CASE STUDY 1

CUMHA MHIC AN TOISICH
(MACINTOSH'S LAMENT)

SOURCES and TITLES

Pibroch

Donald MacDonald Ms [DMcD] Ms. c 1806 -1826. p.76
'MacIntosh's Lament Cumha Mhic a'h Arasaig'.

Peter Reid Ms [PR] Ms. c1825-26 no.1.

Cumha Mhic a'h Arasaig'

'Mackintosh's Lament Cumha Mhic an Toisich'.

Neil MacLeod, Gesto. [NMcL] 1828.

Simon Fraser Ms. [SF] c1900[Ed.1979] p. 100
'Cumha Mhic Righ Aro Lament for the son of the King of Aro'.

Song Texts.


Maclagan Mss. [Mclg.] c1750-1800. c.1770 (ndkano-)

Urquhart, Benjamin. Ms [UQ] 1823

Audio Recordings

Pibroch

Donald MacPherson. 1976 Polydor 2384087
**Song**

James C.M.Campbell. (JCM1)  SA/1952/88  
(JCM2)  SA/1957/103  
Nan MacLeod.  SA/1957/12  
Annie Arnott.  SA/1950/180

**Fiddle**

Riddell, Robert. [RR]  1794 p.32.

**General Music Text**

Fraser, Angus. Ms.[AF]  c1855  
Keith N. MacDonald [KMcd](Gesto)  1895

Further references to the above sources will be to the abbreviated titles.

The pibroch will be referred to both as McIntosh and MacIntosh's Lament.

The earliest manuscript bagpipe sources for this tune are those of Donald MacDonald (DMcD) Ms. and Peter Reid (PR) Ms. In DMcD, the *urlar* is set in 3/4 time, with thirty six bars representing eighteen phrases. There are therefore two bars per phrase. This normally implies six crotchet beats per phrase. The standard pibroch form is eight or in some longer tunes, sixteen phrases, so McIntosh is unusual in form with its eighteen. These phrases can be grouped into four sections of 4, 5, 4, 5 phrases. The first two sections can be compared to a standard *urlar* with an extra phrase. This structure is then repeated, but with high A's replacing F's throughout. The result is very like an *urlar* followed by its thumb variation.

Peter Reid's pipe setting omits both time signatures and bar lines. One cannot come to any conclusions on the relevance of this. One could surmise, however, that he was aware of the implications of notating the
tune in one specific metre and may have decided that a standard time
signature would be inappropriate.

**SONG VERSIONS:**

J. C. M. Campbell of Dornie in Kintail sang two quite different versions of
McIntosh. His first version, JCM 1, is close to the pibroch one; indeed it is
very similar both in metre and melody to the first section of DMcD's
pibroch ùr lar. His second version of McIntosh is sung to the tune of
another pibroch, Bodaich nam Briogais. (Carles with the Breeks) The
versions Campbell sang will be compared to the earliest word texts
recorded for this song.

**FIRST SONG VERSION.**

JCM 1, consists of 4 quatrains, each corresponding to four phrases of
pibroch. The first verse of the song is set out underneath DMcD's notation
of the ùr lar below. The first couplet shows JCM 1's stresses occurring on
the first and third stresses of the pibroch setting. I quote from the second
half of the ùr lar because of the closer melodic fit, where a high A replaces
an F in the first half.

Although DMcD's ùr lar notation has been used for comparison
throughout the whole of the quairain, the first two phrases of variation 1
are also added underneath my transcription of JCM 1's performance. It
shows that the second couplet of the song is a much closer fit with the
second half of the first variation than any part of the ùr lar. The number
of stresses per phrase, however, remains the same as in the ùr lar, that is,
there are four stresses per phrase.

These first four phrases of the pibroch correspond to the song quairain.

Ex 1 JCM quairain one, (q1), with the second half of the DMcD ùr lar.
Below the song version is the DMcD variation.

Ex 1

See overleaf.
As can be seen from example one, the pibroch melody diverges from the song in the third phrase. The third phrase of the pibroch consists of the repetition of a melodic motif, DABD. The repetitive melodic motif is more common in pibroch than in Gaelic song. When it does occur in the song tradition, it is often associated with the pibroch idiom. In pibroch, this repetition is more often seen to occur in the fifth phrase\(^1\) rather than

---

\(^1\) This is an important stage in the procedure of the ùr lar in many pibrochs and it is worth making some observations at this stage, although it is a procedural issue and does not have any direct bearing on performance style _per se_.

A useful parallel is to be found in the sonata principle. Károlyi (1979:107) states that the sonata form has arisen from the vocal Franco-Flemish 'chanson,' which resulted in the development of a succession of movements or variations. A single movement having three divisions of exposition, development and recapitulation describes its structure. These terms are used by Károlyi on a larger scale where, for instance, the development describes a part of the sonata which works up to a climax and where the recapitulation is the concluding section involving some 'technical and emotional modifications.' However, no less effectively, Cooke (1972: 50) uses these European 'classical' terms in his description of the ùr lar of Maol Donn.

What is very common in pibroch procedure is a feature which Cooke (ibid) calls 'a development of the rhythmic motif which unifies the exposition.'
in the third as here. The positions of the song stresses remain the same in
the third phrase, occurring on the Ds, and the stressed syllables are
underlined.

The words of the first quatrains (q1) are:

Och nan Och, leag iad thu,
Och nan creach 'n leag iad thu,
Och nan Och gun leag iad thu,
Am bealach cul a ghàraidh.

(Och nan Och they knocked you down/Och how terrible/At the pass
behind the enclosure)

The last line 'Am bealach cul a ghàraidh' has only three stresses in
normal speech, but James Campbell has 'stretched' ghàraidh to give four
stresses just as in the other lines of the quatrains.

However, in the next quatrains of the song:

\[
\begin{align*}
q2 & \quad \text{Moch thràth an diugh bha mi nam' òigh,} \\
    & \phantom{q2} \quad \text{Thàinig tra-neòin 's bha mi ris pòsd',} \\
    & \phantom{q2} \quad \text{Ach mu'n d'chlaon a'ghrian 's na neòil,} \\
    & \phantom{q2} \quad \text{Am bhantraich bhònach bha mi.}
\end{align*}
\]

{At daybreak today I was a virgin/Noon came and I was
married to him/But before nightfall/I was a sad widow.)

the number of stresses per line of song corresponds to four stresses per
phrase of pibroch as one would hear it played today. The vocal stresses,
however, in the second couplet of this quatrains, as in (q1), beginning 'Ach
mu'n', fit the pibroch variation closer than the irlar. This is easier to
understand if we consider the poetic line in terms of syllabic metre rather
than accentual metre. The first couplet therefore has eight syllables per
line, corresponding with the eight themal notes in the pibroch phrase.

Károlyi identifies this occurring similarly as a 'transition between two
groups' by a 'modulating "bridge" passage of varying length, usually based
on the thematic material of the first subject.' In pibroch terms this would
refer to those phrases which have characteristics of previous ones such as
Cooke identifies. Cooke identifies sixteen phrases in Maol Donn with the
'bridge' occurring at the ninth and tenth phrases. If one regards this as an
eight phrase 'tune', then this occurs at the same position at the fifth phrase.
The second couplet has seven syllables corresponding with the seven notes of the pibroch. This can be demonstrated clearly by comparing the transcriptions of JCM1(q2) with DMcD ùr lar and first variation as shown here:

**Ex2.**

![Example 2: JCM1 (q2) with DMcD ùr lar repeat and 1st Variation](image)

Although there is a variable number of syllables in this and the two subsequent quatrains, the number of stresses remains the same. What does change in this version of the song is the rhythm, on account of the change of stress-positioning in the language. For instance, in the first couplet, the melodic and language stresses fall on the 1st, 4th, 6th, and 8th syllables, whereas in the second couplet, they fall on the 1st, 3rd, 5th and 7th syllables\(^2\) in the third line and at the 2nd, 4th, 6th and 7th in the last line. These positions coincide with the positions of the 'half barlines' in the notated examples.

Although normal speech would favour stressing on the first word of *bha mi* in line one, the singer has shifted the language stress to *mi* which breaks the predictable nature of the melodic rhythm. If we represent (-) as a long and (v) as a short duration, this change of stress can be shown thus:

```
  - V V - - V V -
```

\(^2\) The third syllable *d'chlaon* is short for *do chlaon.*
[Moch thràth an diugh bha mi nam' òigh] changing to:

- v v - v - v -

Thàinig tra-neòin 's bha mi ris pòsd',

The *bha* now occupies a space on the upbeat midway between what was previously the melodically stressed *diugh* and *bha*. The melodic stress now comes down on *mi*. ³ If the normal speech stress had been preserved, this would mean that each syllable of *bha mi nam'òigh* would fit closer to DMcD’s setting of the ùrlar as follows:

Ex.3.

³ This effect, called 'demotion' is not unusual in Gaelic song.
Gum bi mi tûrsach crâiteach.

[I am melancholy missing my love/They are now interring in the soil, Until I lie in the grave/I will be sad and tormented.]

The coincidence in the number of notes in the pipe setting with the poetic syllables in James Campbell's song version is remarkable throughout, considering that music and poetry are two different idioms. Where the melodic line and rhythm changes within the song quatrain, these changes follow the pibroch notation and stress positions closely.

I suggest that this particular performance, however, has a quasi-operatic flavour which is alien to the Gaelic tradition. One expects that, even without the changes which have taken place in pibroch performance style, the respective idioms of song and pibroch should diverge from each other in one way or another—melodically or rhythmically. The song words and therefore the melodic rhythm is probably less likely to change than the melody unless an obvious change of function is involved as for instance from waulking to lullaby or vice-versa. A change of song text on the same melody will also change the rhythm dramatically.

This observation emphasises the importance attached to a knowledge of one's sources and of the individual performer. In this particular case, it is no surprise to learn that the late James C.M. Campbell's father was a piper. He probably knew the pibroch well and this setting probably represents a carefully thought out setting that reflected the main melodic sentences of the accepted pibroch style of his time.

But, although his song version imitates a modern performance style of the tune, in its positioning of melodic stress, it does not accord with the manner of DMcD's transcription, and as we have seen, it fits better with the variation of the tune in certain lines of the song. Why did DMcD not notate the irlar in common time if there were only four stresses per phrase, rather than choosing to notate in 3/4 which gives six stresses? There is no difficulty in fitting the words of the song to DMcD's score, if it is assumed, for the moment, that six stresses per phrase is what he intended.

---

4 See Scottish Tradition Series no.8. 'James Campbell of Kintail', [re-release by Greentrax Recordings, Edinburgh 1994 CTRAX 9008 (MC Only)]
The song version JCM1 seems to be the only poetic version which is rhythmically and melodically close to the piobroch setting. The one published source of the words of this version is in the *Celtic Monthly* (Vol 14: 229) Whatever its provenance, it still does not help to explain the problem of incompatability with the DMcD score. There are, as was mentioned earlier, a number of song versions for this piobroch and James Campbell sings another to an apparently very different piobroch melody.

**CUMHA MHIC AN TOISICH - SONG VERSION (JCM2.)**

The variant form of the song text and melody by JCM Campbell JCM2 has three quatrains. The first two quatrains are transcribed and shown below. (Ex 4) This differs from JCM1 to the extent that it can be recognised as melodically related to another piobroch known as *Bodaich nam Briogais*, *(The Carles with the Breeks.)* In Gaelic song it is better known as *Mhnàthan a' Ghlinne seo.* Although the scale is the same as MacIntosh's *Lament* ie. it comprises the notes AB-DEFhighA, what is probably more noticeable is that the song rhythm has changed from four stresses per phrase, common time, to two stresses per phrase, excepting the last phrase which gives almost equal values to the two last syllables.

Ex. 4.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>JCM 2</th>
<th>Example 4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

The words he sings are:

(Q1) Och nan och leagadh tu,
     Och nan och leagadh tu,
     Och nan och leagadh tu,
     'N eabar a' ghàráidh.

(Och nan och you were knocked down/In the mire of the enclosure.)

(q2) Truagh nach robh mise sin
     Truagh nach robh mise sin
     Truagh nach robh mise sin
Dheanainn do chàradh.

(Pity I was not there/I would put you in order.)

(q3) Bhreab an t-each uallach thu,
Mharbh an t-each uallach thu,
Bhreab an t-each uallach thu,
An eabar a’ Ghàraidh.

(The charge horse kicked you/The charge horse killed you/The charge horse kicked you/In the mire of the enclosure.)

This version, apart from the refrain, has a different procedure of poetic lines from the first version JCM1. JCM1 is in ABCD form, whereas the above is in AAAB form. What is important to try and resolve, in light of the fact that these lines represent different rhythms, is the nature of the words which were sung to the pibroch melody.

It would be misleading to assign time signatures to these song performances as some rubato is perceived in each of them. However, JCM1 could be associated with a 2/4 rhythm, and JCM2 with a 6/8 rhythm. Neither of these suggests triple time as in DMcD. If they did, there would be more evenly distributed time values given to each syllable of the song, which would make it more chant-like in style.

It is clear that the words of what is recognised as MacIntosh’s Lament have been traditionally sung to two distinct pibroch melodies. The first is sung and performed on the pipes today with four music stresses per phrase. The other melody, recognised as Bodaich nam Briogais, is sung with two stresses per phrase. Its pibroch setting has four stresses per phrase. (cf. CS 2). Furthermore, there is a range of poetic, melodic and rhythmic versions of this song which fall between these two apparently distinct pibrochs. The most complete version of the song text is in [CG]. It has twenty one verses. Six of the verses, at the end of the text, are in AAAB form. Only the verses in this AAAB stanzaic form appear in the earlier collections of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The later nineteenth century...

---

5 This raises questions regarding the nature of the song sources and the collectors’ methods.
century texts appear to be composite settings with a much greater number of verses in a different ABCD stanzaic form. The verses of these composite settings vary in their number of language stresses per line, equivalent to one melodic phrase. Some fit the present day pibroch performance style of four stresses per phrase, others fit the two stresses of the related melody, Carles with the Breeks. The last six verses in CG, which differ from the rest in their stanzaic form, are added on to the end of the more extended text. The MacDonald Collection (1911) has them dispersed amongst the other ABCD form verses as if they were an integral part of the same song. The editors were aware of the significance of this, as they stated in their introduction that:

'two compositions originally distinct, but bearing a resemblance to one another, have been amalgamated and now form one song.' (p.lvii)

What is important in the context of this study is that pibroch rhythm in particular as it is played today does not fit well with the verses which appear in these later nineteenth century collections. Under these circumstances, it is necessary to have a look at the earliest song texts in order to find out how these might fit the earliest pibroch sources.

**EARLY SONG TEXTS AND THEIR IMPLICATIONS FOR LATER VERSIONS.**

The earliest sources without music are McLagan [Mclg] and Gillies [G.] 6
As they both have essentially the same verses, only the earlier source, Mclg., will be considered. It is named Bealach a’Ghàrraidh.

(q1) Ochoin a laoigh leag iad thu
    Leag iad thu laoigh leag iad thu
    Ochoin a laoigh leag iad thu
    ’M bealach a’ghàrraidh

---

6 Thomson (1953) stated that the Gillies collection 'is largely if not almost entirely, the work of Maclagan.' See also The Songs of John MacCodrum ed. Rev. Wm. Matheson (1938) p xi (G)
(Ochoin pet they knocked you down/They knocked you down pet they
knocked you down/Ochoin pet they knocked you down/At the pass of the
enclosure)

(q2)

'S truagh nach robh mis' ann sin (three times)
As ceathr' air gach làmh dhomh.
(It's a pity I was not there/and four by my side for me)

(q3)

An leann thog iad gu'd bhanais (three times)
Air t-fhairtì 'bha e.
(The beer they took to your wedding/It was for your wake)

(q4)

Bha mi'm bhréidich a m'ghruagaich (three times)
'S am'bhantraich 's an aon uair ud.
(I was a coifed (married) woman, a maiden/And a widow all at once)

(q5)

Gun chron air an t-saoghal ort (three times)
Ach nach d'fheud thu saoghal buan fhàstinn.
(Without a blemish of the world on you/But that you could not obtain a
long life [lit. hire a lasting world])

If it is assumed that the above words are to be sung in the manner of
JCM1's version and modern pibroch style, that is, with four melodic
stresses per line of song, only some of the song lines fit this particular
style. Some of the lines within the stanzas are only suitable for the four
stressed phrase ie. for common time. (q1 line 2; q2 line 4; q4 line 4) Others
are suited to compound time with a two-stressed phrase only, similar to
JCM2's version, for instance all of q3 where the first three lines are not
suitable to be sung in four stresses, even though it would appear that the
requisite number of syllables is present. This is because the language and
melodic stresses do not coincide at the start of the phrase. In normal
speech stress leann and thog would be stressed, but when adapted to a
melodic line with two stresses, the stress positions of the language change.
Also, in (q5) lines 1-3 are only suited to two stresses each. Other quatrains
can be accommodated to either of the two rhythms (eg. q1 line 1; q2 line 1) but the fourth line of (q5) does not suit either of them.

To summarise then, some of the lines within the stanzas are suitable for common time only (q1 line a2; q2 line 4, q4 line 4), others are suitable for compound time only (eg. all of q3; q5 lines 1-3) and others can be accommodated in either of the two rhythms (eg. q1 line 1; q2; q5 line 4 etc.)

This is not a clear cut distinction for it may well be possible to force some of these stanzas onto the rhythmic line of the present day pibroch style, but the diction would become stilted and the performance would become closer to the quasi-operatic style discussed earlier. The interplay of melodic stresses with language stresses should retain the natural flow and communicative powers of the language.⁷ (q2) and (q3) of Mclg. are sung in JCM2 to the Bodaich nam Bríogais tune although JCM2 is closer to 2/4, similar to today's pibroch - than to the 6/8 rhythm to which it is clearly suited. (See CS 2.). In (q4), music stresses in some places would force the language into too rigid and unnatural a form, with words not normally stressed in this position in the poetic line being stressed and inappropriately accented. For example, if the words 'S tuachg nach robh mis ann sin are sung to the JCM1, version as follows:

Ex.5. Replace with JCM1.

[Musical notation image]

here, the stresses as they appear in the music at the melody notes F high AFD, are applied at the words tuachg, robh, mis, sin, which is unnatural to the language. This is because the speech rhythm would always tend to link robh and mis together as robh-mis. In this case the decision as to whether the melodic stress is on robh and mis or on 'S tuachg and mis, dictates either a rhythm close to 2/4 as in the first instance or one close to 6/8 as in the second. The most natural rhythm, in both song and

---

⁷ This may be a fairly moot point because for some, the traditional singing style of eg. Connemara in Eire, may be perceived as having a complex speech flow as a result of its extensive ornamentation. Ultimately, only the native Sean Nós singers in their community can decide where the optimum balance between performance style and communicative powers lies.
pibroch, probably lies between these two extremes. Similarly, in (q3) An leamh thog iad gu d'bhanais, [in normal speech rhythm] tends towards two points, 'thog iad and bhanais' which comfortably fits the approximate 6/8 melody version of Bodaich nam Briogais.

The first three lines of all but the first quatrains are more appropriately sung to the Bodaich nam Briogais melody. However, the fourth or last line of each quatrains, with the exception of (q3), differs in language stress from the three previous ones. This means that the lines 'S am’bhantrach 's an aon uair uaid (q4) and Ach nach d’fheidh thu saoghal buan fhaistinn (q5) fit the four-stressed pibroch style more comfortably.

It would seem then that the DMcD transcription of the pibroch, MacIntosh’s Lament and subsequent pipe settings are at odds with the song texts in whichever version they appear. This applies to the full range of performance styles melodic, text associated with the tune, which are many.

The only way in which the words of the earliest, McLagan, song version will fit the pibroch as notated by DMcD is if the conventions which are inherent in the mainstream or European notation are dispensed with. The European convention of 3/4 rhythm is taken to mean three beats to the bar stressed in a strong, weak, medium-weak fashion, i.e. the first beat is always accented more than the rest. This convention is not applicable to Gaelic-song rhythms nor is it one which should be taught in the pibroch tradition. (Károlyi (1968)) He describes 3/4 as 'one strong and two relatively weaker beats in a bar'.

DMcD, although notating McIntosh in 3/4 time, may have been more concerned with recording the values and relative values of notes within the restraints of measured time. It has to be realised that, as he was part of his tradition and was primarily, it is assumed, writing for an audience with similar understanding, there was not the same need to adhere to a European system in his transcriptions. A reader brought up in the same tradition as DMcD would therefore tend to pay more attention to the relative values of the notes and where they fit into the phrase than to the exact values of the notes themselves.

8 A number of these song texts as well as notated aurally recorded versions have been collected by the writer. Other sources are available which demonstrate metrical unsuitability to the modern pibroch style of performance.
Because of the metric changes found in the McIlg Ms. version, both within and between the song quatrains, the song text is unsuitable for singing from beginning to end if the same number of melodic stresses per phrase is applied. There must therefore be a reappraisal of the rhythm of the song words vis-a-vis the melody, as the melodic settings are clearly too restrictive to allow the words to carry the tune, or vice-versa. A study of this interaction of syllable and melody in song is important in order to identify the points of stress. These points of stress are important for they should indicate where the stresses occur in the melody when the same tune is performed as a pibroch. In view of the rhythmic disparities between song and text which have already been identified, it must be taken into account that, in this song, the singing style(s) are very likely to have changed as dramatically as the pibroch style. Instead of the song having two or four stresses per melodic phrase, it may be that the lyrics were in syllabic metre. With this in mind, the difficulties perceived in relating the song text to the pibroch melody are resolved if the text is placed in a genre which is situated somewhere between chant and song. This possibility will be discussed in the following pages.
THE CHANT IN SONG

Carmina Gadelica: Song version 2

CG (Vol V: 346) has two versions of the song, one of which has been discussed above as a composite version comprising ABCD and AAAB stanzaic forms. Thomson (1974: 83) cites one of the AAAB verses of the above as a keening 'with its same end-rhyme sustained throughout the song'\textsuperscript{10}and regards the other text (Vol V p.354) as an 'elaborate and different version'. This other text will not be discussed in this study suffice to state that it has the characteristic of the caoineadh having the characteristic interjections of vocables in the manner of \textit{Ubh iubhanaich! oich oicheanaich!}. These keening motifs have survived in Scottish Lowland society to this day as tokens of Highland culture and probably represent the remnants of a widespread tradition. They are no longer to be heard, the Gaelic song tradition, which shows that not only has a particular song genre been lost, but that the vocal style has also changed.

There is evidence which states that the singing style of Laments has indeed changed. The Rev. Alex. Stewart\textsuperscript{11} wrote:

'Our oldest Gaelic Laments are to this day to be chanted rather than sung and I recollect an old seannachie in the Braes of Lochaber some thirty five years ago chanting MacIntosh's Lament to me in a style of recitative that impressed me greatly, his version of the well known and beautiful air being in parts very different from that printed in our books and if ruder and wilder all the more natural because of its naturalness' (\textit{TGSI}, Vol XXXIII: 305)

It seems that some of the melody was recognisable to him, but the features which would relate it to measured time were not. Similar observations on the style of singing laments were made by Henry Whyte,\textsuperscript{12} He refers to an aged man named McLarty of Craignish who was able to

\textsuperscript{10} He does not comment on the ABCD form which appears in the later texts presumably because he was referring to the earliest, McLagan, source. It is likely, given the different form, that the ABCD represents a different version.
\textsuperscript{11} This was quoted by Alexander MacDonald ('Gleannach') in \textit{TGSI} Stewart wrote under the pen name of 'Nether Lochaber'
\textsuperscript{12} He wrote under the pen name 'Fionn'. See \textit{The Highlander} (1881:198).
recite more of the poems of Ossian than any other person the editor knew'. Most of these he sung in Socair Dana corresponding in melody with the tunes to....'

following which only the titles of ten different laments are given, one of which is called Cumha an Aona Mhic. Unfortunately, no link is made between any specific Ossianic dàn and any of those laments given in the list. Neither can we be sure if Cumha an Aona Mhic pertains to the pibroch tune of that name nor, if any of the two Cumha Dhun Abhartich (DunAverty) or Cumha DhunNaomhaig (Dunyveg) have any connection with the pibroch called Colla mo Rùn (Piper's Warning to his Master), two places with which the tune has been associated.

He gives further clues as to the manner of performance and continues:

'This oralist sang all his poems and laments in the same manner as psalm tunes are distinguished and found out by whistling a mournful flat key to every lament'. (sic)

What Whyte means by 'the same manner as psalm tunes are distinguished' and his further comments on their musical characteristics is again not very clear. It is more than likely, however, that Gaelic psalm singing has changed less than other song forms due to its isolation and conservative nature. Even though some change may be assumed, the distinguishing features may be salient enough to allow some conclusions. These features exhibit a defined contrast between precentor and congregation who occupy opposite ends of a music spectrum. The precentor has the function of communicating the words of a line in as clear and concise a manner as possible. In order to do this most effectively, the words are delivered in a non-melismatic syllabic-based chant similar to dàn, using one syllable per note. The chant has a very small pitch range. The congregational response however, being based on a psalm

---

13 This is a term which has frequently been applied to describe the style of singing represented by dàn or luaidh.
14 These are: Cumha an Aona Mhic, Cumha Dùn an òir, An Seana Chumha, Cumha Dùn nan Gàill, Cumha na Misge, Cumha Dhun Abhartich, Cumha Dhun Aonarain, Cumha Dhun Naomhaig, Tuircadh nam Fiann, Cumha nam Bràithreach.
15 Information from Morag MacLeod, School of Scottish Studies.
16 Grove's Dictionary of Music (ed.1980) defines 'Melisma' as: 'a group of 5 or 6 notes sung to a single syllable'. Most used in reference to western music esp. chant'. It continues: 'Melismatic indicates one end of a spectrum; the other is syllabic'.
melody, has a greater melodic range and is often melismatic in style. From the evidence of the performance of dàin discussed already, it seems that the distinguishing features Whyte finds worthy of comparison are those which set the precentor apart from the congregation. The 'mournful flat key peculiar to every lament', although a subjective and inexact comment, could nevertheless be taken as a description of the precentor's chanting style. This description could also be applied to one type of pibroch lament which ranges around the notes low G, B and D.17

In the Gaelic oral tradition, the distinction between chant and song has never been a clear one since chant seems to occupy the area where recitation and song meet.18 The style of performance known as chanting is typified in the classic heroic ballad poetry which is broadly taken as preceding the stressed modern poetry, which developed post 1600.(Watson

17 Joseph MacDonald (ed1994: 67) states: 'The Key for Laments excludes C altogether because it is sharp, and dwells upon the Lower Notes. It takes the Freedom of all the Notes but this. There are other Keys that exclude this Note also'. If we accept the tune recognised today as the Lament for Mary MacLeod and many others which, like it, contain the note C as laments, and suppose them to have been recognised as laments by the pipers of the time, then it can only be assumed Joseph had not heard them. Many of the titles of course may be creations of post 1745 and so it is difficult to place too much credence on them. A preliminary study of laments (by the writer) has shown that the inclusion or exclusion of C is more to do with the modal nature of the tunes than with a deliberate composing technique as his comments above suggest. This makes sense, especially if many of them were extant in the song tradition and were adapted for the pipes. Of those pieces of pibroch on the low G-B-D mode, the only lament which has a C is the Lament for the Viscount of Dundee, which in tradition was also known as Thàtin Ghorm, removing the lament status. A portion appears in the Joseph MacD Ms (1760), where it is unnamed. Of those on the A (C) E mode, most of the laments have Cs apart from eg. Lament for MacDonald's Tutor, Ruairidh MacLeod's, Cpt. MacKenzie's, MacLean of Lochbuie's, Donald Cameron's, Findlay's, MacLeod of MacLeod's, Sister's, Union, Catherine's and Donald Ban's. In the same way, those starting on B, in similar mode to the first, are for the most part without Cs, apart from eg. Hugh's Lament. No general system seems to exist which connects nomenclature, categories of pibroch and modal characteristics. Some pibrochs, however, are clearly related to their subject matter or function and these can be recognised by virtue of specific phrasal and rhythmical characteristics. For example, the 'Gatherings' with their short phrases (where identifiable) and their sequences of short rhythmical motifs.

18 Grove's Dictionary (1980) defines: 'To chant is generally to sing, and, in a more limited sense, to sing certain words according to the style required by musical laws or custom'. What is performed is a chant, and chanting is cantus fermo or cantus firmus. It was the fashion for singing everything in regular metre which led to the demise of the chant style.
1959: XIX) The terms dàin, duan and laoidh have been used interchangably this century to refer to the heroic ballad. (MacInnes 1987:103) Dàin direach is the fuller term for dàin, which also appears (McCaughey 1984:39). However, it seems that these terms have lost their precise meaning with the demise of the Gaelic oral tradition. (Matheson 1970: 152)19 J.L. Campbell (1975: 55) also states

'It appears that the term dàin direach was losing its original significance in the Highlands in Kirkwood's time'

- in reference to the Ms. of the Rev. James Kirkwood.(1650-1709)

These ballads are still being performed in the twentieth century. (see MacInnes 1987; Bruford 1987) The melody to Ossianic or Fenian lays which O'Madagain (1983: 71-86) describes as 'very simple and chant-like'20, Bruford (1987: 56) describes as being 'more like arioso than plainchant'. I presume that 'very simple' means that it lacks easily identifiable melodic form. What Bruford means is that it veers towards the melodic domain with more alterations in pitch than what one would expect in a chant.

These are two examples of observations on the heroic ballad which overlap and which demonstrate the problem of defining it in melodic or rhythmic terms. The distinctions do not seem to have been clear this century although MacInnes (1987:105) states how an exemplary tradition bearer, Domhnall Chaluim Bàn (Sinclair) of Tiree, considered the laoidh to be different from the dàin because it is more melodious. There may have been regional variations concerning the exact meaning of these terms because there does not seem to be sufficient melodic difference between some examples of dàin and laoidh to differentiate them for melodic reasons. McCaughey (1984:40) considers dàin as a cover term where 'The majority of laoithe...are in some form of dàin'.

The rhythmic features of these 'ballads' however, and their effect on the performance style of traditional Gaelic singing in general, is of great

---


20 B. O Madagain. Béaloideas. 51 (1983: 71-86) This applies to the other heroic lays of Ireland and Gaelic Scotland as well. MacInnes (1987) dates their first appearance in Irish literature in the twelfth century and some to a period as recent as the eighteenth century, although most are placed in the middle ages.
importance to this case study. The đàn has been described by Matheson (1970:149) from recordings made this century, as

'a chant sung in free rhythm with a constant shifting of the musical accent as determined by variations in the number and position of stresses'

This has also been verified by McCaughey (1984: 49)21 Although this description does not give much information regarding the melodic content, it nevertheless gives an important insight into the rhythmical relationship between language and melody. Ross (1954: 230)22 also emphasises a frequently occurring 'wrenched accent' where syllables which are unstressed in speech are musically accented. Ross shows that the stresses which occur in song are not necessarily the same as those of poetry.23

What appears to have occurred over time, probably mostly within the period of the twentieth century alone, is that singers' Gaelic speech rhythms have shown a tendency to 'regularise the tempo' of the performance (MacInnes 1987:129)24 That is to say, the performance style has become more measured. The classical poetic metre of the heroic ballad has been influenced by what is believed to be the later amhrán or accented metre. Matheson (1970: 152) implies that the amhrán form became more popular with the demise of the other distinctive song forms such as the iorrain and the đàn and that the distinctions between song types became less clear. The result was that the amhrán came to be used

'for what were considered to be the poet's greatest and most solemn themes, namely, eulogy and elegy'

Other changes may have occurred deliberately; for instance, when such chants were adapted to the oran luadhaidh (waulking song) form with its regular rhythm, as in Am Bròn Binn (Campbell/Collinson 1969: 22)25

21 O'Madagain quotes a verse by Mór Bean Nill Chatriona singing Laoith a choin duibh SA/1963/O13/A2 in which syllables normally unstressed in speech are stressed in the laoidh.

22 'Sub-literary tradition in Scottish Gaelic Song-poetry' Part I Figse (Vol vii: 217-239)

23 Here he is referring to notes made by himself on the song 'Latha dh'ann Fhinn am Beinn Lorgnaidh' sung by Mrs. Archie MacDonald on the School of Scottish Studies disc Music from the Western Isles, Greentrax Recordings Edinburgh. (CDTRAX 9001/CTRAX 0680)

24 For further information on this ballad see Gowans (1994)
Another performance feature which may have altered the metre, suggested by McCaughey (1984: 39-57), was the unconscious desire to stress certain words, which results in even numbers of regular stress pulses in each line or pair of lines. However, the decline of Gaelic oral tradition in itself meant that fewer people were able to sing epic tales in free rhythm, which laid more emphasis on the words and the story line than on a melody. What is important is that although the dàn and the amhran are recognised as two different genres with an apparent chronological distinction, the dàn being more ancient, they overlapped and were not mutually exclusive in terms of performance style. As MacInnes (1987: 128) has pointed out,

'the 'prosody' of traditional Gaelic singing, except in the domain of work-song, clearly aims at maintaining a conversational rhythm: as older singers used to insist, a song should be 'told'. As a general observation, this applies not only to the so-called 'syllabic' metres but to other metrical forms as well.'

By 'other metrical forms' he includes what the twentieth century Gàidheal would refer to generically as amhran/oran: in accented metre.

This association between the freer, irregularly stressed, syllable-based rhythm of the dàn and the regularly stressed 'amhrán' within the context of one song, has also been recognised in the performance style of some traditional singers in the Irish Gaeltacht. It has been suggested (Breathnach 1981:108) that

'the performance of amhrán in the early period may not have differed much from that of dán d'fheach'

He points out that singing with 'speech rhythm' does not necessarily mean that the stress-pattern is identical with that of speech and raises some questions regarding the use of the term 'syllabic metre' as an exact term in Gaelic poetry. An idiomatric feature of Gaelic arises in the context of song performance in speech rhythm. Historically speaking, there is no word for 'sing' in Gaelic (see BruFord) although 'seinn' has now become the standard term. As pointed out elsewhere, however, 'seinn' was and is used in the verbal form to mean 'play' an instrument, e.g. a' seinn na pioba; a' seinn na fiddhle. The question arises as to whether or not the idiomatric form of the language can tell us anything about actual performance style. 'Gabh òran' is the idiomatric form for 'sing a song' which is increasingly being replaced by the English influenced 'seinn òran'. It has been suggested to me that the Irish Connemara idiomatic form 'gabhait frithinn' means to 'drive' the song. This, however, requires further research.
It is this overlap between these two song categories which is relevant to this study.

Scholarly articles on the nature of Gaelic poetry have tended to examine its features according to characteristics which relate specifically to language while ignoring the musical idiom which it communicates. In light of this attention to melodic features, Ross (1954: 219) emphasises the need to differentiate between poetic metre and song metre as, he points out, the same poetic metre can be found in very different song forms.

This problem has also been addressed by McCaughey where he observes a song to be

'in the amhran metre and not any kind of dàn, but the differentiation in modes of performance may be equally applicable in either'

There seems to be a grey area in attempting to define the performance style of earlier singers. There are two identifiable traditions which are by no means mutually exclusive; dàn with its emphasis on syllabic metre and irregular speech stress and amhran with its emphasis on the coincidence of regular melodic and language stress. Bruford (1987: 55) has shown how twentieth century performances of heroic lays are a mixture of dàn metre,

26 cf. William Watson’s Bàrdachd Ghàidhlig (1918) James Ross also points out that the song poetry had been shown little interest by what he calls the 'savants of Gaelic literature'. Eigse vol vii p. 218. (see below)

27 One has to be careful here with regard to the use of these terms since Watson (1918) writes of amhran or song metre which he classifies according to poetic characteristics. One has to distinguish between poetic metre and the melody with which it is associated in the form of song metre.

28 For instance it is necessary to ascertain whether the stanzas have regular numbers of lines like couplets or quatrains, or whether these vary throughout the song performance. How much this depends on the song metre is a fairly complex 'chicken and egg' situation and may have as much to do with song function as it has with the balance between poetic metre and melodic form. An attempt has been made by P. Breathnach (1981) to return the poetry of what are recognised as amhran to their airs, based on their metrical characteristics, the corollary of which may be similar to relating the pibroch to its song words. John MacKenzie of Sàr Obair nam Bàrd (p. 57) in a note on Oran do dh'Alasdair MacColla states:

'As the air to which this piece is sung in rather a kind of irregular chant than a tune, the poetess was not necessitated to make all her stanzas of equal length'. The chanting style would seem to have been identified with the poetic metre of an irregular line form without a formal tune structure. This may have been partly as a result of the extempore nature of the composition.

29 McCaughey (1984: 39-57)
with stressed syllables appearing at irregular intervals 'as the speech rhythms dictate'. He observes the performance style of this classic form, recorded in South Uist in the 1950's, to have 'no regular beat, though a steady punctuation is provided by the stressed rhyming syllables'.

This demonstrates that the changes which have occurred with regard to the performance of Gaelic music are widespread and not confined to one particular category of song.

CAOINEADH AND CUMHA
(KEEN AND LAMENT)

The distinction between the keen, (caoineadh) lament (cumha) and heroic ballad (dàn) in style of performance before the twentieth century is

30 However, some other singers of these ballads were found to be singing in a definite regular beat. How much this was due to modern influences or to an alternative ballad style which may have been adapted to the waulking song tradition is not clear. That songs were adapted to different rhythms in this way is well documented though.

31 These are probably the most commonly known terms for these different genres. Caoineadh is interchangeable with coronach. Without musicological evidence, these terms are treated as synonyms. Grove's Dictionary (1904) refers to keen as 'a funeral cry from Co-ránach, weeping or shrieking' and 'Dirge chanted in former times in Celtic Scotland by the Bard or Scannach on the death of the chief or other great personage of the clan'. Wailing in unison may have been a provincial term to describe the rituals of the bean/mnathain tuirm (wailing woman/women) or bean/mnathain caoínidh (woman/wailing women) (Benbecula). In Scotland the two terms coronach and caoineadh seem to have been used interchangeably. The word coronach appears frequently in nineteenth century texts, e.g. in Walter Scott's Lady of the Lake (Grove:1904) CMo. (Vol 3 p.179): 'the sad music continued which at times amounted to a wail resembling the coronach chanted by the Highlanders for their departed chief'. CMg. (Vol 5 1879) refers to the coronach being played at the funeral of Uillean an Taightar (William the tutor, father of the piper, Ewen of Vallay), where 'several pipers were in attendance...placed at certain distances in the procession, severally played the usual 'coronach' or funeral Lament'. There is also a reference to Flora MacDonald's funeral where MacArthur and MacGrimmon pipers 'simultaneously played the coronach or the usual melancholy lament for departed friends'. (CMg Vol 2 Nov 1877) Watson ('Varia': SGS. vol 2) suggests that the tune Flowers of the Forest is possibly an adaptation of a Gaelic coronach. (see also Colin Brown's 'The Thistle' p.156). Also, Neil Ross in CMo. ('Cèòil Mòr agus Clann 'ic Cruimein' Vol 18:45, 1909-1910) on Cumha an Aona Mhic (Lament for the only son) states: 'Théid am port so dòuth air an t-seann choronach o'ir tha na facail agus an cèòl a 'dòiseachadh le Omhrain a Ri'. (This tune comes close to the old coronach as the words and the music begin 'Ochum a Ri'). There is also an older Scots reference to the coronach in John Barbour's 'The Bruce' c.1375: 'The schenachy the clarsach, The ben...
unclear. However, from the evidence of the song tradition in this century, it seems that they were all performed in a similar style to the dàn - as a recitative chant.

Ross (1956: 5) prefers to avoid the use of the term 'Keen' because of its 'unclear functional implications'. However,

'That 'mnathan tuiridh'\(^{32}\) existed can be established, but we have no information as to the metrical or song structure, if any, of their effusions. Indeed, what slight information that can be gathered suggests that these effusions would be classed as recitative rather than as song.\(^{33}\)

Ross is fairly certain of three characteristics of the keen, that it was improvisatory; that between the textual content there were 'wailing' interjections rather than a refrain, and that it was created and performed by professional keeners.

Further insight into the style of performance of the keen may be found by reference to the observations which have been made of this ritual. An early reference to the funeral ritual during the seventeenth century describes the following scene:\(^{(Campbell J.L. 1975: 86)}\)

The women make a crying while the corps is carried and when they have done, the Piper plays after the corps with his great pipe. When they come to the churchyard all the women (who always go along to the Burial place) make a hideous Lamentation together and then they have their particular Mournfull Song for their other Friends that lye there.'

Over a hundred years later, in the 'original preface' to the 1803 edition of JMcD's Complete Theory we find the following: \(^{34}\)

'At funerals they played a variety of laments, composed in the elegaic strain, analogous to the corronach, or dirge, performed over the dead, in the days of paganism: a custom

\(^{32}\) The keening or wailing women also known as mnáth an tuirm/tuircam as well as other variants eg. Mnáí caointeach (Matheson 1970: 127) See also Matheson (1938 ll.1297 ff. and note)

\(^{33}\) There is a reference to CG. (Vol V: 338) for traditional information on keening.

\(^{34}\) This information looks as if it was rescripted from PMcD's 1784 intro(p.12):
said to be still common in some parts of Ireland, and not entirely exploded in the Highlands.

It would seem then that the part of the ritual called the *corfonach* was gradually being substituted by the bagpipes with the pipers eventually taking over the role of the *mnathan tuirm* (the keening women). This is not surprising because in 1642 the Synod of Argyll took steps to suppress the custom of the 'corfonach' where: 'ignorant poore women...howle their dead into the graves.' (Campbell J.L. 1975 p.86) That the keening tradition formed an important part of the funeral ritual is demonstrated by its survival into a period as recent as the early part of the twentieth century on the Island of Barra and possibly other pockets of the Highlands too.

The two traditions of piping and keening clearly had the same social setting. Thus it would have been very strange indeed if the performance of keening had not influenced the piping tradition.\(^{35}\) In some sources *coronach* and *pibroch* are synonymous, eg. Grove's *Dictionary* (1904) in which the coronach is described:

> 'However rude, it appears to have been rhythmical and was chanted in recitative' and: 'The name coronach has been transferred to the Cúmhadhr or musical lament, a kind of pibroch now played by the pipers who lead the funeral procession.' 'They begin with a simple motivo and this is worked up with ever increasing intricacy and rapidity of note, through a number of divisions or variations, till the same simple wild strain reappears at the close.'

---

35 The late Annie Johnston of Barra, in a conversation with Mr. Fred MacAulay, Sollas, North Uist, told of her memories of the *coronach* or *caoineadh* at funerals on the Island of Barra in the early 1900's where the *mnathan tuirm* were still recognised for their social functions. One lady, on her arrival at the family of one who had died declared "Caite bheil mo loma-losghaidh?" (Where is my scared?) Source: From a conversation with Mr. Fred MacAulay 5/12/91, Nan MacKinnon SA/1974/108 used the same expression "s bhiodh iad a' moladh an duine dh'Halbh 's ga mholadh 's 'se mo loma-losghaidh a bhiodh ac' air'. (they would be praising the person that departed and praising him and they called him my loma-losghaidh) She gives more information on the keening tradition "Bhiodh iad 'gam bualadh fhein ris an talamh 'sa bualadh am basan, 's a' decanamh fuaim uamhasach 'sa caoineadh 's ag eubhachd; 's bhiodh iad air am páigheadh aig an tighearna airson a bhith 'ga dhecanamh". (They would beat themselves against the earth and beat their hands and making a terrible noise and crying and shouting and they would be paid by the chief for doing it.).
There are no examples called keens extant in Scottish Gaelic song or music. However, it is likely that, partly because of religious suppression and changing social habits, many keening melodies have been adapted to other functions. The number of song versions of MacIntosh’s Lament supports this. Another closely related adaptation, however, which has been discussed by O’Madagain (1978 p 43) is as what Joyce called ‘death songs’. Joyce noted these particular songs which include quite well known ones in today’s Irish Sean Nós tradition such as Anach Cuain and Amhrán na Trá Báné. They were sung by the people but not in the context of the funeral ritual itself. The implication of this is that the style of performance has changed, so that keens have become melodically and rhythmically indistinguishable from other songs in the amhran genre. In the same way, the song MacIntosh’s Lament and what I argue was a similar keen and a variant of MacIntosh’s Lament, Griogal Cridhe, has also lost its particular keening characteristics, leaving only the word text and its similar melodic range and shape to allow it to be identified as such.

As a pibroch, MacIntosh’s Lament could be one of those few keens which have survived in the pibroch tradition. Just as the song had its range of versions which might be identified with a particular melodic shape and rhythmic characteristic, so the pibroch would have had its versions in a thriving tradition too. A comparison of perceived variant forms of pibrochs by the writer shows how the melodies and rhythms in the tradition were constantly changing. This could be partly accounted for if the songs and their melodies were constantly being adapted to different functions.

If MacIntosh’s Lament is taken as a representative example of the keen, then the evidence here may be equally applicable to a number of laments played on the pipes, which have similar melodic and rhythmic motifs as the above. On the basis of the earliest song words collected, (McLagan), this analysis clearly suggests a performance style which is much more rhythmically variable than that which is suggested by the pibroch manuscripts. To be credible as a reflection of the tradition of its time, an instrumental performance should embody the rhythms which suggest the recitative nature of its song-poetry. If this was a keen, how much of this characteristic could have been reflected in the performance style of the

36 Cumha Ghríogair is another, and it also sounds like a variant of Cumha Mhic an Tòisich.
pibroch? Is there a recognisable difference between the keening and the lament as played on the pipes?

Ross (1956: 6) divides what he calls the 'elegaic material' into two groups, elegies and laments, based on form and content. The elegy is normally an eight lined stanza and is commemorative but expressed in a fairly conventional manner. This contrasts with the lament which is normally of one or two lined stanzas; also, it is 'expressive of sorrow rather than descriptive of it'. (p.7) However, can these characteristics be identified in the melodies of pibroch? I shall argue that, to some extent, one can detect melodic features which suggest one particular type of tune.

Although there is no named keen in Gaelic, there is, however, one piece of music which has been associated with the keening tradition on the Island of Barra. The singer, the late Calum Johnston, stated that it was used as a keening there. It has the characteristics of the keen, namely a repetitive chant around a limited pitch range, which falls down to the the lower notes to finish. This tune, when transcribed to the pipes is, like MacIntosh's Lament concentrated around the high G and the F of the pipe scale. It might be played as follows:

Ex. 6

Source: Tocher, School of Scottish Studies no. 34. 227. Transcribed 4 notes up to pipes by A.McD.

The repetitive three-stressed motifs typify the recitative chant form.

Another characteristic of the keen is its use of language with the frequently occurring 'och ochone' or variants of the same which have been identified in the Irish tradition. This is identified as a particular part of a process in the keen called the gol or cry and has similar

---

37 O'Madagain cites Joyce 1873: melody 59 as a good example of this.
38 O'Madagain (1978: 45) cites William Beauford's (1791) description where he identifies the 'Gol or choruses' including vocables which seem to have been easily recognisable in both the Irish and Scots' Gaelic traditions. The description given is similar to the melodic techniques of the psalm singing tradition in Gaelic Scotland today and may have some historical pretext. This word 'gol' survives in Scottish Gaelic vernacular as gulp, eg. 'a' gulf '(crying)
exclamations to the 'refrain' of MacIntosh's Lament, O'Madagain (1978 p. 39) shows a notated example of one with the exclamations 'och ochone' which is, musically, not repeated on one tone but has a wide range. Another, from found in Bunting(1840) shows a similar three-stress motif as in the DMcD's notation of MacIntosh's Lament.

Some nineteenth and twentieth century Irish collections of music include notated examples of both the lament and the keen, (or caoine/-adh as it appears in these collections.) The features which seem to have been more prevalent in the keen than in the lament are those melodic and rhythmic motifs consisting of repeated notes around a single pitch as in chanting, followed by a rapid ornamental descent to a much lower pitch. The keen has been recognised by P.W.Joyce (1873) as having three identifiable parts, the last of which, the gol or cry would seem to be the one which is represented most in the music collections. This would be equivalent to the refrain of MacIntosh's Lament with its 'Och nan och' vocables. Because the funeral ritual at which this genre of music was played represented unpredictable emotional outpourings of grief, the music, as a reflection of this, cannot be represented in measured time and the emotional polarities of the occasion are further emphasised in the music by contrasting high and low notes of the scale. Although MacIntosh's Lament does not have a dramatic drop to the low notes of the scale it does have repeated motifs and there are a number of other pibrochs which have similar features.

The notes on the pipe scale which would seem to emulate the keen are F, high G, and high A. This effect can also be heard eg. in Cumha na Cloinne (Lament for the Children)[cf. PS 3: 99]:

---

39 Some of the Irish forms are caoine and caoineadh as in Scotland but also cú cúi and verbal form căinud (see Joyce, P.W. 1903). In some parts of Scotland, for example on the Isle of Skye, caoin was used to refer to the 'tune' alone. In the tradition of the travelling people of Scotland, the word caoin is used to refer to a singer who has the ability to make the listener emotional, used in the context eg. of "she has the caoin in her."

40 cf. Caoineadh an Bhuachalla gabha agus Caoineach don Athair ó Maonaigh in 'Ceol ón Mumhain' by Liamde Noraidh.(1964) p.24-25

41 Of course there are exceptions to this where a similar effect can be produced on the lower range of the scale as in Hugh's Lament. (CC-1 no. 48 and PS. 13 p. 412) on the low G, B, D mode.
and the Nameless Lament Chidareche hive eao

as well as a number of others, which appear throughout the pibroch repertoire.  

From Irish evidence and from internal evidence of some of those pieces believed to be laments, there are, broadly, two different styles of lamentation discernible. One had its provenance in the keening ritual, while the other was more elegiac and less emotive, such as eg. Cumha Aonghais Mhic Raoghnaille Oig. (See CS 10). Their melodic shape and pattern of arrangement of motifs give a different musical effect. The 'lament' per se which Ross distinguishes metrically and textually cannot be melodically distinguished from the elegiac form, unless the words can be identified. There are particular tunes which one may intuitively feel to be a lament rather than as an elegy where words are not extant. This 'intuition' is, however, to some extent based on past experience and the modern pibroch player might 'intuitively' feel that Lament for Mary MacLeod, for example, might be a lament. This consideration is probably based, for the most part, on the the preconceptions of melodic rhythm which have been created through a long competition patronage and divorce from the comparatively more rhythmical lamentations of the song in Gaelic society.

In view of its function as part of the funeral ritual, it is inconceivable that the performance of pibroch was aesthetically, rhythmically and melodically independent of the social setting which preserved the keening. According to the descriptive evidence in this country and the

---

42 In MacArthur HSL Ms. no. 18. Thomason's Ceòl Mòr (p. 216) has revised the same tune which he calls Ben Crucan. This tune is also in PS. bk 13.
notated examples of keening from Ireland with its chant-like performance style, the piobroch would, as a functional piece, have a similar rhythm.

Although keening itself was probably confined solely to women, and would not have been performed by men in the male dominated society of the piper/singer, the other styles of 'singing' were practised by the pipers or their mentors, which must have influenced them as instrumentalists as well. The style of singing which is closest to the keen by nature of its syllabic structure and its closeness to speech rhythm was sung by John MacDonald, father of the writer of the DMcD Ms. He is quoted by MacGregor (1877: 462-466.) as a man who could repeat the notes of any lament, salute, or gathering

and who was clearly familiar with the rhythms of the heroic style since he could also

'repeat ancient poetry for hours on end, which he called
"Bárdachd na Féinne " Fingalian Poetry (ibid)

The piper emulating the emotional intensity through melodic sounds and rhythm is one connection between the keening and piobroch. Although the keening in both Ireland and Scotland contained an element of extemporaneous composition, it is formally recognised as a specific type of poetic metre. In this context, it may have some relevance to the form of piobroch and its emergence within this culture. W.J. Watson (1918 Intro. xlv.) has a poetic structure called Ochtfhocach mòr corranach which is a sixteen line variety of ochtfhocach mòr (great eight phrased poetry). On a broader level, this structure is the same as the form of most piobros. Much of written Gaelic poetry/song is in eight or sixteen lines, which is usually equivalent to four and eight poetic phrases. The song, MacIntosh's Lament, appears in eight lined form in CG (Vol v: 354) but it actually has four poetic phrases and can be chanted to the melodic outline of the DMcD version of MacIntosh's Lament as studied here. Because

43 The coincidence of the extemporaneous creation of poetry by women in the form of chant similar in style to the heroic ballad style has been witnessed this century in Scotland. See O'Madagán Béaloideá 51 (1983: 71-86.) See also O' Madagáin (1978: 30-47.) Also an article called Caoineadh na dTri Muire agus an Chaointeoirceacht by Angela Partridge in the same publication.

44 The lack of information about melodic characteristics restricts a proper analysis of poetic metre, especially when it is understood that the song and poetry tradition are so interlocked in Gaelic society. In the Lowland
of the melody's undoubted popularity it had a wide range of settings, the pipe setting known today probably being a shortened version among a number of more extensive pipe and fiddle settings. The eventual setting of nine phrases adopted by DMcD may have been a shortened version of a much longer one. Some twentieth century song performances of the lament have become more regularly measured as has already been shown in this study, just as twentieth century performances of some heroic ballads are in stricter time than in previous generations. 45

It is clear that what pipers recognise as MacIntosh's Lament represents one version of a range of variant melodies to which a number of different sets of words were sung. This is a common feature of Gaelic oral tradition where there are recognised 'stock melodies'. Its association with different social events at different periods of time like, for example, from funeral ritual to lament to lullaby, would be responsible for its appearance in different rhythmic and melodic forms in both the song and the pibroch tradition. The adaptation from a chanted keen would have made it less restricted to a repetitive melodic line and might explain its appearance, more identifiable with the amhran, in the sense of being more measured in time and more melodically structured such as Mnàthan a' Ghlinne seo.

As a result of changes in function, it is probable that the rhythm generally became more regularly accented. The performances by NMcL and AA who sing it as a lullaby are witness to this. Lullabies have, both in Ireland and Scotland, a fairly regular rhythm. 42 It is fallacious, however, to examine different song versions according to function with the

---

45 Bruford (1987: xxx)
46 See Matheson (1970:153) where he refers to the bards in the amhran tradition 'making use of airs already existing in his repertoire' to which to wed the poetry. Some stock melodies, and their variants, seem to have been Murt Ghlinne Comhann, Iorram na Truaighe, Oran do Iain Breac MacLeod. The same was true of the Heroic Ballads. In Albania and Yugoslavia the same observation was made on the heroic poetry that 'there certainly seems to be no evidence that a special poem has its own tune'. (Bowra, Date) It may also partly explain why in Gaelic there has been little concern with 'tunes connected with the heroic ballads, the story line being the most important feature, so that no term for 'tune' exists in that context.
47 One which seems to have conversational rhythm followed by variations in more regular rhythm appears in Tolmie (1911, no. 20) 'Oran Tálaidh na Mnà- Sidhe
implication of a chronological development, and it is possible that a number of song versions of MacIntosh's Lament associated with different social events were concurrent.

Bannatyne (1904: 152) pointed out that the recitative style, applied to pibroch, allows considerable scope for the display of individual tastes in performance. This is a valid observation and one which emphasises the close correlation between words and instrumental melody, to the extent that each syllable can be represented musically in quaver beats for example. The AF Ms. (c1850) claims that MacIntosh's Lament was 'one of the most perfect airs known in the Highlands for that purpose', i.e. for the purpose of playing in recitative style. One has to understand however, that his arrangements seem to be of his own making, which he suggests by the following comment:

'We find that these poems may be very correctly sung to the developed air to which we have no doubt the chiefs had been accustomed to hear them sung'.

Nevertheless, AF's urnal is not dissimilar, in melody and rhythm, to that of the pibroch. He then links the first variation with the words according to 'Fonn Socair Dhàna a réir cleachdadh nam bàrd.' (Free rhythmic melody according to the bardic tradition). This implies an irregular rhythm. In addition he experiments with this particular piece by adding more variations, a procedure not untypical of nineteenth century music collectors who set out to 'improve' by adding and/or making out features which were set out to give the music a higher profile. Bannatyne also made a connection between pibroch and the style of singing which has been addressed here when he stated that:

'the word piobaireachd among the Gaels of old was limited to the recitative form of the melody'.

---

48 Bruford (1983) in an unpublished article refers to Angus Fraser's theories as 'the vapourings of his overheated brain'. There would seem to be some basis for this dramatic criticism. Fraser created his own complicated and rather turgid system for classification of the melodies, in the process inventing his own terminology which failed to give any salient information on the nature of their performance. However, one might argue that the use of Italian musical terminology which numerous collectors have used for Gaelic song music is equally flawed. cf. Joseph MacDonald (1760).

49 See also W. Matheson 'Some early collectors of Gaelic Folk Song' in 'Proceedings of the Scottish Anthropological and Folklore Society 3-4.'

50 Bannatyne. (1904: 149).
Bannatyne was not the only one to link the dann direach or syllabic metre - and by implication, its performance style - with pibroch. Another writer, Lambert,(1953) considered pibroch to be an exact counterpoint of dann direach

On the basis of the traditional lore itself, regarding the emergence of the song and the pibroch, it seems appropriate to support MacIntosh Lament's provenance as a melody in the chanting/recitative style of keening. The common tradition, both on the mainland and the Outer Isles,\(^51\) links the tune with the death of a MacIntosh and the legend goes on to tell that the widow

'not only composed the beautiful air of the lament, but chanted it as she moved forward at the head of the bier of her husband's funeral, and marked the tune by tapping with her fingers on the lid of the coffin' (Killin 1884: 46.)

There may be some exaggeration here and although it is quite conceivable that the woman went with the coffin and beat it in a state of high emotion, it is unlikely that she composed a 'tune' in the process. It seems more likely that she keened using distinctive melodic and rhythmic motifs, which ultimately became a more standardised lament in the form we know it today.

In whichever form the song appears one cannot regard it, and the melody and melodies which accompany it, in isolation. O'Madagain (Bealoideas 53: 132) reinforces this point when he states:

'Songs are not an independent entity in themselves: they are a form of human behaviour and their vital context is the social life and culture of the community'.

It is hard to conceive that the pibroch tradition did not have a similar role, the implication of which is that one would expect a range of different rhythms with interrelated melodies within its own genre and shared with the song and other instrumental traditions in the communities

**FIDDLE SOURCES.**

\(^{51}\) W. McK. (CMo, Vol 2 1876-77: 235) states the tradition in Ross-shire linked it with the death of a 'MacKenzie of Gairloch, accidentally killed whilst going to be married to a daughter of MacLeod of Cadboll, in Easter Ross'. 
Sources: McFarlane [McF]; Oswald [JO]; Riddell [RR]; Patrick MacDonald [PMcD]

The earliest transcriptions of MacIntosh's Lament were in fiddle collections. They appeared in four different fiddle sources throughout the eighteenth century before they were published specifically for pipers.52 The earliest source of the tune is McF(1740). It is there originally headed Cum'h'mhic-o-Arrisaig (sic), which may translate as 'Lament for the son from Arrisaig'. A pen has scored through this title in the Ms. replacing it by the title O'Hara's Lament.53 It seems that after the title had been written clearly in ink, the author's subsequent research discovered the alternative title, but which itself may be yet another corrupt version of the same Gaelic title. All the other fiddle sources call it MacIntosh's Lament.

The tune in McF (1740) has a musical form of a fifteen phrase ùrlar, followed by eight different variations. JO (1747-1769) has a five-phrase ùrlar followed by seven different variations and RR (1794) also has a five phrase ùrlar, melodically quite unlike JO's, followed by fourteen different variations. PMcD's fiddle setting, in contrast with his pipe setting already discussed, differs in having a four-phrase ùrlar followed by eight variations. Again, he directs that some of the variations do not have to follow the four-phrase structure throughout and that they may be occasionally 'prolonged', which involves extending the variations by a number of phrases away from the form set down by the ùrlar.54 This less rigid musical form may have been a common feature of piobhach during the eighteenth century before it became more standardised during the nineteenth century.

A characteristic of the early, eighteenth century, fiddle texts of the ùrlar of MacIntosh's Lament is that they are more evenly notated than the nineteenth century ones. This in itself suggests a more chant-like performance than what is suggested by the frequency of dotted notes and long pauses of later sources. For example, a comparison of the earliest texts in approximate chronological order with some of the later ones with DMcD's and the present day PS version inserted for comparison shows:

52 In the McFarlane Ms.1740 (Vol 3: 262-269); Oswald's Caledonian Pocket Companion c1747-69 (Vol x: 18) MacDonald's A Collection of Highland Vocal Airs 1784: 40 and Riddell's Scotch, Galwegian and Border tunes 1794: 32.
53 This cannot be traced in Irish collections.
54 It also moves out of the modal range set down in the ùrlar.
Although ER was notating the pibrochs for other instruments 'in a form which would enable them to be played on the piano, flute or violin' (Cooke 1972: 41) it is quite likely she was notating from a bagpipe performance. One can see that the semibreves at the end of each phrase represent a departure from the styles previous to her time. Although this in itself is not crucial since in a sung or instrumental performance, it would merely constitute a pause, the existence of the E between the two Fs at the beginning of the tune, could mean that the echo beats were performed similarly to how they are played today with a long second E instead of a grace note:
If this is the case, this style of lengthening the second grace note E to the extent that a transcriber would treat it as a melody note, must have been one style which existed around the beginning of the nineteenth century. That there was a lengthening of the second E is supported also by DMcD in his manuscript. (See Ch 3.4.1.)

Keith Norman MacDonald [KMcD] in his Gesto Collection \(^{55}\) also notated from a bagpipe performance and one can see the differences in rhythm implied by the apparent choices with regard to holding phrase and sub-phrase endings in the same way as was suggested by Elizabeth Ross.

What is clear then, is that the pibroch idiom was already popular with fiddlers by the mid eighteenth century and, as Johnson (1984: ch.5) has pointed out, that fiddlers, at least in the eighteenth century, were much less constrained than the pipers of the twentieth century; not only was the music much less standardised and stylised but it was adventurous and recognised a new genre of music in the 'pipe style.' \(^{56}\)

The PMcD pipe setting and the fiddle settings referred to, represent alternative settings of the pipe music, some of which probably represented what pipers played at the time. Some do not fit the pipe scale and differ in form, but their existence demonstrates the extent to which the pibroch idiom had reached out into the repertoires of other musical idiom(s). One wonders why it has now stopped. I suggest it is because the twentieth century pibroch style no longer has the melodic and rhythmic appeal it once had.

---

\(^{55}\) He was a grandson of Neil MacLeod who compiled the Gesto Canntaireachd \(^{c1828}\).

\(^{56}\) David Johnson, 'Scottish Fiddle Music in the 18th Century' (1984) Chapter V 'Bagpipe Pieces'
The song in its ABCD form is only found (if the line repeats of the pibroch are not repeated) in DMcD's setting. The fiddle texts may contain motifs of the song melody, or variants of these, but they do not appear in the same order as DMcD's. This raises some questions as to whether or not the modern version of the pibroch was adopted by DMcD because it was closer to the song form than the other versions; or whether it was an edited and standardised form set out by DMcD, who was being mindful of the song version while transcribing his setting. ER's metre is the same as DMcD's and so is AMcK's, so it may have represented the Skye setting of the tune. PMcD's pipe setting, however, might also have been collected in the same area from which Joseph, his brother, had collected his. Originally it may have been collected by Joseph himself as they were taught by the 'First Masters and Composers in the Islands of Sky and Mull'. (See p.C.13)

However, the metrical nature of the tune is not a crucial issue here unless it suggests characteristics of the performance style of the piece. What it does show is that there was a greater variety of settings, the implication of which is that there was a greater variety of accepted styles of playing these as well.

The fiddle variations for the most part were probablyitations of the rhythms as they were perceived by the fiddlers themselves. They are undoubtedly attractive and not unsuited to the pipes. Some of the pipe variations can easily be recognised such as the taorluath and crùnluath. What is striking about these different fiddle sources is the range of different types of variation in different time signatures apart from, in some sources, a much greater compass of notes than on the pipes. They also utilise accostatura/scordatura tuning to give a more convincing aural imitation of the pipes. McF's Ms., however, stays within the pipe scale and is melodically closer to the DMcD setting for the early part of the tune. It also has similarities with the PMcD setting although it has two extra phrases.

On the subject of technique, one would have to make a detailed comparative analysis of the fiddle movements with the pipe movements. This would probably be only of limited use, as one would not expect the fiddle style to exactly represent the pipe movements on the fiddle, no more than the pibroch style should exactly represent the song idiom. However, it is possible to make some general conclusions especially with
regard to the question of whether or not the pipe cadences are represented in any way by the fiddle texts in this tune.

ER's first motif suggests that the echo beats were played similar to today's with the second E grace note played very long. She has:

Ex. 11

![Music notation](image)

PMD's fiddle setting is similar to the MacLeod (1828) and Fraser (c1900) sets of Cumha Mhic Righ Aro\(^57\) in that its melodic line, starting at C, ranges over a similar compass of notes. Furthermore, what is recognised as the song text to Macintosh's Lament appears as Bealach a’Gharaidh (named after the last line of a song version), in KMcD’s Gesto Collection (c1895), and has a similar melody to Cumha Mhic Righ Aro. This version clearly has its own identity as an altogether different melody from Macintosh's Lament but it seems to be akin to an alternative transcription from the song setting starting on C in the 'key' of A rather than at F in the 'key' of D. Further more, a fragment of song text appears in AnG. (August 1873: 169) called 'Cumha Mhic a’ Arois' (Lament for the son of Aros)

\(^57\) Such a person has not it would seem, been recorded in history. This 'Aro' may be a corruption of Aros, which is on the island of Mull. Pennant (1772 Vol 2: 300) refers to 'a charter dated at Aros in the year 1449'. This site was associated with the Lordship of the Isles as a meeting place for them. There is also an Aros house near Tobermory which was, until about the middle of the nineteenth century, called Drumfin and which may have a song called Fàilte Dhruim Fionn associated with it. It's melodic line has a similar shape as Cholla mo Run and explains why a verse of the latter has been mixed up with it. (See Tocher 1973-74 Vol 2 194-5) The word 'aros' is also used in Gaelic as a term for an important dwelling and this may have arisen from Aros in Mull having been associated with royalty.
underneath which is 'No Cumha Mhic-an-Tòisich' (Or MacIntosh's Lament). This makes a clearer connection between text and tune and for comparison, the fragment of verse has been laid out underneath the Cumha Mhic Righ Aro which was transcribed by Cannon (1990) from NMcL (Gesto).

Ex. 12

CUMHA MHEC RIGH AROIS

The words do not match exactly but one can see how, without the stringencies of measured time, the melody could easily be rhythmically adapted to the words just as in MacIntosh’s Lament.

A person brought up in an oral tradition can well appreciate how a musician, listening to a singer singing MacIntosh’s Lament might, instead of starting at F on the pipe scale start at C, and so produce what might appear to some, a different tune. The internal and historical evidence is therefore sufficient to state that Cumha Mhic Righ Aro is a variant of MacIntosh’s Lament, as a result of it having been notated beginning five notes down. It is impossible to be sure how it occurred and any analysis which lays much credence on modal characteristics can prove to be fallacious.

MacIntosh’s Lament now exists in the pipe tradition with no variant settings and the main reason is probably because after its appearance in Angus MacKay’s collection in 1838 it quickly became the standard text. As pibroch has come down to us in its present form, through a highly standardising competition system, other versions have, unfortunately, been lost.

Another possibility is that, if it is assumed that the number of variants and different names a tune has is linked to its antiquity, the relative shortage of these, in pibroch, could suggest that MacIntosh’s Lament is a relative
newcomer to pibroch and that possibly pibroch itself is not as ancient as piping tradition dates this particular tune ie. early 1500's. On the basis of this evidence alone, it is likely that the Gaelic song is much older than the pibroch and that the identification with the event was via the song around which, at a later date, pipers created the pibroch form.

If MacIntosh's Lament is played in this manner, it is effective as a representation of these genres. However, in order to represent this musically, one has to dispense with the standard methods of European musical notation. One way in which this might be notated:

Ex. 13

MacIntosh's Lament. One recommended style; most prominent features only.

CONCLUSION.

Some important issues have emerged as a result of the study of this piece of pibroch which, as will be seen, are common to many of the tunes and songs analysed. The analysis has shown that:

1. the singing style which has come to be regarded as being in the genre of 'órán mór', is not traditional, neither can it be used as a dependable source for research because of the influences of twentieth century pibroch performance style;

58 PS no.8: 225.
2. the more traditional song recordings, as well as the earliest song text, cannot be sung according to the Twentieth century interpretation of Donald MacDonald's notation;

3. the modern style of pibroch performance of the urla of MacIntosh's Lament has to be reinterpreted in terms of the rhythms of the song and social context in which it was initially contrived. The social setting relates it to the keening ritual in the wider context of lamentation. It is also rhythmically closer to the ballad tradition in the form of heroic song-poetry, or dàn, than to the more regularly stressed àmhran:

4. the pibroch setting represents one of a number of melodic variants and rhythms from a stock melody, recognised as MacIntosh's Lament;

5. the song, pipe and fiddle traditions in their various social settings have interacted in the process of dispersion and alteration of the stock melody which is represented by MacIntosh's Lament;

early attempts to transcribe the versions of MacIntosh's Lament may have been the 'least worst' way in comparison with what the rhythm of the song words suggests. The DMcD version represents an important influential stage in the development of a standardised form for the bagpipes;

What is beyond doubt is that the original text of the song does not correlate with the modern pibroch performance style. The method of transcription adopted by Donald MacDonald and subsequent transcribers represents a fairly good attempt at notating this particular type of tune using standard European musical conventions. The main problem, however, lies in interpretation of the score rather than in any particular method of notation adopted. Accordingly, if each crotchet value in the Donald MacDonald score is given a series of more equal stresses throughout each phrase, it should represent a performance style which is closer to the syllabic-based rhythm suggested by the song. Also, it is probably closer to the rhythmical style originally intended than what modern performance style conveys.