Unfortunately it is impossible to tell whether the Society's patronage took a financial form (for the relevant minutes are now lost), or whether it involved purely practical help with editing, printing, publishing and so on. It is almost inconceivable that Angus, as a young man of fairly modest background, could have tackled the sheer logistics of such a lavish publication without help. It is quite likely, in fact, that his own contribution was confined to the music, and to providing the piping lore and background information which featured in the literary section. That he probably had little involvement in the editorial work is suggested by the rather large number of music misprints, which he would surely have rectified if given the opportunity. It has already been suggested that even the choice of tunes was vetted by the Society, and its influence is perhaps also to be discerned in the choice of a London printer and engraver (Molinari, 191 The Strand). In all, the format of the work probably had a good deal to do with the wishes of the London Society. The music, however, was undeniably the work of Angus MacKay.

Later Collections

The publication of the Ancient Piobaireachd was by no means the end of MacKay's collecting activities. In 1843 he updated and expanded William MacKay's collection of
light music (first published in 1840) to form his own Piper's Assistant, containing 155 tunes and a useful tutor [MacKay A: 1843]; and between 1849 and his death he compiled two manuscript volumes of light music, containing more than 500 tunes. [NLS MS 3755, 6]. These volumes represent an advanced draft, for the tunes are categorized by type, and are fully gracenoted and neatly written. Angus himself was at the forefront of the new-style competition music involving technically-demanding 2/4 marches, strathspeys and reels, and some of his own compositions are still widely favoured, such as The Glengarry Gathering and The Balmoral Highlanders (both marches). These volumes contain many other specimens of this genre (in The Breadalbane Fencible's Quickstep [3756: 27], for instance, we recognise a prototype two-parted version of The Highland Wedding), as well as several tunes from the MacKay family repertoire, such as John MacKay's Great Reel, and John MacKay's Farewell to Raasay. [3756: 36, 177]. (For further appraisal of MacKay's involvement with light music see Campbell A. 1950 (c): 5-7).

Of even more significance were two manuscript volumes of pibroch, comprising 183 tunes (4 repeated), which according to MacKay himself were compiled between 1826 and 1840 [MacKay MS 3744: front page]. The index pages of these volumes, which are now in the National Library of Scotland [MSS 3753, 4], are watermarked 1839 and 1840 respectively, and the indications are that these, too, were neat copies, meticulously written-out for publication.
Only one tune in the manuscript volumes was duplicated in the published collection.

Angus' manuscript collection was certainly completed by July 1841 when, in response to an advertisement for notation awards, he appeared at the Edinburgh competition with no fewer than four volumes of pibroch, containing 156 tunes. J.G. Dalyell, as senior member of the HSS music committee, was appointed to examine these volumes, and fortunately for us he kept detailed notes on their contents. [Dalyell Gen 374D: 19, 20; HSSPMB: 151-3].

On first sight it would appear that the four volumes brought to the 1841 competition do not correspond with the two volumes of pibroch currently on deposit in the National Library of Scotland. It is indeed possible that these four volumes represent material which is now lost - perhaps an early draft of the pibrochs. On the other hand, the extant volumes are distinguished by the fact that Vol. I [Ms 3753] is of smaller format than Vol. II [Ms 3754]. Coincidentally, of the four volumes described by Dalyell, the first two were of smaller format than the second two.

We might therefore postulate a later re-binding of the volumes, with the addition of a few extra tunes to each, in the following fashion:
TABLE IV/(12) The Pibroch Collections of Angus MacKay

(1) Volumes Described by J.G. Dalyell, 1841 [Gen. 374D: 19, 20]

45 Tunes  42 Tunes  41 Tunes  28 Tunes
Indexed   Indexed  Indexed  Indexed
Small Format  Small Format  Large Format  Large Format

87 Total

Vol. I
[NLS MS 3753]
112 Tunes
Indexed
Small Format

Vol. II
[NLS MS 3754]
71 Tunes
Indexed
Large Format

69 Total

(2) Volumes In The National
The National
Library of
Library of
Scotland
Scotland

In all other respects, Dalyell's description of the volumes strongly suggests that they contained the same matter as the extant volumes. He remarked that the majority of tunes were unpublished; that they were all written in "good, plain, distinct notation"; and that there was "frequent reference to a manuscript collection in the possession of the Highland Society of London". [Gen 374D: 19]. In November 1841 MacKay offered to sell these four volumes to the HSS. J.G. Dalyell, on behalf of the Society, declined the offer in the belief that

"MacKay has made a selection of the best music for the collection he published ... Much of the contents of these volumes may be of secondary matter." [Dalyell, ibid.].
With this extraordinary oversight the HSS lost the opportunity of acquiring the largest collection of notated piobroch then in existence.

Later History of MacKay's Manuscripts

On his death Angus had six manuscripts in his possession, and their subsequent history has been ably summarised by Archibald Campbell [1950(b): 9] as follows:

(1) The two piobroch manuscripts and two light music manuscripts which Angus himself compiled were sold by his widow to Michael MacCarfrae (1810-1876), a former pupil of MacKay's, who was piper to the Duke of Hamilton at Brodick Castle in Arran. These were bequeathed by MacCarfrae to the Duke of Hamilton, who had them bound in green leather, and stamped in gold. For a time they were thought lost, but were rediscovered in the Duke's house in Easton Park, Suffolk, in 1919, and returned to Brodick Castle. They are now on deposit in the NLS [MSS 3753-6].

(2) The HSL or MacArthur manuscript was also sold to Michael MacCarfrae, but stayed in the possession of his family at Boggarie in Arran, until procured from his daughter by Dr. Charles Bannatyne in August 1904. It was bought from Bannatyne's estate by the
Piobaireachd Society, and is now on deposit in the NLS. [MS 1679].

(3) A final manuscript in Angus' possession was one he inherited from his brother John, on his death in 1848. It contains 62 pibrochs, generally sketchily notated, and was described by Angus as "a collection of my father's tunes". The notation is apparently by John, Angus' brother, but has been amended by a later hand (thought to be Dr. Bannatyne's). The Piobaireachd Society considers that this has considerably devalued the manuscript. Also in the manuscript are the 54 "Specimens of Canntaireachd" written by Angus. This manuscript shared the same fate as (2) above, but has not been deposited in the NLS.

One other manuscript in MacKay's hand is extant. This is known as the Seaforth Manuscript, and was written by Angus in 1854 for the personal use of Donald Cameron, piper to MacKenzie of Seaforth. It includes 22 tunes (11 pibrochs) taken "from the original MSS in his possession". It is now on deposit in the NLS [MS 3744].
(f) The Notation Styles of Donald MacDonald and Angus Mackay

In order to give a clearer picture of the contrasts and similarities in notation between MacDonald and MacKay, the following pages will examine the tune **Bodaich Na'm Briogais** in some depth. The tune selected is a straightforward tune of "tertiary A" construction [vide MacNeill 1968: 66], incorporating only "closed" rhythmic variations of Taorluath and Crunluath (with doubling) and Crunluath a mach. The ground is of 16 bars in 4 lines: the first line is repeated; the third line is essentially repeated with an alternate two-bar end phrase to signal the conclusion of the theme.

**Tune Background**

**Bodaich Na'm Briogais** is possibly the most published of pibrochs. It appears in all the major collections with the exception of Ross (1869), and was one of only three tunes published by both MacDonald and MacKay. As Table IV/(13) indicates, the melody also has wide currency in the song repertory, in association with the traditional Gaelic song **A Mhnathan a' Ghlinne - So**. This is a song of warning, traditionally associated with the Massacre of Glencoe (1692), although the lyric actually warns against the activities of a noted cattle lifter, sometimes
identified as "Iain Dubh Biorach", sometimes as "Seumas an Tuim". (Appendix IX provides a textual comparison of lyric sources: all are compatible in broad content). Both Iain Dubh Biorach (a Lochaber man) and Seumas an Tuim (James Grant of Carron) were lifters who operated in the Spey Valley in the mid seventeenth century, a time when unneighbourly violence was commonplace. ["Speach" 1842: 182; Shaw A.M. 1880: 319; Scott J.E. 1986(b): 23]. In the 1890's the lyric was remodelled by Neil MacLeod to specifically encompass the theme of the Massacre of Glencoe [Table IV/13/iv]. Both the traditional and modern lyric are frequently sung, and are a popular feature of Gaelic choral performances. In 1790 Burns appropriated the tune to his song Merry Hae I Been Teething a Heckle (an allusion to his former occupation as a flex-dresser), while it was also used for settings of Scott's Hail To The Chief [Table IV/13/v].

The earliest instrumental setting of the tune is to be found in Dow's Collection of Ancient Scots Music (c.1778), where it goes by the title Lord Bradalban's March or Boddich na Mbrigs. There is every indication that Dow (a Perthshire musician resident in Edinburgh [Baptie 1894: 46]) notated his music from the performance of an actual piper. His collection contains no fewer than five pibrochs(1), and although notated for keyboard, these show a good understanding of pibroch structure. A comparison between Dow's notation of the ground and Donald MacDonald's is presented in Appendix X (along with two vocal settings

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which show a high degree of compatibility with the pibroch).

The title used by Dow is of interest. This tune bore a dual title in much the same way as Glengarry's March was known as "Gillechrist", MacLachlan's March as "Moladh Mairi", The Earl of Ross's March as "Ceann na Daise", and so on. It was a specific clan tune associated with the Campbells of Breadalbane (a feature confirmed in all the early pipe sources, including the Campbell Canntaireachd), but which also bore a "nickname" (Bodaich Na'm Briogais) linked with a particular incident in the clan's history. The incident in question was the raid led by John Campbell of Glenorchy in June 1680 into the Sinclair territory of Caithness. Campbell, through some characteristic double-dealing, had obtained a legal charter to the Earldom of Caithness, and marched thence to enforce his claim. He was met at Allt-nam-Meirleach near Wick by George Sinclair of Keiss, the rightful heir. The Sinclairs were thoroughly routed, and as they turned, were mocked by the Campbell taunt "Tha bodaich na'm briogais a nise ga' r fagail", (the men with the breeks are now fleeing, an allusion to the fact that the Sinclair gentry, mounted on horseback, wore breeks rather than the breacan). [Stewart D. 1822: 327; MacKay 1838: 5; Highlander 24/3/1877; Whyte 1894: 169](17) Although Glenorchy won the short term victory, in 1681 he renounced his claim to Caithness, and was created instead 1st Earl of Breadalbane. [Douglas Peerage I:298].

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In his published version of the tune MacKay printed the words "Tha Bodaich na'm brigan ... a nise ga'r fagail" under the first line of music. [1838: 5]. It is likely that this represented a sort of piper's mnemonic, and there is no indication that this lyric progressed beyond a single line. MacKay published five other examples of lyrics associated with well-known tunes(18), and there are many more be found in Henry Whyte's historical notes to the Glen collection. [Whyte 1899]. These piper's rhymes rarely amount to more than a simple ditty, and where structured verse is found in association with piobroch, there is a good chance that a nineteenth century editorial hand has been at work. A well-known example is "Thoir dhomh mo phiob is theid mi dhachaidh", a song originally set to the piobroch Cumha Ruaridh Mhoir, which can be traced with some confidence to the creative pen of the Rev. Dr. Norman MacLeod. [Vide Cuairtuar Nan Gleann (1840): 134-7]. Another of the Rev. MacLeod's more imaginative offerings was Cha Till MacCruimein, a song now widely supposed to be an authentic product of the oral tradition, but which Blankenhorn [1978: 44-67] has shown to be nothing other than a translation into Gaelic of Scott's MacKrimmon's Lament (first published by Alexander Campbell in 1818). Fortunately Bodaich na'm Briogais escaped this sort of lyrical amendment, possibly because there was already a well-known song associated with the tune.

The rather stilted English title The Carles with the Breeks was published and popularised by Angus MacKay in
1838 (the title did not feature in the competition records prior to that time), and has superseded the older title Lord Breadalbané's March. [Table IV/(13)/I]. Several Ceòl Beag versions of the tune have been published [Table IV/(13)/III], and Alexander Cameron's title "The Women of the Glen" reflects the association of the melody with the song Mhnathan a' Ghlinne-so. A further link between pipe and song traditions is seen in the reputed playing of the pipe tune at the Massacre of Glencoe, when Glenorchy's piper is said to have attempted to warn the MacIains of their imminent danger by playing the tune. [Whyte, 1904: 54]. There are obvious parallels in this with the most famous of all the warning tunes, The Piper's Warning to His Master. [vide Haddow 1982: 38-50].
Table IV/13

BODACH NA'M BRIOGAIS: SOURCES

I THE PIROCH

   (Lord Breadalbane's March)
   (Lord Breadalbane's March)
(5) David Glen [1880:45] The Carles With The Brecks (Lord Breadalbane's March)
Bodach Na'm Brigais.

II THE PIROCH ARRANGED FOR KEYBOARD/VIOLIN

(3) KN MacDonald [1895:60] Bodach Nam Brigais. The Carles With The Brecks.

III CEOL BGAM VERSIONS FOR BAGPIPE


IV GAELIC SONGS; (a) MUINNATHAN A' GHLINNE-BO (Traditional)

(1) "Speach" in Cuirtear Nan Cleeny [III (Sept 1842):182] Lyric only.
(2) C Stewart The Killin Collection [1804:43].
(4) S Given Clàrsach a Ghlinne [Glasgow 1925:36].
(5) WH Campbell Orain Na Clarsach [London 1933].
(7) School of Scottish Studies 6 Field Recordings, 1953-68. Including Nan MacKinnon [SA 1956/86].

GAELIC SONGS. (b) MUININTIR A' GHLINNE-BO (lyric by N MacLeod c1890)

(1) A' choilisir-chiuil [Glasgow 1894:50].
(2) An Comunn Gaidhealach Coisir a Mhòid II [Glasgow 1926:7].
(3) M MacFarlane The Blackbird [Glasgow nd 1:24].

V ENGLISH SONGS

(2) Walter Scott "Hail To The Chief," (An extract from Lady of the Lake. Set to music several times eg. The Lyric Gems of Scotland [Glasgow 1856:52]).

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Fig. A. SODAICH NA’M BRIOGAIS. Comparison Between Donald MacDonald (1820:102) and Angus Mackay (1838:5). (Key overleaf)
(1) Key To Fig. A

A1 Echo Beat on A
A2 " " B
A3 " " D
A4 " " E
A5 " " F

B1 Throw on D
B2 " " E
B2 " " F

C Introduction to Plain D

Note that Mackay writes no Key signature. A Key of two sharps should be assumed for all music examples.

(2) General Abbreviations for Music Figures

1. J. McD. Joseph MacDonald. Compleat Theory (1760)
2. D. McD. Donald MacDonald. Collection of Ancient Martial Music (1820)
3. A. McA. Angus MacArthur. HSL MS (1820)
4. A. McK. Angus Mackay. Collection of Ancient Piobaireachd (1830)
5. P.S. Piobaireachd Society.
Fig. B1. INTRODUCTIONS TO PLAIN MELODY NOTATION

J McD. (1760)

D McD. (1820)

A McA. (1820)

A Mck. (1838)

Fig. B2. INTRODUCTIONS TO ECHO BEATS

J McD.

D McD.

A McA.

A Mck.

PS

J McD. - Joseph MacDonald
D McD. - Donald MacDonald
A Mck. - Angus MacArthur
A Mck. - Angus Mackay
PS - Piobaireachd Society
The Ground: Introductions or Cadence E's (Figs. B1 and B2)

It is in the notation of the introductions that MacDonald and MacKay exhibit the greatest disparity, and which to this day proves one of the most controversial aspects of piobroch playing. As the name implies, introductions are not part of the melody, but are rather ornamental graces designed to give emphasis to the adjacent melody note. The device is usually used as an anacrusis at the very start of a line or measure, or at emphatic points in the ground structure, such as at the start of the concluding phrase. The effect is one of falling from a high gracenote, or run of gracenotes, onto a lower melody note.

Nowadays these introductions are vigorously prescribed and played as written. In Joseph MacDonald's time (1760), however, it appears that there was some flexibility in their use. He did not notate them in his music specimens, and indeed suggested that the piper, once fully trained, "was judge where to dispose these cuttings properly". [MacDonald J. 1760: 23]. Similarly, the Campbell Canntaireachd (1797), our earliest major piobroch collection, is very sparing in its use of introductions. This suggests that either the notator himself played them infrequently, or else that their use was optional, and the piper could apply them at his own discretion.

MacDonald and MacKay differ in two respects in the use of introductions: in the rhythmic notation of the
movement; and in the frequency of use throughout the tune.

Differences in rhythmic notation are quite clear in the ground of Bodaich Na'm Briogais, where the introductions are used principally in conjunction with the echo beats (Fig. A: A1-5), and in one instance, onto the plain melody note of the movement "Haroem" (Fig. A: C). For ease of comparison Figs. B1 and B2 provide a table of introductions as used in major early sources. From this information it is evident that:

1. Donald MacDonald and MacArthur write all their introductory gracenotes of equal value, as demi-semiquavers.

2. The application of introductions to echo beats (Fig. B2) by MacDonald and other pre-MacKay sources follows a logical pattern. Introductions to A and B involve a three-gracenote sequence (or in the case of Joseph MacDonald, a four-gracenote sequence); introductions to D and E involve a two-gracenote sequence (with the exception of MacArthur's E echo beat); and introductions to F and G involve a single gracenote. The effect, particularly onto the lower notes, and particularly exemplified by Joseph MacDonald, is of a rapid tumble of gracenotes onto the principal melody note.

3. MacKay differs from earlier sources in two respects: all introductions to E are reduced to a single
gracenote (e.g. Fig. A: A4), hence breaking the pattern evinced in earlier sources; introductions to Low G, A, B and D are generally notated with the middle E gracenote as a melody note. When applied to the echo beats (Fig. B2) this has the effect of lengthening the introductory E (written as a quaver) at the expense of the adjacent melody note (now a semi-quaver). When applied to other notes, the introductory E is still generally notated as a melody note, but is less emphatic than the adjacent root melody note (e.g. Fig. A: C). It is this emphatic use of the E introduction which explains the modern term "E Cadence".

We must assume that this usage arose from a genuine difference in playing style between MacKay and earlier sources - that MacKay did in fact play pronounced introductory Es. Whether the difference was as pronounced as it appears on paper, however, is open to question. On the one hand MacDonald and other early sources did not differentiate between different gracenote values; on the other hand MacKay was highly prescriptive in his gracenoting, and went to great lengths to distinguish between gracenote values. The polarity of these two approaches must have tended to exaggerate differences (on paper), which in reality were perhaps less pronounced.
Donald MacDonald was the first to apply the term "appoggiatura", a loan-word from the European classical tradition, to the Cadence E introductions. [1820: 4, Ex.5]. Cooke has demonstrated that this term, even in the classical context, varied in precise meaning and application over the years, but an essential element of the long appoggiatura was the creation of a momentary discord (by playing a note usually one step above the melody note) which then resolved into the melody note. [Cooke 1979]. Although MacDonald used the term, he gave no indication that the conventions applicable to the long appoggiatura (namely that it borrowed a quarter to two-thirds the value of the subsequent melody note), were applicable to his music. MacKay, on the other hand, not only made use of these conventions, but actually wrote the long appoggiaturas as they would be sounded, thus transfiguring the E grace note into a melody note. The question is, did MacKay really intend the introductory E to be sounded as emphatically as his notation suggests? And was the use of this convention, in any case, appropriate, given that the E does not sound a discord, but instead a rather pleasant concord (of a fifth) with the drones in A?

The evidence of the Eliza Ross manuscript tends to suggest that MacKay's notation was indeed over-emphatic. This manuscript, notated in Raasay in 1812, includes five pibrochs which Eliza almost certainly took from the playing of Angus' father, John. [E.J. Ross: 1812]. Although she
notated for keyboard, and hence did not accurately portray
the pipe graminings, it is clear that she treated these
introductory Es as anacrases, lying before the beat of the
melody note. As an example, Fig. D2 compares her notation
of the first bar of The MacLeod's Salute with Angus'. Her
treatment of the introductory E as an anacrusis is
particularly evident in the second half of this bar.

4. Modern notation of the E cadence is influenced
primarily by MacKay's style of notation. This is
particularly evident in the introductions to the B and
D echo beats (Fig. B2), where the E is given a quaver
value (although notated as a gracenote rather than as
a melody note) at the expense of the adjacent melody
note which is reduced to a semi-quaver. The A echo
beat is a special case: modern notation has taken
MacKay's example a step further, and has transformed
the E introduction into a full beat, of equal value to
the remainder of the movement. The two initial
melody notes are both written as gracenotes, and the
full weight of the movement falls on the final A.
This is many stages removed from the movement notated
by MacDonald, and of course is inconsistent with the
other echo beats, whether notated in the style
favoured by MacDonald, or MacKay.

A final disparity between MacDonald and MacKay lies in
MacDonald's frequent use of these formulaic openings, where
MacKay uses them much more sparingly and systematically. MacDonald was apt to use them at any emphatic point in the ground, as for instance demonstrated in The Rout of Glenfruin (Fig. D1, note especially Bar 5), and also at the start of each variation, as an introductory anacrusis. (This was the case with Bodaich Na'm Briogais.) This is just one area in which MacDonald demonstrates variety, where MacKay opts for a more structured approach.

Echo Beats (Fig. B2)

The echo beat was a device for separating out three consecutive notes of equal pitch, by the interpolation of gracenotes of lower pitch. The term was an apt one, particularly when notated $\text{p\underline{f}\underline{f}\underline{f}}$, which was the style favoured by MacDonald and other early sources, (Fig. A: A1-5; Fig. B2). The effect was of two evenly-paced beats on the melody note, for which it was important that the intermediate gracenotes should be sounded rapidly. Joseph MacDonald (who termed these "Na Crahinin") insisted that the graces "must be so quick and light that they cannot be said to be sounded, but only beat upon". [1760: 4].

MacKay favoured a thoroughly different rhythmic notation $\text{p\underline{f}\underline{f}\underline{f}}$- which gives the effect of a brisk initial beat, and a lingering second beat, further emphasised by a heavy second gracenote (a semi-quaver).

The two exceptional echo beats were the beat on A
(which we have already discussed) and the beat on D, which Joseph MacDonald considered "the finest beat of the whole". [1760: 3]. It is evident that Joseph's notation of the D echo, with two simple strikes to G, was more consistent with the other echo beats than was the normal procedure of interjecting a throw on D to the second beat. In his description of this movement, however, Joseph stipulated that on the second beat, the forefinger of the lower hand "casts off the two middle fingers", which sounds precisely like the movement actually notated by Donald MacDonald and MacArthur - a light throw to D touching briefly on C. Donald MacDonald demonstrated a subtle touch in the notation of this movement, writing the first strike to C (rather than to G) to complement the light throw on the second strike. MacKay, by contrast, notated a much heavier movement, with an initial G strike, and a full D throw on the second strike. The light D throw here used by MacDonald was one grace note combination which MacKay eliminated from the arsenal of possible movements - presumably in the interests of simplicity. The Piobaireachd Society follows MacKay's rhythmic notation of the echo beats.

Throws (Fig. C)

Although the throw is a vital ingredient of any pibroch, none of the early sources, strangely, had a term for it. Joseph MacDonald perhaps came closest in noting

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that the fingers "cast off each other", and that each movement starts "from the little finger or lowest note". [1760: 7].

As Fig. C demonstrates, the major point of difference between early sources lies in the notation of the throw to D, which MacDonald made heavier than the others by using two low G gracenotes. MacKay emphasised the G sound by notating the G gracenote as a semi-quaver, and this is the style now advocated by the Piobaireachd Society (although in reality many pipers still play the heavier movement preferred by MacDonald).

The throw to E is familiar to us as the major constituent of the Crunluath movement, and indeed Joseph MacDonald referred to the throw itself as the "creanludh", and the movement as a whole as "tuludh agus creanludh", (which is an accurate description of its component parts). It is particularly noticeable that Donald MacDonald notated the middle note of both the E and F throws as a melody note, and this is a clear indication that he would have played the middle note emphatically, giving a rounded effect to the movement as a whole. An interesting feature of the throw to high G is MacKay's omission of the final E gracenote, which would certainly give a lighter feel to the movement. For once, the Piobaireachd Society opts for MacDonald's notation of the throw to high G.
Fig. C. THROWS

Joseph MacDonald

Donald MacDonald

Angus Mackay

Fig. D1. THE ROUT OF GLENFRUIN (Line I, Ground). Comparison Between MacDonald [1820:48] and Mackay [MS II:65]