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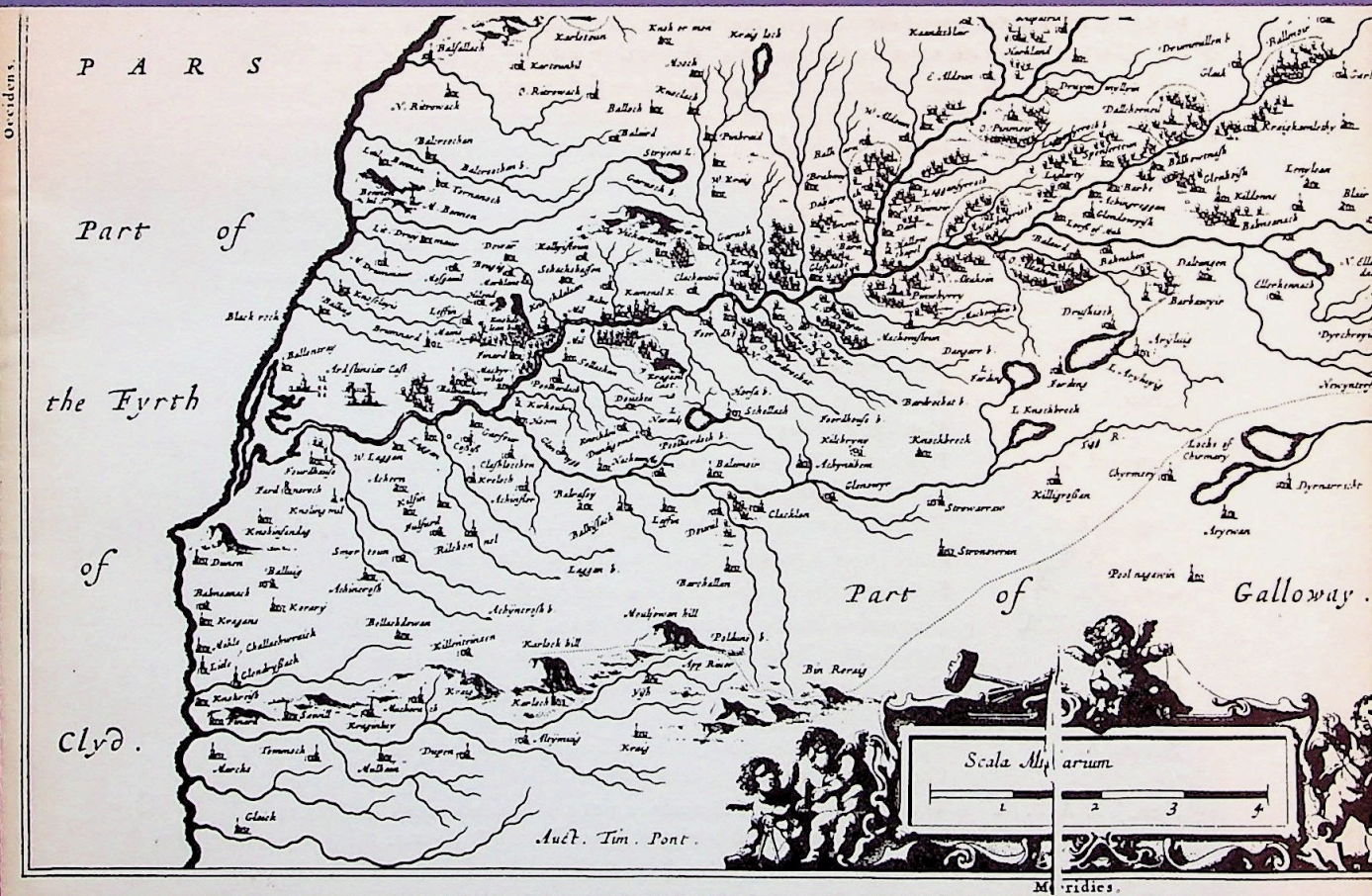
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John of Fordun's Description of the Western Isles

WILLIAM W. SCOTT

Chapter 10 of Book II of John of Fordun's *Chronica Gentis Scottorum* is a description of the islands off the west coast of Scotland (Skene 1871:43–4). It is the earliest such description in Scottish historical sources, and so has been (and still is) an indispensable foundation for writings about the area. W. F. Skene, in his 1871 edition of Fordun, seems to have been the first modern scholar to try to discover the origins of the chapter. His conclusion was that Fordun had written it after visiting the Isles, perhaps after a journey to Iona. In reaching this view, Skene was undoubtedly influenced by a pen-picture, in the prologue to one of the manuscripts of the chronicle, of a scholar travelling on foot through Britain and Ireland 'per civitates et oppida, per universitates et collegia, per ecclesias et coenobia, inter historicos conversans et inter chronographos perendinans' (Skene 1871:xxxiii-iv; 1872:386). But it must be doubted whether such a journey was made. The tradition appears in only two manuscripts which, if Skene's own arguments are correct, must come at a late stage in the copying of the text (Skene 1871:xviii; xxix). Skene also adduced circumstantial arguments—what Fordun might have seen by taking a certain route—but otherwise could not point to firmer evidence for the journey (Skene 1872:386–8). In the circumstances the idea that Fordun wrote the chapter after a kind of medieval National Trust cruise to and from Iona cannot be readily accepted.

A more recent explanation, by Mr Basil Megaw, is that the chapter might be based on a list of islands forming the diocese of Man, and ultimately derived from an alleged papal bull of 1231. The bull itself is probably a forgery 'drawn up in the generation after 1360'. Fordun, it was suggested, could have received a copy of the bull, and additional information, through a chain of correspondents which included the abbot of Iona and the bishop of Man, possibly bishop John Duncan (Megaw 1976:29–34). This new proposal has interesting implications for the study of Fordun's sources, for he does not often quote papal material, either genuine or forged. Nor has it been suggested elsewhere that Man might be a source of information for his work. The new proposal might therefore add fresh dimensions to the present knowledge of how Fordun's chronicle was put together. The case for it seems to rest on three main lines of argument.

Mr Megaw set out a comparative table of contents of the bull—list A—and of the island names—list B—in Fordun's chapter. The evidence which, in Mr Megaw's words, 'establishes the connection between the lists is the antiquarian opening phrase "the island called Eubonia, now Man"'. The phrase is common to both the bull and

Fordun. Mr Megaw suggested that the phrase came into use via Ranulf Higden's *Polychronicon*, and would readily have struck a chord with the bishop of Man. From there it would go to Fordun because, although Fordun uses Higden as a source, 'this morsel would hardly have the same appeal for him as for a Manxman'. But the relationship between Fordun and Higden may suggest another explanation. Fordun was emulating Higden (as Skene noted) and his borrowings, from Higden and from other writers, are those of an author actively and indiscriminately looking for information to explain the history of the Scots (Skene 1871:xxxiv; 1872:380-2). Higden uses the name Eubonia three times. Two of these references come comparatively near the start of the work, where he is giving a description of islands near the coast of Britain. He notes that the Isle of Wight is part of England; that Anglesey is part of Wales; and that Eubonia 'which is called Menevia, or Man, falls to Scotland'. (Babington and Lumby 1865-86 ii:36; 40). To a reader alert for material about Scotland this reference would surely leap to the eye and stick in the mind, no less than if the reader were a bishop of Man suddenly struck by the antiquarian flavour of the name.

The impact of the name is then reinforced by its use a few lines later in Higden. That the name *did* strike Fordun with some force is shown by his use of it in another passage which is probably one of his own fictitious interpolations (Skene 1871:114; Anderson 1922:i. 90). And before he read the Polychronicon his mind may have been partly prepared for the name because Higden is not the only writer who uses it. The variant form 'Eufonia' turns up in Simeon of Durham and, via this work, as 'Eufania' in Roger of Howden (Arnold 1882 i:50; Stubbs 1868-71 i:13). Both authors are sources for Fordun's chronicle. Since they use variants they are unlikely to have been the direct source of Fordun's use of the name. But they show that knowledge of other names for Man was not confined to readers of Higden. In short, Fordun would not have needed to use the bull to learn the name Eubonia, or to be impressed by it. He could have taken it directly from Higden, and probably did so.

In a second line of argument linguistic evidence, in the form of the names of the islands, was taken to show that Fordun's text derived from the bull, rather than the other way about. The author of this note is not competent to consider the merits of this evidence, and will not do so. But the nature of the texts from which the names are drawn, and on which the linguistic arguments are based, requires some comment.

The text of the bull depends on a transcript of *c.* 1600. Mr Megaw has shown that the bull cannot be as early as its alleged date of 1231 since two properties named in it were not granted until after 1248. Another student of the bull, Mrs Gelling, has shown that some of the place names in it could not be earlier than *c.* 1300. If Higden is the source for the name Eubonia the bull is unlikely to be earlier than *c.* 1320, since that is when the earliest version of the Polychronicon was probably compiled, and it may be no earlier than *c.* 1340, when the work was rapidly growing in popularity. It does not follow, however, that it must have been a bishop soon after 1340 who picked

up the name. Higden's work was widely read and copied over the next 150 years and any late medieval bishop of Man could have been familiar with it (Taylor 1966:90; 98; 149; 151–8). Mr Megaw's arguments for the bull's date of c. 1380 have their attractions, but their acceptance is more a matter of belief than of proof, and other evidence mentioned below suggests that a date of no earlier than c. 1390 is more likely. A further material point is that there seems to be a relationship between the bull and an episcopal confirmation of 1505. Mrs Gelling has pointed out that the list of place names in Man in both documents is 'almost identical' and that, as regards their form, 'in the majority of cases 1505 is the appropriate date for them' (Gelling 1970–1:135–6). In effect there is still a burden of proof on those who seek to show that the bull is earlier than Fordun, and the text of the bull cannot on the evidence adduced so far be dated more exactly than c. 1340 × 1505. Fordun's text, on the other hand, can be pinned down more precisely. Internal evidence given in more detail below shows that the matter of the text is from the late fourteenth century, and is datable to 1371 × 1387. A comparison of the texts cannot therefore proceed on the basis that they are nearly contemporary, or that one is necessarily later or earlier than the other since the dates for one still lie within a very wide range.

The reliability of the text of the bull must also be considered. The editor of the bull in 1911 pointed out that place names are commonly mis-transcribed by papal clerks, and that there have been two possible opportunities for mistranscription in the text (Poole 1911:258). A forged bull presumably never went near the papal chancery, and so one opportunity for mistakes has not occurred. The document may have been copied only once, when the present surviving version was taken from an 'original'. But however many times the text has been transcribed, it is clear from the 1911 edition that it has a very large number of slips and gaps. These are most easily seen in the 'common form' sections—that is, the parts which employ the conventional phrases of the papal chancery—where the transcript can be compared with the formulae which would have been used in a regular bull. The same test cannot be applied to the place names, which are unique to the document, but the very garbled form of some of them, particularly towards the end of the Hebridean section, and the slips which the editor has picked out in the Manx section, suggest that considerable corruption has taken place. A particular feature of the bull is that 'ch' is used for 'c' in a number of words. This would be an unusual trait in a medieval transcriber or forger and so may well be a peculiarity of the latest scribe. It leads one to wonder, for example, whether the 'Ch' at the beginning of 'Chorye' (= Tyree) was originally a 'c', itself a very common substitute in medieval scripts for 't'. With this sort of possibility to contend with, the place names in the bull cannot be guaranteed to be exact or even approximate copies of fourteenth century forms, and to compare them with Fordun's versions may not be comparing like with like. Any linguistic arguments that one text is derived from the other, and not the reverse, cannot in these circumstances be other than very tentative, if not inconclusive.

The third main line of argument was a comparison of the sets of island names in lists A and B. Examination of the lists certainly shows some resemblances. They amount to saying that the names in list A which can be firmly identified turn up, with one exception, in list B. But in a textual study the discrepancies may be just as revealing. List A is noticeably shorter than list B, and it is an immediate inference that, if A is the basis for B, Fordun must have had access to more than as many island names again than he could obtain from the bull. This evident difficulty was countered by a proposal that other correspondents topped up the text of the bull. This point will be considered in more detail later. Meanwhile, other differences between the lists are to be noted. First, the island names are set out in a different order. Though the geographical sequence is generally the same, five of the nineteen names in A (that is, about one quarter) are in other places in B. Second, A includes Eigg, which B leaves out. Normally such a range of differences between the alleged source and the final result makes the link between the the two texts rather problematical. In addition, there is serious corruption in the names towards the end of A, and some charitable interpretation is needed to identify them. Even so, some are still unidentified. Taken together, the corruption and the other textual differences make the likelihood of B deriving from A anything but obvious.

A comparison of the full text of Fordun's chapter with the bull makes the likelihood of derivation even smaller. The bull contains no more than a list of names of islands. Fordun's chapter is a very much larger compendium. Over and above the extra island names it has notes on ecclesiastical sites and castles; characteristics of some islands; distances; and observations on crops, animals, and wonders of nature. The text of the bull has been well and truly topped up—if that is what really happened. Assuming that it did, and that an ecclesiastic was responsible, is the assumption confirmed by an examination of the ecclesiastical information in the text? On Iona, for example, Fordun says that there are two religious houses, one for monks and one for nuns. Their existence is independently attested. Fordun also correctly places the seat of the bishop of Argyll on Lismore. But recent research has been unable to confirm the existence of the alleged monks' cell on Texa. The supposed cell on Inchmarnock appears to have been (in 1390) a parish church, and the alleged cell of the Holy Trinity on Barra is another doubtful entry. Modern studies have equally failed to establish Fordun's statement that there was a house of regular canons on Colonsay, although they show that such a house existed on neighbouring Oronsay—a name which appears in neither A nor B (Cowan and Easson 1976:59; 99; 111:151; 235-6). But Oronsay is named as the seat of the house in papal letters to its prior, and to the bishop of Argyll, and treasurer and official of Glasgow (Burns 1976:79; 85). If the chapter really does depend on extra information from an ecclesiastical correspondent in the Isles it is curious that he seems to go astray in setting down information about religious sites in his own or in a neighbouring diocese.

The case so far for the proposal that Fordun used a supplemented bull is anything

but conclusive. It is therefore legitimate to ask whether the information in the chapter could have come from somewhere else. Mainland Scotland, and laymen, are two more possible sources. Fortunately, they can both be tested.

In 1166 it was clearly recognised that Man and 31 other islands owed tribute to the king of Norway. This is revealed in a reference to a meeting which records the presence of the king of Scots, and which also implies the presence of advisers. Unfortunately the names of the isles are not set out, but this tradition shows a knowledge of the numbers of the isles which is much nearer the size of Fordun's list than of the list in the bull (Lawrie 1910:114–15). A century later the treaty of Perth explicitly refers to Man and 'the other Sudreys (ceteris insulis Sodorensis) and all the other islands to the south and west of the Great Sea'. That there was a distinction between the possessions of Man at that period and other islands on the west of Scotland is clearly understood. The same distinction was made when the treaty was renewed in 1312 (APS i:78; 101). There could hardly have been any doubt in the minds of the men involved in the negotiations that the possessions of Man gave nothing like a complete list of the islands in the west. Since the treaty involved a down payment of 4000 merks over four years, and a further annual payment of 100 merks in return for the cession of the isles, the Scots of the time presumably had some idea of what they were paying for.

Even before 1266 areas of the west had come under Scottish control. Alexander II had campaigned in the Clyde and in Argyll in the early 1220s. He died, while on another expedition, on the isle of Kerrera. Throughout the thirteenth century low-land and mainland families can be traced extending their territorial interests westwards (Barrow 1973:373–6; Duncan 1975:580–3). After 1266 the west appears to have been under a firm grip, which reached its fullest extent with the establishment in the 1290s of sheriffdoms carrying with them authority for the sheriff to collect royal dues in the area (Duncan 1976:nos. 46; 66–7). The surviving fragments of the Scottish exchequer records show clearly that sheriffs knew the lands from which they were to take dues, and there can be no reasonable doubt that by no later than, say 1295, the Scottish government had a good working knowledge of the western seaboard.

In the fourteenth century there is more evidence pointing in the same direction. For a number of reasons, Robert I had a particularly close knowledge of the west (Barrow 1965:231–3; 242; 258; 279; 409–10). During the troubles in the early part of the reign of David II an agreement between Edward Balliol and John of Islay drawn up at Perth in September 1336 refers to the islands of Islay, Gigha, Jura, Colonsay, Mull, Skye and Lewis, as well as several areas of the western mainland (Rot. Scot. i:463–4). Nearly seven years later, in June 1343 at Ayr, David II made a similar grant to John, omitting Skye but adding Tyree and Coll, and handing over custody of the royal castles of Cairnburgh, 'Iselborgh' and Dunchonnel. At the same time and place he granted to Reginald son of Roderick of the Isles the islands of Uist, Barra, Eigg and

Rum (APS xii:6–7). The accession of Robert II did not change the pattern. The new king, previously the Steward, was lord of Bute and Arran. His daughter Margaret was married to John of Islay and this, with another alliance through his own second marriage, made the Steward the leading member of what has been called a 'Highland Party' in the later part of the reign of David II (Nicholson 1974:155–6). When Steward and king, he and his advisers could not have been ignorant of the west. In the early part of his reign royal charters convey and confirm lands in the isles and the western mainland. This evidence shows that the Scottish administration was informed about western names and places, including those mentioned earlier in this paragraph, plus the castles of 'Elantyrym' (Tioram) and of 'Vynwawle' (on Uist; evidently Benbecula). (Thomson 1912:nos. 412; 520; 567–9). The general tenor of this evidence is that island place names and lands and properties in the west were known to royal clerks working on mainland Scotland. Nor were they alone. Another contemporary, John Barbour, the poet and a mainland Scot, had a working knowledge of the geography of Argyll, Lennox, the Clyde, Kintyre and thereabouts (Barrow 1973:372; Mackenzie 1909:50–4). It cannot accordingly be ruled out that Fordun's source could have been a document or information which came from the mainland, or from a lay source, or from a combination of both.

Indeed, taking the text of the chapter as a whole, and not just the names in list B, this seems a more likely explanation. The chapter is more than a bare list, as in the bull and B, or as in chapter 11 of Book II, where Fordun sets out the names, and no more, of the isles in the Orkneys. Chapter 10 is a much longer and fuller description, and with a distinct secular flavour. Man is noted as the seat of the bishops of Man, but Fordun also observes that the ruler of Man owes a service of ten war galleys to the king of Scots. Arran comes next, out of order from list A, and noted as having two royal castles at Brodick and Lochranza. After Helant Inlaysche (Lamlash or Holy Isle), Fordun puts Bute, which has a 'fine and impregnable royal castle'. (Bute and Brodick were in the Steward's hands in the mid-fourteenth century, and so the reference to them as 'royal' castles shows that the text of the chapter as it stands now is no earlier than 1371). In all, Fordun notes against nine of the islands that they have eleven castles or towers. On Islay he notes Duniveg; near the Garvellachs, Dunchonnel; and, on Mull the castles of Duart and Aros. Cairnaburgh is the next to appear, followed by an unnamed tower (turris) on Tyree; the castle of 'Benwewyl' (= 'Vynwawle') on Uist and, finally Thurso, which he calls an island, with a 'very strong tower'. (Although he refers to 'Insula Tyreym' he does not note it as a castle *i.e.* Tioram.)

There is good confirming evidence for virtually all the sites. Brodick castle was in existence early in the fourteenth century. Bute is much earlier (Mackenzie 1909:67; Cruden 1960:34). Cairnaburgh, Dunchonnel and 'Vynwawle' have already been noted as occurring in fourteenth century documents. Duniveg on Islay may originally have been a Norse castle, as Thurso presumably was (Cruden 1960:19–21; Talbot 1971 and 1974). Apart from Fordun, the earliest written evidence for Duart seems to

be in 1390, but architecturally it is older (Paul 1882:no. 2264; McGibbon and Ross 1887–92:iii. 46–7; Cruden 1960:39; 46). Aros is known from other written records from 1409 and 1410, but is also thought on architectural grounds to be much older (Paul 1882: no. 2286; Lindsay *et al.* 1908:137; McGibbon and Ross 1887–92 iii. 125). Fordun and other sources are more consistent with each other in this field of the evidence than in ecclesiastical information.

In the rest of the chapter Fordun records that Greater Cumbrae is 'rich and large'—just the thing to say when a Stewart is on the throne. Little Cumbrae and Jura are good for hunting. On Islay the lord of the Isles has two dwellings (mansiones). Uist is noted for seals and other marine life. Rum is wooded, mountainous and good for hunting, and next to St Kilda (Hirth) there is an island where, it is said, there are wild sheep which are rarely captured. In the bygoing the Corrievreckan (gurges oceani . . . fortissima) is noted. Some sizes of islands and distances are also recorded. Fordun's text has ecclesiastical notes against eleven islands. This is more than the nine to which he attaches information about castles and towers. But if one adds in the other pieces of secular interest, like good places for hunting and the seats of the lords of the isles, the whole balance of the chapter is anything but ecclesiastical, as might be expected if it were based on a bull with additions from a bishop and an abbot. The balance lies the other way. Any contribution from the bull can be no more than the names of twenty islands, including Man, out of more than twice as many noted by Fordun. Many of the names then have added to them a series of notes which depart even further from the supposed source. A bull supplemented by a local churchman cannot be seriously maintained as the origin. The weaknesses in the ecclesiastical evidence, the overall weight of information of secular interest, and the generally good quality of the evidence of the castles all tell against the possibility.

Another approach is to look at other examples of Fordun's use of sources to see whether they throw any light on how he might have reacted to the text of the bull, either on its own or supplemented by another hand. It is not yet possible to be dogmatic about how he handled his sources, because the study of them has scarcely begun. But it is already clear that his chronicle shows different standards of scholarship, accuracy and regard for truth, depending on the period he is dealing with, the quality of his sources, and whether or not Anglo-Scottish relations are involved. A careful and exhaustive examination of how Fordun used the early Scottish king lists has concluded broadly that for the earlier periods of the chronicle Fordun can be both unreliable and inventive, and that he was very dependent on the quality and quantity of his sources (Anderson 1973:215). The present author's view of Fordun's version of the twelfth–fourteenth centuries is that, except where he is writing propaganda or flattery, he can usually be trusted to deal faithfully and fairly with his material. If the bull had been produced in the fourteenth century it would have been a recent text in Fordun's eyes. A brief examination of some examples of his use of sources in the Gesta Annalia—that is, the part of the chronicle from 1154

onwards—is probably a reasonable way to show how he handled other recent texts, and in turn how he might have treated the bull.

First, he could have copied the island names as they stood in the list. Chapter 48 of the Gesta includes a list of the kings of Scots said to have been read out at the inauguration of Alexander III. The list may look Scottish, but it comes from the English chronicler Ralph of Diss, and the only Scottish contribution to it is the addition of the names of Alexander II and III (Skene 1871:294–5: Anderson 1973:237–8). Even although the list comes from a non-Scottish quarter Fordun treats it scrupulously, and the additions to it are both few and accurate. At the end of the list he makes some comments on it, renders some Gaelic into Latin, and explains that two names sound similar although their spelling differs. It looks as though he was prepared to explain points about Gaelic from his own knowledge, and that a Hebridean correspondent was not always needed to guide him in this.

A second technique which can be demonstrated is where Fordun the propagandist takes over, and texts are interpolated. Chapter 15 of the Gesta is an outstanding example—a long passage put in the wrong place in the narrative (therefore an obvious insertion) and arguing for the antiquity and independence of the Scottish church (Skene 1871:266–8). Fordun's text (Gesta chapter 20) of king Richard I of England's quit-claim of 1189 cancelling the treaty of Falaise probably comes from the English chronicler Roger of Howden, who is a source for several other passages in the Gesta. But Howden's text of the treaty has been supplemented by passages emphasising that William I owes homage only for lands in England, and stressing the duties owed by the kings of England towards the kings of Scots (Skene 1871:272–3; Stones 1965:6–8). Chapters 44–5 of the Gesta describing relations between Alexander II and Henry III consist largely of episodes picked out of the Melrose chronicle. But they have been touched up with the extra words shown in quotation marks in the next sentence. Melrose's negotiations (of 1237) become 'difficult'; Alexander returned home 'prosperously'; when the kings met again in 1244 Henry III arrived at Newcastle-upon-Tyne with a 'large' army 'to wage war'; and, once more, Alexander returned 'prosperously'. Melrose's neutral narrative has been given a subtle and patriotic twist (Skene 1871:291–2; Stevenson 1835:148; 156). Fordun's additions are not always as biased as this, however. There are passages where he adds short dating notes, such as references to living kings and princes. He also occasionally puts in explanations of words or phrases, sometimes from Anglo-Norman and, as already noted, from Gaelic (Skene 1871:314; 319; 326).

A third technique is that of Fordun the filleter. A large part of chapters 68–9 of the Gesta, describing Edward I's activities after the death of the Maid of Norway, can be shown to derive from instructions for the English ambassadors sent to Scotland. But in the Gesta the diplomatic verbiage has been cut away, leaving a few facts about the ambassadors and what they tried to do (Skene 1871:310–11; Stevenson 1870:i. 164–5). This technique might have been used to cut out the relevant island names

from the very much longer text of the bull, but it cannot be a complete explanation of how the bull might have been used since the problem is one of additions to a list. But Fordun's use of this method has to be mentioned to show the range of his abilities and also to underline the point that, if he did use it on the bull, he was very discriminating. The bull has a list of places in Man, and indications of the rights which the bishop of Man could exercise over the churches in his diocese (Poole 1911:259). Fordun knew that Man had once been under Scottish control (Skene 1871:300-1). It is difficult to see how he could have resisted some reference to these place names and rights—if the text of the bull were before him—to fill out his meagre information about the island. But he says nothing about them.

A fourth technique is that of Fordun the blender. Chapter 16 of the Gesta describes revolts in the north of Scotland. It includes two passages from the Melrose chronicle but ends with a related detail about the beheading of the rebel leader, McWilliam, which is not in Melrose but is in the English chronicler 'Benedict of Peterborough' (Lawrie 1910:269-71). Chapters 30-1 of the Gesta are a combination of passages, some from the Melrose chronicle and some still unidentified, about earl David of Huntingdon, his death, and his family and successors. The blending is done skilfully, and without obvious breaks in the narrative. It can be recognised because the identified passages have been taken in almost verbatim from the original source (Skene 1871:281-2; Stevenson 1835:99; 108). A different example occurs in chapter 69. After quoting some of the filleted diplomatic instructions, Fordun records that one of the Scots who went to Norway to bring back the Maid was a Sir Michael Scot. His source for this is not yet known. But the accuracy of the fact is established from English records, because Edward I gave orders for Sir Michael to be recompensed for the journey. To skilful blending there has been added trustworthy blending (Skene 1871:311; Rot. Scot:i. 6a).

It may now be possible to envisage with more confidence how Fordun might have treated the text of the bull. First, he could have copied out all the island names exactly as they appeared, and in the same order. But it is already clear that this was not done. Second, he might have added to the text of the bull, or blended it with another source. This is a distinct possibility. The reference in chapter 10 to the galley service owed from Man to the king of Scots could be his addition, for the phrase is used elsewhere (Skene 1871:301). The reference to royal castles in Bute and Arran, and the flattering remarks about Greater Cumbrae and Rothesay castle (which had not been impregnable in the thirteenth century, as Fordun's text recognises elsewhere) (Skene 1871:299), could all be late touches, as may also be the translation of the Gaelic names of some of the isles. Beyond that it would be hard to go. There are as yet no other known instances of Fordun taking such a short list as that in the bull and expanding it several times. In the present state of knowledge of Fordun's sources and the way he used them—especially his usual practice of copying them faithfully—it seems more probable that if he did not write the catalogue himself he

started with something which was much more like the text of chapter 10 as it survives than the text of the bull.

But when was it written? The earliest record evidence for the priory of Oronsay (said to have been founded by John of Islay) shows it in existence in the 1350s (Burns 1976:85; Cowan and Easson 1976:94). Fordun's references to the castles of Cairnaburgh and Dunchonnel, making no claims to royal possession or control, appear to recognise the resignation of the castles recorded in David II's grant of 1343 to John of Islay, and so must be later than that agreement. The reference to the title 'lord of the Isles' suggests a date no earlier than c. 1350. John of Islay uses it, for example, in 1354 (Macphail 1914:76). The late 1350s appear to be the earliest likely date at which several of the details of the chapter would make sense together, and there is no reason to suppose that most of it could not have been put together soon afterwards. It might antedate the succession of the Steward to the throne, but as the text now stands there are some touches in it which can be no earlier than 1371. The latest possible date for Fordun's work appears to be 1387. The date of the description of the Isles accordingly lies within the range 1371 × 1387.

The provenance of the information in the chapter must now be considered. Man and Iona, as suggested by Mr Megaw, seem to be highly unlikely, if not impossible. Apart from the weaknesses of the ecclesiastical evidence, the many references to castles suggest a layman's appreciation of political and military power in the Clyde and the southern Isles. The weight of information in the chapter covering these areas is perhaps an important clue. Skene remarked that the chapter becomes hazier and less correct the further north it goes (Skene 1872:388). Some two-thirds of the text (counting by island names) deals with the Clyde and, beyond Kintyre, with the waters and islands to the south and west of Ardnamurchan—that is, the part of the west where the power of the Steward (later Robert II) and his son-in-law John of Islay was at its strongest. Rather than tug and stretch and add to the skimpy text of the bull to turn it into a source it seems preferable to suppose that Fordun obtained his information on the mainland from an informant in or close to royal circles after 1371, and so reflecting a predominantly lay view of the arena.

Finally, why was the chapter written? A quick and evident answer is that Fordun was imitating Higden, who began his chronicle with a long description of the place of Britain in the world, followed by a portrait of the land, its islands, and its peoples. The earliest chapters in Fordun have passages drawn from Higden and other authors to do the same for Scotland. Fordun describes the land and its two peoples in chapters 8 and 9 of Book II, and it comes as no surprise (especially since there is a reference in chapter 9 to 'insulas ulteriores') that he follows with a description of the western isles in chapter 10 and a list of the isles in the Orkneys in chapter 11. But the significance of chapter 10 may go further.

Fordun says some truthful and therefore unflattering things about the Steward's activities in the reign of David II (Skene 1871:358; 367–8; 382). But he tries

elsewhere to be more agreeable, and for this he produces what are in all likelihood some of his own inventions. Chapter 28 of Book I tells of a certain Euthacius Rothay, the first leader of those who inhabited the island of Albion, who gave his name to the island of 'Rothisay'. The same island also became known as Bute after St Brendan had built a shrine (or booth) there. The most likely explanation and justification for this fairy tale is that it was directed at the lord of Bute. It implies that the Stewarts could take pride and comfort in some very early origins. The same early leader, but this time called Eugenius, turns up in chapter 57 of the Gesta, along with Scots who had long inhabited the western isles unmolested. But then Fordun adds a warning—a family feud between the sons of Malcolm Canmore and their uncle Donald allowed the king of Norway to rule the isles (Skene 1871 : 24-5; 302). This is more fiction, and also with a purpose. The Crown's grip on the isles may have been weakened by David II's resignation of castles in 1343, but it was still strong enough to enable him to enforce a submission on John of Islay in 1369 (Nicholson 1974 : 179). After 1371 the Crown's position in the isles depended on the maintenance of good relations between John of Islay and the new king. If Robert II and his son-in-law were to fall out, the Crown's position would be jeopardised. Fordun, perhaps from a realistic view of the Steward's record, may have foreseen the potential dangers. Chapter 10 describes the prize, its wealth, and the means to hold it. The chapter is certainly a geographical description, but it also looks like a political brief written from the standpoint of a mainland Scot.

In the event, there was no trouble while John of Islay lived. But after his death in 1387 his sons seem to have changed allegiance. In 1389 grievances suffered by Margaret Stewart, his widow, at the hands of her sons and their adherents were laid before the Scots parliament, and her brother, the future duke of Albany, was instructed to see that right and justice was done to her (APS i. 556-7). In July 1388 bishop Duncan of Man had been authorised by the English government to negotiate with John's sons, and from then until after 1400 there is evidence of English friendship and support for them (Macdonald and Macdonald 1896 : i. 141). The Great Schism introduced further complications. Benedict XIII, the Avignon pope to whom the Scots adhered, had deprived Duncan of the see of the Isles in 1387 (Watt 1969 : 202). But the bishop was still supported by England and in 1388, with his commission from Richard II, he was in a position to make what gains he could in a confused situation in the Isles. An alleged papal bull confirming rights in or over Scottish islands could have been of considerable assistance to him in this. It is in the very last phase of his episcopate (1387 × 1392), or in the time of his successors, that a confirmation of the rights of the bishops of Man in parts of Scotland would have been most compelling and useful, and to which the fabrication of the bull, if it must be given a fourteenth century date, should probably be assigned.

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Editors' Note

Mr Scott's convincing demonstration that the Manx document does not represent one of Fordun's sources, and his wider view of the historical background, are gratefully accepted by Mr Megaw. The broad pattern followed in listing the islands, and the Eubonia reference in both, may however suggest the possibility of a remoter link, presumably in the administrative arrangements of the kingdom of the Isles.

The conclusions advanced in the paper 'Norseman and native in the kingdom of the Isles: a re-assessment of the Manx evidence', in *Scottish Studies* 20 (1976), are in no way affected, the comparison there with Fordun's list being confined to an appendix.

Dr Margaret Gelling has replied to criticism of her views in that paper in *The Vikings: the proceedings of the symposium of the Faculty of Arts of Uppsala University, June 6–9, 1977*, ed. T. Andersson and K. I. Sandred, Uppsala 1978. Considerable support for Mr Megaw's view has appeared in papers by Dr R. L. Thomson and Dr Gillian Fellows Jensen in British Archaeological Reports, British Series 54 (ii), *Man and Environment in the Isle of Man*, ed. Peter Davey, Oxford 1978, where also Dr Gelling's Uppsala paper and Mr Megaw's are both reprinted.

The Legend of the Lughnasa Musician
in Lowland Britain

DAVID BUCHAN

The subject of this paper is a legend as it has been recorded in Lowland Scotland, England and Wales, and the aim is to examine its constituent elements, transmission, and distribution in the light of the versions assembled in the Catalogue which follows on page 22. Briefly, the story of the legend is this: a musician, normally a piper, enters a cave or tunnel playing his instrument, is heard for some distance then is never seen or heard again, except perhaps for some ghostly music on special nights. That makes the first episode; the less common second, generally recorded as a separate story but really, as we shall see, integrally linked to the first, has an underground or underwater treasure guarded by a being who claims a treasure-seeker as victim. Baughman (1966) does not list the second episode in these terms (the nearest motif being N571, Devil/Demon as guardian of treasure) but he classifies the first under motif E402.1.3, and gives two references under E402.1.3(ca) ('Ghost of piper who died exploring underground cavern still plays pipes')—one British (Denham 1895) and one American (Randolph 1957)—and one English reference (Gutch 1901) under E402.1.3(da) ('Ghost of drummer who died exploring underground cavern still beats drum'). Since no motif rubric contains the fullness of the story, and since twenty to thirty versions occur in Lowland Britain alone, a case can be made out for granting it an individual ML number—say, ML8020.

The legend's appearances in Ireland and Highland Scotland have been recorded and discussed by Máire MacNeill (1962) and Daniel Melia (1967) respectively. From the recordings of the Irish Folklore Commission and other sources Máire MacNeill has made an exhaustive study of the festival of Lughnasa, the Celtic festival of the beginning of harvest, and there declares that

> a motif . . . has turned up at several sites [of the festival of Lughnasa], the disappearance of a piper, harper or fiddler into the underground realm. The anecdotes are brief, telling only of the non-return of the musician and of his music which is sometimes heard from within. It may be conjectured that the musician's role in the raid on the underground treasury was important in the old myth, and that the anecdotes which survive are but feeble echoes (MacNeill 1962:668).

The fullest of the Irish versions was recorded in 1836 about one of the most important Lughnasa sites, Teltown. A number of young men and women ventured into an

underground passage from a fort to the church of Donaghpatrick to find a treasure in
the crypt; they entered this 'abode of gold and the fairies' with a piper and some
whisky and were heard till the church was reached but nobody returned; all were
choked by the fairies or smothered in foul air (*op. cit.* 668–9). Here the piper and the
treasure clearly belong to the same narrative. This is also the case with the Highland
Scottish stories and songs which have been investigated by Daniel Melia who remarks
that in both Irish and Highland Scottish stories 'the musician is the chief actor in the
story and his fate is terrible and very mysterious', and that the legends 'survive only as
stories associated with something once regarded as . . . important—the invasion of
the underground treasury. The stories do not exist independently of the underground
treasury' (1967:369, 370). *Uamh an Oir*—the Cave of Gold—is the name for the
treasury in most of the Highland Scottish legends. In these stories the two elements,
of musician and of treasure, are obviously intertwined.

Versions of the legend are not confined to Ireland and Highland Scotland, how-
ever: they occur also in Lowland Scotland, England, and, not unexpectedly, Wales.
These versions, the concern of this paper, are given in the Catalogue, where the A
category consists of versions of the legend proper, and the B category consists of
legends which are possibly vestiges of the legend proper. Of the legend proper there
are 18 versions in Lowland Scotland, 4 in England, 3 in Wales: of the B category 6 in
Lowland Scotland, 2 in England. Besides these, 2 versions, in a number of accounts,
appear in the United States. Geographically the Scottish legend spreads quite
extensively and does not adhere only to the Highland Line: 14 of the 18 versions
belong to east coast counties from Caithness (1) in the north, south to Aberdeenshire
(3), Kincardine (1), Angus (1), Fife (4), City of Edinburgh (3), and Berwickshire (1);
the others occur in the central county of Perthshire (3) and the western Renfrewshire
(1). The 4 English legends also describe a curve down the east side of the country,
from Northumberland to Yorkshire to Lincolnshire to Cambridgeshire, while the 3
Welsh versions occur on the Welsh–English borders in a triangle of country that takes
in Montgomery, Denbigh and Shropshire. The B versions would add to the
distribution picture the northeast of Scotland (Banffshire), the southwest of Scotland
(Kirkcudbright), and the southwest of England (Cornwall).

Elements of the Legend

The legends in lowland Britain lend themselves to comparative analysis most easily
under the four topics of locale, main character, climax and treasure. Under locale, the
most striking feature is the association of the legend with water, especially in
Scotland. Many of the coastal versions set the story in a sea-cave while the inland
versions often involve a loch or a river. Only 4 of the 18 Scottish versions have no
noted connection with water at all (Edn 1, Edn 2, Per 1, Per 2), and 3 of these are thin
accounts. In addition, 4 of the Scottish accounts (Abd 3i and iii, Ang B1, Ban B1)

have their treasure sunk in a river pool, three settings possess a special well or spring (Kir B1, Per 3, Ken 1), and the Missouri version has a decidedly watery ending for the fiddler and his music: 'On the third morning it sounded kind of muffled and ripply, like the fiddle was under water. Finally there came a kind of guggling noise, like a jug filling up in the spring'. Many of the Highland Scottish stories are situated too at water, on coast or by loch, and one legend attached to the MacCrimmons has the piping end at a well (Melia 1967:367), while for the Welsh–English borders Charlotte Burne stresses the association both of water and treasure and of treasure stories and underground passage stories, though without mentioning a musician (Burne and Jackson, 1883:83–9).

The caves in Scotland rejoice in a variety of names only one of which alludes to the piper: Seal's Cove, under the Wine Tower (Abd 2), Windielaw Cove (Ber 1), Pudding Gyoe (Cai 1), Kilrenny Caves (Fif 3), St Cuthbert's Cave (Per 3), the Piper's Co' o' Cowend (Kir B1); and in one case the tunnel is called the Piper's Walk (Edn 2ii).[1] In England the musician figures, relatively, more prominently, in, for example, the Scilly Isles where the passage runs from a Piper's Hole on one island to a Piper's Hole on another (Cor B1), in Castle Bytham's 'Swallow Hole, an underground passage . . . called Piper Hole' (Lin 1), and in the Grantchester field-name of Fiddler's Close (Cam 1), while the treasure motif turns up in the Richmond Gold Hole (Yor 1), which is the nearest name to the Highland Cave of Gold. In Northumberland the tunnel's entrance and exit are Eelin's Hole and Cateran's Hole, which would denote an association with another Border activity which began after Lammas; and in Wales Ogo Hole (Wal 3)—which has a certain resemblance to the Fugoe Hole at Land's End remarked on by Hunt (Cor Blii)—was reckoned the entrance to fairyland. Certain sites possess an interesting topographical characteristic in that the caves are set in a sheer cliff or rock face or bluff (Per 3, Nor 1, Wal 1, Ken 1; cf. MacNeill 1962:175). The underground passages seem for the most part to stretch in distance between half a mile and four miles. In some places the tunnels begin or end at localities associated with antiquities: caves with cuttings and chiselled crosses (Fif 3), a prehistoric site (Ang 1), and Roman camp and fort (Per B1), (cf. MacNeill 1962:175, 668–9).

The main character in all 18 Scottish versions is a piper, while in England the musician assumes the forms of piper (Lin 1—where he is also a Scotchman; Nor 1), a drummer (Yor 1), a fiddler (Cam 1), and a corporation-employed night-time violinist (Yor B1). In Wales and the USA the musician is a fiddler, named in Wal 1 and Wal 2 as Ned Pugh alias Iolo ap Huw and in Ken 1 as the 'famous' Joe Lane. The Abd 3iii piper descends into the pool in search of the treasure but most commonly the musicians enter the cave or tunnel to explore it. More original than most in the reason for entry is the Welsh version where Ned Pugh wagers he'll dance all the way down the hill keeping a tune, but fiddles and dances himself into the magic circle of the cave of baleful influence and disappears, viewed by a shepherd (Wal 2). In an

B

American version the fiddler retreats into the cave during the community dance when disappointed in love (Mis 1). Certain motifs connected with the entering that occur in the Gaelic stories sometimes appear in more shadowy fashion. The accompanying parties of many Gaelic versions have only a vestigial existence in the 'Highlanders who were anciently smothered in the cave' (Kir B1), and perhaps the brothers of Abd 3iii. The dog that figures frequently in Gaelic stories accompanying the piper and returning without any hair turns up only in the Scilly Isles (Cor B1), although two blind pipers are mentioned as having dogs (Fif 1, Kin 1), one of which dies with the piper. Another feature of the Gaelic material, the song of the piper, has only two records, one in England, where the tune ends, 'I doubt, I doubt I'll ne'er win out' (Nor 1), and one in Scotland where it ends similarly 'I doot, I doot, I'll ne'er come/get oot' (Edn 2i and ii), but in Wales there are the 'Ffarwel Ned Puw' tunes associated with the fiddler.

At the climax of the legend the music, after being heard for a spell, grows fainter into silence or suddenly ceases or ends quite specifically at water, a motif which has the Missouri variation of the third day submersion. Many versions just present the silence and subsequent disappearance as a mysterious fact, while others ascribe them to natural or unnatural causes. Although the Devil operates as the active agent of the musician's disappearance in only Abd 3iii and Yor B1, he turns up somewhere in various capacities in five other accounts (Abd 3i, Abd 3ii, Per 3, Abd B1, Kir B1). Most, in fact, of the Devil's appearances happen in localities featuring the treasure, the exceptions being Yor B1 and the unusual Kir B1 where 'some think the *piper the devil*, others fancy the musician to be some kind *carline*', which suggests a rich conflation of ideas. The final motif of this section is the one to which, strictly, E402.1.3(ca) refers: the music is heard after the disappearance—which can be for a short or a long time afterwards, or on occasions unspecified, or under certain climatic conditions such as storm or a hot night without wind. The place where the music is played may be quite particularly located: under a farmhouse hearthstone, or a laird's kitchen, or in the cellars of a village inn. Again it is a Welsh version which provides an original variation from the norm, whereby the shepherd who had seen Ned Pugh disappear attends, years afterwards, a church many miles away and hears with the congregation mysterious music, recognised by him as the tune played by Ned Pugh at the cave mouth (Wal 2).

The treasure episode prominent in the Highland Scottish stories and the Irish legend given earlier occurs only once in an integrated fashion in the lowland British legends, where instead the musician and treasure motifs are normally bound in tenuous and circumstantial relationship. The three accounts of the Gicht legend collectively present the strongest indication of their interconnection, with Abd 3iii actively intermixing the two motifs. In Abd 3i the piper enters a passage that 'runs from the Castle—nobody knows where, but supposed to lead to the Castle of Fedderate, according to tradition in that quarter', while the treasure episode happens

at the Hagberry Pot, a pool in the River Ythan a short distance below the Castle, where the Devil guards a hoard.[2] Abd 3ii, however, strengthens the link by stating that the passage ran from the Castle to the Ythan and that it was made by the Devil. Otherwise the closest Scottish version to a definite linking is the Weem legend (Per 3), where the passage in which the piper disappears is described specifically as the abode of the Devil who there guards a huge treasure. In England Yor 1, like Abd 3i, has the association of contiguity in that the musician and treasure episodes are attached to separate features of the same place. At Richmond Castle there are said to be two passages, one from a vault under the Keep to Easby Abbey in which the drummer disappeared, and the other to St Martin's Priory from the Golden Tower or Gold Hole, so called because of its association with treasure. Of the other legends proper, Fif 1 may have a faint trace of the treasure in its man 'seated on a golden chair', and one of the vestigial versions (Abd B1) contains, in a highly confused way, some central elements of the legend: the underground tunnel from the Castle of Deer to the burn, a hoard of gold and silver hidden when the Castle was attacked, and an attempt to raise the Devil to inform of the hoard's whereabouts which ends badly with the death soon after of the attempt's instigator. There exist of course many traditions of treasure some of which may or may not be related to this legend but all have been excluded from consideration unless, like three listed in the B category, they follow the quite particular pattern of Abd 3i by which the custodian (implicit or explicit in the telling) claims his treasure-seeking victim (Ang B1, Ban B1, Per B1). Altogether, there is sufficient evidence here, when taken in conjunction with the pattern of the Irish and Highland Scottish stories, to warrant the belief that the musician and treasure episodes once cohered in an integrated legend.

Transmission of the Legend

If that is taken as a premise and used as a starting point, then an examination of the extant versions could show us something of the processes at work shaping the legend in recent centuries. When the earlier versions bifurcated, which presumably happened after all memory of the story's former context had died out, the two episodes remained weakly associated or, in many cases, one episode survived at the expense of the other, leaving the musician episode on its own or vice versa. The lynch-pin holding together the two episodes is the Devil or demon who kills the musician because he guards the treasure, and once this figure no longer fulfils his dual purpose explanations have to be built into the story: elements of rationalisation bind the surviving parts into narrative sense. For example, the locale of many inland passages contains as entrance or exit, or both, castle dungeons or ecclesiastical establishment cellars or town vaults: if the notion of demon as guardian of the underground treasury died out, it would be understandable that the musician's tunnel be localised, at least for one end, where underground vaults were known to exist. This is not to suggest in

these cases importation of the story from outside but merely that, within an area where the story was extant, the location of the tale could alter somewhat over the years by rationalisation. Similarly with the main character: that the Lin 1 musician is emphatically described as a Scotchman may indicate a later explanation for the singular appearance of a piper in Lincolnshire; that two pipers are described as blind may rationalise the existence in the story of the dog which, though frequent in the Highland legends, does not occur in the other full Lowland versions. Again, rationalisations come into play to explain, in the absence of treasure and demon custodian, why the musician entered the passage, either active—to explore it—or passive—he was lost, trapped, drunk—and why he was killed—foul air, the roof fell. Where the treasure episode does exist, the underground hoard is rationalised into a real treasure whose origin is localised in place and historical time: sunk in the Hagberry Pot in the Covenanting Wars (Abd 3i) or a pool about 'Prince Charlie's time' (Abd 3iii), placed in a draw-well during an attack on the Castle of Deer at the time of the Cummins (Abd B1), cast in the Linn when the castle was destroyed (Ang B1). These localisations explain not only the nature of the treasure but also why it lies under water, a probably important fact, which is accounted for in Ban B1 by the collapse into the river pool of the projecting part of the castle that held the plate. And in Per B1 the treasure becomes, in response to local conditions, Roman antiquities in a military camp. The process, it would seem, took the general form of bifurcation, gradual loss of meaning, and consequent rationalisation to explain details.

'In Ireland', says Melia, 'the stories survived because of their connection with the continuing observance of Lughnasa; in Scotland [i.e. Scottish Gaeldom] they survived because they became attached to other legends of famous families of pipers' (p. 371). In lowland Britain, on the other hand, the stories seem to have survived as local legends attached to specific topographical or settlement features. This, however, was not the sole reason for their survival, since, in certain cases (Abd 2, Ang 1, Kin 1), the sea caves were actually employed by smugglers who, it is surmised, used the legends to keep unwanted visitors away. That one of the entrances in Nor 1 is called Cateran's Hole suggests a comparable use for a place just over the Border in prime reiving country, and possibly a comparable function for the legend. The legend of the disappearing musician and the raid on the underground treasury, then, began as a story associated in some way with the festival of Lughnasa and evolved into two place-legends, even declining into a verbal scarecrow for smugglers in the process: it has served more than one function.

Distribution of the Legend

The legend shows quite a widely scattered distribution in lowland Britain. 'Lowland Britain' is very broadly defined for our purposes as those parts of the British Isles and Ireland not dealt with by MacNeill and Melia, who concentrate, where the legend is

concerned, on Ireland and the Highlands and Islands of Scotland. Consequently and complementarily, this discussion concerns itself, in general, with areas which have not recently been Gaelic-speaking and with versions in Scots and English. These two guidelines, geographic and linguistic, can only be applied broadly and their joint operation on the hazy borderline areas can lead to the apparent anomaly whereby a version in Welsh is included for geographic completeness while two versions in English from the isle of Arran are excluded because one contains embedded Gaelic linking them to the Highland legends. It is, of course, impossible to draw a hard and fast line in the matter since probably all the versions will have been transmitted in a Celtic tongue at one time, ancient or recent.

Collected together here are 25 versions (where version is defined by place and a place may have more than one account)—18 from Lowland Scotland, 4 from England, and 3 from Wales—but I suspect that this list could be added to, on the grounds of the frequency of comment declaring, often deprecatingly, that 'it is a common tale', and such a statement as this about the Northeast of Scotland:

> It is told of many of the caves along the sea-coast that bagpipers had entered them and walked along them playing, sometimes for a short distance and sometimes for miles, according to the length of each cave, till they came below this and the next farm-kitchen, and this and the next rising ground, but that by some spell on them they could never return, and that at times they might still be heard discoursing music at the spots at which their progress inland underground was stopped.
> The same belief was entertained of many of the caves inland.   (Gregor 1881:116)

It comes as little surprise that Scotland, Wales and Cornwall should harbour versions of the legend, since Celtic languages occupied dominant positions there in medieval centuries, but what about England? There, surely, apart from Cornwall, many centuries have elapsed since a Celtic tongue was spoken. This point raises the question of whether the legends in England are indigenous or imported. Could it be that the English distribution, the curve down the eastern counties, represents a crop broadcast by Scots travelling the high road to London, and that the Lincolnshire 'Scotchman' piper reflects such an importation? I think it unlikely, mainly because of the evidence of the locales' placenames, which are close to the story's events: the eighteenth century marking of the Fiddler's Close in Cambridgeshire, the Swallow Hole or Piper Hole in Lincolnshire, the Gold Hole in Yorkshire. It is unlikely that an incoming story would give a name to an extant feature, much more likely that the names are there because of the story and its rooting in former custom. The Lincolnshire Scotchman would, consequently, be a later rationalisation brought in once a piper became culturally alien as an alternative to the acculturative change to fiddler or drummer. The American versions of course add another dimension to the geographical distribution, and provide interesting examples of Old–New World transmission, particularly in the unusual transformation undergone in the Missouri version which incorporates the legend within the framework of a tragic love-story.

Máire MacNeill makes this surmise: 'By analogy with what we know of the hill-sites in Ireland, in the Isle of Man, and in Cornwall, it can be deduced that the beginning of harvest was celebrated on the French heights, and if that was so in Gaul it must also have been the custom throughout Celtic Britain' (p. 429). And Daniel Melia suggests that the legend of the Lughnasa musician supplies a means of tracing the survival of the festival of Lughnasa outside Ireland (p. 372). If this assumption is correct, and I see no reason to doubt it, then Máire MacNeill's surmise can be proved for a number of districts at least. The British versions of this legend connected with the Celtic festival of the beginnings of harvest show a distribution through three kinds of region: those regions that may be classed as Celtic; those that may be described as relatively recently uncelticised; and those whose Celtic period lies quite far back. The arresting point here is not that we have versions from Gaeldom or the Highland Line but that we have versions from regions that we do not nowadays readily associate with being Celtic at all; these versions come from some deep-down stratum of the region's cultural history. A time-span that in the case of the English versions must stretch back for the legend's Celtic roots to a time before the Saxon invasions of fifth century A.D. is really rather striking. Lammas, it should be remembered, is in origin a purely Celtic celebration which must have been taken over by the incoming Anglo-Saxons: there are no comparable festivals among the continental Teutons and the word 'Lammas' itself derives from the Anglo-Saxon 'hlafmæsse' (Loaf-mass), which is Christian in concept and thereby shows that the word was formed after the Saxons' arrival in Britain (MacNeill 1962:373–4). The legend's history and distribution bears out the belief that there exists a Celtic underlay to much more Scottish tradition than is normally recognised (Buchan 1968:262), and raises the possibility that this may also be true to an extent for English tradition as well.

Two final points remain. The legend of the disappearing musician and the underground treasury engenders a particular interest because it is connected in some way with the ancient Celtic festival of Lughnasa. The nature of the relationship to that festival and the associated mythology will be explored in a future paper. The Catalogue which follows contains a number of versions of the legend, although the story's existence is listed in index form only as three manifestations of one motif, a discrepancy which suggests the need for the compilation of British regional legend-indexes.

Catalogue

The A sections contain versions of the legend proper, defined minimally as the disappearance of a musician in an underground passage or cave. The B sections contain legends which are possibly vestigial versions of the legend proper. There are three kinds: first, there is the story that has a misty resemblance to the general pattern (Abd B1); second, there are those which centre on a musician and include related

details (Fif B1, Kir B1, Yor B1); third, there are those which centre on the treasure, and since there are innumerable treasure legends, only those following the pattern of Abd 3i are listed (Ang B1, Ban B1, Per B1).

Lowland Scotland

A

ABERDEENSHIRE

Abd 1i   Francis Douglas, *A General Description of the East Coast of Scotland* (Edinburgh 1782), p. 294.

There is another remarkable cave at the Nethermill of Achmedden, narrow at the entry, but gradually widening as we go forward. After we had got a good way in, my conductor complimented me on my courage. 'Your honour,' said he, 'are not timriss; I hopes we sall hae better luck than the piper.' Stout as I am, I stood stock-still, and would know the fate of the piper, ere I proceeded a step further. 'Troth, sir, as the story's tauld, the poor man had gotten a soup o' drink, and wist to ken fou his pipes wad soun in this uncouth place. Naebody doubts o' his gaen in, but as few ever saw him come out. He was heard playing *Lochaber-no-more* about a mile farer ben than we are yet.' Well friend, as you say, I fear nothing; but we may meet the fellow, and as I heartily hate the noise of bagpipe, let us turn back in time.

Abd 1ii   A. M. Adams, 'The Parish of Aberdour', *The Third Statistical Account of Scotland: The County of Aberdeen*, ed. Henry Hamilton (Glasgow 1960), pp. 345–6.

The Piper's Cave is at Nethermill, west of Pennan Bay. The old legend of the piper dies hard; it is said that he piped and marched into the cave and never returned, and that to this day, in a storm, the skirl of his pipes is heard.

Abd 2   John Mackie, *The Broch: Two Lectures* (Aberdeen 1877), p. 32.

Numerous traditions are handed down with regard to the Seals' Cove under the Wine Tower. It was long a great smuggling depot, and for this purpose was kept open for a considerable distance. One popular tradition was that no man had ever dared to venture beyond a certain distance within its gloomy precincts since a brave Highlander, with a pair of bagpipes, determined to trace its capacity. On a sunny afternoon, playing his pipes, he entered the Cove, the people following the sound of the music on *terra firma* till they had reached Tyronhill or Percyhorner, when the sounds died away. The poor piper never came out to detail the dimensions of the Cove; but our grandmothers many a time solemnly assured us that once and again for days was the sound of the bagpipes heard from the dark background of the Seals' Cove, but no one dared to enter in and save the poor piper.

Abd 3i   J. B. Pratt, *Buchan*, 4th edn. (Aberdeen 1901), p. 420.

A little distance below the Castle (Gight) is the Hagberry Pot—a pool in the Ythan, supposed, of course, to be of 'unfathomable depth', though in reality only 12 feet deep by actual measurements made by Mr James Beaton, farmer, Ardieknowes, New Deer, who, on 21 July 1900, solved the 'mystery' as to the depth of the pot by a series of soundings. When

the Covenanting army was preparing to take up its quarters in the Castle—(so runs the story)—it was deemed prudent by the inmates to sink 'the iron yett', with the family plate upon it to the bottom of this pool. The unwelcome visitors fairly off the premises, a diver was sent down to recover the hidden treasure; but, either truthfully or deceitfully, he declared, on coming up, that the plate was safe, but, alas! safe in the keeping of 'the enemy of man!' The diver was sent back on his errand, but, this not being agreeable to the party below, he was returned—drowned! There is, too, the by no means uncommon story that a subterranean passage runs from the Castle—nobody knows exactly where, but supposed to lead to the Castle of Fedderate, according to tradition in that quarter—and that a piper sent along the passage never returned; the sound of his pipes was heard as far as the burn of Stonehouse of Gight, but was there hushed for ever![3]

Abd 3ii   Geordie Stewart, Huntly, recorded by Hamish Henderson, School of Scottish Studies (SA/1961/40/A12).

There wis supposed to be a passage fae the Ythan up ti the castle an supposed to be made by the Deevil. The Deevil was supposed . . . Well, at that time there was supersteetious people, an they really thocht it wis true. And this lads 'at cam doon fae the north were MacAllisters, I think. Ay they were MacAllisters, so the leegend says. And they were both pipers. An the one brither gaed doon 'is passage, and he cam back and told them, says 'I'm afraid, I'm afraid ti gae doon there.' 'Afraid,' he says, 'a MacAllister afraid,' he says, 'if ye come back up here again', he says, 'I'll kill ye.' 'Well,' he says, 'I'll tell ye, I'll gae doon and I'll play the bagpipes,' he says, 'an for as lang as the bagpipes is goin ye'll ken that I'm all right,' he says, 'but if the bagpipes stop ye'll ken fine that there's something wrong.' So he gaed doon an he played for a lang lang time. He heard him playin goin ben aa the road an supposed ti come oot at Meg's Spot—they ca't Meg's Spot, 'at's the name o this spot 'at this passage was supposed ti come oot at, syne. But they've niver seen ony mark o where there wis a hole comin out o the ground or nithin. But, however, that's jist how it is, it goes, an the pipes stoppit, an of course he never cam oot. An the ither brither gaed doon to look for him but he coudna get far enough ben, so that he missed, so he commits suicide i the hinner en. He says, 'I pit my brother till his death.' He commits suicide. Well the leegend is, 't ye can hear the bagpipes—now an again. 'At could be possible, but I never heard it. I've been doon there at aa hours, aa times . . . an I never heard it.

Abd 3iii   Robert Stewart, New Deer, recorded by Hamish Henderson, in Katharine M. Briggs, *A Dictionary of British Folk-Tales* (London 1970–1), BI, pp. 123–4.

This is the story my father told me too. It wis aboot—there wis a pool in Gicht, and it was very deep, and, long time ago, maybe jist after Prince Charlie's time, 1745, a treasure was supposed to be buried at the bottom of this pool, ye see. So, local clans at that time—there wis two rival clans, something like that, ye know, they dared one another to go doon in this pool. So one night they met, and there wis three brothers in one clan, and the father, like, and the first one always wantit to go doon and see what was in the pool.

So he jumped down in water, like, but underneath this water there wis been a stairway, maybe this castle, Castle of Gicht, and he dived down to see whit wis in the pool, like, and he could reach this treasure. But he dived doon—he was doon for maybe ten minutes or less; he came up and he was badly mauled, bleeding and in distress, and couldnae hardly speak, so the father got onto him, like, and tellt him to gaun doon again, so but he wadnae gaun doon, and he told him, he says, he wouldnae gaun doon, no for aathing in this world—gaun doon in this pool again.

So, the younger brother, he said, well, he would try it, so he gaed doon—the same thing happent tae him, so he told them it was the Devil that was doon there. They asked him, and he says it was the Devil, Satan.

So, the ither brother was left—he was a piper, and he says, 'Well, I'm goin' to go doon jist to see, jist to make ye scorns', like, if he cam up, there was naething in the pool, and they were feared to gaun doon, and aathing like that, but he says, 'I'll gae doon', and he says, 'if it is the Devil', he says, 'or something no-right', he says, 'I'll play a lament. And if everything's aa right', he says, 'I'll play a march-pipe march'.

So he went into the pool, and took his pipes wi' him. Of course, like, it's understood that when he went doon here, it wouldnae hae water aa the wey doon—there wir a passage-way—ye were in so far and there wir a passage-way led up this castle, it was an escape from the castle at one time, a gate, and when he jumped in he was doon for a good while, and they listened and they heard a lament—he never cam up again.

And there's been a lot o' people has heard those pipes, at certain times of the year, and it's not long ago since I met two young boys oot of Aberdeen—they knew nothing aboot this—and I met them—I was workin' at the harvest over there and I met them, and started newsin' to them, and they told me they were campit at the Hill of Gicht—they were lookin' for a campin' holiday at the side o't, from Aberdeen.

An' I says, 'How did ye enjoy it up there?' and they said, 'We're enjoyin' it fine',—but they couldnae get peace at night, and I says, 'Why?'

'Well', he says, 'it was all right for the first night, but the second night', he says, 'the pipes played aa night—a lament—played a lament the whole night', he says.

I told my father aboot it, and I naturally took it wi' a bit of salt, the story he used to tell, but it made ye think. An' he says, 'Look, I told ye, but ye wadnae believe me aboot this thing', an' he'd heard them himself, and a lot of different people's heard it. It's only at certain times of the year, like, that ye hear it, suppose, maybe when the deed happent, or that.

ANGUS

Ang 1   Colin Gibson, *Folk-lore of Tayside* (Dundee 1961), p. 14.

The tale of Tam Tyrie tells of a piper, accompanied by his wife and dog, taking shelter in a cave on the coast about three miles from Arbroath. He was never seen again, but the droning of his bagpipe music was heard for several days afterwards under the hearthstone of Dickmontlaw farmhouse, which lies well inland from the sea.

This may well have been a tale put about by smugglers for the purpose of frightening people away, for at one time there was a good deal of smuggling hereabouts, and no doubt the caves were used for hiding goods and as boat-houses.

BERWICKSHIRE

Ber 1   M. A. Denham, *The Denham Tracts*, ed. James Hardy (London 1891 and 1895), II, p. 220.

Such a legend [as Nor 1] we have attached to Windielaw Cove, near Redheugh, on the coast of Berwickshire; and also to some of the caverns near Montrose.

CAITHNESS

Cai 1   Samuel Smiles, *Robert Dick, Baker, of Thurso, Geologist and Botanist* (London 1878), p. 116. Here Smiles is quoting Dick.

Pudding Gyoe is a hollow cave, worn into the solid rock by the ceaseless grinding of the sea. The entrance can only be seen when the tide is at low ebb. The water from above percolates through the strata, highly charged with lime, so that, in creeping through the rocks underneath, it has formed a stalactitic covering, not unlike the entrails of a cow, or cow's puddings, and hence the name of Pudding Gyoe.

There is an old tradition of a piper who ventured 'too far ben', and ultimately lost himself; and many people, good people, heard him long long after, playing his pipes in a low hollow sound, some four miles up the country.

EDINBURGH

Edn 1i   W. M. Mackenzie ed., *Book of Arran* (Glasgow 1914), II, p. 273.

This [two Arran versions of the legend] is a familiar piece of lore, of which perhaps the best-known example is connected with an alleged subterranean passage between Edinburgh Castle and Holyrood. But it has numerous other localities. Descending below the earth, the piper wanders into Fairyland, the Hades or underworld, and cannot return.

Edn 1ii   Kenneth W. Laird, *Ghosts, Witches and Worthies of the Royal Mile* (Newtongrange 1973), [p. 2]. I owe this reference to Susan Smith and Nick Keir.

If during your journey down the Royal Mile, you hear the strains of pipe music coming from below the ground don't be too surprised.

In the early years of the last century a tunnel is supposed to have been discovered running from a castle dungeon to the Palace. A young piper agreed to explore it. He was told to keep playing so that the crowd above could follow. But half way down the music stopped and the man was never seen again.

Edn 2i   Clement B. Gunn *et al.*, *George Heriot's Hospital* (Edinburgh n.d.—*c.* 1900?), p. 6. I owe this reference to Donald Mackenzie and Dr Alan Bruford.

Two mysteries enshrouded the Chapel—one a strange compound of the comic and the tragic; the other darkly and reverently whispered. A subterranean passage was fabled to pass underneath the precentor's box to the Castle. A rash piper is recorded to have volunteered to traverse this, but he seems to have repented when too late. Eerie and fitful wails from the pipes could be occasionally caught by the excited listeners above ground as they traced the piper's course. The last recognisable tune was 'I doot, I doot, I'll ne'er come oot', and the exhausted piper stopped to recover breath. The silence that followed never was broken; the piper never emerged; and the rash intrusion upon the peculiar domain of the rats was avenged by its owners. That piper has now become a fetish, the strains of whose requiem blown by himself could be heard by the credulous above the autumnal evening breezes.

Edn 2ii   Jamieson Baillie, *Walter Crichton, or Reminiscences of George Heriot's Hospital* (Edinburgh n.d.—*c.* 1900?) pp. 15–16.

Ross now led Walter over to what he called 'Mammie's Connie'.

'Do you see that grating?' he enquired. Walter indicated that he did. 'Well, there's a hole down there wi' a secret passage leading between here an' the Castle. It's what we ca' the Piper's Walk. Long long ago there was a man said he wid walk along it an' see where he could get oot, an' jist to keep himsel' cheery, as weel as to fricht away the rats, he took his

bagpipes wi' him. They heard him till they couldna hear him ony longer, and he was never comin' oot at ony ither end, so efter a day or twa the garriers (nane wad gang but the garriers)* went wi' plenty o' caunles and cudgels and efter gawn a long way they came on the piper, at least a' that was left o' him, an' that was jist his chanter an' some clean banes mixed wi' twa or three bits o' rags. The rats had eaten baith him an' the blether o' his pipes.'

'Did they bring him out?' asked Walter.

'No likely. They turned and bolted as hard as they could and left a' thing lying as they had found it. They were a' like corpses themselves when they got back to the Wark. If you put your lug doon to the grating at nicht when a' thing's quiet ye'll hear his ghost playing the pipes yet. Sometimes he sings. Ye hear it quiet, like a soft wind—"I doot, I doot, I'll ne'er get oot".'

*garrier = boy in last six months at school.

Edn 3   J. Calder Ross and P. C. Robertson, 'Bits About Edinburgh. II. In Colinton Church-yard', *Scottish Notes and Queries* IV (1890), pp. 46–7.

Inside the church is the tombstone of Agnes Heriot, who is usually designated the 'heiress of Lumphoy', and whom we have failed to identify further. There is a local tradition that she was the daughter of George Heriot, the famous goldsmith to James VI. Through some temporary embarrassments of the owner the lands of Lumphoy had passed into the hands of Heriot, who bestowed them upon his daughter. To support this story, there is said to be an underground passage between Lennox Tower (variously called Lumphoy), in the parish of Currie, and the mansion of the Foulises at Colinton, over two miles distant. A piper tried to explore it, and was heard playing till he came below Currie Bridge, when the sounds ceased, nor has he been recovered since.

There can hardly be any truth in this alleged connection between Agnes Heriot and George Heriot . . . Whoever Agnes Heriot was, she married James Foulis, whose grand-father had acquired, by purchase, the lands of Colinton in 1519.

FIFE

Fif 1   J. E. Simpkins, *County Folklore 7: Fife, Clackmannan and Kinross* (London, 1914), p. 10; fr. David Beveridge, *Culross and Tulliallan* . . . (Edinburgh 1885), II, pp. 260.

Of *Culross Monastery* . . . the usual tale is recorded of mysterious subterranean passages and communications. In one of these a man is said to be seated on a golden chair, and has doubtless prizes of regal magnificence to present to the courageous adventurer who may succeed in penetrating to his secret retreat. The story is told of a BLIND PIPER and his dog who entered the vaults at the head of the Newgate, and was heard playing his pipes on his subterranean march as far as the West Kirk, three quarters of a mile distant. But gnomes or subterranean demons got hold of him, and he never again emerged to the upper air. His dog managed to effect his escape, but the faithful animal of course could tell no tales.

Fif 2   Simpkins, *op. cit.* p. 10; fr. *The People's Journal* 5/10/1907.

Kemback.—There is a tradition that a subterranean passage ran from the house (of Kemback) to Dairsie Castle, underneath the river . . . When the present laird was a boy there was a very old woman who said that her grandmother told her that when some alterations were being made, the mouth of this passage was discovered. A WANDERING PIPER

was induced to go into the hole and play his pipes, so that the direction in which the passage went might be discovered. The piping below ground led to the river's edge and ceased. The piper did not return, and after allowing what they considered a reasonable time, the people built up the mouth of the hole.

Fif 3   Simpkins, *op. cit.* pp. 10–11; fr. *New Statistical Account of Scotland* (Edinburgh 1843), IX, pp. 971.

Kilrenny.—There are some remarkable caves or coves, as they are sometimes called, situated in the eastern part of the parish and close by the shore. . . . They stand at present several feet above high-water mark, and rise to the height of 30 or 40 feet. There are likewise to be seen in the interior of the caves, artificial cuttings and chiselled crosses, which indicate that at some period they have been used as the abode of men. . . . There is no tradition regarding them, except that there is a communication below ground between them and the house of Barnsmuir, situated nearly half a mile from the shore, where it is said that A PIPER was heard playing beneath the hearth stone of the kitchen; but these days of delusion have passed away.

Fif 4   A. C. McKerracher, 'The Treasures of Wemyss', *The Scots Magazine* N.S. vol. 108 no. 2 (Nov. 1977), pp. 156–7.

Eastwards from the village of East Wemyss is the Court Cave, named after the medieval Baillie Courts at which landowners dispensed their own justice and summoned people to attend inside the cave by ringing a bell suspended from the roof. It also received its name from the visits of James IV [*sic*] who often came here incognito in his role of The Gudeman of Ballengeich. . . .

In recent years a visitor to the Court Cave took a flashlight photograph of the interior, and when the film was printed it revealed the seated figure of a woman although the cave had seemed completely empty at the time.

The cave is also known as the Barque Cave because fishermen used to tar their boats inside, and also as the Piper's Cave after a legend that a piper once entered it playing his pipes and never returned from the gloomy interior.

KINCARDINE

Kin 1   Duncan Fraser, *Portrait of a Parish* (Montrose 1970), p. 66.

People will still tell you confidentially that a narrow cleft beside it [a quarry at East Mathers] where a little stream comes running out, is the seaward end of a subterranean passage that led to Lauriston Castle in the olden days. It was not the only secret passage between the castle and the coast. Tradition tells of another one that brought you out on the shore a little to the east of Woodston fishing station, when the tide was low. At spring tides the sea covered the entrance and so, probably, it was then that a blind piper was trapped who had gone in one day with his dog. Day and night the kitchen staff in the castle could hear the sound of the pibroch and the plaintive howl of the dog, until at last there was silence. For a long time people talked about it and many years later it was remembered when some whitened bones were found. But even without the bones one might have known. Pipers were constantly marching into caverns and getting lost to the sound of their own music. It was happening all over Scotland. It was one of the hazards of piping in those olden days.

PERTHSHIRE

Per 1 (Balnaguard)

Per 2 (Schiehallion)

Per 3 (Weem) Norman D. Mackay, *Aberfeldy Past and Present* (Aberfeldy 1954), pp. 181–2.

In times past it [cave at Weem] was asserted to have subterranean communication with Loch Glassie, 1¾ miles distant and about 700 feet higher, where it was said to open at the bottom of a rugged crag on the north shore and to have within it many curious windings. This long tunnel had nine iron gates which opened and closed of their own accord, and at parts widened out into large roomy chambers with gem-studded roofs. One of these chambers contained treasure of untold value, guarded by the Devil in person.

A common legend attached to caves in the Highlands is that of the piper who entered the underground and marched away into the bowels of the earth playing his pipes; the sound of the music grew gradually fainter as he penetrated farther and farther and finally died out altogether. The piper never returned. The story is told of three caves in this district—one near Balnaguard, another on the slopes of Schiehallion, and that of the Rock of Weem.

RENFREWSHIRE

Ren 1   Recorded 5/12/68 from Dr R. B. McKean, a colleague born and brought up in the area.

I heard from an uncle the story of a piper who went into a tunnel from Paisley Abbey—playing his pipes—to Crookston Castle, and disappeared. The distance between them is two to three miles. . . . The River Cart lies in between.

B

ABERDEENSHIRE

Abd B1   'Legendary Lore', *Aberdeen Censor* I (1825), pp. 154, 156.

'Weel, ye see, they surrounded the castle, an' lang did they besiege it; but there was a vast o' meat in the castle, an' the Buchan fouk fought like the vera deevil. They took their horse through a miscellaneous passage, half a mile long, aneath the hill o' Saplinbrae, an' watered them in the burn o' Pulmer. But a' wadna do; they took the castle at last, and a terrible slaughter they made amo' them; but they were sair disappointed in ae partikler, for Cummin's fouk sank a' their goud an' siller in a draw-wall, an' syne filled it up wi' stanes. They gat naething in the way of spulzie, to speak o'; sae out o' spite they dang doon the castle, an' it's never been bigget to this day.'

. . . .

'But the well at the Abbey—did no one feel a desire to enrich himself with the gold and silver buried there?'

'Hoot ay;—many a ane tried to find out whare it was, and, for that matter, I've maybe done as foolish a thing mysel'; but nane ever made it out. There was a scholar, like yoursel', that gaed ae night down to the Abbey, an' ye see he summonsed up the deil.'

'The devil he did!' said I.

'Weel, weel, the *divle*, gin ye like it better,' said he; 'an' he was gaun to question him where the treasure was, but he had eneugh to do to get him laid, without deaving him wi' questions, for a' the deevils in hell, and mony thousands mair, cam about him like bees bizzin' out o' a byke. He never coured the fright he gat, but cried out, 'Help! help! till his very enemy wad hae been wae to see him; and sae he cried till he died, which was no that lang after. Fouk soudna middle wi' sic ploys!'

ANGUS

Ang B1   Crombie MSS (Folklore Society); collected by Dr Walter Gregor, 1892; transcript in School of Scottish Studies Archives, by R. Kerr.

In the Isla, beside the ruin of Castle Oliphant, there is The Linn, a deep pool. When the Castle was destroyed, the family plate was cast into this pool. In after times a diver was got to search for it. He dived, but in a short time came up in great fear without any of the treasure. He said that a being had appeared to him, and told him that if he came back his life would be forfeited. His story was disbelieved, and he was forced to go down again. In the course of a short time his lungs and heart floated to the surface. The Guardian spirit had torn them out.

BANFFSHIRE

Ban B1   quoted from *A Survey of the Province of Moray, Historical, Geographical, and Political* (printed for Isaac Forsyth, Bookseller, Elgin, 1798) by J. F. S. Gordon, *The Book of the Chronicles of Keith* . . . (Glasgow 1880), pp. 28–9.

There is a pretty Waterfall in the river of Isla, a little below the Village of Keith; it is only about 14 feet in height, but it spreads out in the shape of a fan to a considerable breadth, before it reaches a large circular deep Pool.
 On its bank the Ruins of Lord Oliphant's Castle remain, of which there is a pretty, though merely imaginary, Drawing in *Cordiner's Scenery of Scotland*. Tradition relates, that a part of this Edifice projected over the Pool of the cascade, in which the Plate was deposited; the foundation failed, and the whole submerged to the bottom. His Lordship brought experienced Divers from England, the first of whom, having gone down, floated after a considerable time to the surface, his bowels torn out: none of the rest had resolution to make another essay, and the Plate was lost. Were this certain, a small sum could yet get the River dammed up between the rocks of the Fall, and the Pool wholly emptied.

FIFE

Fif B1   Simpkins *op. cit.*, pp. 9–10; fr. *Gardiner's Miscellany of Literature, Science, History and Antiquities* (Cupar 1842), p. 67, and Henry Farnie, *Handy Book of the Fife Coast from Queensferry to Fifeness* (Cupar, n.d.), p. 63.

CAVE IN THE BELL CRAIG, KIRKCALDY.—Tradition affirms that there issued from a cave in the Bell Crag 'an air from heaven or blast from hell' which enabled persons who imbibed it in proper measure to foresee future events. To this rock then the wizard (Sir Michael Scott) is believed to have resorted on particular occasions for inspiration. Within the memory of many, belated travellers, on passing the Crag, are reported to have experienced very peculiar sensations. All traces of the cave are now obliterated . . .
(UNDERGROUND MUSIC) About a century ago a drunken piper, returning from Lochgelly Fair, was arrested by the intoxicating vapour. Instead of availing himself of the propitious

moment to learn the probable duration of Christmas doles, penny weddings, and other customs in which it may be supposed a person of his calling would be especially interested, the infatuated mortal only testified his exhilaration by a tune upon the bagpipe. . . . A signal punishment, however, awaited him for the unhallowed use to which he had applied the divine *afflatus*. The instrument with which he had perpetrated the profanation was destined, alas! never more to pass from his lips. The night was stormy; but the louder the wind blew, the louder did the enchanted bagpipe sound along the strath. Such a piping was never heard either before or since. . . . Nor did the music cease till sunrise, when a peasant going to his work found the piper lying dead at the mouth of the cave, with the chanter between his lips. It rests on what the Ettrick Shepherd would have called excellent authority, that the SPECTRE PIPER is still heard, on very stormy nights, playing a coronach on the Bell Crag—

> 'In a wild unworldly tone,
> To mortal minstrelsy unknown.'

KIRKCUDBRIGHT

Kir B1   John MacTaggart, *The Scottish Gallovidian Encyclopaedia* (London 1824), p. 382.

PIPER'S CO' O' COWEND—A very celebrated Gallovidian cave in the parish of Colvend; it is situated on a lonely shore, and frequently is heard the sound of the *bagpipe* therein; whiles the wild pibroch is a merry, but oftener a melancholy air; some think the *piper the devil*, others fancy the musician to be some kind *carline*, who reveres the memory of departed Highlanders, who were anciently smothered in the cave; there is also a bottomless well in it, at least one which lead and cord hath not yet sounded.

PERTHSHIRE

Per B1   Robert Chambers, *Popular Rhymes of Scotland*, 4th edn. (Edinburgh 1870), pp. 253–4.

At the distance of half a mile from the camp at Ardoch stands the Grinnan Hill (that is, Sunny Hill) of Keir, another Roman fortification of inferior importance, supposed to communicate with the former by a subterranean passage. This is not a popular tradition only, but a probable fact, countenanced by the opinions of antiquaries, and by the following circumstances: Till the year 1720, there existed, about six paces to the eastward of the praecentura, the aperture of a passage which went in a sloping direction downwards and towards the Hill of Keir. This, according to the rhyme, was supposed to contain vast treasures; and there is a tradition that this supposition received something like confirmation about two centuries ago. In order to ascertain the fact, a man who had been condemned by the baron-court of a neighbouring lord was proffered his life on condition that he would descend into the hole, and try what he could do in the way of treasure-finding. Being let down by a rope to a great depth, and then in a short time drawn up again to the surface, he brought with him some Roman helmets, spears, fragments of bridles, and other articles. On being let down a second time, he was killed by foul air; and though it was believed that, if he had lived, great discoveries would have been made, no one after that thought it prudent to make the attempt. The mouth of the hole was covered up with a millstone by an old gentleman who lived at the house of Ardoch while the family were in Russia, about the year 1720, to prevent hares from running into it when pursued by his dogs; and as earth to a considerable depth was laid over the millstone, the spot cannot now be found.

[Chambers gives two versions of the rhyme:]

> Between the camp at Ardoch and the Greenan Hill o' Keir,
> Lie seven kings' ransoms for seven hunder year.

> From the Fort of Ardoch
>   To the Grinnan Hill of Keir,
> Are nine kings' rents
>   For nine hundred year.

England

A

CAMBRIDGESHIRE

Cam 1   Enid Porter, *Cambridgeshire Customs and Folklore* (London 1969), p. 183.

Under the old Manor House of Grantchester are vast stone-walled cellars from which lead two passages or tunnels. One of these extends a very long way, the ceiling getting lower and lower as it does so, probably because of the accumulation on the floor of centuries of rubble. Tradition has it that the passage, the end of which has never been discovered, reaches as far as King's College Chapel.

A musician once announced his intention of exploring the tunnel to see how far it did indeed go. Bravely playing on his fiddle he set off, his music sounding loud and clear. Then it began to grow faint, then fainter still until at last it could be heard no longer. The foolhardy fiddler was never seen again.

[On a seventeenth-century map of Grantchester, now in King's College, Cambridge, an eighteenth-century bursar entered local field names one of which is *Fiddler's Close.*]

LINCOLNSHIRE

Lin 1   Eliza Gutch and Mabel Peacock, *County Folklore 5: Lincolnshire* (Lincoln 1908), p. 334; fr. *The Grantham Journal*, 20/4/1901.

Castle Bytham. *Piper Hole.*—The other day I came across an old newspaper cutting which said 'Let too adventurous youth be warned by the story of the Swallow Hole, an underground passage supposed to connect Park House and Castle Hill at Castle Bytham. The Bythamites, though keenly inquisitive, had not the courage of their inquisitiveness, but a Scotchman not restrained by any fear became their catspaw. It was arranged that he should play his bagpipes as he proceeded in the tunnel so that those of the upper world could trace his whereabouts in the lower regions. On a sudden the harmony ceased. Neither Scotchman nor bagpipes were ever seen or heard of afterwards: yet in honour of both the passage was henceforward called Piper Hole.'

NORTHUMBERLAND

Nor 1   M. A. Denham, *The Denham Tracts*, ed. James Hardy (London 1891 and 1895), II, pp. 219–20.

It is told of 'Eelin's Hole', which lies far up among the rocks on the east side of the Henhole Ravine [at the foot of Cheviot Hill] that a piper having once entered it to explore it, his

music continued to be heard for half-way across the interval betwixt it and Cateran's Hole, on Bewick Moor. Like other pipers in a similar predicament, his tune terminated in—
'I doubt, I doubt I'll ne'er win out.'

YORKSHIRE

Yor 1   Eliza Gutch, *County Folklore 2: North Riding of Yorkshire, York and the Ainsty* (London 1901), p. 396; fr. C. E. Cookes, *A Guide to Richmond and the Neighbourhood* (Richmond, n.d.), pp. 11–12, 14.

RICHMOND CASTLE. From (the vault of Potter Thompson's adventure, under the Keep) there runs a subterranean passage to Easby Abbey along the river side. A drummer boy, fully equipped, was sent along to explore and by his drumming was traced for about a quarter of a mile. There the music ceased and it was conjectured that the roof had fallen upon him. A stone marks the spot where he was last heard of (it is just at the entrance to the Grammar School Cricket Field, at the foot of Clink Bank) and at midnight, under certain conditions, the roll of his drum may yet be heard by those intent on hearing.

. . . .

The station of the Chamberlain, is the Golden Tower or Gold Hole, being so named from a story of treasure having been found under it. Tradition delights in giving the character of a dungeon or place of concealment to this tower, and in making it the entrance to a passage under the bed of the River to St Martin's Priory, through which the ladies of the Castle might escape in time of peril.

B

CORNWALL

Cor B1i   Robert Heath, *An Account of the Isles of Scilly . . .* (London 1750), pp. 60–1.

Piper's Hole, the entrance of the subterraneous Passage aforesaid, has it's Situation under the high Banks of *Peninnis* (near the said Rocks) being about the South West Part of the Island next the Sea, which washes it's Orifice at High-Tide. This Passage is said to communicate under Ground with the Island of *Tresco*, as far as the North West Cliffs or Banks of it, next that Sea, where another Orifice is seen that goes by the same Name with the former.

Going in at the Orifice at *Peninnis* Banks in St Mary's, it is above Man's Height, and of as much Space in its Breadth; but grows lower and narrower farther in. A little beyond which Entrance appear rocky Basons, or Reservoirs, continually running over with fresh Water, descending, as it distills from the Sides of the rocky Passage: By the Fall of Water heard, farther in, it is probable there may be rocky Descents in the Passage: The Drippings from the Sides have worn the Passage, as far as it can be seen, into very various angular Surfaces. Strange Stories are related of this Passage, of Men going so far in that never returned; of Dogs going quite through and coming out at *Tresco*, with most of their Hair off, and such like Incredibles. But it's retired Situation, where Lovers retreat to indulge their mutual Passion, has made it almost as famous as the Cave wherein *Dido* and *AEneas* met of old. It's Water is exceeding Good.

Cor B1ii   Robert Hunt, *Popular Romances of the West of England* (London 1865; rep. 1968), p. 185.

C

These stories of Piper's Hole are still told, and many of the ignorant inhabitants regard it with superstitious dread. The Fugoe Hole, at the Land's End, has yet to be spoken of in the Witch stories. Several who have attempted to penetrate this hole have escaped only by great luck—'by the skin of their teeth', as the saying is.

YORKSHIRE

Yor B1   Gutch, p. 116; fr. William Camidge, *From Ouse Bridge to Naborn Lock* (York 1890), pp. 127–8.

[In Skeldergate, York] there is a passage variously called 'Hagworm's Nest', 'The Devil's Entry', and 'Beedham's Court'. Its first name may have been derived from some form of worm existing in the locality. Its second and third names come from incidents associated with it. The second name came from a circumstance said to have occurred about a century ago, which was believed in, and held firm hold of the public mind at one time. Previous to the days of the policeman, the Corporation, somewhat with a view to terrorize the housebreaker, and also with a view to protect the city, kept a band of musicians, who during the winter months perambulated the streets of the city calling the hour, and with musical instruments, playing as they went, and occasionally standing to display their skill and charm the sleepless horde. . . . These men were five in number, and had salaries of £4 a year with livery, coats and hats once in six years. At the time to which the story refers they had an uncommon good violinist, and one night in their perambulations he played charmingly. Coming to the passage which is now called Beedham's Court, he rose to the height of his skill, but when his performance was completed, he suddenly disappeared. His companions deserted their duty, and sought for him all night, and sought for him next day, but all their seeking was in vain. He was never seen more, and all the evidence of his going was a strong smell of brimstone, from which it was inferred that his Satanic majesty needed a good violinist. . . . For many years afterwards, and even yet, this passage is called the 'Devil's Entry' by old people.

Wales

A

Wal 1   A. Martin Freeman, 'Ffarwel Ned Puw', *Journal of the Welsh Folk-Song Society* III, part 3, no. 2 (1937), p. 142; fr. Cynddelw, *Y Brython*, iii (1860), p. 57.

Ned Pugh (alias Iolo ap Huw) is the fiddler who disappeared into a mysterious cave and was never seen again. His story, localised near Shrewsbury is thus curtly related by Cynddelw . . .: 'Ogof ryfedd y cyfrifid "Ogof Tal Clegyr", sef *Ness Cliff*, yn agos i'r Mwythig. I honno yr aeth rhyw Ned Puw dan ganu, ac nis gwelwyd ef mwyach; ond cofiwyd y dôn a ganai, a galwyd hi yn "Ffarwel Ned Puw".'

   (Translation, by courtesy of Dr Dillwyn Jenkins: Ogof Tal Clegyr,* namely Ness Cliff, close to Shrewsbury, was regarded as a remarkable cave. It was there that Ned Puw went, singing, and he was not seen again; but the song that he sang was remembered and it was called 'Farewell Ned Puw'.

   * Ogof = cave, Tal Clegyr = high cliff).

Wal 2   Freeman, pp. 142–4; fr. Bueno, 'The Legend of Iolo ap Hugh', *Cambrian Quarterly* I (1829), pp. 40–5.

[There is] a localisation of the story on the Shropshire border . . . The substance of it is as follows: 'In the parish of Llan- - -, on the northern border of Cambria, there runs a long bare precipitous rugged hill, in the shadow of which the little village of Llan - - - stands. In the middle of this rock there is a cave. . . . The story runs that it reached from Llan - - -, under the Morda, the Ceirog and a thousand other streams . . . all the way to Chirk Castle'. The ground round the hole exerts a baleful influence and is dreaded by man and beast alike. Iolo ap Huw wagered that he 'would dance all the way down the hill and keep up a tune on his fiddle'. This feat he performed, but he danced too far, for he 'fiddled and capered himself within the magic circle', being seen to disappear into the hole by an old shepherd who was passing by on his way home. This event happened (of course) at twilight on Hallow-eve. Years afterwards the same shepherd was at church 'in a parish at a considerable distance amongst the hills from Llan - - - ', when the whole congregation was thrown into confusion by the sound of some mysterious music, which the shepherd immediately recognised to be 'the tune Iolo had played at the mouth of the cave, though . . . much less abrupt and mountainous than on the former occasion.'. . .

His [Bueno's] relation is prefaced by an editorial paragraph which, though it is written as if to introduce what follows, actually refers to a second form of the legend, according to which the fiddler deliberately ventured to enter the cave and explore. The two forms are wantonly confused by Wirt Sikes, *British Goblins* (1880), pp. 99–102 . . .

Wal 3   Freeman, pp. 144–5; fr. Charlotte Burne and Georgina Jackson, *Shropshire Folk-Lore* (London 1883), p. 56.

Yet a third form of the legend is found in Charlotte Sophia Burne . . . : 'But the entrance to fairyland is still pointed out . . . in Shropshire, namely, the Ogo Hole, a cavern on the English side of Llanymynech Hill, not far from Oswestry. . . . Old people tell that when they were young few dared venture to explore its mysterious passages, some of which are thought to lead directly under Llanymynech village. An old blind fiddler once wandered into them by accident, and journeyed on and on underground, playing his violin as he went, till the people in the cellars of the village inn at Llanymynech heard the strains of the instrument in the depths below'. . . . geographical considerations make it almost impossible not to identify Bueno's 'Llan - - -' with Llanymynech; for instance, a line drawn from Llanymynech to Chirk Castle passes well over (or under) both the Morda and the Ceirog.

References For Other Culture Areas (A)

KENTUCKY (U.S.A.)

Ken 1   Herbert Halpert, 'Fiddlers Lost in Caves', *Kentucky Folklore Record* II (1956), pp. 99–101; i) fr. *The Kentucky Standard* (Bardstown, Kentucky), 13 January 1955; ii) fr. Mattingly Spalding, *Bardstown, Town of Tradition* (Baltimore 1942), pp. 78–9. Professor Halpert and Professor D. K. Wilgus have further versions in their archives.

MISSOURI (U.S.A.)

Mis 1   Vance Randolph, *The Talking Turtle and Other Ozark Folk Tales*, with notes by Herbert Halpert (New York 1957), pp. 27–9: recorded from Mrs Jean Lightfoot Kappell, 1951, who heard it about 1930 in Greene County, Missouri. The story was common in

southwest Missouri and 'one version of it, without any mention of the girl, was published anonymously in the Springfield, Missouri, *News & Leader*, April 30, 1938'.

IRELAND

Máire MacNeill, *The Festival of Lughnasa* (London 1962), pp. 668–9, 175, 187.

HIGHLAND SCOTLAND

To the references of Daniel F. Melia, 'The Lughnasa Musician in Ireland and Scotland', *Journal of American Folklore* 80 (1967), pp. 365–73, one can add:

J. L. Campbell, ed., *Tales of Barra Told by the Coddy*, 2nd ed. (Edinburgh 1961), p. 191.

Duncan Fraser, *Highland Perthshire* (Montrose 1971), p. 103.

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Alexander Stewart, *Nether Lochaber* (Edinburgh 1883), pp. 352–3.

School of Scottish Studies Archives.

NOTES

1 Near Crathie in Aberdeenshire there used to be a clachan called Piperhole, but I have been unable to trace any attached version of the legend (Michie 1922).
2 A Border couplet links hagberry and the Deil and reveals that hagberry was held to have the same anti-maleficence properties as the rowan:
    'There is a Roxburghshire saying to this effect:
      "Hagberry, hagberry, hang the deil,
      Rowan-tree, rowan-tree, help it weel".
    The hag-berry is the bird-cherry (*Primus padus*)' (Denham 1895:329).
3 This narrative is given versified rendering in Gibson 1916:25–9.

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M L   *The Migratory Legends* by R. Th. Christiansen. FF Communications No. 175, Helsinki 1958.

The Last Century of Pictish Succession

M. MILLER

The ninth century in Scotland north of the Forth–Clyde isthmus was as eventful and disastrous as elsewhere in Britain, and had a parallel result in that the kingdom of Scotia, like that of Wessex, came to be the dominant and unifying element. The difference, for the modern student, lies mainly in the difference of source-materials, which for Scots are fewer, later, and of two major genres or historiographic disciplines.[1]

For both genres the greatest problem in our period was provided by the disappearance of the Pictish kingdom, a process which could not be satisfactorily treated by the canons of oral historiography until the numerous descendants of the Picts had learned to think of themselves as Scots. Fortunately, the oldest sources date from the time before the change was complete, so that we possess some partial record of it, and are informed that the kingdom of what was later southern Scotia was called Pictavia until about 900, when both it and its constituent parts begin to appear under their Gaelic names. At the same time, succession to the kingship until the same date does not always follow Irish rules, and consequently the question is whether the exceptions are due to the general disorders of the time, or to the survival of Pictish law or a strong desire for its reinstatement. This question is the subject of the following discussion.

The King-list abstracted from the *Old Scottish Chronicle*[2]

This brief chronicle was seemingly compiled from more than one source within the years 971 × 995, and is extant in a manuscript copied at York about 1360, presumably from the source already known to Higden about 1350. It is unknown whether this exemplar had been in England for some length of time before: it is possible that it had been slumbering in an Augustinian library since the early thirteenth century.[3] The *Chronicle* was originally written in Irish,[4] and the date of the extant Latin translation may be the same as that of the similar translation of the Pictish king-list in the same collection, about 1050.[5]

The form of the *Chronicle* is that its king-list provides headings under which items are entered, and where they are dated it is by regnal years: the *Chronicle* contains no absolute dates. The ninth-century kings are:

Kinadius igitur filius Alpini primus Scottorum rexit feliciter istam annis xvi Pictaviam . . .

Duuenaldus frater eius tenuit idem regnum iiij annis . . .

Constantinus filius Cinaedi regnavit annos xvi . . .
    [events in *Pictavia*]

Edus tenuit idem i anno . . .

Eochodius autem filius Run regis Britannorum, nepos Cinaedi ex filia, regnavit annis xi. Set Ciricium filium ⟨ ˙ ˙ ˙ ⟩ alii dicunt hic regnasse eo quod alumpnus ordinatorque Eochodio fiebat . . .

Dovinaldus filius Constantini tenuit regnum xi annos . . .
    [events in *Pictavia*]

(Constantinus filius Edii tenuit regnum xl annos . . .
    [events in *Albania*, and in *Sraith Herenn* (Pictish *Fortriu*), and *Oengus* (Pictish *Circinn*), now with Gaelic names]

Kenneth I, 'first of the Scots, successfully ruled Pictavia', is an entry which might be held to show the influence of oral historiography, but the interesting feature at this point of the *Chronicle* is that the Scottish foundation-legend of the massacre of the Pictish nobility is seemingly known but not told. Similarly under the name of Eochaid son of Rhun, the tale of Giric's kinship is known, but placed as from a second source (*alii dicunt*), and said to be due to Giric's position as *alumnus ordinatorque* to Eochaid. This position is not otherwise recorded in relation either to Scottish or Pictish kings of any century, and the only known parallel is somewhat remote in place and ostensible time: in the cartulary appended to the *Vita Cadoci*, Gwengarth (apparently of the eighth century) is described once as *procurator regis* and once as *alumpnus regis* in Glamorgan: in both the Welsh and the Strathclyde cases the precise meaning of the terms is not at all clear, though *alumnus* may mean 'foster-father' rather than 'foster-son'.[6]

In the Scottish material, *The Old Scottish Chronicle* (OSC) alone mentions both Giric's position in Eochaid's kingdom, and the story that he and not Eochaid was the king: later authorities either elaborate this story, or suppress both kings. It should follow that the reign of Eochaid was regarded by some as a setback or detour in the development of the rule of the Scottish dynasty, for which a route to oblivion was to be found. Within this doctrine however there were apparently two schools of thought: one was prepared to elevate Giric to a substitute kingship (as in the *Synchronisms* and the Latin lists),[7] while the other preferred to name neither Eochaid nor Giric, as in the *Annals of Ulster* (which need not name every king) and the *Duan Albanach* (which should).

The King-lists abstracted from the *Annals of Ulster*[8]

In the early eighth century the *Annals of Ulster* reproduce a contemporary source for events in Scotland, but the situation later is not so clear. It is likely that in 741 Dalriada finally submitted, after a long struggle, to Onuist I of the Picts, and

subsequently regained at least some measure of independence under Aed Find; it is therefore not impossible that either a royal or an ecclesiastical chronicle began anew in his time,[9] and at some stage was incorporated into what became the *Annals of Ulster*. The entries on the kings both of Pictland and of Dalriada in these annals are mostly obituaries and no reign-lengths are given: in the lists below there are reckoned instead, for ease of reference, the intervals (in years) from the ends of the previous reigns.

AUc	Kings of Picts	Interval	AUc	Kings of Scots	Interval
	[768: battle in Fortriu between Aed Find and Ciniod II probably marks the point at which Dalriada became to an unknown extent autonomous]				
775	Ciniod II k of Picts		778	Aed Find (son of Eochaid) k of Dalriada	
780	Alpin II 'rex Saxonum'	5	781	Fergus (son of Eochaid) k of Dalriada	3
782	Dubthalorc k of Picts *citra Monoth*	2			
789	civil war: Conall son of Tadg expelled by Constantine	7	792	Donncorci k of Dalriada	11
			807	Conall son of Tadg killed in Kintyre by Conall son of Aedan	15
820	Constantine son of Fergus k of Fortriu	31			
834	Oengus son of Fergus k of Fortriu	14			
839	Eoganan and Bran sons of Oengus, and Aed son of Boanta, killed by vikings in Fortriu	5			
858	Kenneth I son of Alpin k of Picts	19			
862	Domnall I son of Alpin k of Picts	4			
876	Constantine son of Kenneth k of Picts	14			
878	Aed son of Kenneth k of Picts	2			
900	Domnall II son of Constantine k of Alba (but in 904 *Fortriu* is used, not the Gaelic *Strathearn*)	22			

The *Annals* thus agree with OSC that down to about 900 the united kingdom was known as that of the Picts, but both Eochaid ap Rhun[10] and Giric are omitted, and otherwise the correspondences in reign-lengths are not exact. These problems however are best left in suspense until the remaining sources have been surveyed.

The Evidence of the Pictish King-lists[11]

From the time of Ciniod II onwards, the relationship of the two major versions of the Pictish king-list to the *Annals of Ulster* is problematic, while their relationship to one another is by no means clear. The various copies of the *Series Longior* clearly go back to a single original, which in 'normalised' form may be represented:

		obits AUc
Ciniod II son of Uuredech	reigned 12 years	775
Alpin II son of Uurad	3½	780 [12]
Drest VIII son of Talorcan	1	
Talorcan II son of Drostan	4 or 5 [sic]	
Talorcan III son of Onuist	2½	
Conall son of Tadg	5	expelled 789
Constantine son of Uurguist	35	820 [13]
Onuist II son of Uurguist	12	834
Drest IX son of Constantine and Talorcan IV son of Uuthoil	3	
Uuen son of Onuist	3	839 [14]
Uurad son of Bargoit	3	
Bridei VI	1	

[After which SL2 (the copy Latinised *c.* 1050 and sent to Ireland 1058 × 1093) immediately continues:]

Kenneth I son of Alpin	16	858 [15]
Domnall I son of Alpin	4	862
and Constantine son of Kenneth	20	876
Aed son of Kenneth	1	878 [16]
Girig son of Dungal	11 or 3 [sic]	
Domnall II son of Constantine	11	900 [17]

In the *Series Brevior* texts, Ciniod II and his two immediate successors are engulfed in an appalling muddle which need not concern us here; the subsequent kings (again in 'normalised' Pictish form, though the texts Gaelicise the names) are:

Talorcan II son of Drostan	reigned 4 years
Talorcan III son of Onuist	‹?
? ›	reigned 5 years
Constantine son of Uurguist	42
Onuist II son of Uurguist	10
Drest IX and Talorcan IV	4
Uuen son of Onuist	3
Uurad son of Bargoit	3
Bridei VI son of Uurad	1 month
Ciniod III son of Uurad	1 year
Bridei VII son of (?) Uuithoil	2
Drest X son of Uurad	3

It appears that the original compiler of the *Series Brevior* texts had access to information not available to (or not used by) the earlier compiler of the *Series Longior*, especially for the kings after Bridei VI and for that king's reign of one month. But it is clear also that the texts are more faulty: Drest IX and Talorcan IV have become the single ghost king Dustilorg. When the reign-lengths differ from those of the *Series Longior*, the figures of that list are generally to be preferred for this period.

Since the name and style of Dubtalorc, king of Picts 'this side the Mounth' occurs at 782 in AUc but not in either list, it seems fair to suppose that at this point AUc is not copying a list (at least so far as we know) but reproducing a contemporary annalistic entry. There is no similar guarantee that any later entries are independent and contemporary.

The Evidence of the Dalriadic King-lists

Since the Latin lists of the kings of Dalriada before 840 are lacunose for the latest period,[18] there are only two good sources for the kings from Aed Find onwards, both of which continue after 840. For the 'Pictavian' period (besides the Latin lists) there is also the list which can be abstracted from the *Prophecy of Berchan*.

(i) The king-list in the *Synchronisms* attributed to Flann Mainistrech. This work survives in two manuscript families. Skene printed a conflated text of the Scottish parts, but these have since been separately edited.[19] The Scottish list in both versions ends with Malcolm II (1005–1034), but the extant manuscripts are all of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. I have not found a critical historical study of the Irish material, though questions of the accuracy of individual lists, of the synchronisation, and of the sources, would probably be relevant to the Scottish list.

From the tabulation below it will be seen that neither text-family shows the highest care and accuracy for the Scottish list. For the most part the errors seem to be of omission in one family supplemented in the other, but there is something a little more complicated at one point:

Boyle's texts[19]	*Thurneysen's texts*[19]
Domnall	Domnal mac Cusantin
Custaintin	da Chonall *i.e.* Conall Caem
da Conall reime [before him]	& Conall aile, a brathair
Aengus . . .	Oengus . . .

It is not wholly certain here that Domnall's father is not a ghost, arising from a false correction of a misplaced Constantine son of Fergus. If there are two Constantines, they can hardly be *historically* identical, as Skene believed.

The lists in the two versions from Aed Find onwards are:

Boyle's texts	Thurneysen's texts	Obits AUc
VIIC . . .Aedh Airetech	Aed Airgnech	778
Fergus		781
Eochoidh	Eochaid	
Domnall	Domnal mac Cusantin	
Custaintin		
da Conall reime	da Chonall .i. Conall Caem	807
	& Conall aile, a brathair	
	Causantin mac Fergusa	820
Aengus	Oengus mac Fergusa	834
Aedh	Aed mac Boanta	839
Eoghanan	Eoganan mac Oengusa	839
Ailpin mac Echach	Alpin	
Eoghanan		
Cinaeth mac Ailpin		858
VIIIC Domnall mac Ailpin	Domnall mac Alpin	862
Custanntin mac Cinaetha	Causantin mac Cinaeda	876
	Aed mac Cinaeda	878
Girg mac Dungaile	Giric mac Dungaile	
Domnall Dasachtach	Domnall Dasachtach mac	900
	Causantin	
Causantin mac Aeda	Custantin mac Aedha	
etc.	*etc.*	

(ii) The king-list abstracted from the *Duan Albanach*.[20] This Middle-Irish anagraphic poem is first extant in a copy of about 1650, but it was composed probably shortly before 1093. From Aed Find onwards its list is:

	reigned 30 years	obit 778 AUc
Aed as high-king	reigned 30 years	obit 778 AUc
••••		
Domnall	24	
Conall	2	807
another Conall	4	
Constantine	9	820
Oengus	9	834
Aed	4	839
Eoganan	13	
••••		
Kenneth I	30	858
Domnall I	4	862
Constantine	30	876
Aed his brother	2	878
••••		
Domnall II son of Constantine	4	900

(iii) The king-list of *Berchan's Prophecy*.[21] This is probably a fourteenth-century version of a possibly late eleventh-century work. The oldest extant manuscript is of 1722, from an exemplar of 1627, but some stanzas of the Irish part are quoted in the *Book of Leinster*, about 1160: this may be irrelevant for the Scottish part. The text is reported to be very corrupt, but for the sake of completeness the beginning of the Scottish list is given here:

stanzas				
119—	Ferbasach	reigned 17 years	Kenneth I,	obit 858
123—	mac na gaillsighthe [son of the foreign woman]	3 ¼	Domnall I	862
125—	buachaille [cowherd]	5 ½	?	
129—	dasachtach [madman]	9	? Domnall II	900
132—	in Tuilti[the abundant one] a Briton	13	Eochaid ap Rhun	889
134—	an mac rath [the lucky one]	17	?	
139—	Baoth [fool] of Dundurn	3	?	
141—	Garbh [rough]	9	?	
146—	Manannan mac Lir [pagan Irish sea god]	½ day	!!!	

[This appears to be a collection of invented names, as frequently occurs in Celtic political 'prophecy']

Of these accounts, the *Synchronisms* have the largest number of items, but since the first two of the *Duan's* omissions are in pairs, and since that poem frequently lists two kings in a stanza, it is naturally supposed that two stanzas are lost: these will have concerned Fergus and Eochaid, Alpin and Eoganan respectively. As we have seen above, any information reaching Ireland from Scotland at the time of the SL2 continuation or later would omit Eochaid ap Rhun and contain Giric (with increasing fantasies about his conquests of Ireland and England): it is scarcely surprising in these circumstances that AU and the *Duan* omit both, thus avoiding any decision.

If we compare the *Synchronisms* and the *Duan* with AU we obtain:

Synchronisms	Duan		obits in AUc
Aed Airetech	Aed	30 years	778
Fergus	••		781
Eochaid	••		Donncorci 792
Domnall	Domnall	24	
Conall Caem	Conall	2	807
Conall	Conall	4	
Constantine	Constantine	9	820
Oengus	Oengus	9	834
Aed	Aed	4	839
Eoganan	Eoganan	13	839
Alpin	••		
Eoganan	••		
Kenneth I	Kenneth I	30	858
etc.	*etc.*		

The Donncorci of Dalriada whose obit appears at 792 AUc is not (under that name) in either list, and so may reproduce a contemporary annal, parallel to that of the Pict Dubtalorc at 782 (there is also the formal possibility that the Irish Dál Riata is meant). As in the Pictish case, there is no guarantee that after 792 the Dalriadic entries in AU are independent of a king-list.

Indeed, although the transmission is poor, the lists of the *Synchronisms* and *Duan* are clearly related to the material in AU. Fergus (omitted by the *Duan*) is in the *Synchronisms* and AU, and the latter permits him a three years' reign. Domnall's 24 years (*Duan*) and the 2 years of the first Conall, agree with the 26-year interval 781–807 in AUc, and this agreement suggests, first, that Donncorci may be a by-name or epithet for Eochaid; and second, that Domnall's father Constantine (if he really existed) was not the king Constantine who followed the Conalls. This would imply that Eochaid (-Donncorci) was a contemporary of Domnall's, and that the latter only became sole king of all Dalriada in 792.

Similarly, the 4 years of the second Conall and 9 years of Constantine (*Duan*) agree with the 13-year interval 807–820 in AUc; but next, if AU is right, we should read 14 years for Oengus in the *Duan*, and hold that xiiii has been read as viiii at some (pre-poetic) stage, or that viiii has been written or read by dittography from Constantine's years. In that case, Aed's 4-year reign perhaps lacks a fraction to place his end in 839 AUc, while the 13-year reign for Eoganan in the *Duan* is apparently for the 3 years assigned to this king under his Pictish name of Uuen son of Onuist.

These results suggest that the best single source for reign-lengths (as well as the only source for absolute dates) is AU; and probably the same appears for the 'Pictavian' period when the annals are compared with the reign-length figures in OSC. There the 16 years for Kenneth I are to be taken with the 2 years in Dalriada only: his total royal years are then to be placed 840–858. The sources agree on his brother's 4 years. In OSC the *xvi* years for Constantine son of Kenneth may once have included (as suggested above for the continuation of the Pictish king-list, SL2) his brother's reign, but it could possibly be a late (twelfth- to fourteenth-century) error for *xiv*. The one year for Aed, as we have also seen, may be a rounding down where AU and the *Duan* round up. The two 11-year reigns of OSC are consistent with AU.

In so far as the foregoing sources are reliable and the arguments hold, the king-lists of the Picts and Scots from 768 to 900 may be set out as in Table I.

Although this table is no more than a list of names and dates, one fact is immediately clear; after the war of 768 our sources record no further armed conflict between Dalriada and Pictland until the conquest in the 840's.[22] We must therefore conclude that the importance of the battle of 768 lay not in itself but in its consequences: the arrangements made for Pictish–Dalriadic relations eliminated war, and apparently encouraged the intermittent union of the crowns. This tendency first appears in the career of Conall son of Tadg, king of Picts 784–9 and of Scots 805–7, and is fully developed in the union of the crowns by the sons of Uurguist/Forcus/

TABLE I

King-lists of the Picts and Scots from 768-900

[Battle in Forttin between Ciniod II and Aed Find: 768]

	Picts			Scots	
775	Ciniod II dies				
775–79/80	Alpin II son of Uurad	3½ ⟨or 4½ ?⟩ yrs*	778	Aed Find dies son of Eochaid	
	[Drest VIII misplaced]		778–81	Fergus son of Eochaid	
779/80–84	Talorcan II son Drostan	4 or 5 yrs.			
779/80–82	Talorcan III son of Onuist (Dubtalorc?)	2½ yrs.	781–92	Eochaid son of Aed (Donncorci?)	
			781–805	Domnall son of Constantine?	24 yrs.
⟨782–83⟩	Drest VIII son of Talorcan⟩	⟨1 yr.⟩			
784–89	Conall son of Tadg	5 yrs.	805–07	Conall son of Tadg	2 yrs.
789–820	Constantine ⟨32nd⟩ son of Uurguist		807–11	Conall son of Aedan	4 yrs.
			811–20	Constantine son of Fergus	9 yrs.
			820–34	Oengus son of Fergus	⟨?14⟩ yrs.
820–34	Onuist ⟨15th⟩ son of Uurguist		834–39	Aed son of Boanta	4 ⟨ + ⟩ yrs.
834–36	Drest IX son of Constantine Talorcan IV ⟨3rd⟩ son of Uuthoil				
836–39	Uuen son of Onuist	3 yrs.	836–39	Eoganan son of Oengus	⟨3⟩ yrs.
839–42	Uurad son of Bargoit	3 yrs.	839–40	Alpin Eoganan	
842	Bridei VI son of Uurad	1 mth.	840–58	Kenneth I	
842–58	Kenneth I				
842–43	Cinoid III son of Uurad	1 yr.			
843–45	Bridei VII son of Uuthoil (?)	2 yrs.			
845–48	Drest X son of Uurad	3 yrs.			
			858–62	Domnall I	
			862–76	Constantine I	
			876–78	Aed	
			878–89	Eochaid ap Rhun	
			889–900	Domnall II	

* Angle-brackets enclose figures amended from those in the mss., as argued in Notes 13, 14.

Fergus in 811–34. If the invasion of 836 is in fact the beginning of the kingdom of Moray, it is likely that the second union of the crowns under Uuen/Eoganan in 836–9 was an emergency measure—Dalriada (*ex hypothesi*) had lost Lorn and Pictland had lost Moray, so that joint action by the survivors in Kintyre and Fortriu is not implausible, and would be prepared for by the previous situation in 811–34.

After the disaster of 839, the immediate question in both devastated and leaderless kingdoms would be the organisation of an entity capable of resisting further attacks and surviving: consequently perhaps the war of 842–48 has the character of a competition between candidates as much as between nations. Kenneth celebrated his achievement of the kingdom of *Pictavia* by (according to OSC) founding Dunkeld and installing there the relics of Columba in his seventh year [848/9]; according to the same source, in Domnall's time [858–62] *iura ac leges regni Edi filii Ecdach fecerunt Goedeli cum rege suo i Fochiurthabaicth*: 'the Gaels, with their king, in Forteviot, made the rights and kingdom-laws of Aed son of Eochaid'. This presumably means the extension to Gaels residing in *Pictavia* (the new ruling group) of the royal laws of Dalriada held to have been instituted by Aed Find: like the cult of Columba at Dunkeld, this alleges the consolidation and further advance of Gaelicisation by emphasizing the new kingdom's continuity with old Dalriada. Also of course it reportedly marks another stage: secular Gaelicisation is no longer merely a matter of muscle, but has proceeded to the point where some aspects can be entrusted to, or require, the operation of the law.

The next step in both Gaelicisation and legality appears in the reports of Constantine II (900–43), when OSC records:

> And in his sixth year [905/6] king Constantine and bishop Cellach [most probably of St Andrews], on the hill of credulity near the royal centre at Scone, swore to keep the laws and disciplines of the faith and the rights of the churches and gospels equally with the Scots.

This enigmatic statement at least makes it clear that there was some kind of concordat (between the dynasty and the church of St Andrews) which had not existed before; and in OSC and AU it is in Constantine's time that the kingdom is first called Alba and that Gaelic names for its constituent parts begin to appear. The fifteenth-century bishop-list of St Andrews begins with Cellach[23]—that is, it seemingly looks back to this concordat as the initiation of its current status.

It seems therefore to be a fair inference that *Pictavia* was finally and legally extinguished in 905/6, when the unification was completed on the ecclesiastical side. We need not doubt that the means of unification were in fact mainly physical (whether murderous or marital), and that the emphasis on legalities in OSC is partly retrospective and idealising. There is however no reason to think that the measures of 858–62 and 905/6 lacked all importance at the times of their enactments. Certainly we cannot continue to ignore or neglect the records, and this means that the problem with which we are concerned is genuine: whether the succession to the kingships of
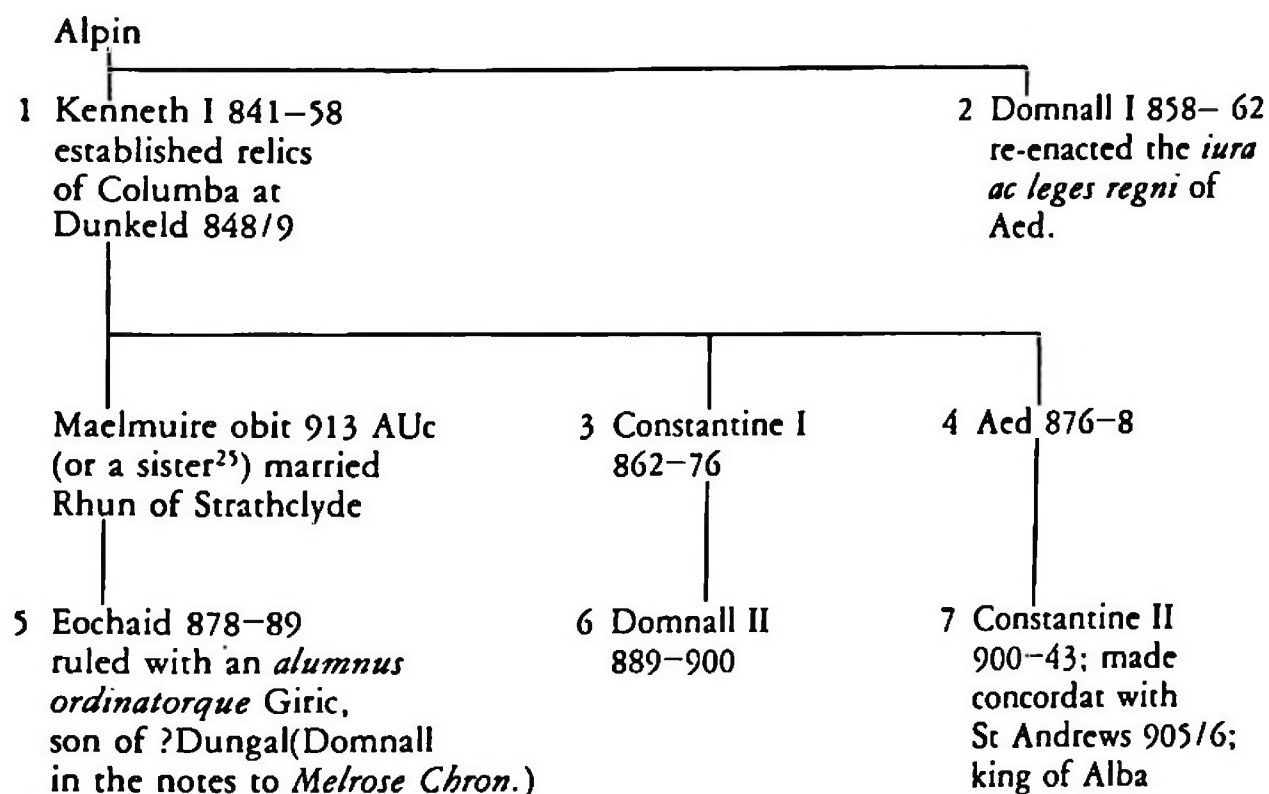
the ninth century was determined always by the disorders of the time, or sometimes by the survival of Pictish inheritance law or a strong desire for its reinstatement.

The Evidence of the Scottish Pedigrees

(a) The Pictavian Period.   It is of course taken for granted that the Dalriadic, and in the ninth century the Pictavian, kingship was hereditary, and that the inheritance-law was of an Irish type.[24] An Irish inheritance-law of any type should admit only agnates.

In Scottish Dalriada in our period there is a complication in the reported existence of the *iura ac leges regni* of Aed Find: we should expect these kingdom-laws to include regulation of the succession. But we do not know what they were, and it cannot be certain that the originals were exactly reproduced at the re-enactment in Domnall's time.

Since however OSC and the king-lists provide sufficient pedigree evidence for the Pictavian period, we can observe the actual successions, which may be tabulated:

Alpin

1 Kenneth I 841–58 established relics of Columba at Dunkeld 848/9		2 Domnall I 858– 62 re-enacted the *iura ac leges regni* of Aed.

Maelmuire obit 913 AUc (or a sister[25]) married Rhun of Strathclyde	3 Constantine I 862–76	4 Aed 876–8

5 Eochaid 878–89 ruled with an *alumnus ordinatorque* Giric, son of ?Dungal(Domnall in the notes to *Melrose Chron.*)	6 Domnall II 889–900	7 Constantine II 900–43; made concordat with St Andrews 905/6; king of Alba

The successions are:

> to Kenneth I, by a brother
> Domnall I, by a brother's son
> Constantine I, by a brother
> Aed, by a sister's son
> Eochaid, by a mother's brother's son
> Domnall II, by a father's brother's son.

The succession of Eochaid is the anomaly in this context, but could be explained by operation of the Pictish law of succession. This would imply not only a resurgence of Pictishness in *Pictavia* in 878, but also that Maelmuire's mother was a Pictish royal,

D

and that Kenneth I was not king by legal inheritance in Pictish law, but acceptable (perhaps from 848 onwards) as king's father to his wife's sons; and finally that Domnall I (acceptable to Picts as the senior agnate of future kings) re-enacted the laws of Aed Find to give his own accession a non-Pictish legal basis. This complex hypothesis is at no point hostile to any evidence we have in the genre of written historiography: what it opposes is the oral historiographic element in the foundation-legend of Scotia.

This is the legend apparently referred to but not told in OSC, and it involves the treacherous massacre of the Pictish king and his magnates at Forteviot or Scone.[26] The motif from the ninth century onwards is international: it appears in the story of Hengist and Vortigern as told in the *Historia Brittonum* of 830, in Widukind's account of the Old Saxons, in the foundation-legend of Kiev Rus, and elsewhere.[27] In these cases it is used to explain the supersession of one ruling group by another, and while in each instance we may accept that such supersession occurred, we may also reject this account of how it happened. The tale is a derivative of oral historiography not only as a simplistic compendium of all the violent events which constituted the supersession, but also in its finality, which denies any hope of the appearance of legitimate heirs to the older regime. In the present case, the working-out of this oral historiography naturally involves the suppression of Eochaid ap Rhun, and the Scotticisation of Giric. On the evidence of our oldest Scottish source (OSC, compiled probably 971×995), the suppression is not acceptable.

At the present stage of knowledge therefore we are left with the hypothesis that the reign of Eochaid marks a resurgence of Pictishness. In the context, it would not be surprising if the sons of Kenneth had emphasised their Pictish legitimacy, while it may be that the home territory of this surviving Pictish strength was around St Andrews, with which the concordat was not yet made.[28] Whether Giric and his saint Ciricus were connected with Eglesgrig (St Cyrus) in the Mearns, or whether the Scotticising of Giric is to be connected with the assertion that the *fir Ibe* (if indeed they are the men of Fife) were descended from Eochaid Buide of Dalriada in the early seventh century,[29] are probably unanswerable questions.

(b) The Dalriadan Period.   The pedigree of the Dalriadic kings from Aed Find onwards is given in the direct line in several sources[30]: the names are Eochaid—Aed Find—Eochaid—Alpin—Kenneth I. All the difficulties concern identifications and collaterals. The Fergus son of Eochaid who succeeded Aed Find is presumably his brother, and the next king Eochaid (whether or not he is identifiable with Donncorci) is presumably Aed Find's son. Domnall son of Constantine is interesting for the first appearance (if it is such) of Constantine's name borne by subsequent kings: we must suppose some good reason for this sudden fashion. Unless pope Constantine (708–15) or Constantine V of Byzantium (741–75) can be shown to be relevant, the nearest important (but undated) person of the name is a Strathclyde saint, culted at Govan, at Crawford Lindsay, in the parish of Colmonel,[31] on the Solway at Wetheral and

nearby, at Kilchouslan in Kintyre and Garabost in Lewis.[32] The Kintyre site perhaps shows some connection between this Strathclyde saint and Dalriada: we could (not improperly) surmise that in the time of Onuist I, Dalriada and Strathclyde drew together in face of the common threat, but there is no evidence—or rather, the assertion that Kentigern sent Constantine to Kintyre, where he converted the heathen Picts,[33] shows the hagiographic use of the procedures of oral historiography, and cannot in the absence of other evidence be unscrambled.

Conall son of Tadg, king of Picts 784–9 and of Scots 805–7, is either an adventurer of considerable scope or the son of a royal Dalriadic father and a royal Pictish mother. He was driven out of Pictland by Constantine son of Uurguist/Fergus, who also became king of Dalriada in 811 and was succeeded in both kingdoms by his brother Onuist/Oengus. The possibility of adventurism seems much less likely in the case of these brothers, and their father Fergus will presumably have been Fergus son of Eochaid, king of Dalriada 778–81.

The situation in the late eighth century therefore seems to have been that Eochaid (-Donncorci) son of Aed Find was reigning in Dalriada together with Domnall son of Constantine, when Constantine son of Fergus expelled Conall son of Tadg from Pictland. We should probably assume that the two Constantines (if both existed) were closely related, and also the joint kings Eochaid and Domnall, and that at this juncture all upheld the same interests in Dalriada and Pictland as against Conall son of Tadg. If then Eochaid son of Aed Find was, as his pedigree claims, great-grandson of the Eochaid who died in 697, we should expect Domnall and Conall also to be great-grandsons of kings of about the same date. Of these there were besides Eochaid also Ainfcellach of Lorn (697/8), of a very distant segment of the dynasty, and Fiannamail *nepos Dunchado* (698–700), of a segment less remote.[34] Perhaps therefore we should envisage the kings as related in a manner something like that set out in Table II.

The Pictish marriages of Aed Find's brother Fergus, and of Tadg of the other segment of the Dalriadic dynasty, can then be seen as part of, or consequent upon, the arrangements made between Aed and Ciniod II of Pictland after the war of 768. Such marriages, given Dalriadic patriliny and Pictish matriliny, would be expected to produce candidates for both crowns, and this must have been intended. The arrangements of 768 therefore amount to a revision of the means, but not of the ends, of the policy of unification pursued through conquest by Onuist I of Pictland.[35]

Within Dalriada there seem to be joint kingships by Domnall and Eochaid in the years 781–92, and by Aed and Eoganan in the years 836–9. The latter, which involves Pictland also, is very probably a disposition to meet the dangers of those desperate years; the former however occurs before the arrival of the vikings (at least in Iona and southwards). It is likely therefore to be either a genuine joint kingship, or an example of a king and his designated heir.

The assertion[36] that Constantine son of Fergus was the first founder of Columban

Dunkeld in 815 is at first sight given some support by the consideration that this was also the time when Columban relics were housed at Kells for safety from the vikings. If this was the case, then Kenneth I in 848/9 is deliberately emphasising his continuity with the past, as he does also in naming his sons Constantine (as for the original founder of Dunkeld) and Aed (as for Aed Find). But it is no less likely that the story of Constantine's foundation of Dunkeld was invented at the same time as his brother Oengus was identified as the founder of St Andrews, and the intention was to make the Scottish foundation senior to the Pictish: exactly comparable ideological revisions can be traced in the stories of the foundations of Iona and Abernethy.[37] But if Kenneth had in fact no predecessor at Columban Dunkeld, nevertheless the naming of his sons seems to show that he looked back to the previous period of the union of the Scottish and Pictish crowns and intended thereby to legitimate his rule.

This indication of a deliberate cultivation of continuity with the elder Constantine is consistent with the retention of the name of Pictavia after 842-8, and in this context a resurgence of Pictishness which placed Eochaid ap Rhun on the throne is the more plausible and comprehensible.

TABLE II
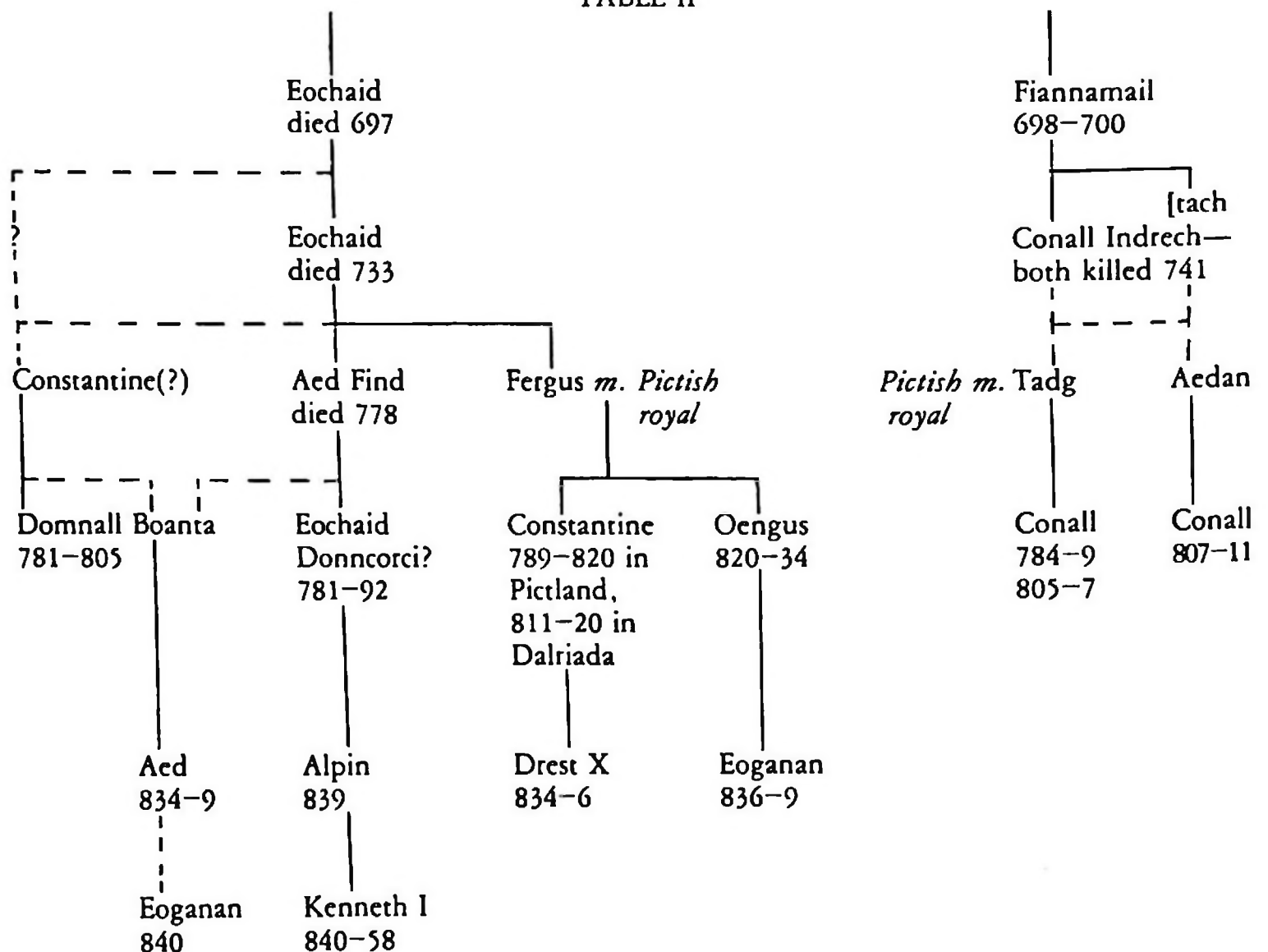
The Evidence of Pictish Nomenclature

No Pictish pedigrees survive, and of the accounts of the matrilinear inheritance law only one is contemporary, and that is reported, if not formulated, by a foreigner in 731:

> *ubi res veniret in dubium, magis de feminea regum prosapia quam de masculina regem sibi eligerent*[38]

By this formulation, not all successions were in doubt; the agnates of the kings were known; royal title was inherited through the mother rather than the father, but this was a preference only.

When we compare this with the king-list, which gives in the historical part the name of the king and his father in each case, we observe that succession by a brother is frequent, and these were presumably cases of succession without doubt. The other outstanding feature of the king-list is that in the sixth, seventh and early eighth centuries the names of kings are few and repetitious, while those of their fathers are many and not repeated; in the late eighth and ninth centuries these characteristics are still present, but now there appear to be exceptions. We are reminded therefore that within the years 724–31 there was a multilateral civil war in Pictland, and that the rules of inheritance may not have been exactly the same after that date.

There are a number of recent suggestions about the kind of matriliny or the kind of kingship-inheritance practised by the Picts[39]: apart from the inheritance rule and the nomenclatural customs shown by the king-list we have for guidance little beyond anthropological and historical considerations of uncertain relevance. Anthropological comparisons are difficult for many reasons, one of which is that the material does not include information on high-kings of the Pictish type.[40] Historical comparisons would lead to general views of Celtic kingship (which may or may not be relevant, depending on the nature and character of any unassimilated non-Celtic element among the Picts by the seventh, eighth, and ninth centuries); and to reports of intermarriage—apparently not rare—with neighbouring Christian patrilinear dynasties.

If we take together the evidence from these dynastic marriages that the neighbours of the Picts found their inheritance-law comprehensible and acceptable, the statement by Bede that the agnatic kinsmen of the kings were known, the annotation in the king-list (compiled by an Irish scholar) that Gartnait I was he *from whom* there were four other Gartnaits (which in an Irish context means that they were his descendants), and the incidence of the repeated names in the king-list, we are led to guess that Pictish matriliny was of a special kind: that a number of king-producing patri-lineages had a matrilinear interlinking provided by the marriages of the sisters of the kings. Such a system would or could exactly fit Bede's description; in case of doubt, candidates would be presented by the patrilineages, but (if suitable in other ways) a candidate with a previous king's sister as his mother was to be preferred.

There are some probable or possible results of such a system. Perhaps the most

important single consequence would be that the king was often not the senior male of his patrilineage.

The evidence of the nomenclature of the kings' fathers and the kings makes it reasonably certain that (at least for the seventh century) a king himself could not marry a woman whose son would be a candidate for the kingship—and apparently this rule held no matter how distant in blood the two might be. But there is some reason to suppose that the king's father or foster-father, or the head of his paternal kindred, was a person of importance and received acknowledged perquisites due to his position.[41] Consequently a king-producing patrilineage might for example produce kings and kings' fathers in alternate generations:
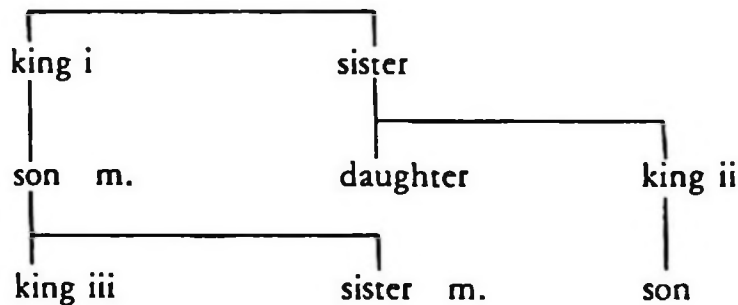
On this model, if a king's son could not hope himself to become king, he could with prudence and good fortune hope to become a king's father, and so within the patri-lineage (and perhaps within the kingdom) occupy a most honorific position.

It would seem to follow, if this is true, that when there was no candidate qualified by maternal inheritance, a member of one of the appropriate patrilineages could be acknowledged as king, preferably acting on behalf of his sons: we may have two instances of such a situation in our present period. In 839–42 the king-list gives us the name of Uurad son of Bargoit, who appears to be the father of three subsequent kings, Bridei VI, Ciniod III, and Drest X. Thus Uurad's sons all bear well-known kingly names, but his own name (seemingly) is otherwise found only as that of a king's father (to Alpin II, 775–79/80). In this case therefore it appears likely that Uurad was acting king only, appointed after the disaster of 836 and himself perishing before or early in the catastrophe of 839. Similarly, as already suggested, Kenneth I himself may have been (in Pictish law, as distinct from military matters) ack-nowledged as acting king and king's father from 848 onwards: in that case, we must suppose also that his brother Domnall I, in Pictish law, was acting king as head of the royal patrilineage.

One important gap in our knowledge of Pictish royal inheritance is the number of matrilines (or reputed segments) capable of transmitting kingship, and whether there were other limitations (for example, that only the king's eldest sister could transmit). Considerations both of comparative anthropological material and of canon law suggest that first-cousin marriages would be avoided.

When we look at the king-list for the ninth century with these considerations in

mind, the Pictish marriages of Fergus and Tadg of Dalriada offer a starting-point, and (because nomenclature appears to have been so important to the Picts) are supplemented by the appearance of the Pictish name Alpin in the Dalriadic pedigree, implying that Eochaid son of Aed Find also married a Pictish royal. The chronology of the people in the Dalriadic pedigree as set out in Table II above suggests that Eochaid's wife may have been a sister of Conall son of Tadg, while the name of Alpin suggests that Tadg's wife may have been a sister of Alpin II of Pictland (775–79/80). Since Alpin II is son of Uurad, the later (acting?) king of that name may have been a descendant: chronology would permit Bargoit to have been a son of Alpin II.

In the other branch of the Dalriadic dynasty, Constantine son of Fergus (789–820) in Pictland, 811–20 in Dalriada) is probably the Constantine who was father of Drest IX, joint king in Pictland with Talorcan IV son of Uuthoil in 834–6. Drest IX therefore is a fairly probable case of a son of a Pictish king bearing a royal name and in fact becoming (joint) king.[42] We must suppose therefore that Constantine, in naming Drest, envisaged the possibility of succession by his son, and that he chose the name Drest because his own mother was sister of Drest VIII (‹782–3›). It is also an obvious suggestion that Drest IV's colleague in the kingship, Talorcan IV, was Constantine's

TABLE III
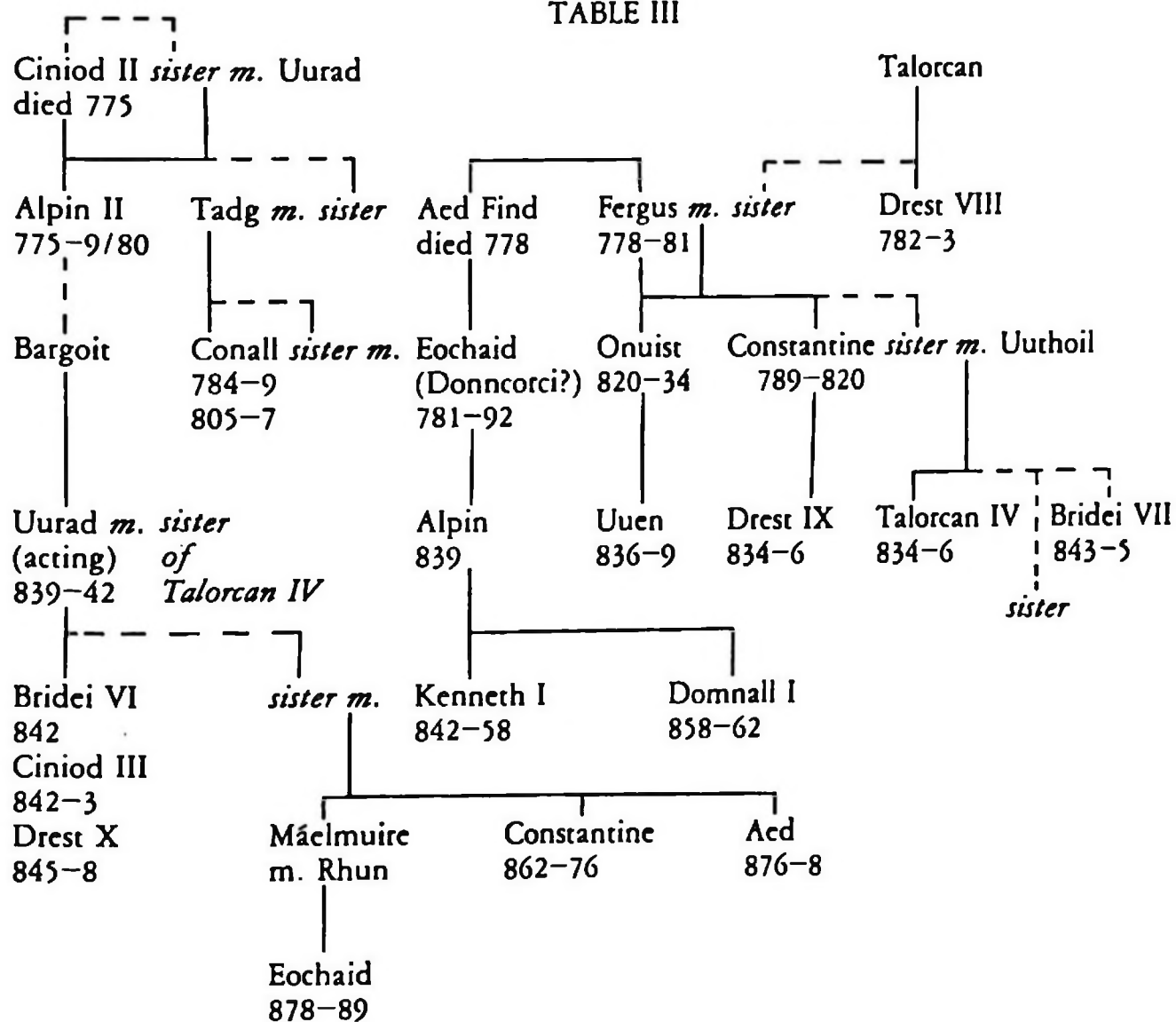
sister's son, and so named either because his father Uuthoil was son of Talorcan II or Talorcan III, or because Drest VIII's father was a Talorcan.

Given these guesses, it is a simple matter to place the remaining persons. The (acting) king Uurad could have married Talorcan IV's sister, and the name of his son Ciniod III suggests that his ancestress Alpin II's mother was sister of Ciniod II. All this may be set out as in Table III.

This hypothetical pedigree shows two matrilines, and supposes that Kenneth I's wife was his third cousin twice over, which is plausible on both anthropological and canonical grounds.

Legalities and Crisis Measures

The foregoing reconstructions of the royal pedigrees of Dalriada, Pictland and Scotian Pictavia, do not of course claim to be more factual than the evidence permits. They do however demonstrate that the various events of the last century or so of Pictish succession could include three phenomena: the continuation or resurgence of Pictish law up to and including the reign of Eochaid ap Rhun; the use of crisis measures as in the acting kingships of Uurad and of Kenneth I; and the intention of Constantine (789–820) that his own son, Drest IX, should be king of Picts. It also appears that the recorded war of 768 was of importance only in that it led to an unrecorded settlement which included or resulted in the marriages of Fergus and Tadg. The final extinction of Pictish identity appears to be marked by the concordat between Constantine II and bishop Cellach in 905/6. Estimation of the reality of these various possibilities will however not be an easy task.

The Influence of Oral Historiography

At the present stage of knowledge it may be more important to consider the influence of oral historiography (reflected in the written sources) as it was later used upon the records and memories of the last Pictish century. How far does this Scottish material share 'the problem which afflicts the whole study of early Irish literature—that of the varying relationships between the oral and the written'?[43]

The contributions recognised as of the oral genre in the preceding survey of the sources are: the hagiography of St Constantine, which we have not the external evidence to unscramble; the Scotian foundation-legend and especially the story of the treacherous massacre of the Pictish nobility; the suppression of the existence of Eochaid ap Rhun; the Scotticisation of Giric and his magnification into a conquering hero. These instances can of course be more or less exactly paralleled many times over both in other insular material of the same centuries, and in other societies, both more and less illiterate.

We must therefore distinguish three contexts which impose upon the procedures and the results of oral historiography very different values and significance.

The first is that of illiterate societies in which the oral genre is the only form of historiographic practice. Here the continuous reorganisation and rectification of history provides the 'charter' and title-deed for present conduct, and the selection and organisation of those memories useful for retention is an activity of disciplined judgment no less responsible than the comparable activity of written historiography since the fifth century BC.

The second context is that of semi-literate societies, in which both historio-graphic genres are practised; and this is the context of insular historiography—in varying degrees in various times and places—from Bede's time to the nineteenth century.

The third context is that of literate societies with a developed written historio-graphy as the only acknowledged form of learned practice. Here the characteristic elements of oral historiography appears only in the sectional ideologies of pluralist societies and in the official ideologies of dictatorships; its formulae and motifs appear in fiction and entertainment, often of the lowest quality. These borrowings are not to be confused (as they are often contemptibly intended to be) with the matrix of propaganda or fiction in which they are found, and which make the 'charter' one of ignorance and unlearning, and the rectification of the past one of censorship or more voluntary blindness: all this is of course to be attacked. But it is a wild anachronism to pursue this attack into earlier contexts, just as it is wrong to accept the conclusions of oral historiography in those contexts as if they had been reached by the procedures of written historiography.

At the present stage of knowledge two canons of criticism can be proposed: the practice of the oral genre by an *evidenced* school or other body of learned persons capable of mutual criticism; and the effect of the procedures of the genre in preserving, increasing, or disseminating historical knowledge in its widest sense.

Let us consider, for example, the Dalriadic king-lists, especially the lacunose Latin lists which did not enter into the survey above. The lacunae mean of course that the Latin lists failed to preserve knowledge, even mechanically; but this is a scribal failure within the genre of written historiography. Most of these lists also place the Dalriadic kings before the Picts, and this surely (as is clear in Fordun) betrays the influence of oral procedures: the Scots rule Scotia, and subsequently Scotland, by right of primary settlement, and the Pictish kingdom is a temporary intrusion.[44] The effect today is that, in so far as the name of Pict remains in living use, it is as a term of reprobation in unwritten *patois*, and among the non-specialist literate the Pictish kingdom, instead of being recognised as a major element in Scottish development for six centuries, is almost forgotten except by the occasional Pictomaniac (as though Bede, not being a Saxon of Wessex, were an anomaly read only by those mad about the Angles). It seems fair to conclude that over the period covered by all this material (from the eleventh century onwards) the co-existence of two genres of historiography has destroyed historical knowledge in this field.

It is a question however whether the same is true for the earlier sources surveyed above, from the eighth to the eleventh centuries. The Irish annalistic material in AU seems for our period to be entirely within the genre of written historiography, though some entries may not be contemporary.[45] The material in AFM for 836 seems to show the influence of oral procedures, if it implies that the Scottic conquest of Moray was at Kenneth I's behest: this statement then adds to our knowledge (though not for the situation in 836), for it tells us that the long struggle for Moray was on the Scotian side regarded as a unification of Scottish territories, and not an annexation as of Strathclyde or Lothian.

The *Old Scottish Chronicle*, compiled probably in the late tenth century, is exceptionally interesting as a digest of earlier written historiography and as showing a clear awareness of some offerings of oral historiography, on the massacre of the Pictish nobility, on the reign of Giric, perhaps on the appropriateness of the name of the *Collis Credulitatis*, and on Constantine's part in the raid to the Tees in his successor's reign—all before 952 and so beyond what might have been living memory in the latter part of the period 971 × 995. At each of these points there is the seed, or the debris, of a discussion, and all certainly add to our knowledge of the various ways in which these events were seen or understood by the end of the century.

Another historiographic work of approximately the same date and probably also from eastern Scotia, former Pictland, is the third and final revision of the pseudo-historical part of the Pictish king-list.[46] Whereas the second edition had accepted from the first (and its Pictish predecessors) the doctrine that the prehistoric Picts had reckoned time in 84-year cycles (as of the Celtic or Old Roman Easter), the third reckons time in 19-year cycles (as of the Roman or Alexandrian Easter), and admits an 84-year period as a single aberration. In other words, this revisor claims (on behalf of the Picts) the possibility of constructing a better pseudo-history by the use of the canons and doctrines of written historiography on the basis of a proposition typical of oral historiography: that the Picts were virtuous in Paschal matters, and their errors merely due to lack of skill. This pseudo-historian, that is to say, accepts the bases of oral historiography while OSC does not—it merely refers to some of the results of that genre.

It appears then that OSC and the third Pictish king-list both show the co-existence of the two genres but in different mixes: the former is basically of the written genre with references to oral results; the latter is basically of the oral genre, with use (and perversion) of written material. In both cases, the 'traditional' or oral material is known to be relatively recent: the oral elements in OSC cannot have been more than 150 to 50 years old at the time of writing; and in the third Pictish king-list they were newly applied to the structuring of the pseudo-history by the author. In these instances as elsewhere, therefore, when 'tradition' is first written down it is indeed the result of a long process, but a recent result: the general rule (doubtless with some few exceptions) is that an autonomous oral historiography telescopes. It is only under

the influence of written historiography that artificial lengthening begins.[47] Obviously, the authors of these two compilations of Scottish chronicle and Pictish king-list would themselves be in no confusion about what they were doing, but our problem is to understand exactly how they saw the relationship of the two genres: this would tell us why they each judged it proper to use the mix they produced; this in turn would give us grounds for estimating the value of their assertions.

It is possible, for example, that the compiler of OSC knew that the second and third Pictish king-lists gave the continuation of the list from 842 to 848, and that he understood the building and dedication of Dunkeld in 848/9 to be related to Kenneth I's achievement of the sole kingship. It is also possible that his next report, that Kenneth *inuasit sexies Saxoniam*, is to be collated with the report by 'Symeon of Durham' *(sub anno)* 854, listing the lands lost to St Cuthbert—and therefore that Kenneth's six raids into Lothian and Tweeddale are to be dated 849–54. But it is also possible that these correlations are an improper pressure on shaky evidence: unless we know the historiographic canons used in OSC we cannot be other than quite uncertain.

It is therefore right to note that OSC not only does not narrate the oral material on the fall of the Picts, but also that instead the compiler gives the established alternative which written historiography provided:

> *Deus enim eos [Pictos] pro merito suae maliciae alienos et occiosos hereditate dignatus est facere, qui⟨a⟩ illi non solum Domini missam ac preceptum spreuerunt, sed et in iure aequitatis aliis aequiparari noluerunt (?uoluerunt).*

The detail of this indictment is, to us, wholly mysterious, but what is clear is that the religious or ecclesiastical sins of the Picts are held to account for their secular disasters—the established theme in insular written historiography from Gildas' time onwards. Although the English translation of Onosius, a century before our compiler, had popularised in that kingdom quite another view of relationship between religious activity and secular catastrophe, the older doctrine naturally retained its strength among the moralists, as may clearly be seen just after the time of OSC in the ethical theory of Wulfstan, writing his homilies within the years 996 × 1023.[48] If however OSC holds to the old-fashioned historical and current ethical theory, it is still clear that the compiler is by no means ignorant of historiographic principle as such, and well aware that written historiography differs in this as in other matters from the oral genre.

This consideration alone is sufficient greatly to increase confidence in the character of OSC, and to encourage collation of its data with those in other sound sources. There is, however, also another matter. When we survey the historical work being written throughout the islands in the late ninth and tenth centuries, there is hardly an exception to the generalisation that the annals and chronicles of this time do not embark upon their own narratives for accounts of a process in which the significance

of the events they mention can be understood: if they regard more information as desirable, they quote verses and sagas. Besides OSC, the chief exception (if it is rightly dated *c.* 950[49]) is the anonymous *History of St Cuthbert*, written presumably at Chester-le-Street, with eleventh-century interpolations written presumably at Durham. This is an institutional history of an ecclesiastical organisation, and so formally a descendant of Bede's *History of the Abbots* of Jarrow and Monkwearmouth: both are in the genre of written historiography. When we compare OSC and the *History of St Cuthbert*, we see that the latter, being an ecclesiastical history, admits a vision as an explanation of a historical process[50]: OSC admits no such concession to oral or ideological historiography.

On the one hand therefore the status of OSC as a deliberate essay in written historiography clearly emerges, and collation of its assertions with those of other sources of the same status is legitimate[51]: its errors will be those naturally internal to its genre, and not due to oral influence. On the other hand, the exceptional character of OSC and the Cuthbertine *History* contrast with a general weakness of insular written historiography at this time: its failure to produce narratives of the great processes of these centuries, and abandonment of this function to the continuators of oral historiography.[52] The failure, in face of the vikings, is of course readily understandable, and modern difficulties lie elsewhere: in the osmotic acceptance of the principles or ideologies of the only narratives available. The survival of OSC, which shows that this trap can be avoided, is very fortunate, and we may follow its example in rejecting not only the stories of the Pictish massacre and the reign of Giric, but also their presuppositions and emotional results, from the historical record. It is true that the viking age nearly obliterated such distinctions as had previously been achieved between kings and bandits, but not quite; and OSC preserves data which allow us to study that margin.

It is no less important that the joint testimony of OSC, of the writing or editing of the *Senchus*, and of the third version of the Pictish king-list, witnesses the existence of a school or schools of historiography in late tenth-century Scotia, which included work of great ability if mistaken purpose in the Pictish revision, and of sound if old-fashioned principle in the *Chronicle*. This early stage in the recovery of learning from the disasters of the viking age in Scotia is worthy of much more study.

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

NOTES

1   For a useful study of one aspect of oral historiography, see D. P. Henige, *The Chronology of Oral Tradition* (1974) and the ensuing discussion in *The International Journal of African Historical Studies* 8: 279–87, 457–63. A briefer study of another aspect is by M. T. Clanchy, 1970: 165–76.

Of course, written historiography can be as passionate and partisan as the oral kind; the difference lies in the logical status of these qualities within the discipline. In oral historiography they are part of the assumptions and basis of the subject, in written work they are part of the interpretation or ideology. The outstanding examples of the latter are the works of Gibbon, Grote, or Marx, where the interpretative partisanship is as indubitable as the basic scholarship.

2   Ed. M. O. Anderson, *Kings and Kingship in Early Scotland* (1973: 249 line 11 to 253 line 3). Throughout the following discussions, I take for granted Dr Anderson's solutions of all detailed textual difficulties in king-lists, annals, and chronicles, and her discussions of historical problems in *Kings and Kingship*, to which references are therefore given only in exceptional cases.

3   The *Chronicle* is one of the documents in a collection of materials on Scottish history, and the collection was perhaps made 1202 × 1214, just possibly by the Augustinians at Scone, who might have sent it to their mother-house at Nostell in Yorkshire. Although known to Higden and copied by Poppleton *c.* 1350–60, it was not known to Fordun, researching and writing up to 1385, which suggests that it was in no important library at that date (Miller 1980).

4   See Anderson 1949: 39; 1973: 80.

5   See Miller 1980.

6   *Vita Cadoci* 62 (*alumpnus*) and 65 (*procurator*), in Wade-Evans 1944: 130, 132. The meaning 'foster-father' for Giric is preferred by A. O. Anderson (1922: 364). Dr M. O. Anderson points out to me that the decisive authority for insular usage is probably Isidore, *Etymologiae*, X. 3 (ed. W. M. Lindsay 1911):

> *alumnus ab alendo vocatur, licet et qui alit et qui alitur alumnus dici potest, id est qui nutrit et qui nutritur. Sed melius tamen qui nutritur.*

'*Alumnus* derives from *alere*, and both the fosterer and the fostered may be the *alumnus*, in active or passive meaning. But the passive is the better use.' But in the cases under discussion here, *alumnus* may mean 'maintained at the King's expense', an office which Anglo-Saxons might call the King's thegn.

7   The absence of Giric's father's name from OSC may be due either to deliberate deletion, or to editorial/scribal uncertainty (either about the man's identity or the Latin form of the name), or scribal error.

8   Compiled (to AD 1114) by Cathal MacManus who died in 1498; a new and more accurate edition is expected, and I am much indebted to Dr M. O. Anderson for information on the entries quoted below. In subsequent references, the abbreviation *AUc* means these Annals corrected for the omission of a blank year (by scribal error only) in the 480's.

9   This is the more likely in that Slebine, abbot of Iona 752–67, is reported as having found the date of the Adventus Saxonum at Ripon (see Miller, 'Dates of the Adventus Saxonum' [forthcoming]).

10   This odd-looking solecism has the inestimable advantage of distinguishing the Strathclyder from all the other bearers of the name Eochaid.

11   M. O. Anderson 1973: 245–289. The lists fall into two major groups: the length of the longer version, *Series Longior* (SL), is due entirely to the greater elaboration of the initial pseudo-history. The parent of this version appears to have been compiled by 865, by an Irish author, from the Pictish official archive, and is best represented in the extant list which precedes OSC in Paris BN Lat 4126 (SL 1 = Dr Anderson's A). This was translated into Latin somewhere about 1050, after which a copy was sent to Ireland where, in due course, it furnished an appendix to the translation of the *Historia Brittonum* (SL 2, of which four copies survive, including Dr Anderson's Cii, B/Bii, Ci), and (SL 3) interpolations both to this translation, *Lebor Bretnach*, and to *Lebor Gabála*: for details see Appendix to Miller 1980. The shorter lists, *Series Brevior* (SB), are of two families: Fordun's comes from a list compiled somewhere around 900, Wyntoun's and the lists called IF/DK from a third version, probably of the late tenth century. These are dated by the developments in the pseudo-history (see Miller 1979).

12   If we assume this date is correct, then the reign-length must be read as 4½ years: scribally the loss of a minim is an easy fault. But the difference between the list and AU may be historiographic, as may be argued: if the date of 789 for Conall's expulsion is correct, and also his reign-length, his reign

began in 784, so that the three previous kings occupy the years 779/80–784. In that case we must suppose that, if the reign-lengths are correct, Talorcan II was contemporary with Drest VIII and Talorcan III—that is, the kingdom was divided. This is in part confirmed by AUc for 782, with its king of Picts 'this side the Mounth', but this is an obit entry for Dubtalorc, who is not (under that name) in the lists. Perhaps we should suppose that a name has been misplaced, so that Talorcan III preceded Drest VIII and died in 782, in which case he would be Dubtalorc (see Table I below).

For the name Dubtalorc see Smyth 1975/6: 101–17. Just as Talorc-an means 'young Talorc' (*vel sim*), so on this argument Dubtalorc means 'the younger Talorc'. In the case of the obit of 782 and the obit/end of reign in 784, there is of course no denying the possibility that the younger man died first.

13 AU's dates suggest that the reign-length should be of 3⟨2⟩ years, while at the next entry AU's date suggests that the reign-length should be 1⟨5⟩ years: both these counts would be inclusive, the reigns ending in the 32nd and 15th years respectively. See next note.

14 If this date is correct, then the two reigns since 834 have been rounded up and should total only five years; moreover the simultaneous deaths (presumably—at least ends of reign) of two kings needs explanation. At 836, the *Annals of the Four Masters* (compiled 1632/6) report from an unrecorded source that Godfrey son of Fergus of the Airgialla went to Scotland to reinforce Dalriada at the bidding of Kenneth I; and at 853 report Godfrey's death. Airgialla are (?previously) reported in Scotland as part of the subkingdom of Lorn (Bannerman 1974), and later kings of Moray claimed Lorn descent. This account therefore looks like the foundation-legend of Moray, in a form suitable to the later unified kingdom of Scotia, under the descendants of Kenneth I. Thus if the date is correct, the invasion may explain the simultaneous deaths of Drest IX and Talorcan IV. Uuen son of Onuist (= Eoganan son of Oengus) would then reign 836–9, when he and his brother Bran were killed in a viking invasion.

The inclusive counts of the years of Constantine, Onuist, and the joint kings Drest IX and Talorcan IV, do not seem to be paralleled elsewhere in the king-list, and could be due to the idiosyncrasy of a single chronicler or remembrancer working 820–36.

15 If Uurad is to be dated 839–42, and Kenneth I 842–58, then the 'one year' of Bridei VI is an error of rounding up: compare the SB entry (see below) for this king as reigning for one month.

16 The AU dates give sixteen years to the two sons of Kenneth, while this list gives twenty-one: AU agrees with the *Duan* (see below) on the two-year reign of Aed. These facts may suggest that all three authorities drew here on a common source which gave *xvi* years (read as *xxi* for SL 2 contd.) for the brothers, with some remark on the brief survival of Aed (such as 'scarcely two years') rounded variously by different chronologers. Other reasons for thinking of a common source for SL 2 contd. and the *Duan* are adduced by Dr Anderson (1973: 48f.).

17 The two eleven-year reigns agree with OSC and the 22-year interval in AU, but OSC also tells us that

'In his second year, Aed son of Niall died [Friday 20 November 879 AUc]; and in his ninth [corrected from eleventh] year, on the very day of St Ciricus [16 June] there was an eclipse of the sun [true for 885]. Eochaid with his *alumnus* was now expelled from the kingdom'.

If 20 November 879 was in Eochaid's second year, the eclipse of 16 June 885 was in his seventh (884/5) or eighth (885/6) year. Probably the writing at some stage earlier than the extant manuscript (of *c.* 1360) of *viiii* for *viii* is an easier error than the writing of *ii* for *i*. There is furthermore the apparent implication that Eochaid and Giric were expelled *now*, *i.e.* at the time of the eclipse—which would seem to go with the erroneous 'eleventh' year. Perhaps the correct account is indicated not only in the correction in OSC of eleventh to ninth, but also in the odd variant 'or 3' in SL 2 contd., as the debris of a statement 'three years after the eclipse'?

18 See Anderson 1973: 44ff.

19 W. F. Skene, *Chronicles of the Picts . . . Scots*, pp. 18–22 (1867), translated by Anderson, 1922: cxlii–cxlix. The text in Edinburgh Nat. Lib. Advocates' MS 72.1.28 (Gaelic 28 = Kilbride 24), and Oxford Bodl. Rawl B 486 is edited by A. Boyle in *Celtica* 9 (1971) 169–79. The text in Dublin RIA Stowe D.4.3 (993), the Book of Lecan (RIA 23 P 2), and Oxford Bodl Rawl B 512 is edited by R. Thurneysen in *Zeitschr. Celt. Phil.* 19 (1931) 81–99 and corrections p. 133.

20 Text ed. K. H. Jackson, 1955: 149ff; translation and notes 1957: 125–37. Anagraphic verse is a versified list.

21 The poem is discussed by A. O. Anderson, 1922: xxxiv–vi, with translations of the relevant passages at pp. 273, 292, 354f., 358, 366f., 397. Edition by A. O. Anderson 1929: 1–56, who gives a table of identifications, most of which 'are to be regarded as exceedingly uncertain' (p. 5). The word *Dasachtach* ('the mad') for the fourth Scottish king, is used in the *Synchronisms* (above, both texts) as the epithet of Domnall II, but if that king is intended by Berchan, he is out of sequence. This renders all other identifications even more hazardous.

22 Since the annals record a civil war in Pictland in 789, in Dalriada in 807, and invasions in 819, 836, and 839, there is no reason to suppose that they would have in this period omitted other wars of importance.

23 M. O. Anderson 1974. The comment added in OSC ('From that day the hill has deserved its name, the Hill of Credulity') implies that either the Scottish dynasty, or the St Andrews bishopric, was held to have broken the agreement: if the chronicle (as seems certain) was written in the ecclesiastical interest, the complaint will be against the dynasty, and may refer specifically to the expulsion of bishop Fothad I by king Indulf (954–62). Dr Anderson suggests to me that the *Scotti* of this entry were the same body as the *Goedeli* of Domnall I's time: the corresponding English institution at this time would presumably be the *witan*.

The *iura ac leges regni Edi filii Ecdach* have been a difficulty for the doctrine that Irish kings were not legislators, and—while interpretations have not been lacking—it is undoubtedly a relief that the doctrine is now questioned: O'Corrain 1978: 1–36, especially pp. 22–3. The Irish king as legislator appears first as the proclaimer and enforcer of *rechtge* adopted at public assemblies, and these *rechtge* may have included *cána* issued by individual monasteries. We should therefore note not only the Gaedil and Scotti of OSC, but also the completion of the *Collectio Canonum Hibernensis* by CuChuimne of Iona (died 747), that is, in the generation before Aed Find (died 778) and his *iura ac leges*. We should note too the general context—the conformity of 716 on the ecclesiastical side, the Pictish conquest of 741 and the subsequent revolt of 768 on the secular. These events would surely exact some legal changes in both departments of life. (In this general connection also we may be allowed to wonder why Pechthelm—who was something of an expert on canon law, consulted by Boniface (Plummer, *Bede* ii: 343)—was appointed to the seemingly remote see of Whithorn, which would have rapid sea-communications with Iona, as is shown by the properties of revived Iona in twelfth-century Galloway.)

24 It is less easy to be sure what this Irish type may be. At the moment it seems to be held that the Irish norm (at least for the provincial kingships or overlordships) was a kingship rotating irregularly among a group of patrilineages; these usually claimed common ancestors, and if the claim is accepted, the patrilines can be taken as *segments* of a single agnatic kindred. Within each segment or patriline, it is held that close relatives of former kings are good candidates, and that between segments or patrilines there is a structural opposition so that succession is typically by murder. This structural hypothesis (O'Corrain 1971: 7–39) must certainly be used with caution, as a matter of historiographic principle. The union of modern structuralisms with the inherent structures of oral and mediæval historiography may be most unholy. It is for example easy to assume that the Dalriadan retrograde patrilineage above Aed Find is correct. But every one of nine generations is there represented by one member and he is a king: this looks like a mediæval structuralism. Consequently to use this pedigree as part of the evidence for a rule that succession was preferentially confined to sons of former kings (Whitaker 1976: 343–63, especially 354) probably adds a modern to a mediæval structure.

25 Skene (1876: 313–14) asserts that Maelmuire married Aed Findliath, but A. O. Anderson (1922: 403 n.4) gives Aed a different wife. The obit in AU is accompanied by the obit of *Etulb, king of the Saxons of the North*, who is apparently Eaduulf, high reeve of Bamburgh. These entries may therefore be from a contemporary source, with information reaching Ireland fairly quickly: if so, the appearance of Maelmuire's obit in the Irish compilation cannot be used to support Skene's assertion. (But see now Smyth 1977: 146) Maelmuire seems very odd as a female name; it is permitted however by O'Brien 1973: 211–36, especially p. 230 section 44 (c)2—unfortunately

without naming his source, so that there is no guarantee that a second example exists. I have to thank Mr Donald Meek for this reference.

(The curious statement in Berchan, p. 133 that the Briton *in Tuilti* was son of 'a woman of Dun Guaire [Bamburgh]' may be a misrepresentation of this double annal or its parent.)

26 *quos ut diximus Cinaedius delevit* says the chronicler, despite having in fact omitted this matter. The earliest surviving account of the massacre presumably referred to here is Giraldus Cambrensis, *de Princ. Instr.* I. 18, of which the writing may have been finished about 1217 (Rolls 21 viii [1891] 97f).

27 Hengist and the nobles of Vortigern: Mommsen 1898 : 189–90.

The Old Saxons: Widukind I. 6, ed. M. E. Lohrmann and P. Hirsch 1935.

Kiev Rus: Cross and Sherbowitz-Wetzor 1953.

Coirpre Cenn Cait: text ed. Thurneysen 1917 : 60–9 (translated Eoin MacNeill, *Celtic Ireland* (1921) p. 65ff.).

I owe several of these details to Dr M. O. Anderson; perhaps it should be added that the motif occurs in the Starkadr stories, about the sons of Swerting (who seem to be unlocalised).

28 We may note that the writer of the Legend of St Andrews (Skene 1867 : 188) used the name of king Uurad son of Bargoit (*Pherath filio Bergath*), and placed him at Meigle.

29 Discussed Anderson 1973 : 142, 151, 199. It is possible that this pseudo-ancestry was invented for the MacDuff earls of Fife.

30 Discussed Anderson 1973 : 237–9. The name Constantine has of course attracted attention (Duncan 1978 : 56, 104 n. 6).

31 The eponym of the parish is the Irish saint Colman Elo, for whom see J. F. Kenney 1969.

32 W. J. Watson 1926 : 188, 194f., 303; C. Innes *et al.* 1851–5 : I. 17 (Govan), 163 (Crawford Lindsay); II. 19 (Kilchouslan) 381 (Garabost). J. Murray Mackinlay (1914 : 200–3) doubtfully adds Kildusland in Ardrishaig, Urr in Kirkcudbright, Kinnoull in Perthshire, and Dunnichen in Fife.

33 *Breviary of Aberdeen* (1509/10) *ap.* Anderson 1922 : 92f.

34 Anderson 1973 : 230, 105f., 155f.

35 There are of course many examples of comparable arrangements, from Alexander the Great onwards, between patrilinear societies: between matrilinear societies we may perhaps note Ivor Wilks 1959: 391–403. But I know of no other example involving a patrilinear and a matrilinear dynasty.

36 Wyntoun: ed. F. J. Amours 1903–14: IV : 68f. Without the date, the foundation is also attributed to Constantine in the Latin texts of the king-list.

37 Miller 1979. It seems not improbable that one of Columba's relics was his *bachall*, of which the virtues are celebrated by an entry in the annals of 'Duald McFirbis' (drawing on a Dunkeld source?): Skene 1867 : 405–6.

38 Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica* (Plummer 1896 : I. 1) 'whenever the succession might be doubtful, they should choose themselves a king from the cognates through females rather than from the agnates of the kings'. For the other accounts see Miller 1980.

39 Jackson 1971 : 121–40; Anderson 1973; Kirby 1976 : 286–324.

40 If we do not know precisely the constitutional position, or the extent of the powers or the territory, of the kings of the Picts, at least it is clear that they are not village headmen.

41 Miller 1978 : 47–66 discusses the case of Oswy's position during and after the Pictish reign of his brother's son, Talorcan I. We may perhaps also note that, even if Adomnán's wizard Broichan is an invention (Anderson 1961 : 84f.), Adomnán was writing when Pictish institutions were in full strength, and the notion of a special advisory office (in this case occupied by a *nutricius*, foster-father) near the king must have been acceptable. We may contrast the practice of the fully matrilinear Ashanti, where such a position was occupied by the queen-mother. Whether Adomnán's *nutricius* is comparable with the *alumnus* of OSC is a considerable question: if it were (and Giric's task was to see that the Briton observed the proprieties of his new kingdom) it would emphasise the Pictishness of Eochaid's reign.

42 The reverse situation—of a king bearing a non-royal name—is not certainly found in the case of the four Talorcans, for all of whom there is either historical or textual reason for thinking that the king's proper name may have been Talorc, a certainly royal name. For Talorcan I see Miller 1978; for Talorcan II and III see note 12 above; Talorcan IV appears also in the ghost Dustilorg, which implies an original Talorc. There is no reason to suppose that Talorcan, father of Drest VIII, is identical with one of the kings. The non-royal name corresponding to the royal Drest is represented in Irish sources as Drostan, but there is no evidence that this was the proper name of Drest IX.

43 Dumville 1977 : 84.

44 For parallel claims by right of primary settlement see Henige 1974 : 39f; and for a discussion of the use of the 'early Scottish kingdom' from Fordun onwards, *op. cit.*: 114–18. For the texts of the Latin lists E/IF/DK see Anderson 1973 : 253–89.

45 As we have seen above, contemporary entries may extend from 768 to 792 and resume in 913; but it may be that some of the intervening entries are contemporary.

46 Miller 1979.

47 Henige 1974 : 41.

48 Whitelock 1963; Bethurum 1957.

49 Craster 1954 : 177–99. The *History* is in any case to be dated earlier than the 'Chronica Monasterii Dunelmensis' which is dateable 1072 × 1083 (Craster 1925 : 504 ff.).

50 The success of abbot Eadred in securing a Christian Dane as king, acceptable to both the Angles and the Danes of Northumbria.

51 Consequently the importance emerges of the conquest of Pictland 842–8 and the Northumbrian War of 849–54, as the prelude to the Danish invasion. Indeed, if we were to think in terms of the once-fashionable 'domino theory', then (given constant viking probes on all British coasts) we could see the series Pictland 836–48, northern Northumbria 849–54, southern Northumbria 866–7, Mercia 865–74, Strathclyde 870, leaving Scotia, Strathclyde, Wessex, and the Welsh kingdoms as the sole entities sustaining some previous form of state or political organisation. This of course raises the interesting question whether the high reeves of Bamburgh did not claim kingship.

We should note also that OSC records a Scots king of Strathclyde before 940/3, so that Edmund's action in 945 is one of handing back rather than handing over, *pace* Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, p. 359 (1971).

52 An interesting visual parallel to this verbal situation is found in Anglo-Saxon art: 'It need hardly be stressed to what extent Anglo-Saxon art of the tenth and eleventh centuries owes its distinctive note to ornamental development which reacts on the figure composition and prevents, for better or worse, the concentration on dramatic narrative in which continental Ottonian art excels' (R. Freyhan, 1955 '; 412).

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Notes and Comments

Pennyland and Davoch in South-Western Scotland: a Preliminary Note*

JOHN MACQUEEN

It is not always realised that Gaelic *peighinn*, 'pennyland', with the associated *lethpheighinn*, 'halfpennyland' and *fàirdean*, 'farthingland', is one of the commonest elements in the settlement names of South-Western Scotland, nor that the pattern of distribution stands in a curious relationship with that of another common element, *ceathramh*, 'quarter(land)', and the much less frequent *dabhach*, 'davoch'. (The very existence of this last in South West onomastics has often been denied—see, for instance, Barrow 1962:135). A fully-detailed study would probably yield valuable information on the settlement patterns of Gaelic-speaking immigrants in the South-West during the poorly documented period from the ninth to the twelfth century. Place-names in *peighinn* are found in concentration to the north of the region, particularly in the river-valleys of Carrick, the southern part of Ayrshire. Those which contain *dabhach* centre on the Stewartry of Kirkcudbright, while *ceathramh* names are found in quantity in Wigtownshire and the Stewartry, scarcely at all elsewhere. A provisional count indicates that of 40 reasonably certain *peighinn* names, 26 are to be found in Ayrshire, 6 in Wigtownshire, 4 in the Stewartry, and two each in Dumfriesshire and Lanarkshire. I have noted 9 instances of *lethpheighinn*, 7 in Ayrshire, and one each in Wigtownshire and the Stewartry; 12 of *fàirdean*, 8 in Ayrshire, 4 in Dumfriesshire. There are 10 likely instances of *dabhach*, 6 in the Stewartry, 3 in Ayrshire, and one in Wigtownshire. Of the 35 instances of *ceathramh*, 20 are in Wigtownshire, 14 in the Stewartry, and one in Dumfriesshire. The list which follows is arranged alphabetically by county and parish.

1 *peighinn*

AYRSHIRE

Ballantrae parish: Dupin, Pencummin, Penderry
Barr parish: Corphin, Pinbreck, Pinclanty, Pindonnan, Pinhannet, Pinmullan, Pinvalley
Colmonell parish: Pinmore, Pinwherry

Fig. 1. South Carrick (detail) after Timothy Pont c. 1590, Blaeu's Atlas 1654.
(By courtesy of Edinburgh University Library.)

Settlement names in Pin-, Pen-, -fin, and Douch- reflect former pennyland and davoch land-divisions.

Dailly parish: Penkill
Dalmellington parish: Pennyvennie
Girvan parish: Dupin, Letterpin, Penwhapple, Pinbain, Pinmacher, Pinmery,
   Pinminnoch, Pinmore
Kirkmichael parish: Pinmerry
Maybole parish: Penmore, Pennyglen
Old Cumnock parish: Penbreck

DUMFRIESSHIRE

Kirkmahoe parish: Pennyland
Tynron parish: Pingarte

LANARKSHIRE

Crawfordjohn parish: Glespin
Douglas parish: Glespin

STEWARTRY

Colvend parish: Colvend
Girthon parish: Penwhaile
Kilmabreck parish: Daffin
Rerwick parish: Castledaffin

WIGTOWNSHIRE

Inch parish: Penwhirn, Pinwherrie
Kirkmaiden parish: Fourpenny Moor
Port Patrick parish: Colfin, Pinminnoch
Sorbie parish: Penkiln

2 *lethpheighinn*

AYRSHIRE

Ballantrae parish: Garleffin, Leffin Donald
Barr parish: Garleffin (2)
Kirkoswald parish: Leffinwyne
Old Cumnock parish: High Garleffin
Straiton parish: Linfern (*Leffinfairn*, Pont)

STEWARTRY

Dalry parish: Garleffin

WIGTOWNSHIRE

Inch parish: Leffnoll

3 *fàirdean*

AYRSHIRE

Barr parish: Fardin
Colmonell parish: Farden, Fardenreoch
Girvan parish: Fardenden
Kirkmichael parish: Farden William
Kirkoswald parish: Farden
New Cumnock parish: Blackfarding, Fardingreoch

DUMFRIESSHIRE

Durisdeer parish: Fardingmullach
Holywood parish: High Farthingwell
Keir parish: Fardingjames
Penpont parish: High Farthingbank

4 *dabhach*

AYRSHIRE

Colmonell parish: Dochroyle, Docherneil
Straiton parish: Kildoach

STEWARTRY

Buittle parish: Doach Wood
Carsphairn parish: Cullendoch Hill
New Abbey parish: Cullendeugh, Knockendoch
Parton parish: Culdoach
Twynholm parish: Culdoach

WIGTOWNSHIRE

Inch parish: Drumdoch

5 *ceathramh*

DUMFRIESSHIRE

Tynron parish: Corrodow

STEWARTRY

Anwoth parish: Kirklaugh (Kirrieclaugh, 1605, *Inq. ad Cap.*)
Balmaclellan parish: Currydow
Balmaghie parish: Duchrae
Carsphairn parish: Kirreoch Burn, Carminnow, Carnavel
Dalry parish: Duchrae
Kells parish: Kirreroch
Kirkgunzeon parish: Tarkirra
Minnigaff parish: Corrafeckloch, Kirriedarroch, Kirriemore Burn, Kirshinnoch
    Burn, Kirriereoch

WIGTOWNSHIRE

Inch parish: Duchra, Kirminnoch, Kirclachie
Kirkcolm parish: Kermanachan, Kirminnoch, Kirranrae, Kerowdow, Salchrie
Kirkcowan parish: Carlure
Kirkinner parish: Kirwaugh
Leswalt parish: Garchrie
Mochrum parish: Killantrae (*Kerintray,* 1494: Reid 1960: 178 *etc.*), Gargrie
New Luce parish: Quarter
Penninghame parish: Blackquarter, Kirkhobble (*Kerychappell,* Pont)
Stoneykirk parish: Kirklauchlane (*Kererlauchlin,* 1516, RMS), Kirkmagill
    (*Karmagell,* 1488, RMS: *Keromagill,* 1571, Galloway papers in SRO), Kir-
    naughtry
Wigtown parish: Kirvennie

Etymologically *peighinn* is derived from Old English *pening,* 'penny', an element
which is occasionally found in such English place-names as Pennington and Penton,
where the meaning is ' "TUN that had to pay a penny geld" or the like' (Ekwall, *s.v.
pening*). In English place-names however the word is very infrequent, and there can
be no reasonable doubt that it entered Scottish nomenclature by way of Norsemen,
who had adopted English monetary units, and who established their influence in the
west and north of Scotland during the period from the ninth to the eleventh
centuries. The scat which they imposed on the Gaelic-speaking population appears to
have been levied at the rate of one ounce of silver per townland. The town-land thus
became known as the *tir-unga,* 'ounceland', which, in theory at least, was subdivided
into 18 or 20 units, each usually representing a single household, and valued at a
silver penny (Thomas 1885-6). Larger subdivisions also existed, in much of Gaelic-
speaking western Scotland, for instance, the old *ceathramh* 'quarterland', familiar in
Ireland as in much of the remainder of Scotland, was equated with the fivepenny- or
quarterounce-land. Castledaffin (Rerwick parish) and Daffin (Kirmabreck parish),

both in the Stewartry, contain *dà-pheighinn* 'twopennyland'. As has been illustrated above, other units were valued at less than a penny. In the Isle of Man, *tir-unga* became *treen*, but this makes no appearance in surviving place-names. In Carrick, the pennyland as a fiscal unit survived into the period of extant Latin charters. The lands of Crossraguel and Southblane, granted before 1202 by Duncan, Earl of Carrick, to the monks of Paisley, constituted a fivepennyland (*ceathramh*); those of Duneyne or Dinhame a two-and-a-half-pennyland (*leath-cheathramh, ochdamh*) while Clena-cheth, Balchriston, Dalquharran, Quarrel (= 'quarry') and Auchennaich were each single pennylands (Hunter Blair 1886: I. 2, 15–16). There is no trace in place-name or charter evidence of the term *tir-unga*.

The word *dabhach*, as opposed to *peighinn*, is of purely Gaelic origin. The basic meaning is 'a large vat', and it is probable that

> the term was applied to that amount of land necessary to produce, or to require for sowing it, a fixed amount of grain, enough to fill a large vat of a fixed size; this being perhaps not the total yield of grain but only the proportion of it due as a fixed render of tax.
>
> (Jackson 1972:116)

The oldest instances of this use of the word are to be found in the Gaelic notes added in the mid-twelfth century to the *Book of Deer* to form a record of grants of land made to the Buchan monastery. The term was Latinised for use in charters as *davaca* or *davach*, as in *dimidiam davacam terre de Achinleske* or *unam davach terre in strathardel. Tulahourene scilicet* (Easson 1947: I. 237, 85). Generally it belongs to the east of Scotland north of Forth, but the total range is wider.

> It is not found in Argyll, Lennox or Menteith, nor is there much evidence of its use in Strathearn. It can be found in Fife, Gowrie, Stormont and Atholl, and was evidently general throughout the country north of Tay as far as the Dornoch Firth area . . . In the west highlands its distribution is hard to trace because of the scarcity of early texts; it occurs in Lochaber, and in late documents which refer to 'fiscal' davochs it is applied to Glenelg, Skye, the Small Isles and the Outer Isles. Despite the Irish origin of the word, there seems to be something inescapably Pictish about the use of the davoch of land.
>
> (Barrow 1962:135).

According to Professor Barrow in the same place, 'it is not found anywhere south of the Forth–Clyde line', but while this fairly represents the documentary evidence, it fails to take account of onomastics. Place-names establish that in the Stewartry, and probably to a lesser extent in Carrick and Wigtownshire, the *dabhach* existed as an important unit of land-assessment.

Where the basic unit is the *dabhach*, the *ceathramh* is to be understood as a quarter-*dabhach*.

For Galloway, Carrick and Dumfriesshire, the total evidence may appear complicated in the extreme. One suggestion, however, which deserves consideration, is that the south-west saw a blend of two systems in terms of which the eastern *dabhach* was sub-divided on the western pattern into twenty pennylands. Individual

instance of *peighinn* are more or less restricted to the hill-country, which occupies the north of the region; in the more level and fertile south the *ceathramh* and *dabhach* predominate. The presence of the *dabhach* may support the hypothesis which I have put forward elsewhere (MacQueen 1962) that some part of the historical Pictavia is the likeliest place of origin for the majority of the *Gall-ghaidhil* who settled in Galloway, probably around the tenth century, and that the *Gall-ghaidhil* and the Picts of Galloway, whose very existence has often been disputed, were one and the same people.

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Note on 'Pennyland and Davoch in South-Western Scotland'

BASIL MEGAW

This preliminary study is especially interesting because it opens up an important area not hitherto considered in this context. Lying as it does between key regions of Gaelic speech that were strongly affected by Scandinavian settlement—Argyll and the Isles on the one hand, and Man on the other—Galloway (with adjoining territories of the South-West) now provides good evidence for the pennyland-davoch pattern in an area once Gaelic-speaking that was free from Norse control.

After Captain Thomas's pioneer study of almost a century ago, everyone accepted that the Hebridean and West Highland ounceland (*tirunga*/davoch) of 20 penny-lands was attributable to the Scandinavians, familiar as they were through trading with the English monetary system. Now Dr Bannerman's careful study of the *Senchus fer nAlban* appears to overturn this apparently logical view, or at least to render it untenable in simple form. We now have to reckon with a regular naval levy for Dalriada that provided for the supply of oarsmen from 'every [group of] 20 houses'—and that as far back as the seventh century. In these pre-Norse house-groups Bannerman sees the origin of the medieval *tirunga* (equated with the davoch) which, with its 20 pennylands, was responsible for furnishing the war-galleys of the West Highland chiefs (Bannerman 1974:49; 140 ff.).

[Further confirmation of the carefully-argued equation appears in a land-grant of *c.* 1295 which stipulates that each of two named pennylands will provide one man to the 'congregations' [or hosting] of Argyll, as is customary there (Lamont 1914:7–8). This neatly supplements an order by the MacRuari lord of Garmoran 'and his friends', mentioned in a letter of 1304 (Bain 1881–8:II. no. 1633), to the effect that 'each *dawach* of land shall furnish a galley of 20 oars'. Hitherto this has been assumed to refer to the inland lordship of Aboyne in Aberdeenshire (also mentioned in the passage, but evidently in connection with a Comyn ally): it more probably relates to the Garmoran lordship, which included the Uists, Barra, the small isles, and the western coast of mainland Inverness-shire].

Neither Captain Thomas nor his recent followers (*e.g.* Hugh Marwick, and Andrew McKerral) have argued that the ounceland and pennyland holdings—the actual land units—had been contrived by the Scandinavian incomers, but that they had imposed a money tax on the native settlements they encountered. Following Dr Bannerman, but independently, I have argued the case for a substantial measure of continuity with pre-Norse society in Man and the Isles (*Scottish Studies* 1976). If in fact the ounceland and pennyland were due solely to English-influenced Scandinavian settlers

of the Viking period, it is strange that there was at that time no Anglo-Saxon ounce other than the *ora* of 16 silver pennies (Harvey 1967:228). There was, however, an Irish *unga mór* of 20 silver pennies, though how early is not clear. *Cormac's Glossary* certainly implies that ounces and pennyweights were already familiar in coinless, ninth-century Ireland—as they remained until the Elizabethan conquest. Indeed Binchy (1963:22) and Bruce Dickins (1932:20) have both been prepared to accept the suggestion that the Irish word *pinginn, penginn,* for the Anglo-Saxon penny derives with metathesis from the seventh-century Old Eng. *pending,* named from the Mercian king Penda. The medieval Welsh Laws also indicate that 'a score pence' of silver was a common unit of account, and this may have some bearing on the ounceland of twenty pennylands. So far as it goes, the effect of all this is to suggest that the Scandinavians may not have introduced the system to the Isles but found it there. The alternative would be that the system represented by 20 pennylands = 1 ounceland was post-eleventh-century; but Bannerman's conclusions strongly favour the former view.

Whatever may be said of the Pictish associations of the davoch unit, as represented in the distribution of much of the surviving place-name evidence, the word itself must first have reached the east with the Scots, and I would incline to see the south-western davochs in the same light; presumably pennylands came with them. Whether from Argyll, the Isles, or conceivably from Ulster—and when—are for me most interesting questions.

Lacking detailed knowledge of the Galloway material, my hunch would be that there they may represent a movement from the West Highlands or Isles during the Viking period. Yet my impression is that Norse settlement-names from that region, such as might be associated with the introduction of pennyland and davoch at that time, are scarce in Galloway—certainly by comparison with Man. I take it that the names in 'Kirk-' and '-bie', like those in '-fell', are mainly either post-Viking loan-words, or part-substitutions, (*i.e.* eleventh-century or after; or outliers from the northern Danelaw, comparable with others found south of Forth and Clyde. Perhaps the most substantial hint of a western, Viking Age strain in Gaelic Galloway is the name of the province itself—actually that of its ruling dynasty. But now there seems a possibility that davoch and pennyland were there before that dynasty.

To avoid possible misunderstandings it may be added that, of the terms discussed, only *kerroo*/quarter[-land] occurs in Manx place-names. In fact, the quarterland remains the customary farm-unit: some archaeological evidence suggests this may already have been the case in the Viking period. Formerly *treen* was employed in the sense of 'townland'—though not found in place-names, where Manx *balla-* (Gael. *baile*) occurs as a prefix in both *treen* and quarterland names. Neither davoch (as land unit) nor pennyland are found in Man. (Where *ping,* 'penny' does occur in Manx place-names this indicates a late enclosure from the common lands, *i.e.* moor or

marsh, often rented at a penny or so by Governor's licence, mainly in the seventeenth or eighteenth centuries). Responsibilities such as were associated with the Scots pennyland seem to have devolved upon the Manx quarterland.

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The Twa Magicians as Conception Story

EMILY B. LYLE

The Twa Magicians (Child no. 44)[1] tells the story of a blacksmith who sets out to take a lady's maidenhead and eventually does so. The narrative, as it stands in the ballad, has a levelling moral, the abolition of the social distinction between workman and grand lady: 'The rusty smith her leman was, / For a' her muckle pride.' However, the figure of the blacksmith is not an insignificant one in myth and folklore and clearly the smith of the ballad is not an ordinary man. Both he and the lady display powers of transformation which mark them as supernatural beings.

In her attempt to escape the smith, the lady assumes a variety of different shapes but in each case the smith pursues in a shape that in some way matches that taken by her:

> Then she became a turtle dow,
>   To fly up in the air,
> And he became another dow,
>   And they flew pair and pair.
>
> She turnd hersell into an eel,
>   To swim into yon burn,
> And he became a speckled trout,
>   To gie the eel a turn.
>
> Then she became a duck, a duck,
>   To puddle in a peel,
> And he became a rose-kaimd drake,
>   To gie the duck a dreel.
>
> She turnd hersell into a hare,
>   To rin upon yon hill,
> And he became a gude grey-hound,
>   And boldly he did fill.

She then became a mare and he became a saddle; she became a girdle and he became a cake; she became a ship and he became a nail; and finally she became a silken plaid on a bed and 'he became a green covering / And gaind her maidenhead.' The ballad ends here, but, as it is frequently a given in Scottish ballads that intercourse will be followed by pregnancy, *The Twa Magicians* may plausibly be regarded as belonging to the class of conception stories and I attempt here to place it in context when it is considered in this way.

In a conception story the transformations would not occur in isolation as they do in the ballad but would be linked to a birth which could be expected to be as remarkable as the events that led up to it. This is the case in the only conception story among the many parallels to *The Twa Magicians* adduced by Child—the conception of the bard Taliesin (Child 1882–98:1.402, 2.506, 5.216). The tale, known through Welsh manuscripts of the sixteenth century onwards, tells of the pursuit of Gwion Bach by the hag Ceridwen who becomes the mother of the famous bard.

Taliesin is obviously thought to have derived his inspiration as poet from the pre-natal experience that occurred immediately before the pursuit. Gwion Bach accidentally tasted three drops from the cauldron of inspiration which Ceridwen had been brewing for the benefit of her son, Morfran, and so stole its power for himself. From the magical knowledge gained by tasting the drops he realised that he was in danger from the anger of Ceridwen, whose hopes for her son had been disappointed, and tried to make his escape but she caught sight of him and followed (Guest 1849:323–4, 358–9; *cf.* Ford 1977:x. 160–4):

> And she went forth after him, running. And he saw her, and changed himself into a hare and fled. But she changed herself into a greyhound and turned him. And he ran towards a river, and became a fish. And she in the form of an otter-bitch chased him under the water, until he was fain to turn himself into a bird of the air. Then she, as a hawk, followed him and gave him no rest in the sky. And just as she was about to stoop upon him, and he was in fear of death, he espied a heap of winnowed wheat on the floor of a barn, and he dropped amongst the wheat, and turned himself into one of the grains. Then she transformed herself into a high-crested black hen, and went to the wheat and scratched it with her feet, and found him out and swallowed him. And, as the story says, she bore him nine months, and when she was delivered of him, she could not find it in her heart to kill him, by reason of his beauty.

The boy that she conceived by swallowing Gwion Bach as a grain of wheat is in a sense Gwion Bach himself and in a sense a new being who is given the name Taliesin. This gifted child retained, as I have noted, the inspiration received by Gwion Bach when he tasted the drops from the cauldron. I have not seen it suggested, but it seems likely to be the case, that he is exceptional also because he partakes of the nature of the transformations undergone by Gwion Bach and Ceridwen during the pursuit, that is, that he shares in some way the nature of animal (hare/greyhound), of water-creature (fish/otter) and of bird (bird/hawk), or of the three elements to which they belong: earth, water and air. The transformations in *The Twa Magicians* similarly include adaptations during the pursuit to these three elements: the lady and the smith become animals (hare and greyhound) 'to rin upon yon hill', water-creatures (eel and trout or duck and drake) 'to swim into yon burn' or 'to puddle in a peel' and birds (doves) 'to fly up in the air'.

A triple transformation like this into creatures of land, water and air seems to be present in one of the conception stories told of Helen of Troy who was held to have

been born (or rather hatched) from an egg. In the particular account of her conception with which I am concerned here she was said to be the daughter of Zeus and Nemesis. It was given in the *Cypria*, a poem belonging to the post-Homeric Epic Cycle composed in the seventh and sixth centuries B.C. (M. L. West in Hammond and Scullard 1972:388-9). The poem itself is lost but an extract quoted from it by Athenaeus in *The Deipnosophists* in the course of a discussion on fish tells part of the conception story (Gulick 1930:16-19—334 c-d; *cf.* Allen 1912:120):

> And after them, thirdly she bore Helen, a wonder unto mortals. Her once upon a time did beautiful-haired Nemesis, united in love, bear to Zeus king of the gods, under strong necessity; for she fled from him, nor was she willing to be united in love with Zeus the father, Cronos' son; for her heart was oppressed by modesty and indignation; and she fled throughout the earth and the unharvested dark sea, and Zeus pursued her; and in his heart he longed to catch her; and at one moment, in the waves of the resounding sea, like unto a fish, she caused a commotion in the vast deep, and at another time in the river of Ocean and at the earth's farthest bounds, and at another time on the fertile land; and ever did she become all the terrible beasts that the land nurtures, that she might escape him.[2]

Apollodorus also mentions this account of Helen's parentage in *The Library* (Frazer 1921:23-4—3.10.7):

> But some say that Helen was a daughter of Nemesis and Zeus; for that she, flying from the arms of Zeus, changed herself into a goose, but Zeus in his turn took the likeness of a swan and so enjoyed her; and as the fruit of their loves she laid an egg . . .

If these quotations tell different parts of the same story, as seems probable, then Nemesis in her flight from Zeus took successively the shapes of fish, beasts of the land, and bird (goose).

These Scottish, Welsh and Greek instances taken together provide fair, if not fully conclusive, evidence of the currency of a story of a remarkable birth preceded by a series of transformations representative of the three elements of earth, water and air. It is a reasonable inference that such a story gives expression in narrative form to the idea that the divine or quasi-divine child incorporated the qualities of these elements in his or her own being.

A. L. Lloyd has pointed out that there is a resemblance between *The Twa Magicians* and the shape-shifting sexual pursuit which occurs as part of a creation myth in the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* dated *c.* 700 B.C. (Lloyd 1967:154; O'Flaherty 1975:17, 34-5—1.4.1-4). This is particularly interesting in showing that the story of a flight and pursuit with transformations was linked to an early stage in the creation story for it occurs 'in the beginning' immediately after a splitting apart of primal being into man and woman. Male and female mate as a series of different animals and are the progenitors of each species, but there is no suggestion of the presence of the various elements. On the other hand, the creation myth in a later Indian record—the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* dated *c.* 450 A.D.—does have an account of the union of the elements although there is no story of a pursuit. After the creation of the five elements of ether,

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air, fire, water and earth, it is said of them that 'possessing various energies, and being unconnected, they could not, without combination, create living beings, not having blended with each other.' In combination, however, they form an egg containing Brahmā (Wilson 1840:16–18).

If such a concept was present when the narrative for which *The Twa Magicians* is part of our evidence came into being, the pursuit can be seen as a stage in the creation story. After the separation or identification of the various elements comes the fusion of these elements, each caught up in turn in the course of the flight and combining in the person of the marvellous child.

NOTES

1   Quotations from *The Twa Magicians* are from Child whose only text is that printed by Peter Buchan in 1828 (Child 1882–98:1.402–3). Bronson compares the ballad as collected by Cecil Sharp at Minehead in 1904 with Buchan's text (Bronson 1959:348–50). Fragments have been collected in Scotland in the present century by Gavin Greig (Keith 1925:32–3) and James M. Carpenter (The Archive of Folk Song in the Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.)

2   I am very grateful to Dr R. C. McCail for making this translation. He adds the clarifying comment that the ending 'and ever . . . escape him' relates to the words 'and at another time on the fertile land'.

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Dog Bowies: the Use of Dogskins for Fishing Floats

H. D. SHEPHERD

> Buoys for floating the nets consisted of inflated skins or bladders. Many a good 'dog' served his master after death as well as in life (*SA* 1965:135).

The use of dogskins for fishing-buoys ('bows', or 'bowies') in some Scottish fishing communities seems to be poorly recorded. The *Scottish National Dictionary* (*SND* 1971:8. 280) notes the term 'bow' as in use in Banffshire in 1926 and in Moray in 1933 describing a buoy made of calf or sheepskin. But there is no explicit mention of the practice of using dogskins for floats either in *SND* or its precursor, Jamieson's *Dictionary of the Scottish Language*. However, an incident in Paterson's tale *Behold Thy Daughter* (Paterson 1973:18) supposedly describing life in Banff or Macduff during the middle of last century, concerns a little girl worried about the disappearance of her brother's dog, Davy: she hopes that he is 'too wee for the fleshers', and is reassured by her sister that she has never seen a buoy of Davy's size. This suggested to the writer that enquiries along the Moray Firth coast might lead to some information about the use of dogskins for 'bows'. Moreover the term 'doggers' referring to fishermen in the Seatown of Lossiemouth, and in Burghead the fisherman's tee-name or nickname 'butcher' commonly heard in the first three decades of this century, possibly indicate such a connection between dogs and fishing. Information gathered by the author during conversations with retired fishermen in 1976–7, shows that P. F. Anson's statement—that in the nineteenth-century Buckie men bred dogs specifically for use as buoys, whereas Fraserburgh men used bullock bladders (Anson 1974:166)—can be seen as part of a pattern of using dog 'bows', which until the 1920s was concentrated on the south side of the Moray Firth. This custom is attested by informants in Burghead, Hopeman, Lossiemouth, Portessie, Portknockie, Sandend and Whitehills.

Preparation and Use

The dog was sometimes killed by dashing it against a board or a rock—in Portnockie a dog was taken by its hindlegs and its head dashed against a rock down at 'The Creeks' east of the harbour. It was important to keep the skin intact: one retired fisherman said that a method used, when boats used to be pulled up by rope to be beached, was to attach the dog's head to one end of the rope that fitted into the boat, and when the boat was pulled the dog was killed instantly.

The method of preparing the 'bows' appears to have been uniform. The animal was skinned, and the feet and head removed; then, according to a very old fisherman in Sandend, the skin was soaked in urine for a time to remove the hair; fishermen in other villages said the skin was soaked in salt and water or rubbed with dry lime on occasion, as in the case of sheepskin used for buoys in Shetland up to the 1920s. When the hair was removed, the skin was oiled, and Archangel tar was applied to both sides of the skin to make it waterproof and to prevent it from hardening or cracking in the water (Fig. 1). The tarring of the interior surface lasted for the lifetime of the buoy, but the exterior was coated with tar, or sometimes paint, about once a year. After being tarred, the skin was dried, a process which the fisherman in Sandend emphasised took from one to two months. Both he and a fisherman from Lossiemouth mentioned that the skin was turned inside out for smooth handling.
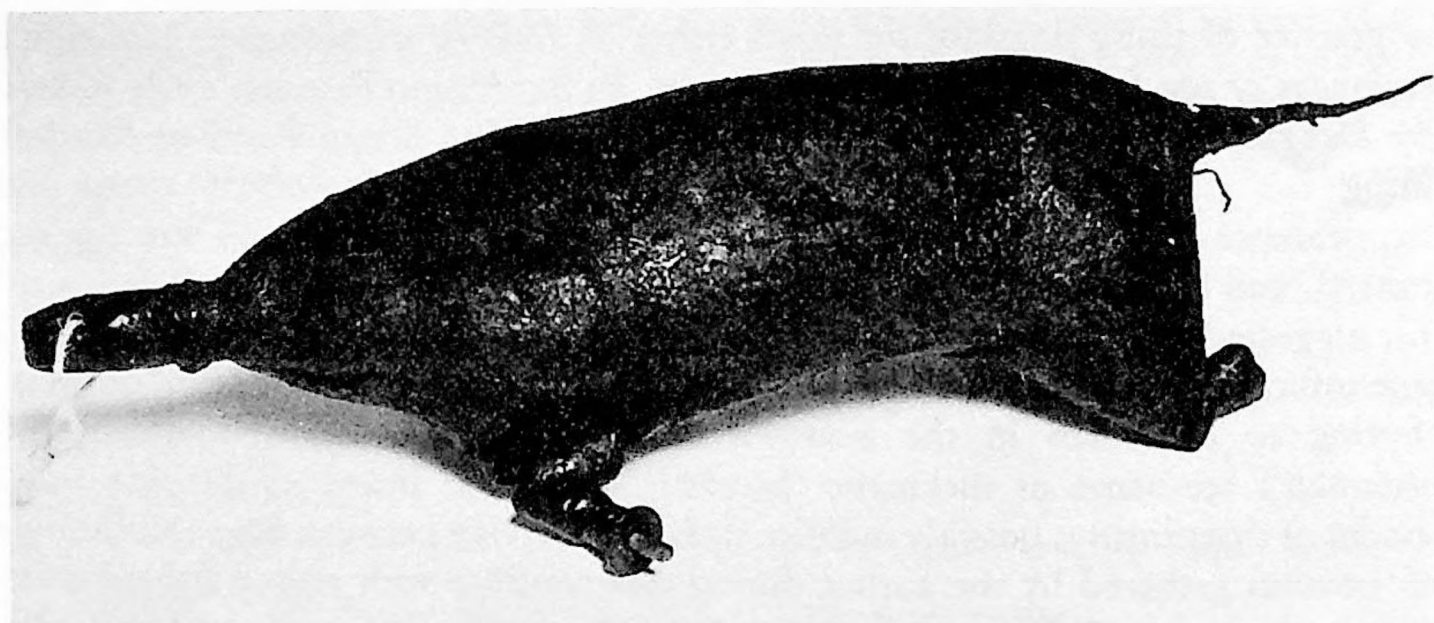
FIG. 1   Dogskin float ('bowie'), Portknockie 1978 (overall length 300 mm).

Wooden splints were generally fixed into the leg pieces. These were then sewn up except for one which had a wooden peg or pirn, well-tarred, inserted at the end. The skin was inflated by blowing air through a small hole in the pirn which was then plugged with a piece of wood or oakum (Fig. 1). Some fishermen said that occasionally splints were set in all the legs and sewn up, and instead the neck cavity was stopped up with a wooden stock. A rope attaching the buoy to the net was run from a hole in the neck stock. It was explained that the legs and neck were prepared in this way so that the skin would float with the back legs uppermost, making the position of the net readily seen in the water. Size too played its part: in Lossiemouth, a large skin was used as a float for herring nets and a small one for lines. As far as could be ascertained, and despite Anson's statement quoted above, no special effort was made to breed an ideal 'bowie dog'. Nor could any evidence be found of the animals being killed at a fixed age: rather it appears that when the need arose the most available one was taken (often from the fisherman's household).

The preparation of a 'bow' took a long time—from 2 to 3 months—but it was considered well worth while since it could last ten to fifteen years, and give a much better performance than a cow's bladder or sheep's paunch. One fisherman maintained that the dog bow was also much better than either the canvas or plastic ones that followed. Dogskins, then, were used both because they were effective and because they cost the fisherman less than sheepskins which had to be bought from the butcher.

Evidence of Use in Other Areas, and General Decline

The writer has been able to glean little information on the use of dog 'bows' in other parts of Scotland. A correspondent in Caithness remembered a relative in Staxigoe had used dog 'bows' until 1910 or 1911. There is, however, no reference to them in the interesting account of life in fishing villages near Tain by J. Macdonald and A. Gordon (1972), nor in the story *Dauvid Main, Seaman*, set in Nairn and Mavistoun, by G. Bain (1927). As for southern Scotland, there is no mention of them, for example, in the detailed study by C. L. Czerkawska (1975) of the fishing industry in South Ayrshire; on the other hand, a correspondent in Kintyre (Mr Angus Martin, personal communication), stated that dog 'bows' have been referred to by retired fishermen there—although none have been used within living memory; and in Fife, according to another correspondent, the use of dog 'bows' was known, but ceased before 1900.

On the west coast Dr I. F. Grant describes herring drift-nets supported by home-made floats of inflated sheep- and sometimes dog-skins 'that had been peeled off the carcase of the animal so as to be almost whole and bound to a plug of wood' (1961:267). A few were still to be found when Dr Grant was collecting in the 1920s (*ibid*. n. 3). Dogskins may also have been used as floats at a similar date by fishermen on Eriskay in the Western Isles (Dr A. MacLean, personal communication).

Further afield, and traditionally linked with the Scottish west coast and Northern Isles, Mr Megaw tells me that the nineteenth-century Manx herring-fishermen were very familiar with the use of the *mollag* (? *cf*. Irish, Sc. Gaelic, *bolg* 'belly, bag, bladder', *etc*.) explained in 1795 as the Manx Gaelic for 'a dog's skin blown up as a bladder, and used as a buoy to float herring nets' (Kelly 1866, *s.v.*). He also tells me that the Manx Museum not only has actual examples, but also some old photographs of Peel and Port St Mary showing buoys hanging from the masts of Manx 'Nickeys'. Memories of cheerful 'Mollag Bands' still linger amongst old folk in that island.

On the Moray coast again, A. Mackilligan, writing in 1930, notes the disappearance of 'the lines of dogs' skins, dried and inflated, used for buoys', from old Stotfield, Lossiemouth: in Buckie it appears that the change to canvas buoys came earlier than in the villages to the east and west of the port.

By the end of the 1920s in Moray it would seem that both dog- and sheep-skins

ceased to be used as fishermen changed to canvas buoys: no longer was there occasion for the comment, heard in Portessie earlier in the decade: 'He's a coorse mannie that, he uses doggie bows'.

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Book Reviews

An Archive Approach to Oral History by David Lance. Published by the Imperial War Museum and the International Association of Sound Archives, London 1978. £1.50.

This admirable monograph by the Keeper of Sound Archives in the Imperial War Museum has been written in response to the growth of interest in oral history and to the proliferation of sound recordings which we have witnessed in recent years. The author's primary concern is with the magnetic tape-recording which results from the oral historian's investigations, and he aims at impressing the importance of this new kind of archive material on the reader as well as to offer guidance to those engaged in creating and preserving it. Within the limited space of this short work he has achieved these ends very effectively. No oral historian and no institution possessing a sound-archive should be without it.

Most of the problems which the oral historian is likely to meet are dealt with. Whether he is discussing how to design a project or such technical matters as choosing and working a recording machine, Mr Lance writes lucidly and with a strong sense of the practical. His advice and suggestions will prove of immense help both to the beginner and to the more advanced worker. They represent the distillation of his experience in directing numerous projects for the Imperial War Museum. A Select Bibliography appended to the text enhances its value.

'Access and use are the life-blood of collecting institutions.' In this memorable phrase Mr Lance expresses the archival roots of his thinking. For him academic research has its place but there must also be a broad approach to collecting, to ensure that the image of a past society or group is not broken into a series of highly specialised views. He sees the main end of collecting as the multifarious uses of the recorded material which an institution can make possible—radio broadcasts, exhibitions, school lessons and other publications. The sound-recordings must therefore be well stored and easily accessible. These requirements bring him to a discussion of the practical problems of the sound-archivist: transcribing, cataloguing and indexing, access, copyright, preservation and use. These are topics which are of equal concern to the documentary archivist, but Mr Lance concentrates on the problems that are specifically those of the sound-archivist. He draws here on the expertise of his colleagues. Roger Smithers and Laura Kamel provide an excellent chapter on cataloguing and indexing. Some of the methods worked out by the Imperial War Museum, and cited here, should prove most helpful to institutions now grappling for the first time with the care of sound-recordings.

The writer accepts that recordings must be transcribed if the information they

contain is to become generally available, but he stresses the primary importance of the recorded voice. The policy that his museum has adopted is to provide adequate transcripts which make no elaborate attempt to reproduce every nuance in the recording. Mr Lance argues that people should be encouraged to go to the original source since it contains much more than the transcript does and adds a more human dimension to historical facts. This and much else in this short monograph show Mr Lance to be not only a skilful guide through the pitfalls and complexities of oral history but a sensitive historian who has learned much from the experience of listening to what history has meant to those who lived it.

E. R. CREGEEN

Devolution by Vernon Bogdanor. Oxford University Press. 246 pp. £5.50; paperback £2.95.

The author, a politics don at Brasenose, has produced a closely-reasoned study of devolution, which, though it appeared too late to be of much use at the Referendum, will be invaluable as a guide and reference book for all interested.

It begins with a discussion of decentralisation as against the centralising forces of technocracy and corporatism and as an attempt 'to humanise the state.' The question of Home Rule is treated historically in regard to Ireland and the difficulties which proved to be too much for Gladstone. Some kind words are said about the Northern Ireland experiment which had the potential for good in it if the politicians had not wrecked it; the chapter on Scotland produces some dubious statements but he shows clearly how unsatisfactory the present arrangements for governing Scotland are, with too much overloaded bureaucratic secrecy, and there is a good analysis of the position and history of the three British parties on the whole question (the SNP are mentioned only as all-or-nothing men watching for every chance on the side-lines). Plaid Cymru are given the deserved compliment of having thought out a philosophy of nationalism, in which the SNP lags behind.

A searching scrutiny of the Devolution Acts shows up their serious and self-contradictory flaws, especially in the financial arrangements 'which conflict with the political aims of devolution, will counteract tendencies leading to a dispersal of power and prevent the Acts from being final settlements of the constitutional issue'. The author himself favours devolution as a step to the cessation of class-confrontation and party in-fighting and to a federal system which has succeeded well enough elsewhere. This is a book most decidedly to be closely studied, for if there is one thing certain in our political future, it is that the devolution is here to stay and that the problem of Scottish (and Welsh) self-government can no longer be sidetracked, despite the apparent stalemate of the Referendum and the subsequent election. They merely polarise the issue and indeed give time for the serious thought the Nationalist cause so badly needs to expend on it. Bogdanor's book makes an invaluable contribution.

DAVID MURISON

Books Received

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

Fletcher of Saltoun, Selected Political Writings and Speeches, edited by David Daiches. (The Association for Scottish Literary Studies. General editor, David Buchan). Scottish Academic Press, Edinburgh 1979.

West over Sea. Reminders of Norse Ascendency from Shetland to Dublin by Jon Leirfall, translated by Kenneth Young from the Norwegian *Vest i Haver.* Thule Press, Shetland 1979. 159 pp. £4.95.

Shetland's Living Landscape. A Study in Island Plant Ecology by David Spence. Thule Press, Shetland, 1979. 152 pp + 40 photographic plates. £6.50.

To the Greenland Whaling. Alexander Trotter's Journal of the Voyage of the 'Enterprise' in 1856 from Fraserburgh and Lerwick, edited by Innes MacLeod. Thule Press, Shetland 1979. 74 pp. £3.50.

Bible Chasherick yn Lught Thie. The Manx Family Bible. Shearwater Press, Isle of Man 1979. £12.75. (A reproduction of the 1819 Manx Bible, with an introduction by R. L. Thomson.)

Gaelic Dictionary. A Pronouncing and Etymological Dictionary of the Gaelic Language. Gaelic-English. English-Gaelic by Malcolm MacLennan. Acair, Stornoway, and Aberdeen University Press 1979. 614 pp. £14, soft back £6.90. (A photolithographic reproduction of the 1st edn., 1925. MacLennan based his Dictionary on the pronouncing Gaelic Dictionary by Neil MacAlpine. He retained what he felt was useful, and also gave it an etymological element. He widened the regional range and incorporated a considerable number of words from current speech that were not recorded in other dictionaries. His work could easily be understood by learners yet was detailed and extensive enough to meet the needs of native speakers, teachers and scholars.)

Fargher's English-Manx Dictionary by Douglas C. Fargher, edited by Brian Stowell and Ian Faulds. Shearwater Press, Isle of Man 1979. 894 pp. £26.

The Dalhousie Journals, edited by Marjorie Whitelaw. Oberon Press, Canada 1979. 212 pp. £7.95. (George Ramsay, 9th Earl of Dalhousie, came to Nova Scotia as Lieutenant Governor in 1816. His journals provide detail about the province of Nova Scotia in the early 19th c.)

Two Dance Collections from Friesland and their Scotch, English and Continental Connections by Joan Rimmer. Frysk Ynstitute oan de Ryksuniversiteit to Grins 1978. 159 pp.

Horsepower and Magic by George Ewart Evans. Faber and Faber, London and Boston 1979. 222 pp. £6.95. (Descriptions of farms where horses are beneficially used today, and where the traditions of older horsemen have not died out but have been passed on to a younger generation in only slightly attenuated form. The author says the book is 'essentially a plea for conserving and increasing the stock of working horses as a reserve against possible disastrous decline in energy resources; and for recording the traditional lore connected with the heavy horse, empirical lore that has accrued over many centuries and which has therefore historical and anthropological as well as severely practical value'.)

The Crown and the Thistle. The Nature of Nationhood, edited by Colin MacLean. Scottish Academic Press, Edinburgh 1979. 160 pp. £5.

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