CHAPTER 1

Ch.1.1 HISTORICAL: USE AND STYLE

PIBROCH IN GAEIC SOCIETY.

Gaelic society laid great stress on its poetic and musical sophistication and organisation\(^7\) and it was in this environment that pibroch developed, reaching its high point probably in the early years of the eighteenth century. The two idioms of poetry and music, which were at that time probably more distinguishable by their performance medium (eg. pipes, fiddle, etc.) than by their style, were patronised by the Highland aristocracy until around the beginning of the eighteenth century.\(^9\) Pennant (1772 vol. 2 p.301) Burt (1754: letter 21:143 ) and Kirkwood (see Campbell 1975:49) testify to the relatively high status of piping in the pre-1745 Society. The failure of the Rising in 1745 and subsequent social repression was probably the greatest threat to the pibroch tradition. (Cooke: 1987: 400 ; Cannon 1988: 73) Joseph MacDonald would seem to have feared the possibility of the tradition being lost when he described in his manuscript (ed. Cannon 1994: 25) that it contained:

'all the Terms of Art in which this Instrument was originally taught by its first Masters and Composers in the Islands of Sky and Mull'.

and that it was all

'Carefully collected and preservd in its Antient Style and Form, without Alteration or Amendment' (ibid)

Although as Cannon (1994: 7) states, 'Joseph tells us little about the functional purpose of pipe music', and that:

'a piece can be a gathering, a lament, a march etc. 'according to the occasion'.

\(^7\) The distinction which Merriam (1964: 210) made between use and function is acknowledged. 'Use' is concerned with how music is used in certain activities, frequently becoming part of the activity. These particular uses may or may not have a deeper function.

\(^8\) J. MacKenzie (Ed. 1840) Introduction to SO.

\(^9\) The last chief who had a bard and piper was Iain Breac MacLeod who died in 1693. (W.Matheson, 1970: 131)
the pipes clearly had a number of functions which were, to some extent, recognisable in the character of the music. Some of these characteristics, which are modal, as well as rhythmical, are discussed by Joseph MacDonald. (ibid. 67-73)

The term of convenience 'pibroch', used in this study and also called 'ceòl mòr' by Gaelic speakers, does not appear anywhere in his manuscript. He uses terms which differentiate between different styles of tunes. Although the reader is not made aware of the extent to which the Gaelic society of his time used the same terms, he refers to marches, laments, gatherings and other categories throughout his manuscript. (see Cannon 1994 for details) He also uses terms such as 'martial', 'rhapsody', 'siciliana' and other Italian musical terms like 'adagio' and 'allegro' in an attempt to describe the character of the music and by implication, the style of performance. Although these terms by themselves, do not tell us much about the tempo and style of the performances per se, they do at least inform us that there was a range of rhythms and tempos, possibly as varied as the differentiation which is present in, (and using the term of convenience), 'ceòl beag' or light music. The twentieth century pibroch player who uses the generic term 'pibroch' and plays each type of pibroch eg. lament, salute, march in a fairly homogenous style, is witness to the standardisation which has occurred in the pibroch idiom. One would find it very difficult to differentiate between types of tunes played on the present day pibroch competition platform except, possibly, some of the gathering tunes which are easily recognisable by their repetitive short melodic motifs. The non-pibroch repertoire remains very specific however, with a clear distinction between, for example, marches, strathspeys and reels.

Although the distinctions between the different types of pibroch are more subtle than in the case of light music categories, they nevertheless existed and were probably closely related to function. The demise of the traditional patronage by the chief to his retinue in the post-1745 era, and the increasing anglicisation of the chief may have slightly blurred the association of style and function by the time Joseph MacDonald wrote about it. An increasing lack of precision in Gaelic poetic terminology was seemingly also occurring. (see Matheson 1970). Joseph MacDonald's comments in the opening page of his manuscript that the tunes were:
'Carefully collected and preserved in its Antient Style and Form, without Alteration or Amendment'
suggests that the tradition was in decline by that stage. This decline may partly explain the rather simplistic distinction which he made between the marches, laments and gatherings on account of the construction of the tune, i.e. the number of 'fingers'\textsuperscript{10} in each. This he called the 'Rule of Thumb' (ed.1994: 64) which the eighteenth century pipers used as a guide for composition. It seems a rather rigid theoretical system that differentiates the kinds of piobroch according to the number of 'fingers' in a piece. There are a lot of piobrochs which do not fit this categorisation according to this 'number of fingers'. A familiarity with the song idiom may have given rise to a fairly common procedure which appears to have resulted in songs of four phrases developing into, most commonly, eight-phrased piobrochs. This may have become a fairly spontaneous procedure also for the piper composers and may have been an extempore process in some compositions. This extempore composition might be more credible with some of the gathering tunes, not necessarily song-based, but a number of piobrochs could have been created in this manner by one who was at ease with the melodic and rhythmic idiom.

It is well documented that the pipes were used for lamentation, warning or gathering the clansmen, as an incitement to battle and for praise or welcome, as well as for a number of other events or features of entertainment which the titles of the tunes themselves often suggest. That the pipes were used for an even wider variety of functions in Scotland is confirmed by a number of early writers, some of whom had travelled throughout the Highlands. The observations of those writers show that the piper, as a musician, often formed part of the company involved in the work process. In respect of this, one can only conclude that the tunes must have represented the rhythms which were chosen to accompany the specific processes, just as the waulking song does in the song tradition. One cannot be sure that the tunes used were piobroch tunes. However, the evidence presented in this thesis strongly suggests that there were some piobrochs which approximated measured time.

\textsuperscript{10} These were units of construction which were approximately equivalent to one bar of music. See also Lorimer(1962: 5.).
As early as the 16th century, it was customary for pipers to play to shearers in Renfrewshire, in the Lowlands of Scotland. (MacFarlane 1908: 261) The custom was apparently continued up until the end of the eighteenth century. Logan(1831: 275) also states that the piper was frequently engaged during harvest time:

'...to animate the reapers and he generally keeps behind the slowest worker.'

Knox, who made a tour through the Highlands and Islands in 1786 (Dalyell 1849: 39) found that in Skye, while the people were building their roads, each party had a piper. Burt (vol ii: 129-130) observed that:

'Sometimes they were incited to their work by the sound of the bagpipe. Also they used the same tone, or a piper, when they thickened the new proven plaiding.'

This is clear evidence that the piper took part in the waulking as well and it is quite conceivable that certain pibrochs could be used for other work processes. A couple of examples of tunes which may have been used in the more regular rhythmic work process such as reaping and rowing are Grain in hides and Corn in Sacks (Grain an seannanan siol am pocannan [reaping]) and Weighing from Land (Togail bho thir [rowing]). I have also made an extensive study of this relationship but as there is only one phrase with which to compare with an orally recorded version of this century, which differs greatly from a more contemporary version recorded in Patrick MacDonald’s collection - the result cannot be too conclusive. Rhythmically, it is also a fairly uncomplicated tune. The pipes may well

11 The original source of this is a mid eighteenth century publication called the ‘Paisley Repository’ where there is an epitaph to Habbie Simpson, a famous piper from Kilbarchan, who lived in the 16th century. The editor of the Repository made notes for the readership on a stanza which begins: ‘Or quha will caus our scheirers schier; Quha will bang up the brags of weir’ the first line which refers to the shearers and the second with the ‘brags of weir’ translated by the editor as "or Pibrochs played at wapon schawings."

12 See also reference to Buisman’s research in Chapter I:2. Togail bho thir is called Dead’s Lament in the Campbell Cannaireachd (Vol 2, no.56) and probably represented one of songs sung as the rowers transported the coffins by sea to particular islands such as Iona for burial. Grain in hides and corn is sacks is called Cha’m nun Kersavag (We?) went over to Kersavag in the CC: Vol 2 no. 35.) It could originally have been a rowing song according to this title though.
have been used on the birlinn or galley for the oarsmen to keep time to and there is a reference to this in the song to the pibroch Fàilte Dhantròin (Duntrroon’s Salute)\(^{13}\) which runs:

\[ 'Piobaireachd air clàr na luinge 'S dlùth ort cunnart a Dhàntròin \]

(Piping on the deck of the ship and close to you the danger from Duntrroon.)

and later in the same song:

\[ 'Piobaireachd air long fo sheòl \]

(Piping on a ship under sail)

The piper would seem to have been a natural extension of the musical environment in which workers operated.

Thomas Newte( 1791: 274)\(^{14}\) was impressed by the role which music had in the daily activities:

\[ 'Throughout the whole of the Highlands there are, at this day, various songs sung by the women to suitable airs, or played on musical instruments not only on occasions of merriment and diversion, but also during almost every kind of work which employs more than one person, such as milking cows, watching the folds, fulling of cloth, grinding of grain with the quern or hand mill, hay-making and reaping of corn. These songs and tunes reanimate for a time the drooping labourer, and make him work with redoubled ardour. In travelling through the Highlands, in the season of Autumn, the sounds of little bands of music on every side, joined to a most romantic scenery, has a very pleasing effect on the mind of a stranger.' \(^{15}\)

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\(^{13}\) This is more commonly known as Fuaim na Tuinne ri Duntrroin (The Sound of the Waves against the Castle of Duntrroon.) (PS 6:176) The song appears in CMo. Vol V p.8.

\(^{14}\) Interestingly, Thomas Newte’s observations and accounts of his travels were used as source material for several subsequent publications. For example, in Patrick MacDonald’s (1784) collection, the introductory essay quotes almost verbatim on the uses of the bagpipes. [This essay may have been written by Ramsay of Ochtertyre.] Sir John Carr (1809) also used him as a source.

\(^{15}\) Thomson(1974: 57) cites Tolmie (1911: 235), stating that every kind of outdoor work was accompanied by song in Skye around the early part of the nineteenth century. He also cites the Rev. Norman MacDonald
Although he does not specify the types of musical instruments, there is no reason to exclude the pipes from this scenario. He later differentiates between the large bagpipe:

'for war, marriage, funeral processions, and other great occasions' (p. 275)

and refers to:

'a smaller kind, on which dancing tunes are played'.

and this is confirmed by Joseph MacDonald (1760).

But Newte stresses the importance of pibroch in the tradition when he states:

'A certain species of this wind music, called pibrachs rouses the native Highlander in the same way that the sound of the trumpet does the war horse'

This statement is important as it shows that by 1791 the generic term was being used by people outside the tradition who set pibroch apart from the other types of music. There are eighteenth century references to pibroch spelled in various ways in the Dictionary of the Scottish Tongue and the impression is clearly that the style of music meant by this genre was lively. One has to be careful on the use of the term as it was probably used in a fairly general context but it points to a style which did not differ from light music as much as it does at the present day, having characteristics of a 'martial' type. References made during the eighteenth

recalling the men and women 'singing lustily, in the fields as they went about their work' around the time of the first World War.(original source: Gairm vol 15, 20)

16 Patrick MacDonald's use of the word 'pibrach' may not be the earliest to differentiate between it and other kinds of pipe music. The Dictionary, under 'Pibroch' has a number of references, the eighteenth century ones of which are: 1719 Quhyle, play and Pibrochs, Minstralls meit Afore him stately strade [Ramsay Ever Green 2, 256]; 1757: Donald, ye may gang and entertain her with a pibroch of Macreemon's composition'. [Smollett Reprisal 1 ii] 1761: 'He breaks your rest with a jigg, and rushes on you with all the martial strains of a peebruch'.[Magopico 39] Note that in the introductory essay to Rev. Patrick MacDonald's (1784) collection entitled 'On the influence of poetry and music upon the Highlanders', the word 'pibrach' is also used in the context of 'pibrach or cruineachadh' (gathering) (p.13)
century then, suggest that Pibroch, as a specific genre, had a special
importance in so far as it was effective in animating the listener. Pibroch
would seem to have had at least as much a role to play as 'light music'
during the eighteenth century although there would appear to have been
a rich light music tradition also as the early sources such as Donald
MacDonald's (1828) collection and Angus MacKay's (1849-1859) Ms. of light
music alone demonstrates. (see also MacInnes 1988) There is further
evidence to show that the demarcation between the pibroch a'irlar and
light music was not as clear as at the present day. Pibrochs such as
Gabhaiddh sinne Rathad mor (CS 11) and Carles with the Brequs (CS2), are
good examples of tunes which, if played in eighteenth century style, would
likely be classed as 'light music' by a present day listener.

The descriptions of the early pibroch competitions at the end of the
eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, provide useful images of the
pipers' composure when performing and therefore of the style of the
music itself. For instance, at the first piping competitions held in
Edinburgh in 1783 the traveller Faujas de Saint Fond described the nature
of the competition where:

'the air he played was a kind of sonata, divided into three parts.'
[Adam] Smith begged me to give it my whole attention, and to
tell him...the impression it made on me. But I confess that at
first I could distinguish neither air nor design. I only saw the
piper marching always with rapidity and with the same warlike
countenance. A second musician ......wearing the same martial
look and walking to and fro with the same haughty air.' (p.248)

Saint Fond's ignorance of 'air or design,' may have been a
misunderstanding of the irregular, unmeasured time which one would
expect to sense in both Gaelic song and pibroch. This is discussed in the
next section.

Although one has to be fairly guarded when attempting to draw useful
evidence of musical performance style from observers' descriptions, in
total they may be useful in suggesting the style of performance as one
would not expect a very slow tune to be played in a fashion which is
described as 'strutting'. Sir John Carr (1809) who attended the Edinburgh
competitions in 1807 had similar observations to Saint Fond:

17 He states that the first prize went to the piper to the laird of McNab and
Breadalbane (p.179) who won in 1807 (MacKay 1838: 17)
'He strutted up and down with the most stately march, and occasionally enraptured his audience, who expressed the influence of his instrument by loud and reiterated plaudits.' (p176)

This suggests that the style of performance was more animated than present day style imparts.

Although Joseph MacDonald in his Treatise (ed. 1994:80) states that

'As Slow Pipe Musick (viz the marches) is always performed walking, it gives the Performer a better Opportunity of discovering a gracefulness of carryage in Feature and Attitude;\textsuperscript{18}

one may be mistaken in inferring from the early descriptions of visual performance style in competitions that the tempo was faster. Apart from considering that they were more rhythmical in style, there is other evidence to suggest that the tempos were faster.

Campbell (1953) deduces, albeit guardedly, from his examination of the records of competitions in Angus MacKay's (1838) collection:

'I am inclined to deduce from the time tables of the competitions that piobaireachds in those days were played distinctly faster than you hear them at present-day competitions. I am not sure however.'

Campbell also suggests that the repetition of the ùrlar after the Taorluath and Crunluath doublings, which was a regular feature of the early performances, was evidence that the pibroch was played faster than it is now. (1953 prt.2: 6)

\textsuperscript{18} Collinson(1975: 182) adequately explains the confusion which exists over the use of the term 'march' in pibroch. Joseph MacDonald (see Cannon 1994: 61, 80) calls it 'the slowest species of pipe music' which from internal evidence is a piece to be performed in unmeasured time. The subsequent adoption of this term, by the pipers in the military, to denote a regular tempo or measured time, has no bearing on the pibroch style. This is an unfortunate translation from Gaelic of the word 'spaidsearachd' or 'spaidsearachd' which is a characteristic type of walking. MacEachan (1862) has 'walking backward and forward'. 'Spaidsearachd a'phioibaire' has connotations of a 'haughty and proud' expression in performance. This would seem to accord with the derisive description given by Carr(1809) previously referred to. There is a Gaelic proverb which refers to 'spaidsearachd a phioibaire'.
Dalyell (1849:105) on the early competition at Falkirk in 1781 also wrote that the 'duration of piobrachs ....was by no means abridged as at present' suggesting that the competitors were the cause of the pipers discontinuing the habit of playing the uirlar after every variation such as is shown in the case study of A' Ghlas Mheur (CS 4) This particular case study shows that Campbell's deductions were well founded. In addition, an animated rhythmical style is a feature which would have been common to many of those piobroch tunes.

For some listeners in the early nineteenth century, this animated feature was no longer recognisable, for McCulloch, on his visit to the Western Isles in 1824 stated

'The vocal melodies of the Highlands are pleasing with their regular rhythm' but that the piobroch had 'neither time, rhythm, melody, cadence nor accent.' (in I. McLennan1907: 7)

McCulloch (see Dalyell 1849: 85-6) also described piobroch as having:

'an extremely irregular character, scarcely containing a determined melody.'

It may be that these remarks had as much to do with the problems McCulloch had in appreciating piobroch's phrase structure. However, there is a suggestion in these comments that, already by the 1820s, the mainstream piobroch players were beginning to play more slowly than in the pre-competition days of before 1781. The internal evidence from the Donald MacDonald scores seems to support this.

We do not know how much of a musician McCulloch was. Neither is it known to what extent Dalyell (1849) was a musician, although he probably judged at the Edinburgh competitions. He wrote about piobrochs',

'frequent deficiency of air, which can admit of no dispute, may be sought in the antiquity of the theme.'

But he suggests the quality of the performer has a lot to account for people's attitudes to the music, a suggestion which is no less relevant today.

Prof. Colin Brown, in contrast, was a respected musician who stated towards the end of the nineteenth century:
'The pibroch is played in a very irregular manner, and without reference to melodic form.' (McLennan 1907: 7)

which is similar to the question from a Gael of the same period in a letter to the Oban Times (8/8/1893):

'how is it that 'Piobaireachd' is the only species of the music of the Gael that has neither time, tune, melody or rhythm in it?'

MacFarlane,(GnB Vol V. p.357) had similar ideas when he stated:

'Vocal sets of pibrochs have form and rhythm, and can be appreciated for their beauty and feeling; but that much can hardly be said of the pipe sets. I cannot listen to, or look at a piece of pibroch music, without wanting to get at the underlying air that is being mutilated by the piper's method of rendering it.'

These comments give some idea of the problems which the pibroch tradition has had for some time, possibly since as far back as the closing years of the eighteenth century. More certainly, it would seem that the style of playing at the beginning of this present century did not differ greatly from the current style. MacFarlane's observations are borne out by recordings of the late John MacDonald of Inverness19 where the differences in style between his and that of the present day, are small and unimportant. That is, the small points of expression which differentiate one pibroch performance from another in present day competitions are similar in kind to those apparent in John MacDonald's style. There is no appreciable rhythmical difference although his phrasing, in some cases, is more obvious.

As will become apparent in this study, the characteristics which separate the Gaelic song idiom and pibroch are more structural than melodic. In rhythmical and melodic terms, the distinction is a matter of terminological convenience.

What is important to realise is that the function and uses of pibroch changed. Therefore, it is expected that the nature of the music should have changed also. Pibroch was transplanted from the villages and communities around Gaelic speaking Scotland into the function halls of

19 78 speed recordings in School of Scottish Studies Archives.
urban society where the pipers were judged by their social, not musical, superiors. The philosopher Adam Smith who took Saint Fond to the Edinburgh (1783) competition in 'a spacious concert room, plainly but neatly decorated and full of people'. He told his guest:

'These there are the judges of the competition which is about to take place among the musicians. Almost all of them are landlords living in the Isles or Highlands of Scotland; they are thus the natural judges of the contest.' (Saint Fond p.247)

On the other hand, Collinson (1975:180) points out

'The panel of nearly thirty judges apparently contained few, if any, competent pipers; it consisted of:

'peers, baronets, lairds, retired army officers, and Edinburgh professional men.' (Campbell 1948: 8, MacInnes 1989:49)

As has been mentioned above and dealt with in detail by MacInnes (1989) and other researchers such as Cooke (1987) and Cannon (1988) the Highland Societies had a large part to play in the preservation of piobroch. However, in order to preserve it in the context of a competition system, it was necessary and logical, given that the judges were not necessarily musicians, to standardise the music by writing it 'scientifically'.

The Highland Regiments of the Army also had a role to play in the preservation of piobroch. Murray (1975: 7) identifies 1757 as the date at which the Highland regiments were first created and MacInnes (1989) notes that the seven years' war post 1756 was first the main impetus to piping in the army. The influence on pipe music was ultimately very great, with pipers being enlisted for the purpose of playing music. In two sources which approximate 1770 and 1778 as the relevant dates²⁰, a list of tunes which were played by the Argyll or Western Fencibles and the 72nd Highlanders is given. Some of those apparently played were MacRae's March, Tulloch Ard, The Battle of Strome, Fingerlock, Bodaich nam Briogais. Murray (1975: 9) doubts that these tunes could have been used,

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²⁰ The first date, 1770, refers to the Argyll or Western Fencibles' but no further information is given on the source for this material. (Murray 1975:11) The 1778 dated refers to an order book for the 72nd Highlanders containing a list of tunes played on regimental duty. Apparently this information came from an historian who had access to the book. However, it seems to have vanished. See also Cannon (1988:121)
and treats the source material with 'a certain amount of reserve' (p11) because, as he states:

'nobody was going to stand there like this while a man hammered through the ground of a piobaireachd. They weren't going to wait that long.' (p.9)

His scepticism arises on account of the discrepancy in tempos between the piobroch and others tunes which involved marching. He considers piobroch to have been too slow for the more ordered manœuvres of the army, some of which were, he states, at 72 paces to the minute. It is quite conceivable that those tunes named above, which appear to be very improbable, were adapted by the military order, to be played in a fairly regular time for the purpose of marching. This thesis examines two of the above, The Fingerlock and Bodaich nam Briogais demonstrating that they were indeed played more rapidly and with a rhythmic regularity which is closer to what the modern piper would regard as 'ceol beag' or light music.

The uses to which these tunes were put in the army, seems to represent an adaptation for the day to day operations of the army. It is not inconceivable that the particular tunes which were used in this way had also been associated with particular events in Highland society as well, and were easily adapted to suit events in the army.

The association of a piper with a military regiment, rather than with a specific Highland clan is documented in 1642 as a 'piper to a company of regiment' (Dalyell 1849: 23) We, unfortunately, have no knowledge of the type of music which was played, but it was probably quite animated.

The very animated style suggested by the uses to which these tunes were put in the army has been replaced by a slow, standard style throughout the piobroch repertoire. As Rimmer in her Cramb Lecture (1990) stated:

21 Dalyell also refers to the Argyle Highlanders entering Dundee and Perth, with each company having its own piper, playing the following named tunes: The Campbells are coming oho oho; Wilt thou play me fair play Highland ladie; Stay and take the breiks with thee. The first one does not seem to be associated with the piobroch idiom. The second may be the same 'Highland Laddie' known in light music which has the Gaelic title: Càirt an rohth thu 'n diugh 's an dé? [Where were you today and yesterday?] (see MacKay 1843 ed.1872 p.9) The third title is not known to the writer. Dalyell adds 'All these three tunes were in derision of the Highlanders.' (p. 23)
'....a well known phenomenon - that if music is slowed down to a point where its structural impulse is virtually dissipated, it turns into something else'.

The competition system undoubtedly had a great part to play in this development, to the extent that the whole of the pibroch repertoire has been standardised so that no appreciable distinctions exist in present day performance style. In competitions, the pipers generally know what the judges are looking for, and set out to play what will win a prize for them. Some are more able than others to adapt to different judges' tastes.\textsuperscript{22} The differences between different performances in competition are frequently narrowed down to factors which are more technical (eg. 'mistakes' in notation; tone of instrument.) Points of criticism are frequently pedantic referring to the choice of particular gracings for example, the relative values given to particular motifs and a concern with 'consistency', where each motif or phrase should be played the same way throughout the \textit{àurlar}. As Cannon (1980:49) states:

'At present all players are agreed as to settings, and every last grace note is held sacred'.

For music which has been handed down, for the most part, in an oral tradition, this artificial stereotyping is anathema to the Gael who is sensitive to traditional musical culture.

\begin{center}
\textbf{CHAPTER 1.2.}
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\textbf{SCHOLARSHIP AND RESEARCH.}

Apart from the discussion on the rather vague subjective statements in the previous section which tend to suggest pibroch is an enigma, this is

\textsuperscript{22} Robert Nicol, SA/1977/164/A13 talks about pipers in previous generations who changed style to suit the occasion.
further confounded by a dearth of literature on the subject of pibroch performance style. This shortcoming is equally true with Western musical analysis in general which has scarcely dealt with the subject of musical performance, (Kerman 1985:197). Apart from the published texts of notated pibroch, and editors' notes which have occasionally appeared with these, there has been little research in this area until within the last twenty years.

The translations of the Campbell or Nether Lorn syllabic notation, (misleadingly called the Campbell or Nether Lorn Canntaireachd, earlier this century, although discovering a rich repertoire of music, did nothing in practice to reveal an older style of performance. Unfortunately, the Campbell notation was edited to endorse a particular style and 'translated' alongside the published Piobaireachd Society texts with the purpose, presumably, of making the edited version more authentic. Present day style evolved, despite the editors being careful to state that pibroch notations should represent little more than aidememoires (Campbell (1948) and Cannon, (1980: 50)) While this is understood by present day pipers, the reality is that the written texts have more influence on the pibroch player today than ever before and pipers are left to gauge ideas of performance practice from the prescriptive notations of the Piobaireachd Society assisted by quasi-traditional lines of interpretation.

In general, previous scholarship and editing has been most concerned with analysis of metre and structure. This includes the works of Thomason (1900) and G.F.Ross (1926 and 1929). Thomason laid the foundations for the approach to text editing which has been adopted throughout this century by the Piobaireachd Society (Second series, 1925-1990) and the Kilberry Collection. (1948) For recent scholarship in this area of structure and metre see Lorimer (1962, 1964).

23 eg. Piobaireachd Society Series, Kilberry Collection(Campbell 1948) and Sidelights on Kilberry.(Campbell 1984)
24 The reason this term is misleading is because the syllables employed by Campbell could not have represented an orally transmitted system because as many of the sounds are alien to the Gaelic language/ music tradition. See Buisman (April 1987.)
25 Lorimer's analyses are very detailed and thorough. In the first instance (1962) he sets out to vindicate Joseph MacDonald’s ‘antient rule’ that pibroch metre was in four quarters and concludes that the manner in
One series of publications, *Binneas is Borraig* (Ross: 1959) broke with tradition and notated the tunes in phrases rather than metrical barring going some way towards recognising the problem of measured time in pibroch. Nevertheless, the specific features which have been responsible for setting pibroch apart from the Gaelic idiom, and which will shortly be discussed, are in this series. Ross’s interpretations, however, are less rhythmically restrictive than the Pibalireachd Society publications.

Much of the research on pibroch form has been very useful in revealing its construction, demonstrating the frequent recurrence of melodic figures, and therefore making pibroch easier to understand and memorise. However, the prevailing preoccupation with analysis according to the number of bars is obviously founded on the assumption that this music could be notated in accordance with a European system of notation, without adapting it to suit the pibroch tradition. (Cooke 1987). It still tells us little about performance style and is based on the somewhat arbitrary setting of bar lines by the earliest notators.

The shortcomings of regular metrical barring of a notation which implied strictly measured time, was a constraint which the notators realised even though no other system of notation was devised to attempt to describe the style more exactly. For example, Campbell (1953: 6) as well as others, was wary of the use of bars of music and regarded them merely as a

which 4, 6, 4, 1 metre tunes have been presented as such, 'not only obscures but falsifies their true musical form'. In the second he deals with tertiary metre in relation to Joseph MacDonald's rule and places the compositions in a chronological context according to their metrical and melodic characteristics. The problem remains, that melodic features of a pibroch are probably as much defined by the nature of the song melody on which many were based as the compositional features which developed it. This would tend to upset any chronological scheme set up which allowed one to date a tune as the song and pibroch traditions would both have been in a constant state of change. This is a complex area in which, at this stage, it is difficult to come to any definite conclusions and further research is clearly required. Some, less scholarly, analysis has been presented by Haddow (1982) who deals with the historical background of pibroch tunes and discusses the metre of uneven lined pibroch. He also groups some of the pibroch repertory according to structure. Much more research, however, is required in this direction.

A number of pibroch players have expressed dissatisfaction with the use of barred music. See Cannon (1980:50); Robert Meldrum’s 'Reminiscences' PT.Vol 3 no.6.
convenience in identifying phrases of sentences of pibroch. Just as the
structure of orally transmitted sung poetry, in most languages remains: ‘at
least an ever debatable point’ (Brailliou: 1984: 23), so will the structure of
pibroch, especially if any analysis is to be based on the number of bars in a
tune, rather than the number of phrases. So, treatment of metre in this
thesis will extend only as far as the song melody and form can be
identified in the pibroch.

MacKenzie (1981: 354) has suggested a similarity between pibroch and
skaldic verse, both in metrical form (eg. four and eight phrase
construction) and in the manner of optional stressing, but more research
is required in this area before conclusions can be drawn.

A number of pibroch publications have been more controversial such as
MacLennan, (1907 and 1925). In his correspondence with the newspapers,
for example, The Oban Times, he criticised his peers not only on matters
concerning the form of pibroch, but also for the apparent lack of rhythm in
pibroch. So he set out to recreate the original style: ‘as performed in the
Highlands till about the year 1808’. The significance of this year is not
clear, but it coincides with the period in which the Highland Societies
were awarding prizes to pipers for notating pibroch on the stave.
MacKay’s 1838 collection cites 1808 as the year in which a prize was
awarded for this to John MacDonald, son of Donald MacDonald who had
received an award two years previous to this, (ed. 1972: 17). MacLennan
would seem to be suggesting that it was from this period, circa. 1808, that
the deficiencies in performance style had their provenance.

His publications are interesting in that they show that by the early part of
this century some people were emerging who were incensed by what they
saw as a changing style of performance. MacLennan’s criticism would
seem to be that the rhythm and tempo changed from what was a fairly
obvious rhythm and a faster tempo to something akin to present day
performance. Unfortunately, he chose to use the regular barred notation
without qualification and I suspect the style he suggests was more strictly
measured than what would have been found in pibroch performance of
the early nineteenth century.

Simon Fraser (ed. Orme 1979) was another compiler, earlier this century,
who produced a great number of manuscript tunes, purporting to be in a
more original form and style than had previously appeared. His playing
of the cadences is in agreement with what this thesis recommends. However, as Cannon (1980: 48) states:

'Fraser was wont to surround his disclosures of authentic material with various and extravagant claims'.

Collinson (1966: 64) was the first to visually show, by means of notated examples, the melodic link between a pibroch and a Gaelic song. In his comparison of the song, Tog orm mo phiol, and the pibroch version MacLeod of MacLeod’s Lament, he concluded that Angus MacKay’s (1838) notated version is closer to the Gaelic rhythm than that of the, unnamed, singer who was clearly very stylised. However, it was clear that a more extensive analysis of the pibroch song relationship was required. His 1975 publication, which is a broad historical analysis of the bagpipe, has a useful section on pibroch, and touches on pibroch/song origins, (p146-164). He suggests two explanations for the titles of pibrochs seemingly not being contemporaneous with the period which the titles of some of the tunes imply.

The first explanation is that a pipe tune was composed around the time of the event, in 'pre-piobaireachd form' which was later made into a pibroch with the addition of variations.

The second is that the pibroch was composed at a much later date than the event it was commemorating when the pibroch form was understood. Another possibility was suggested by MacFarlane (GnaB Vol 5:369) who stated that

'a tune may be older than the event, and, after having been associated with the event, be known afterwards by its later name'.

None of these ideas should be discounted as they are supported by the existence of several titles for one tune: namely Clan Donal RAOiCh, Là na Maighe Ruaidh and Iseabail NicAoidh. The first two titles may or may not be contemporaneous with the same event but the third, Iseabail NicAoidh is most probably a much later title, (CS 8).

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27 This was probably the late Angus MacLeod, Scalpay as learned for the National Gaelic Mod.
MacFarlane, like Collinson, suggests that pipers adapted already existing tunes and made them into pibrochs. This one might expect in any musical tradition - whether done wittingly or unwittingly.

A third explanation, which is put forward in this thesis, is a development of this last point and argues that the songs which were contemporary with the particular events were adapted for the pipes at a later stage and made into the pibroch form.

It was not until 1972 that a scholarly analysis of pibroch and its relationship with Gaelic song appeared. Cooke, (1972: 41-57) in his analysis of the song and pibroch versions of Maol Donn is concerned with the problems of transmission and the shortcomings of the system of notation which the pibroch tradition has adopted. He criticises the lack of rhythmic pulse in modern performance style and partly ascribes this to the method of notating which emphasises introductory Bs both at the beginning and throughout the tune. His analysis also shows how a correspondence exists between the verbal accents in the song and the prominent or accented notes in the pibroch performance.

More recently, Buisman (Jan. 1991) has compared a pibroch, Paidh Bodaich nail' ach Ruairi (Nether Lorn title) with a rowing song Iomair thusa Choinnich Chridhe suggesting that the provenance of the pibroch melody was in one of the song versions. As shown in this thesis, this is a feature which is found to be quite common.

In another song-pibroch analysis, but which concentrated on song text only, one of the song versions for Cumha Mhic Cruimein (P.Soc: MacLeod of MacLeod's Lament) was shown to be bogus. (Blankenhorst: 1978: 45-64) Expand here.

Bruford (1983) addressed the social status of the piper and how the pibroch repertoire fitted into the society of the eighteenth century and earlier. He concluded that pibrochs were generally played much faster than today and furthermore, a great many of these were in 6/8 rhythm.

CHAPTER 1.2

THE PIBROCH AND SONG RELATIONSHIP: HISTORICAL LINKS.
The pibroch tradition has been the subject of, at times, fairly caustic debate on the different styles of performance. It is not beneficial to attempt to cite much of the correspondence or the details of these. It should suffice to make a more generalised statement on the nature of the correspondence and to refer to one or two correspondents in particular.

In consideration of the nature of the subject - music and its performance style - one is immediately disadvantaged in that, just as music from an oral tradition can never be properly notated, neither can words be used to describe musical performance sufficiently.

There was extensive correspondence during the last twenty years of the nineteenth century concerning the preservation of pibroch, in newspapers such as the Scottish Highlander, The Oban Times and select Highland periodicals such as An Gàidheal (1871-1877) and Celtic Monthly (1893-1917).

Much of the correspondence in the newspapers this century, in The Oban Times for example, deals with internal details of the tunes, but it is vague and it is therefore difficult to ascertain what style of performance was meant.

One correspondent was Malcolm MacInnes, one of a family of pipers in Skye, who argued vehemently against others engaged in the debate. For instance in his criticism of Simon Fraser's claims to having the original styles of playing tunes, he states that:

'It is surely no system at all that could represent by "Hierierie" as is done in both of Mr. Fraser's "old versions", the double echo on the E (the same which makes the first two beats of "Glencoe"). I chant this as "Haybay umbay"

28 Gilbert Rouget's preface to Brailiou's Essays pub. 1984 p.xv. Original statement by Béla Bartók. The full statement appears as 'Strictly speaking, a perfect transcription will only be realised on the day we can entrust the whole thing to the mechanic'.

29 Malcolm MacInnes M.A. Ll.B. was from Drumfearn, towards the South end of the Island of Skye and was brought up in a household which laid great value on its tradition of Gaelic music and song. MacInnes was a piper musician and as well as publishing a collection of pipe tunes (1939) which was heavily influenced by his Skye upbringing, also wrote some operas. See also Cannon (1980: 246.)

30 Information from his grand nephew John MacInnes, Edinburgh.
and I think I am chanting as I have heard. No piper would reduce these sounds to three syllables'.

An attempt to draw any firm conclusions from this kind of debate is futile as the canntaireachd in the written form is too ambiguous. One would therefore have to hear the correspondent singing both these examples of canntaireachd above. One could infer from this though that he meant something like:

Ex. 1.

Ex. 2.

Some of the correspondents sent texts of some versions of specific Gaelic songs which were associated with piobroch in the oral tradition. However, the correspondence does little more than this. Henry Whyte, who used the pen name 'Fionn' was one who contributed much material in this manner as a series of articles in the Celtic Monthly. Another, Malcolm MacFarlane, was a regular contributor to Gaelic periodicals from 1891 until after the First World War on the subject of Gaelic music and song. He also made frequent references to the piobroch tradition. Although MacFarlane (1915:76) states that:

'The bagpipe has had practically no influence on Gaelic song music, and Gaelic song music has had very little influence on it.'

he follows this with the comment that:

'Piobaireachd is the only bagpipe music which, I think, derives its style from genuine Gaelic music.'

31 Malcolm MacFarlane in TGS1 (1924-25: 251) Some of his numerous other articles related to Gaelic song are TGS1 XXVII (1915:47) 'Studies in Gaelic Music', and a series of articles in Guth na Blaidhna V and VI. He had a regular series in CMo starting in Vol. 1 in 1891 until after the first war.
He also observes that:

'some pibrochs are founded on airs not originally made on the pipe' (CMo Vol 10: 123).

He gives examples of these in another article, (GnB vol V p.368) where he identifies 'S learn féin an gleamn' (The Glen is mine) in Petrie's collection of Irish airs (ed. Stanford 1902) and makes a link between the song 'Tha Sior Chaoineadh 'm Beinn a'Cheo' and the pibroch 'Fhuair mi pòg o laimh mo Righ' (I got a kiss of the King's hand)

The overall impression one gains, from the nature of the correspondence and articles over the period discussed above, is that the Gaelic song tradition, which had previously been so close to the pibroch idiom, was by this time, in the manner of performance style, independent of the pibroch tradition.

There is strong evidence then, to suggest that some changes have taken place in the pibroch tradition, or else there would not have been so much acrimonious debate in the past. Cannon (1988: 89) identifies several 'dissident players' for example, Finlay MacLeod (1783-1835) who at the beginning of the nineteenth century complained of the 'modernisation of pibroch playing'. John Johnston of Coll was very vociferous but unspecific. An examination of his correspondence with Seton Gordon proved inconclusive. There were a few other writer/performers, later this century, who were quite vociferous in their criticism of pibroch performance such as A.K. Cameron and D. Main. Unfortunately, the

32 NLS.Acc.7451/1 In one letter 18/4/1917 he writes: 'As to the piobrochs, I think I told you that I was completely out of any knowledge of "Notation" in that class of music, as such was totally ignored by the old pipers from whom I learned what I have. They simply would have nothing to do with it, knowing from what they experienced of it, of its uselessness and misleading effects, but this arose from its not being perfectly known to those who used it, only partially and hence hte mistakes and the misleadings which it led to only for want of the expert knowledge requisite, where that was found It would take down piobrochs correctly to the unit but where that was wanting and only common knowledge existing it could not do it and hence the going afield of most of modern books, they simply made a mash of it'.

33 See Pearson (1969)

34 His Mss are in the School of Scottish Studies.
style of playing which they both recommended as being more genuine was never adequately described for it to be of any use.

Apart from the more scholarly articles identified in the last section, there have been few comparisons made between the two idioms of song and pibroch which allows one to draw any information on pibroch performance style.

An early reference which links the idiom of song with that of pibroch, is in an essay in Patrick MacDonald's 1784 collection. Here it is stated that:

'a very peculiar species of martial music was in the highest request with the Highlanders. It was sometimes sung, accompanied with words, but more frequently performed on the bagpipe'.

This suggests a common repertoire of song and pibroch. It may have represented something like a Brosnachadh Catha (incitement to battle) which may have been sung as well as played on the pipes. Only one Brosnachadh can be identified, which is said to have been composed by Lachlan Mòr MacMhuirich at the Battle of Harlaw, the rhythm of which may possibly be related to the pibroch idiom. (see Purser 1992: 74) Alternatively, there may have been many more songs which were closely related to the pibroch idiom with a series of rhythmical variations, such as Sound of the Waves on the Castle of Duntrone, which may have been imitating or imitated by the pipes. The period in which MacDonald was making these observations probably represented the tail end of what had been a rich web of pibroch and song. It wasn't until Angus MacKay's collection was published in 1838, however, that a relevant relationship between Gaelic song and pibroch was acknowledged. Others such as Dalyell (1849) suspected that the pibroch idea was not such an independent tradition as some may have considered:

'Possibly the theme, or ground or ural as it is called may be derived from an earlier date, though renovated with later embellishments.'

35 John Ramsay of Ochtertyre is believed to have been the writer of the essay 'Of the influence of poetry and music upon the Highlanders' at the beginning of this collection. (Collinson 1966: 244. Info attributed to Rev. William Matheson.)
36 This has not been analysed in this study.
A similar viewpoint was put forward recently by Bruford (1983) that:

'the song represents the earlier form of the ground which has been distorted by the tendency to lengthen long notes and shorten short ones'.

The belief by musicians/compilers, that the relationship between piobroch and Gaelic song was of more relevance than was generally accepted, was never tested in a scholarly sense.

Campbell(1953) recognised a problem of melodic identification when, in his reference to the development of piobroch, he suggested the possibility that on the basis of the [the] pre-existing song, a MacCrimmon:

'threw it into piobaireachd form, and 'disguised it to a greater or lesser extent with double echoes, cadences and other conventional piobaireachd embellishments' (p.6).

He cites 'Cha till mi tuille' (ie. MacCrimmon will never return) as a possible example of one which arose out of a song air by Donald Bàn MacCrimmon, but qualifies this to some extent by stating that it is:

'very much an older piece dating to值 a. kanyre.

This may partly explain why Gabhaidh sinne Rathad Mòr was never taken from Angus MacKay's Ms. and published this century because it was possibly too common a tune throughout Gaelic and Lowland Society. It leads one to wonder why tunes such as Struan Robertson's Salute, or its variant, which have the characterisitcs of a simple and attractive melody, managed to remain so disguised, despite its relative sparsity of cadences or why Gaelic speaking pipers did not realise what it was. However, there are socio-cultural reasons which have some bearing on this also and concern Gaelic society's lack of cultural confidence.

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37 This tune is not analysed in this study. It is clearly a melodic and structural variant of Sir James MacDonald of the Isles Salute. This is probably the tune which was said to have been composed by Wm. MacDonald of Vallay called Cumha na Coise. (Lament for the foot) on the occasion of Sir James MacDonald of the Isles' recovery following a shooting accident. Donald MacDonald Jr. called it 'Cumha na Coshas' but this is the diminutive of 'coise'. (See PS 14: 468) and MacDonald (1894: 143).
There are other tunes, such as Maol Donn which have very few of these cadences and which therefore represent a version of the undisguised melody. One expects someone brought up in Gaelic culture to be able to understand the rhythmic subtleties of this tune, which are common throughout Gaelic song.

The main problem was that the majority of Gaelic speaking pibroch players in Campbell's time, earlier this century, were performing tunes which had been wrested out of their cultural setting, leaving only a disguised melody line with which the person brought up in a Gaelic culture could identify. It is one thing to learn a melodic line which is apparently Gaelic in flavour but quite another to appreciate the music where familiar rhythmic features no longer exist. The existence of common melodic motifs in different cultures around the world is shown by Brailoiu (1984 edn.) but one of the main features which makes a country's music distinctive, must be the rhythmic setting in which these motifs appear, and the manner in which they are introduced throughout the tune.

Campbell (1953: 6) continues with the admission:

'Some of the piobaireachd which we play nowadays have words attached to them. Angus MacKay gives some in his book. It is not easy to fit the words exactly to the notes of the piobaireachd ground. Perhaps that suggests the manipulation of a pre-existing song air to suit the piobaireachd convention. Perhaps it means that we do not play the piobaireachd grounds right. To give an opinion would be mere guessing.'

These remarks were unfortunately not taken up by anyone at the time he made them, to prove how correct he was, but most of the case study material in this thesis supports his suspicions.

General Thomason, at the end of last century, in the introduction to his Ceòl Mòr (1900 and 1905) was also concerned with the relationship between song poetry and pibroch, and also seemed to have been constantly reassessing his attempts to record the music satisfactorily in staff notation. A letter to him (1900: iv), for which he appears to have been very grateful, discusses the time of the ground:

38 Chapter 1.'Musical Folklore.'
I can gather from your list that there is one terrible error that you are about to perpetuate - the time of the ground. Unhappily, no pipers hitherto appear to have had sufficient musical knowledge to notice that the ground of a piboirreachd has no rhythm known to European music. It has a prose rhythm - a recitacional rhythm - which cannot be expressed by any "time" mark. I am corroborated in this by the highest musical authorities, to whom I have played. If you can find a really scientific musician, play over to him the ground of the tune, "You're drunk and had better sleep", and ask him to write it down. He will tell you that it is impossible to write it so that a musician would know how to play it.'......

The unknown writer of the letter above, however, was stressing rhythm not metre and it seems Thomason was missing the crucial point regarding performance style. The common feature of prose and poetry is, naturally, language. The rhythm of the language remains fairly constant between the two genres of prose and poetry except that the poetry is more metrically and therefore more rhythmically ordered. The writer's analogy, in which the important element is language rhythm, is effective. What Thomason showed, which is relevant to this study, is that, if it is accepted that two bars of music approximates one musical phrase, the greatest majority of his tunes consist of eight musical phrases. This is equivalent to eight lines of poetry. Although only a very small number of songs have been identified which, both melodically and metrically, can be shown to be equivalent to a pibroch, the eight-line poetic form is very common in Gaelic song. In many cases, it can be argued that those eight poetic lines should be, more correctly, divided into four lines, to match four melodic phrases.\textsuperscript{39} It is not surprising then, that most of the melodies to the songs which are identified in pibroch, are found in the first four phrases of the pibroch ground, where the song phrases are commonly equivalent to two bars of pibroch with four stresses. The four phrases which follow thereafter, seem to represent a thematic development of the four phrases of the song, some of which are less effectively developed than others.\textsuperscript{40}

\textsuperscript{39} This is a subject which has received scant attention from compilers of Gaelic poetry in that the poetic metre does not seem to take account of the melodic form of the tune.

\textsuperscript{40} Sometimes the scansion and rhythm change which occurs is dramatic and unsuited. For example, the Brother's Lament in CC Vol 2 tune 41. (See PS 13: 403) has the characteristics of a Gaelic song, but that
Thomason admits to having modified his views on this analogy with prose as he writes: 'I confess to having once held it myself. His change of opinion was founded on the realisation that:

'the whole language of the Gael is acknowledged to be essentially poetic, and, such being the case, it would be anomalous indeed if his music were that of prose.' (1900: ix)

This anomaly was underlined by the difficulties of studying pibroch, which Thomason considered was mainly because of:

'the excessively inconvenient form in which they have hitherto been presented to the public' (1900: v)

This refers to the pages of music in the earlier collections which, because of their size and layout, seem to suggest a lack of appreciation of the importance of metrical structure and are more difficult to memorise.

It was this common metrical characteristic which exists between poetry and pibroch that allowed Thomason to:

'condense the notation of piobaireachd to such an extent that it was possible to lay out a whole tune on a single page, and to arrange the bar lines in such a way as to bring out the metrical structure of the tune.' (Cannon 1980:45)

and for the first time, pibroch was presented in such a manner, as poetry, which allowed it to be easily learned by heart. (Thomason 1900:v)

The extent of his conviction of the similarity of pibroch to poetry is emphasised by his statement:

'I have not now the shadow of a doubt as to every piobaireachd being the music of a poem.' (1900: viii)

but unfortunately the closeness of this relationship was not verified by comparing the pibrochs with their song versions.

Haddow (1982) in addition to his structural analysis, melodically and rhythmically compared some pibrochs and Gaelic song. 41 Although his characteristic disappears at the fifth phrase and the tunes becomes quite different.

41 For example, he compares The Sister's Lament with the words which relate to the murder of Keppoch in 1663 beginning 'Dh'ètrich mise moch Di-domhnaich'. However, he finds that the song does not fit the tune. On
comparisons are not very fruitful, from the point of view of providing an insight into their implications on pibroch performance style, he assessed the role of the cadences in pibroch. These he implied were accessions, rather than requirements, of the melodic line as perceived by the transcriber. This is demonstrated in his method of dispensing with the cadences when attempting to reconcile the melodic and rhythmic lines of pibroch and Gaelic song.

George Moss, who disliked the way the tradition was moving, is one who contributed much to the debate on alternative pibroch styles. His research represents a scholarly approach to the analysis of pibroch performance which involved applying the rhythms of the Gaelic song version on the music to show that the style of some of the tunes handed down to him had been traditionally taught. What his recommended style represents, is what the writer considers to be a stage in the evolution of the modern style. In this way, the changes recommended are not so dramatic as this thesis recommends. Some details of Moss’s contribution will be considered in other parts of this study.

The phrase 'get the song out of the tune' is one piece of advice which has been handed down from teacher to pupil in the course of pibroch transmission and is a statement which is common throughout music. Those particular features of song in instrumental melody were, in the writer's own experience, never adequately defined or described. The problem was that the 'song', as far as it was possible to identify in the pibroch performance style passed down, was too fragmented by the conventions of pibroch notation and performance style. The impression given to the writer was that the comment had been handed down from teacher to pupil through one or two generations of pipers but, by the 1970s, late second...

checking, I have found this to be the case. Haddow then compares the song words only, with the pibroch, The Daughter's Lament, and finds that the words 'fit exactly' with the ùrل the cadences are removed. The reader is not told what pibroch text was compared or what he considers to be a cadence. I have not found the words and the ùrل to be very compatible, even if a number of different approaches are used. Unfortunately, the musical 'taste' of the melodic scansion of the tune does not seem to have been considered and it seems too divorced from what one would expect in the tradition, for the type of song it is. The rhythmical characteristics are also too different to be of any relevance.

had limited relevance to the pibroch tradition. It is true that this comment is common throughout all instrumental traditions and not just specific to the pibroch tradition. The style of performance implied by this comment however, must concern the identification of phrases - the corollary of which in turn must be the preservation of rhythm in the tune. Like the remnants of an older style of playing, such as what the piper today calls the 'Donald Mór run down', this piece of advice has been passed down from a time when the song and the pibroch idiom were closer. The existence of what James Ross classified as 'Pibroch Songs' (1957) is sufficient evidence of the interchangable characteristics of the two idioms.