be as early as the beginning of the fifteen century for even if the earliest house did not occupy the whole of the ploughed area its close proximity to the ploughing lines would have reduced the area available for cultivation to an uneconomic size.

The environment in which the ploughing took place is suggested by the pollen spectra from the pits uncovered in Trench E. From their pottery content (again Leuchars-ware) the pits appear to be roughly contemporaneous, although from the variation in pollen content the pit yielding sample 5 could be earlier. The high percentage of tree pollen (39 per cent TLP) suggests that the area around Queen Mary's House was not entirely clear of trees: the existence of birch, alder, elm, oak and hazel could be claimed to show that an early twelfth-century date is likely, because after that the agricultural involvement of St Andrews Priory in the land to the south of the town was developing. The pit which yielded sample 6, as well as possessing a pollen spectrum similar to that displayed by the ploughed soil, has a very low content of arboreal pollen (4 per cent TLP) which indicates that tree clearance in this area of St Andrews had progressed considerably over a short period if the rough contemporaneity of the pits is correct.

A feature of considerable interest revealed by the pollen analysis is the variable amounts of *Calluna* pollen in the samples. In sample 5, which it is suggested is the earliest, *Calluna* only provides 12·1 per cent TLP, whereas in sample 6 the percentage is 52·2, and it even reaches 56 in the ploughed soil (sample 2). The high percentage of *Calluna* pollen is puzzling for such a high total is usually associated with heathland which is unlikely in this urban context. There are however other possible explanations which not only throw light on the agricultural practices of the time but would also help to explain the extremely dark nature of the ploughed soil. A major problem facing mediæval agriculture was the maintenance of soil nutrients at a level which would ensure no fall in grain yields. To achieve a satisfactory level several methods of nutrient replacement were employed and two of these could account for the high level of *Calluna* pollen. The most usual nutrient maintenance practice was to spread on the land, before ploughing, the manure from the cattle byres. It was common for heathery turves to be used for cattle bedding: this would provide one possible source for the pollen. Mediæval houses in St Andrews were normally thatched. A variety of materials, including heather, were available. When the roof covering was renewed, the old, soot-encrusted thatch was added to the byre manure and spread on the fields, thus

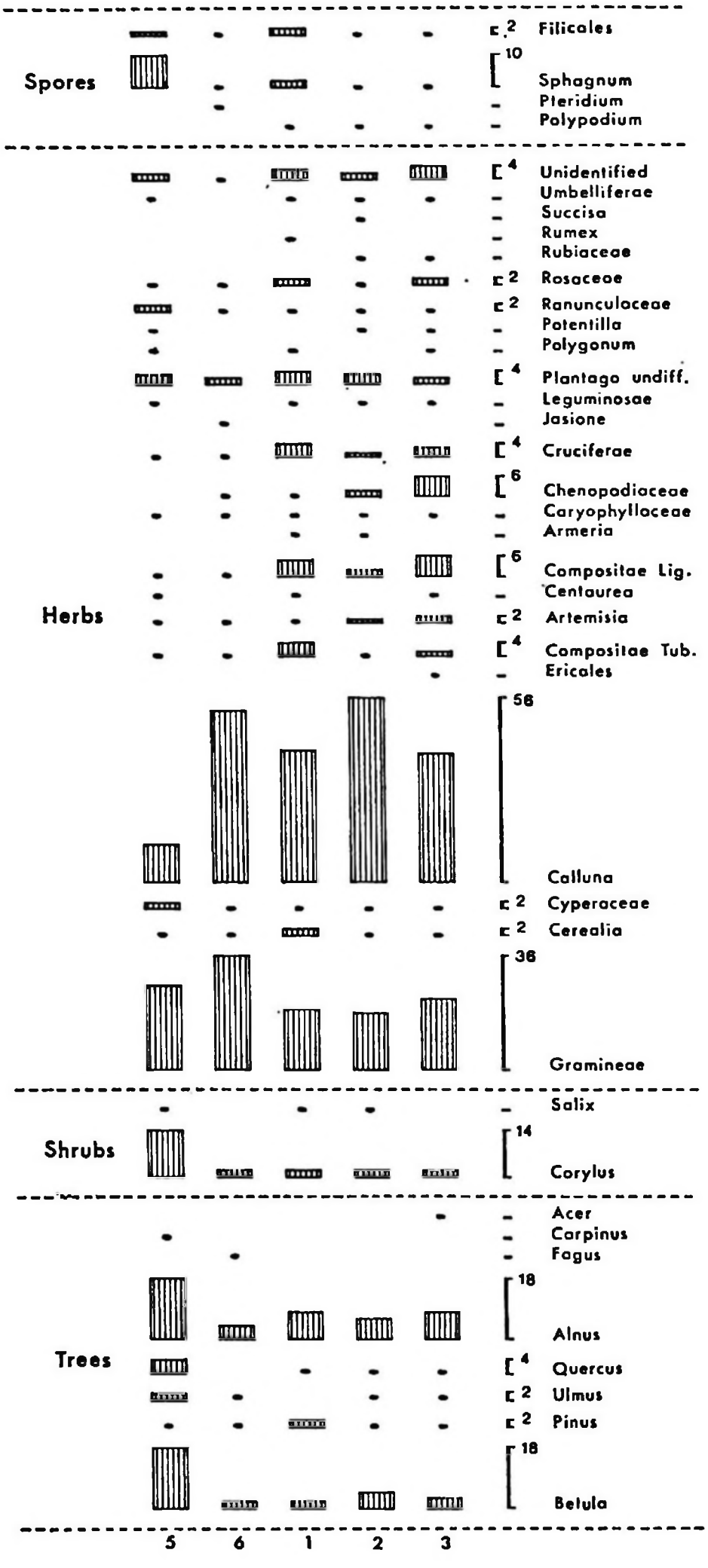

FIG. 3 The spectra revealed by pollen analysis of samples 5 and 6 from the pits and samples 1, 2 and 3 from the ploughed soil. All pollens are expressed as a percentage of the Total Land Pollen. The numbers on the right of the diagram show the maximum percentage achieved by the pollens in any one of the samples. The dashes on the diagram refer to pollen totals of less than 1 per cent.

providing a second possible source for the pollen and a possible origin for the soil carbon. The basic soil derived from the raised beach sands is coarse in texture, very porous and deficient in humus. To overcome this the custom of manuring with turf, which is known from pre-historic times onwards, could well have been adopted. This involved the cutting of turves from an area beyond the zone of cultivation and their deposition and frequently their burning on the land before ploughing. In this way both the *Calluna* pollen and the carbon would be added to the soil. The presence of the *Calluna* pollen in the pit could occur in a variety of ways, but as heather can be a copious producer of pollen its mere presence on the site would probably be enough to ensure that its pollen became incorporated in the pit.

The pollen evidence suggests that both barley and wheat were grown on the site but this evidence is by no means conclusive on its own. Only in Sample 3 does the *Cerealia* total attain a value of 1 per cent, a frequency much lower than might be expected if the cereals were grown on the plough ridges. Heim (1962), for example, has recorded values for cereal pollen, in the modern pollen rain, of the order of 3–4 per cent TLP up to 2 km from the point at which the cereals were actually being grown. Whatever the main crop here, however, the cultivation of cereals is made more likely by the high frequency of pollen of *Chenopodiaceae*, a family which includes species characteristic of fields supporting a grain crop. Although there is no direct evidence of other crops, the presence of high frequencies of *Plantago* sp. and *Ranunculaceae* suggests that the site might have been used for pasture also. This is supported by the Gramineae totals. This apparently mixed nature of pollen types, characteristic of different agricultural activities, is perhaps not surprising as the soil containing the plough marks would have undergone considerable mixing, not only by ploughing but also by earthworm activity which would have continued until the time when the land was sealed by building. The effect of such mixing would have been to create a relatively uniform pollen spectrum throughout the old cultivated soil and this appears to have happened here. This would also explain the relatively low cereal pollen percentage as those pollen grains would have been widely dispersed throughout the whole profile.

Yields from mediæval and indeed later arable agriculture were considerably depressed because the peasantry did not indulge in crop-weeding. Among the most troublesome weeds in grain crops was *Chrysanthemum segetum* (corn marigold), commonly known as *guild* or *goold*. This plant belongs to the *Compositae* family and yet it is noticeable that the pollen attributable to all *Compositae*, for which the site had very suitable growing conditions, is relatively very low. This suggests that the monastic agricultural rules which led to fines being levied for allowing *goold* to grow on monastic land, which this land was, well may have been in operation here. The situation certainly contrasts with that revealed by pollen analysis of material from another excavation within St Andrews but outside the monastic area, in which *Compositae* comprised 60 per cent of TLP.

In summary it appears than an advanced form of agriculture was being practised on the site, perhaps a forerunner of the high farming for which the monasteries became

famous. The low content of the most prevalent weed of the time, the absence of the commonly grown oats, the presence of wheat, and the likelihood of a realistic size of plough team, all provide evidence to vindicate such a view. It must also be emphasised, however, that while such agriculture almost certainly took place on the site, it is possible that the plough marks are totally unrelated to it. When a house was deliberately destroyed because the inhabitants had been involved in a treasonable act or afflicted by the plague the house site underwent a 'ritual' ploughing as a sort of cleansing act. If this were the case here, it would be possible to explain the puzzling sharpness of the plough marks and the apparent shortness of the plough run—they would be the result of a single ploughing which was unconnected with agricultural needs. If this ploughing had been deep enough it would have destroyed all the physical evidence of early cultivation with the exception of that surviving in the pollen spectra.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The pottery was identified by Miss L. Thom of Dundee Museum. Thanks are also due to Mr R. Smart, Archivist in St Andrews University Library, who gave considerable help in the unravelling of the history of houses on the site and from whom came the information on the non-agricultural ploughing.

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Joseph Train's Letter to Sir Walter Scott Concerning Wandering Willie

Transcribed and edited by W. A. J. PREVOST

A sad item of news was published in the *Edinburgh Evening Courant* on Thursday 25 April 1816. It reported the circumstances of the deaths on 20 April of

> a poor man, with his wife and five children, who were travelling through the country with a small cart drawn by an ass, [and] being unable to find lodging, took refuge in a small sand hole at the side of the public road near Twynholm Kirk. In the course of the night a mass of earth which had been undermined in raking out the sand, unfortunately gave way and buried them all under it. Their bodies were dug out on Sunday morning and carried into the church.

It was about this time that Joseph Train wrote to Sir Walter Scott from Newton Stewart where he was then an officer in the Excise. Train was zealous in gleaning Galloway and Dumfriesshire legends and traditions for Sir Walter, and on this occasion must have written an account of William ap Prichard, by which name it seems that he knew the dead man although other sources suggest that his name was Hugh (see notes 1 and 23).

This man was blind and made a living as a minstrel, wandering 'between Gretna Green and the Braes of Glennapp' in the southernmost corner of Ayrshire. It has been taken for granted that he was the prototype of blind Wandering Willie, one of the characters in Sir Walter's *Redgauntlet* which was published in June 1824. Scott did not acknowledge Train's contribution in any way, much to the latter's disappointment. However, he had acknowledged his help in others of his books which gratified Train more than a little, as witness what he told the Master in a letter (Abbotsford Collection fo. 193):

> As I have said before, Sir Walter, my highest ambition has always been to be mentioned by you even in the most distant manner in any of your numerous works, but to be so honorably noticed in *Guy Mannering*, *Old Mortality* and now in the *Heart of Midlothian* is more than I ever expected.

In so far as *Redgauntlet* was concerned he had not given up hope that in future editions a note acknowledging his contribution might be added; and with this in mind he wrote a long letter to Scott in 1830 (Abbotsford Collection fos. 288–95). A part only of this letter, in an adapted form, was printed by John Patterson (1857:49–52): a fresh

transcription is now provided here since it supplies us with an unusually full and interesting account of a travelling musician.[1]

> Honored Sir Walter . . . I remember, Sir Walter, of having sent you upwards of 14 years ago some account of the Blind Minstrel, William ap Prichard of Llandegai, whom I once met accidently on the road between Newton Stewart and the Ferrytown of Cree, but I was not, till I came to reside in this quarter, aware of that person being over the South of Scotland invariably considered to be the prototype of Wandering Willie in *Redgauntlet*. This is perhaps just like identifying Meg Merrilies to be no other than Flora Marshall, and proceeding from the extreme solicitude with which the people in this part of the country strive to point out the locality of every scene and the real history of every character in your inimitable Tales, that opinion has caused me, however, to collect every particular I could possibly find respecting the Minstrel as from the slight interview I had with him and being then upwards of 20 Miles distant from the place of his interment. I am afraid the sketch I sent you must have been very imperfect but through the kindness of John Rain Esquire of Twynholm and the Reverend John Williamson, Minister of that Parish,[2] who conducted the funeral obsequies of William ap Prichard and had afterwards some communication from Wales respecting him, I think I have obtained all the information that is now known of him.
>
> I had visited a friend at the Ferrytown of Cree and was returning to Newton Stewart with my friend Captain Denniston, the Author of *Legends of Galloway*, when we met on the way the Blind Minstrel with his harp over his shoulder. He was led by a female whom we afterwards learned was his wife and was followed by several children, some travelling on foot, others seated in a small wicker cart of very rude construction, drawn by a little Cuddy of the old Gipsey kind. As we drew near to them the old man raised his Harp and began to play the popular Air "Kenmore's on and awa', Willie."[3] It was a calm evening in the Month of April and the melodious sound of the Harp soon brought a crowd of peasants from the neighbouring fields of Kirroughtree and from the adjacent hamlets of Machermore[4] which, with a fiddle played by one of the younger branches of the Minstrel's family, formed a band that called into action the dancing powers not only of the other children but likewise of several of the spectators.
>
> The appearance of the Blind Minstrel of Llandegai was somewhat singular. He was seemingly upwards of fifty years of age, of very diminutive stature, the small part of his countenance that was seen above his bushy beard was of a sallow complexion very much pitted by the small pox, and was nowise improved by his large sightless eyeballs that seemed to roll instinctively as he moved his hand along the strings of the Harp. His habiliments seemed to be just what chance had thrown in his way. On his legs he wore a pair of blue rig and fur hoeshins[5] partly drawn over the knees of his small clothes, the original part of which had evidently been worn by a person of more capacious dimensions. His vest of red plush cloth with deep pockets before was in every way similar to that kept in the wardrobe at Eglinton Castle, stained with the blood of the unfortunate Earl who was shot by Campbell the Exciseman.[6] The outside colour of the coat was brown, inside blue. It was the only part of his dress that bore any proportion at all to his person. On his head he wore the cap called in old times a Megirkie[7] with a large Roman Letter in front such as was usually wore by Chattering Charlie, the last professional Jester retained as such in the family of Cassilies[8] or I believe in the establishment of any Scotch nobleman.

The Jokes and repartees of Chattering Charlie, although he died about 40 years since, are yet as well remembered in Ayrshire as those of the celebrated Kipp Cairns are in Dumfriesshire and in Galloway.

During Charlie's residence with the Earl of Cassilies he, like Willie the Wandering Minstrel, wore the initial Letter of Culzean in front of his Cap, but when he took up his abode with any of the branches of that family, which he frequently did, he then changed the Character on his cap to that with which the name of his immediate residence commenced, so that all Carrick knew by Charlie's Cap where he had quarters for cracking his jokes.

The dress of Mrs ap Prichard was less conspicuous than that of her husband. She was stout made and above the ordinary size of women, although her countenance was evidently darkened by constant exposure to the weather. She had in her youth been rather comely than otherwise. She wore on her head an old Bandanna handkerchief loosely tyed below her chin with one corner hanging between her shoulders over the hood of a dark duffled Cardinal,[9] the tail of which was long but not like the dress of the ladies in the time of Sir David Lindsay of the Mount, of whom he says

The turcomes of their tails I trow
Wad be a supper to a sow.[10]

The old Minstrel and his partner as well as their children seemed to enjoy the felicity themselves which sweet music and the simplicity of their manner imparted to others. They thankfully received the small sum collected for them, then moved away in search of a resting place for the night, little thinking the day of life was so soon to close upon them for ever.

William ap Prichard was a native of the Parish of Llandegai in Carnarvonshire but his chief residence had always been in the South of Scotland. I cannot find that he had been in the practice of attending professionally the Caledonian Hunt Assemblies or the fashionable Winter Balls either in Ayr or Dumfries, but at Merry Makings in Town and at Kirns in the Country. He was the Chief "Gut scraper" between Gretna Green and the braes of Glennapp, and like Habbie Simpson, the famous Fiddler of Kinghorn, "at Bridals he won mony placks".[11]

For many years he was a constant attendant at the great Annual Fair of Kirkdomminie in Carrick.[12] There he usually laid by his Harp and by the enlivening strains of his Fiddle kept the younkers dancing till after sunset at nearly the longest day. Wandering Willie was noted for giving the longest Reel for a Penny of any Fiddler at Kirkdomminie. He succeeded there Blind Riddle, one of the best Musicians of whom Scotland yet can boast. He composed the popular Airs, Culzean Castle, Carrick Shore, the Merry lads of Ayr and Ayrshire Lasses, although the latter Tune has been by some person erroneously ascribed to Hugh, the last Earl of Eglinton.[13]

The Minstrel of Llandegai was returning from one of his casual visits to Wales when I met him by the way. He obtained quarters for himself and his family that night at a place called Skyreburn[14] which was the Howff for more than half a century of Willie Marshall, the famous King of the Lowland Randies (Patterson 1857:149–50)[15]. Next day the whole retinue moved slowly over the Corse of Slakes[16] and arrived at Laggan mullan[17] in the Evening, just in time to assist the music at a Merry Making of friends there, of which the host has yet a lively recollection.

Next night they were not so successful. After having passed through the Gatehouse of Fleet at nightfall, they solicited lodgings at the farmhouse of Tanneymaws[18] and at several other places on their way to Bearlochan[19] but were refused shelter even in any of the outhouses for the night. At length compelled by necessity these poor houseless wanderers lay down in a gravel pit fast by the great road to Portpatrick nearly opposite the old Mill of Twynhame, but alas ere morn the brow of the pit fell and buried the whole family, seven in number. The Cuddy was unyoked and left to browse on the adjacent brae and thereby escaped the fate of its owners, but next day its braying attracted people to the spot and, strange as it may appear considering the proverbial stupidity of that animal, Mr Rain assures me that it was observed pacing backward and forwards in front of the pit in which its Master and his family lay, braying anon, seemingly for the purpose of rousing them from their resting place.

The quantity of gravel that fell during the night on these unfortunate people was less than could have been supposed to cause such a sad catastrophe. Some of them were scarcely covered by the sand but they had all incautiously reclined with their heads to the bank by which the falling gravel covered their faces and deprived them of existence. Except a young child that lay at its mothers breast, by the composure of their features when lifted out of the pit, the whole family seemed to have died without a struggle.

I have the amount of the expense of their funeral in my possession. They were laid in three graves in Twynhame Kirkyard in that part called "The Stranger's Corner." (The ass and the cart were sold to defray the expense of the Funeral. What became of the Fiddle I have not been able to learn, but what remains of the Harp has fallen into my possession.)[20]

The remembrance of this tragical event will be long kept up in the Country by the people superstitiously pointing out the "Harper's Hole" as a nightly meeting place of many an unearthly group of uncouth figures in human form. I pass the Harper's Hole nearly every week throughout the year and I seldom do so without calling to mind the melancholy event just related. I am certain, Sir Walter, that if you mention this spot in *Redgauntlet*, a monument will be erected there to point out the place in an appropriate manner to future ages.

I have, Revered Sir Walter, the Honor to be your Devoted Humble Servant

J. Train.

Castle Douglas 8 Oct 1830.

It has already been pointed out that Mr Train seems to have longed for his name to be mentioned in a later edition of *Redgauntlet*, and the last three lines of his letter are tantamount to asking Sir Walter to quote from his story and to give his name as a reference. As for a monument, he was no doubt aware that early in April Scott had offered to erect a stone in Kirkpatrick-Irongray to the memory of Helen Walker who had died in 1791, with an inscription making it quite clear that Helen was the original of Jeanie Deans in *Heart of Midlothian*.[21] However, Train's hopes were finally dashed to the ground when Sir Walter died in 1832. Would that he could have foreseen that one day there would be two stones to the memory of the Wandering Minstrel standing in Twynholm kirkyard.[22]

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I am indebted to Mr David D. Murison for his help with certain of the references, and to Mr A. N. Mitchell for reading and transcribing the inscriptions on the stones in Twynholm kirkyard.

NOTES

1 There is also a shorter account, to which my attention was drawn by Dr Athol Murray in the Broughton and Cally Muniments in the Scottish Record Office, GD 10, 924. I have omitted 32 lines of poetry which, with the preamble, are addressed to 'Mr. Thos. Roy, Mercht, Ringford in the parish of Tongland'.

'Hugh Prichard and his wife Ellen Hughs with their 5 children in the month of April 1816 all perished for want of a lodging near the village of Twinholm near Kirkcudbright. Their property consisted of an Ass and Cart and a Welsh Harp on which the mother, who was blind, and her Daughter, an interesting girl about 16, performed with eligence and taste, but their minstrelsy was not approved by the natives and their money being exhausted, they were reduced to the necessity of asking a shelter for the night but were refused with the addition of insult and reproach.

Indegnant from such usage they resolved to pass the night in a shelter'd corner by the road side about 50 yards frome the house where they were last refused entrance where, after having laid themselves down, they were much disturbed by some intoxicated ruffi[a]ns returning from a Market. On the following morning they were all found dead, lock'd in each others arms. 4 Coffins were prepared and the seven were buried in 4 Graves, and the Ass and Cart were Sold to defrey the funeral charges.

The Harp with some of their family papers remain at the Manse of Twenholm where they were examined by the Auther of this tribute to their Memory'.

This record could have been written shortly after the tragedy: certainly before Joseph Train gained possession of the harp. Nevertheless it is hard to believe that Train wrongly described the Prichard family. His story leaves no doubt in one's mind that the father was the blind harper. The unknown writer's statement that the mother was blind seems less convincing, though it is quite possible that she too played the harp.

2 Ordained 2 Sept. 1802; died 28 Sept. 1834.

3 There are versions of this song in Johnson 1839 and Cromek 1810.

4 1 mile south of Newton Stewart.

5 *rig and fur*: ribbing of a stocking; *hoeshin:* stocking without a foot.

6 Alexander, tenth Earl of Eglintoun; born 1723, died 24 Oct. 1769. He was shot by an exciseman named Mungo Campbell whom he had challenged for using a gun in poaching on his grounds at Ardrossan (see Paul 1906:III. 458).

7 *Megirkie:* woollen cloth worn by old men in winter, for protecting the head and throat.

8 For the family of Cassilis see Paul 1906:II. 492.

9 *duffle:* coarse woollen cloth with a thick nap or frieze; *cardinal:* a short cloak worn by ladies.

10 *turcumis:* filth, ordure, excrement. Train is quoting from Lyndsay's 'Supplication in Contemplation of Syde Taillis' (*Scottish Texts Society* 1: 121, line 105).

11 The quotation is from Robert Sempill's poem 'The Life and Death of the Piper of Kilbarchan', and refers to Habbie Simpson. The famous fiddler of Kinghorn was Pate Birnie who is mentioned by Patterson (1857:48).

12 Kirkdominae in the parish of Girvan, on the coast of Carrick, Ayrshire, where there once stood the Chapel of Kirkdominae, dedicated to the Holy Trinity. The ruins served to give a rallying point and a designation to the great annual fair, held on the last Saturday of May (*Imperial Gazetteer* 1854:II, 726b, *s.v.* Girvan. This fair is not included in Sir James Marwick's *List of Markets and Fairs now and formerly held in Scotland* (1890).

13 Hugh, twelfth Earl of Eglintoun 1739–1819, was succeeded by his grandson Archibald William 1812–61, the thirteenth Earl who actually was the last.

14 Skyre Burn Bay is 2½ miles south-west of Gatehouse of Fleet.

15 Willie Marshall, the King of the Randies, who encouraged the insubordination of the peasantry of Galloway in 1724. Their attack was principally directed against the fences, and the Levellers found him an active leader. (See also Abbotsford Collection fos. 13 and 134; C. H. Dick 1916:98–100.)

16 Corse of Slakes is on the Old Military Road 3½ miles east of Creetown.

17 Lagganmullan (or Laggan Mullon) is 4 miles south-west of Gatehouse of Fleet.

18 Tawney Maws: see Patterson 1857:51.

19 Barlochan is near Twynholm.

20 The lines in brackets are a footnote in Train's MS.

21 Preface to *Heart of Midlothian* (1893) p. *xxix*. In a letter 1 Apr. 1830 from Abbotsford, Sir Walter quotes a letter from Mrs Goldie, wife of Thomas Goldie of Craigmuie who was extremely anxious to have a tombstone erected in Irongray churchyard and with an inscription written by Sir Walter. She may have inspired Scott who eventually erected a stone, at his own expense. For the inscription see the *New Statistical Account* 1844:IV, 269.

22 The first was erected in 1871 by the ministers at Anworth, Twynholm, Balmaclellan and Kirkcudbright. It is to the memory of a nameless 'Welsh Soldier who was discharged because of blindness that came upon him in Egypt, of his wife who was a Harper and the daughter of a Welsh curate, and of their five children, one of them an infant at the breast, who, on their homeward way from Ireland . . .' perished in the gravel pit near to the Old Mill at Twynholm as reported in the Edinburgh papers.

The second was erected by the Galloway Association of Glasgow on 20 Apr. 1946, exactly 130 years after the tragedy. On one side of the stone an inscription reads 'In Memory of Hugh Prichard, his wife and five children who wandered thus far from the Parish of Llandegai, Caernarvonshire . . .'. On the other side another inscription records that the 'Nameless Minstrel' was the prototype of 'Wandering Willie' in *Redgauntlet* (vol. I, chs. X and XI, and that 'He is now known to have been Hugh Prichard of the Parish of Llandegai . . .' in North Wales.

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The Ballad 'King Orfeo'

PATRICK SHULDHAM-SHAW

During one of my early collecting trips to Shetland (it was either July 1946 or April 1947), I happened to be visiting Mr John Barclay of Mid Yell. I had been told that he was interested in Shetland music and Shetland lore in general and he showed me a number of items of interest which he allowed me to copy. Among these was a text of the ballad of 'King Orfeo' preserved as a cutting from *The Shetland News* of 25 August 1894. At that time my knowledge of balladry was minimal. I had heard of 'King Orfeo' and knew of the one version published in Child (no. 19), but this find, though I did take a copy of it, did not strike me at the time as being of particular interest as it had no tune. It was fortunate I had copied this text, however, or I would certainly not have recognised immediately a fragment of the same ballad that, strangely enough, I heard shortly afterwards.

It was at the end of April 1947 that I heard it, when I was visiting my old friend John Stickle of Hoy Villa, Baltasound, Unst. We were chatting away and he asked me what I had collected recently in other parts of Shetland. I sang him the little Hyltadance jingle[1] I had just noted a day or two before from Jimsie Laurenson, Aithbank, Fetlar, and remarked what a curious bit of nonsense it was. He said that he could sing me something every bit as nonsensical, and at once started. As I listened and took down the tune and words on paper (there were no tape recorders in those days), I realised that what I was listening to was a fragment of 'King Orfeo'.[2] I was particularly thrilled, because it was the first time that anyone had noted a tune for this rare ballad. Now it could be brought to life in performance, and I found I was able to create a singable composite version of the ballad using John Stickle's fragment as a basis and supplying the rest of the story from the two printed versions.[3] Gaps in the narrative of Child's version could be filled in from *The Shetland News* text, which is the most complete form of the ballad on record.

Following the discovery by Marion Stewart of the 'King Orphius' romance in the Scottish Record Office (published in *Scottish Studies* 17:1–16), the little-known text in *The Shetland News* should be of special interest and is given here as it appeared in that newspaper:[4]

AN OLD SONG

The following old song was procured and written down from oral recital at Gloup fishing station in 1865, by the late Mr Bruce Sutherland of Turfhouse, North Yell:

There lived a Lady in yon Haa,
Scowan Orlaa Grona;
Her name was Lady Lisa Bell,
Where gurtin grew for Norla.

One day the King a hunting went,
They wounded the Lady to the heart.

The King of the Fairies we his dart,
Wounded his Lady to the heart.

So when the King came home at noon,
He asked for Lady Lisa Bell.

His nobles unto him did say,
My Lady was wounded, but now she is dead.

Now they have taen her life fra me,
But her corps they's never ha.

Now he have called his nobles aa,
To waltz her corps into the Haa.

But when the Lords was fæn asleep,
Her corps out of the house did sweep.

Now he's awa' to the wood, wood were,
And there he's to sit till grown o'er we hair.

He had not sitten seven long years,
Till a company to him drew near.

Some did ride and some did ging,
He saw his Lady them among.

There stood a Haa upon yon hill,
There went aa the Ladie's tilt.

He is laid him on his belly to swim,
When he came it was a gray stane.

Now he's set him down ful wae,
And he's taen out his pipes to play.

First he played the notes of noy,
Then he played the notes of joy.

And then he played the gaber reel,
That might a made a sick heart heal.

There came a boy out of the Haa,
Ye'r bidden to come in among us aa.

The formost man to him did say,
What thou' ha' for thy play.

For my play I will thee tell,
I'll ha' my Lady Lisa Bell.

Thy sister's son, that unworthy thing,
To-morrow as to be crowned King.

But thou's take her and thou's go hem,
And thou shalt be King o'er thy own.

NOTES

1 The tune of this may be found in *Shetland Folk Book* vol II p. 20. Unfortunately the editors did not print the words with the tune; they are as follows:

Tree treetle daddle,
Dow diddle, dow diddle, dow diddle daddle,
Dow, dow, dow, dow, dowdle diddle daddle.

2 The tune and text that I noted, and later recorded, were first published in the English Folk Dance and Song Society's Journal for 1947 (pp. 77–8). Subsequently they were published in *Shetland Folk Book* vol. II, p. 20 (not with John Stickle's own text but with a slightly elongated version of the Child text from Mrs Saxby) and later still in Professor Bronson's *Traditional Tunes of the Child Ballads* (Princeton) vol. I, p. 275. The version I recorded from John Stickle in 1951 may be found in the archives of the R P Library of the B B C, also in the Sound Libraries of the English Folk Dance and Song Society and the School of Scottish Studies.

3 A recording of my singing of this composite version was made at the request of Douglas Kennedy who used it to illustrate a lecture on ballads. This still exists as an acetate disc in the Sound Library of the English Folk Dance and Song Society.

4 P. 7, col. 1. The item is headed, 'Notes and Queries. Relating to the Antiquities, Traditions and History of Orkney and Shetland. No. LXXV., August 25, 1894'. In the original, the second and fourth lines which form the chorus (and are in a somewhat degenerate form of the Norn language that was once spoken all over Shetland), were given in identical form in each verse. Here, in order to save space, they are given only in the first verse and are to be assumed in all the others. The full stops indicating stanza endings replace commas in the newspaper text (where the full stops come at the end of the second refrain line). The name of the newspaper was not printed on the cutting and I had the impression when I originally copied it that it was from *The Shetland Times*, and so referred to a version in that paper when I first published John Stickle's fragment.

Professor T. M. Flett

(28 *July* 1923–13 *February* 1976)

PATRICK SHULDHAM-SHAW

The death of Thomas Muirhead Flett is a grievous loss as much to the world of folk dance as to the world of mathematics. Much has been written elsewhere about his professional work as a mathematician and suffice it to say here that during his eight years as Professor of Pure Mathematics at Sheffield University, he made a very considerable impact not only on his own department, but on others as well. He brought to his researches in the field of folk dance not only the meticulous accuracy one would expect of a professional mathematician but also a warm human insight, his interest being as much in the social background which produced the dances and against which they were danced as in the dances themselves. Nor was his interest merely academic. He enjoyed dancing himself, and with his wife, Joan, was always a frequent visitor at English and Scottish dance functions in the various areas in which they lived.

At the age of seven he was made to attend, somewhat unwillingly, Scottish dancing classes (given by David Taylor, an ex-pipe major of the Scots Guards). Here he soon became keen on Scottish dance in its various forms, and his enthusiasm was later further stimulated by the work done on the history of the Country Dance by Hugh Thurston, a Cambridge Ph.D. student in mathematics who preceded him there. While at Cambridge in 1948 he married Joan F. Ayers, another Scottish dance enthusiast with whom he subsequently worked on most of his published material. Before tackling the job of collecting, they steeped themselves in all that they could find to read on the subject of the dances and their historical and social background. On holiday in the Outer Hebrides in 1953 they discovered Gaelic dances considered lost by most of the experts on the mainland: although the area had been fairly well covered by folk song collectors, no-one had bothered to look for dances there. He also visited the Border Country where the only systematic work on folk dance collection had been done by I. C. B. Jameson. He tried to get in touch with Jameson and unfortunately was too late (but he met his widow, whom he found extremely helpful, not very long after Jameson's death). However he did manage to rescue a short piece of film that Jameson had made of his own group performing some of the dances he had collected contrasted with performances by the Royal Scottish Country Dance Society.

Later he visited many other parts of the Scottish mainland and the islands both western and northern. He would talk with the old people, the over-eighties where possible, about dancing in general and when it took place, later going on to inquire

about the details of the various dances. In this way he discovered that most districts at one time had had their own dancing masters itinerant or resident and contact with these or their families yielded an enormous amount of valuable information relative to the whole picture of the social dance in Scotland. All this work culminated in a series of articles, several of them published in *Scottish Studies*, and finally the book written jointly with Joan, his wife, *Traditional Dancing in Scotland* (London 1964).

This should remain a model for all such books on traditional dance for a long time to come. All facts are carefully checked and sources of information given, and though certain speculative theories may be offered, conjecture is never confused with fact. Dances are noted clearly and accurately and particularly interesting is the way in which intricate stepping is notated—a way he devised for himself and which he adapted to include clog and other hard-shoe dance steps which he first learnt while collecting in Fife. He was an adept learner and became very quick at noting down steps, a fact which stood him in good stead when he widened his researches to include the step and clog dance traditions of England, especially of the north-west and the Yorkshire Dales. Of even greater importance in the book, however, is the human warmth that is to be found in every chapter. This is a book about people who danced and enjoyed dancing, not a mere abstract analysis of steps and figures, and we are given a very clear picture of the part that dance played in the social life of the community.

Another important contribution to the study of Scottish dance was the pair of articles on *The Scottish Country Dance: its Origins and Development* (published in *Scottish Studies* 11: 1–11; 125–47), the outcome of his analysing a number of collections of country dances from various periods, of which some were well known, others discovered by him in libraries and private manuscript collections.

Tom Flett was not content with publishing all his findings in printed form. While working in the Mathematics Department at Liverpool University, he got together a group of adult dancers to perform much of the material he had collected. This group, *The Marlowe Scottish Dancers*, were much more successful than most other Scottish teams at the Llangollen International Eisteddfod (where they competed fairly regularly) on account of their concern with authenticity of dance and style, as well as their high standard of presentation. He was undoubtedly an able and inspiring teacher, and some of his pupils have gone on to form their own groups which keep alive the dances he collected and taught.

His lectures were, like his book, scrupulously accurate, superbly prepared, informative in their matter, informal in their manner and always full of human interest and gentle humour, in short, typical of the man himself. Always willing to share his knowledge with others, always grateful to others for sharing their knowledge with him, he was a marvellous friend, a generous host and a very entertaining companion with many other interests quite apart from mathematics and folk dance. He will be missed by many organisations, as well as individuals, not least by the School of Scottish Studies, who relied on his willing help and vast fund of knowledge in answering some of the many

and various queries they are presented with in the course of their work. Fortunately his notes still exist and, since Joan shared his enthusiasm and high standards for accurate collecting and their two daughters have inherited much of their parents' ability and knowledge, his work will develop and continue to be effective for many years to come. But we no longer have the man himself with us and we shall sorely miss him for his kindness, wisdom and humanity.

Books Received

(Some of these books may be reviewed later in *Scottish Studies*)

Robert Bruce and the Community of the Realm of Scotland by G. W. S. Barrow. Edinburgh University Press 1976 (2nd edn.). Pp. 502 & 16 plates. £2 (paperback).

A Short History of the Episcopal Church in Scotland by Frederick Goldie, Bishop of Glasgow and Galloway. Saint Andrew Press, Edinburgh 1976. Pp. 181. £1.40 (paperback).

Les Dieux de la Gaule by Paul-Marie Duval. Payot, Paris 1976 (new edition).

People and Places in the Story of the Scottish Church by Edwin S. Towill. Saint Andrew Press, Edinburgh 1976. Pp. 100 (illustrated). £3.25 (£2 paperback).

Politics and Religion during the English Revolution. The Scots and the Long Parliament 1643–1645 by Lawrence Kaplan. New York University Press, Pp. 176. $15.

Agrarian Landscape Terms: a Glossary for Historical Geography by I. H. Adams. Special publication number nine. Institute of British Geographers, London 1976. Pp. 313. £4.60 (paperback).

The Victorians and Social Protest edited by J. Butt and I. F. Clarke. David & Charles, Newton Abbot 1973. Pp. 243. £4.25.

A Scots Scrapbook by Harvey Macpherson. Club Leabhar, Inverness 1973. Pp. 165 (illustrated). £1.35 (paperback).

The Young Pretender's Mistress: Clementine Walkinshaw (Comtesse d'Albestroff 1720–1802) by C. Leo Berry. Charles Skilton, Edinburgh and London. Pp. 228. £4.95.

Glossary of Scottish Building by Glen L. Pride. St Andrews 1975. Pp. 96 (illustrated).

Captain Luckless. James, First Duke of Hamilton by Hilary L. Rubinstein. Scottish Academic Press, Edinburgh and London 1975. Pp. 307+11 plates. £6.

Andrew Crawfurd's Collection of Ballads and Songs volume 1, edited by E. B. Lyle. The Scottish Text Society, Edinburgh 1975. Pp. 244.

The National Trust of Scotland Guide, compiled and edited by Robin Prentice. Jonathan Cape, London 1976. Pp. 316 (illustrated). £4.95.

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(Titles of contributions appears in bold type, and names of contributors in small capitals)