notation dwell together in uneasy partnership. The problem, in the main, stems from the often elusive pulse of the pibroch ground, which has caused many a notator problems over the years. Cooke [1972] cites the example of Maol Donn as a tune in which metre and phrase structure have been interpreted in different ways by different authorities. Metrical problems have often been exacerbated by the peculiarities of pibroch gracing, (such as the use of intrusive E cadences, discussed later in the chapter), and also by the need to "spice up" sometimes repetitive melodic material in order to avoid monotony. Certain notators, indeed, dispensed altogether with conventional barring [eg Reid 1826, Ross R. 1959-78]; others experimented with varying time signatures from phrase to phrase. [eg MacNeill 1968].

The publication of Donald MacDonald's pibroch collection in about 1820 marked the first major application of staff notation to bagpipe music, and was clearly greeted with some caution by the piping world. James Logan recorded soon after the event, in 1831, that

> "amusing anecdotes are told of [pipers'] concern to think that the pipes should be taught by notes, or that they should be fettered in learning by rule books." [Logan 1876 Edn. II: 306].

In 1959, Angus MacPherson, a respected player from Badenoch, made the memorable comment that pipe music hadn't been the same since "imprisoned in bars" [PT April 1959], and this reflects almost a century and a half of unease

with the medium. Pipers in fact have never wholly abandoned traditional teaching practices in favour of staff notation. All teachers demonstrate, conduct and sing tunes as of old (often using a personal canntaireachd little different from the formalised systems of old), and use the printed page more as aide memoire than as prescribed text. There is much evidence to show that famous pipers of the past, such as Calum Piobaire MacPherson, and the Camerons, were familiar with staff notation, but regarded it as a poor substitute for traditional teaching. In 1949, for instance, P/M William Gray of the Glasgow police recalled how

> "As a young player going to piobaireachd with Alexander Cameron ... Sandy remarked to me, "You cannot write piobaireachd" and insisted on my timing from him, and referring as little as possible to the book". [Gray 1949: 4].

William MacLean, a pupil of Calum MacPherson's, recorded how emphasis was always put on having the "song" of the tune firmly fixed in the mind before detailed work on the pipe commenced. There were "no books, but memory ... he wouldn't take anyone who couldn't memorise from his own playing". [MacLean W. SA 1953/5/A3]. In these circumstances, clearly, the content of the printed page was secondary to oral tuition. One recent writer has even gone so far as to suggest that the more inaccurately the pibroch is written, the better,

> "because the learner is forced to seek assistance from a piper who has been taught in the traditional manner". [MacNeill, 1968:31].

Despite such an ambivalent attitude towards the use of staff notation, its influence is possibly further-reaching than most would care to admit. Few pipers nowadays play by ear alone, and it is inevitable that the content of the written page has influenced playing style to some degree. The latter portion of this chapter will highlight features of early notation style which can be discerned in modern playing and notation. First, however, the chapter will commence with an examination of tune data from the Edinburgh competition records. Several writers (notably Archibald Campbell of Kilberry) have made occasional reference to this material, but no systematic analysis has hitherto been attempted. Constraints of time and space make it necessary to focus on five or six specific issues relating to the material, rather than attempting a catch-all examination of the data.

CHAPTER IV Section 2

(a) TUNE DATA FROM THE COMPETITION RECORDS

Archibald Campbell of Kilberry observed in 1948 that "piobaireachd nomenclature is in a hopeless tangle, and the piobaireachd devotee is happiest who concerns himself with the music, and accepts the current everyday titles for use as identity marks". [Campbell A. 1948: 16].

As an example of the extreme confusion which can afflict pibroch nomenclature, Appendix VI details the case of The Battle of Mulroy, a title applied to two different tunes in different sources, with ramifications involving Isobel MacKay, The Prince's Salute, and a host of subsidiary titles such as The Man With The Black Plaid and Clann Donail Raoich. Such confusion suggests, firstly, that before tune titles came to be standardised through the advent of published collections, there was regional diversity. Secondly, that during the period under study, there was a lack of consensus in certain titles, which would appear to reflect at least a partial post-Cullodon severance of the piping tradition.

The competition records are a valuable source of information on the contemporary repertoire. Our data is unfortunately incomplete, since for certain years we have the full list of 12 tunes entered by each competitor, while for others we have simply the tune played in public, or no information at all. This data is presented in Appendix

IV. Many unfamiliar titles appear in the records, some of which are old tunes, now lost; some of which are contemporary compositions which did not stand the test of time; and some of which are familiar tunes in unfamiliar guise, which can, with a little imagination, be matched to the extant repertoire.

"The Valley of Sorrow", for instance, entered by Alexander Campbell, piper to Lovat, in 1844, is almost certainly The Rout of Glenfruin, ("Gleann a Bhroin" being "The Valley of Sorrow". [vide MacDonald D. 1820: 48]). "The Old Man's Welcome", entered by John Bruce in 1832, can be equated with "Failte Bhodaich", the title used by Donald MacDonald for The Marquis of Argyll's Salute. [1826: 245]. This tune appears in the records in several other guises, ("Failte Mhaircuis", "Failte Mhaircuis Earaghaidheal", "Failte Mhic Ailean Mhoir"), and is in fact unexceptional in showing such variety. A more extreme example is the enduring Piobaireachd Dhomhnuill Duibh which features in the records as "Lochiel's March", "Black Donald's March", "The Battle of Inverlochy", "Piobaireachd of Donald Dhu" and "Donald Balloch's March". (For the record, the majority of pipers at this time considered this a Cameron, not a MacDonald tune.)

The records also bring to light tunes which are unfamiliar, but which might be traced to early manuscript sources. In 1813, for instance, Finlay MacLeod, piper to Glenmoriston, entered "McEachan of Kingerloch's Salute": we might equate this with "Port Urlar Mhic Eachin", or

possibly "Kingerloch's March", both of which appear in the Campbell Canntaireachd [1797: I, 169; II, 92]. (The last of the MacLeans of Kingerloch, whose family seat was on Loch Corry, Argyllshire, emigrated to Nova Scotia in 1812. [MacLean Sinclair 1899: 282]). Another unfamiliar tune, MacIver's Salute, was entered twice (in 1814 and 1821) and might be equated with MacIver's March [C.C. I: 137], which has recently been transliterated by Roderick Cannon, and bears a distinct similarity to Cha Till MacCruimein [Cannon 1977: 20]. The title may refer to the "Clann a' Ghlasraich", a family of MacIvers who acted as pipers to MacDonald of Keppoch. [Whyte 1904: 149; MacDonald A & A 1924: 265].

Regional variations in titles are quite evident in the competition records, and range from the familiar to the unfamiliar. A well-known case is the tune recorded by Angus MacKay as Beinn a Ghriann [MS I: 7], so similar to I Got a Kiss of the King's Hand as to brand it a variant. The title probably refers to a battle fought at "Ben Ghriam Mhor", a peak some 23 miles north of Golspie, in 1601. [Haddow 1982: 70]. The only competitor to enter it was a Sutherland man, John MacKay from Golspie, in 1821.
Another possible example of regional variation is the unfamiliar Lamont's March, dutifully entered in 1786 by Alexander Lamont (known colloquially as "Alasdair hairy"), piper to the Laird of Lamont. The tune was entered in 1822 by another Argyllshire man, Nicol MacIntyre. Although there is no trace of Lamont's March in the extant

repertoire, the tune's subtitle, "Deoch Slainte Catriona", might suggest that this was merely a local variant of Catherine's Salute.

The records furnish interesting examples of alternative titles for tunes, now lost, and occasional ambiguity in the original Gaelic. In the former category we might mention "A Chrioch", used twice (1813, 1821) for The Lament for the Union, and clearly at odds with the more common Gaelic title "An Co-Aontachadh". (The word perhaps signifies "boundary".) Another example is the now defunct "Togail Na Feinn" (e.g. "The Gathering of the Clans") used for the End of the Great Bridge. Certain titles also proved open to varied interpretation. In the 1780's, for instance, the MacGregeors of Fortingall preferred "Leannan Ghioll Ghruamaich" (translated as "The Stern Lad's Sweetheart"), to the more usual Leannan Dhomhnuill Ghruamaich ("Grim Donald's Sweetheart"), named after Domnhuill Ghruamach MacDonald of Sleat. Perhaps the distinct island connotations of the tune had been lost by the time it reached Perthshire. Another example of an apparently homonymous Gaelic title was "Darach Bheg" entered by John MacKay, Sutherland, in 1814, and translated as "The Little Oak or Boat". The tune he probably had in mind was An Daorach Bheag, "The Small Drunkenness", now usually translated as "The Little Spree". [PS: 198].

One title which seems to have confounded all the competitors was A Bhoilich, published by Angus MacKay in 1838 as The Vaunting (meaning "boasting"). Prior to

MacKay's publication quite a variety of opinion prevailed:

TABLE IV/2 A Bhoilich

1786	Bholaich	A Jovial Meeting	Alex MacGregor, Fortingall
1824	Bualadh	The Attack	John Bruce, Skye Kenneth MacRae, Caithness Donald MacDonald Jnr.
1824	Boilich na Mhisge	The Rage of Drunkenness	Angus Cameron, Rannoch
1825	Bholaich	The Jack	Angus Cameron
1838	Mholich	An Ancient Piobrach	Ewen Cameron, 78th Rgt.

Source: Competition Data

Donald MacDonald recorded another variant in "An Bhaolich. An Intended Lament" [1826: 223], and recorded an interesting story of how the title was "a drollery", a lament composed on a death which never occurred. The tune is accredited to Raonuill Mac Ailein Oig of Morar, a composer who specialised in enigmatic titles such as A Ghlas Mheur, Maol Donn and An Tarbh Breac Dearg. One suspects that he would have derived a certain wry amusement from the confusion evident at the competition.

Beyond the titles in the records which can be explained, there are a proportion whose meaning can only be guessed at. Might, for instance, "Piobrachd an Uilt", entered by Archibald MacGregor in 1786, refer to The Battle of Auldern ("Blar Allt Eireann")? Does "Blar Ghleantarbh", entered by William Gunn in 1838, refer to an

obscure clan battle, or is it in obtuse reference to the occasion when Raonuill Mac Ailein Oig wrestled a bull to the ground near Achnacarry, celebrated in An Tarbh Breac Dearg? [Whyte 1911: 168; MacLean C. 1959: 88]. Certain tunes simply have no corollary in the recorded repertoire, such as "The Lovely Lady's Request" (John Bruce, 1832), or "The Battle of Beallach na Fradh" (Donald Cameron, 1838).

A final complication for the collator of tune data is the fact that competitors occasionally had recourse to imagination in order to complete their required quota of twelve tunes: in other words, they cheated. The organisers were aware of the problem. In 1826 they threatened disqualification for playing "any piece of music or exercise except what is specifically prescribed by the bills ..." [HSSPMB: 43]. In 1844 J.G. Dalyell complained that "... for the Rehearsal the pieces should be more accurately named and identified. I am satisfied that some were entered in the lists apparently different but in fact the same." [Dalyell, Gen 379D: 13]. On this occasion the historian W.F. Skene was drafted in to check the Gaelic orthography.

Despite this, it is likely that several bogus titles were slipped-in, at a time when the judges were ill-versed in a repertoire which was in any case ill-defined. With over thirty tunes already associated with the Clan Donald, for instance, an authentic-looking title such as "Duc agus an dia le Clann Donell", (1823), or "The MacDonald's White Flag", (1824), would easily have passed un-remarked.

Another possible example was "'S trom cadal nan tri Nighean" ("Soundly Sleep The Three Girls"), entered by William Gunn (1824), who also had on his list of tunes The Lament For The Children. The former title, however, seems very compatible with one of the tales associated with The Lament For The Children - namely that it was written for a daughter of Sir Ewen Cameron of Lochiel, found drowned in a "linn of water" with two of her friends. [MacDonald D. 1826: 8]. Possibly in this instance, William Gunn was simply exercising his imagination.

Gaelic scholars who have read thus far will be aware of the fact that pibroch nomenclature is bedevilled by poor Gaelic orthography, and inadequate English translations. The problem stems in large part from these early Edinburgh competitions, where pipers who were in the main Gaelic speakers were required to produce English translations for judges who were thoroughly Anglicised, the whole passing through the hands of a Highland Society scribe whose knowledge of Gaelic was also probably rudimentary. Once the English titles came into everyday use, they were cemented in the publications of Macdonald (1820) and MacKay (1838), and have changed little since. Pipers are indeed content to use titles, however strange-sounding or ungrammatic, as simple "identity marks", and take a certain satisfaction in treading the boards to such mysterious-sounding tunes as A Flame of Wrath for Squinting Peter (perhaps more accurately "Squinting Peter's Blaze"), or Too Long In This Condition. Even now it would not be too late

to revise certain of the English titles, but most would take exception to this: the old titles are part of our musical inheritance, and are here to stay.

(b) THE REPERTOIRE

In the preface to his 1820 pibroch collection, Donald MacDonald remarked that "for nearly twenty years, there has not been above a dozen of different tunes played at the annual competition of pipers in Edinburgh". [MacDonald D. 1820: 5].

This statement has been widely taken as proof of the poor plight of piping in the early nineteenth century: a formerly rich tradition reduced to a vestige of its former self, its continuity shattered, its repertoire in tatters.

The information now available on the tune repertoire at the competitions shows that MacDonald grossly exaggerated. Between 1783 and 1790 at least 42 different tunes were actually performed in public. At the rehearsal in 1813 27 different tunes were entered by 12 competitors. In 1814 37 different tunes were entered by 14 competitors. The repertoire in fact amounted to some ten dozen tunes, not a dozen as MacDonald maintained.

Having sifted through the mass of tune data from the records we are left with approximately 120 known tunes which pre-date the competition period, plus a further 31 contemporary pieces, 10 of which have been recorded. (Full details of these tunes are presented in Appendices IV and V). There were clear favourites in The Prince's Salute, A Ghlas Mheur and Moladh Mairi; and several pieces appealed to the early nineteenth century piper which nowadays get short-thrift, for instance War or Peace and

The End of the Little Bridge (described by the Piobaireachd Society as "of a type of martial music now fallen into disuse". [PS: 241]). On the other hand, tunes which nowadays feature on every competitor's lists, such as The Lament for the Children and Donald Doughal MacKay's Lament, were being played, but were not as popular as nowadays.

All the classic tunes featured in the competition records, and the sum total of the tunes performed at the competition represents a fair proportion of the known repertoire. Walter Scott described Donald Ruadh MacCrimmon in 1814 as having some 200 tunes [Lockhart 1837 IV: 309], while in 1838 MacNeill of Drumstisich informed J.G. Dalyell that there were approximately 300 known pibrochs, "and that formerly an accomplished piper would have been able to play 100". [Dalyell Gen 375D: 55]. In 1841 Angus MacKay confirmed to Dalyell that there were some 300 pieces "of which he says he knows about 220 and could at once play any one selected". [Gen 374D: 19]. MacKay's MS pibroch collection in fact eventually totalled 243 tunes, drawn from a variety of sources such as his father's repertoire, the Highland Society of London MS, and other named informants such as "Mr. Reid" and "blind MacDougall". [MSS 3753, 4].

TABLE IV/3 Tunes Dedicated To The Highland Societies

COMPOSER	TITLE	INVOLVEMENT WITH SOCIETY	RECORDED
John MacArthur	The Highland Society of Scotland's Salute (c.1786)	Piper to HSS 1784-91	MacArthur A. 1820: 10
Donald MacDonald	The Highland Society of London's March (1823)	Pipemaker to HSL 1820-40	Lost
John MacKay	The Highland Society of London's Salute (1835)	Pension from HSL 1837-48	MacKay MS I: 42
John MacBeth	The Scottish Society of London (6/8 Quickstep)	Piper to HSL 1826-50	McLachlan J. 1854: 67
William Ross	The Highland Society of of London's Salute (c.1875) (different from MacKay's tune).	Piper to HSL 1854-91	Wm. Ross 1875 Edn. 29

(c) NEW COMPOSITIONS

Another feature evident from the competition records is that in the early nineteenth century a good number of pipers were writing new pibrochs, and were doing so in the traditional vein of elegy and eulogy to chief, patron or benefactor. Few pipers in the early nineteenth century could claim consanguinity with their chief (however distant), or aspire to the status of the old hereditary pipers, but they continued to compose Salutes and Laments to their patrons, be these mere Lowland Lairds elevated to Highland estate, with a romantic affection for kilt and bagpipe. This process is nowhere more apparent than in the tunes dedicated to the Highland Societies by their own pipers. (Table IV/3).

Appendix V(a) details 31 new compositions entered at the Edinburgh competition between 1781 and 1844, 16 of which are of known authorship, 10 of which have been recorded. Where possible, historical matter on the tunes has been incorporated in the Appendix. It is widely accepted that the 1745 Rising and its aftermath marked the last great flowering of pibroch composition, with tunes such as The Lament For Donald Ban MacCrimmon, My King Has Landed in Moidart, and Lord Lovat's Lament. The early nineteenth century is generally considered a period of retrenchment of a tradition in decline, yet the sheer number of new compositions evident at the Edinburgh competitions belies any suggestion that the art of

composing died with the Jacobite cause at Culloden. The period produced no masterpieces, but did witness some workmanlike productions, particularly in the compositions of John and Angus MacArthur, and John MacKay, often hailed as the last of the major pibroch composers.

A noticeable feature of Appendix V is that the bulk of tunes which survived to the present emanated from the MacArthurs and John MacKay, recorded respectively in the manuscripts of Angus MacArthur (1820) and Angus MacKay (1826-1840). Exceptions were The Chisholms Salute (composer unknown), Glengarry's Lament (Archibald Munro), and Mrs. Smith's Salute (John Ban MacKenzie). Both Munro and MacKenzie were pupils of John MacKay, which would account for the inclusion of their tunes in Angus's collection.

It is clear, however, that the MacArthurs and MacKays did not have a monopoly on composing at this period. There is no reason to suppose that the efforts of Roderick MacDonald (piper to Glengarry), the Rannoch MacIntyres, and others, were not of comparable quality: they were simply never noted down, and hence were lost. In actual fact Angus MacKay himself informed J.G. Dalyell in 1841 that "John MacIntyre of Rannoch is in possession of some music for the bagpipe", and suggested that it was a collection worthy of preservation. [Dalyell Gen. 374D: 19]. Sadly this collection has never surfaced.

It is perhaps doubtful if all, or indeed any of John MacKay's compositions would have survived had he lived in

an earlier era, and had his son not been on hand to note them down. The hallmark of a good tune is that it is liked and played. In the unlettered society of the Gàidhaeltachd, new tunes only survived if they achieved wide currency in the piping and oral repertory. Undoubtedly many tunes were composed, and swiftly discarded and forgotten. The fact that the Campbell Canntaireachd, written in Argyllshire in the 1790's, contained some 60 tunes not otherwise recorded, attests to the existence of a localised repertoire, and strongly suggests that the tunes recorded by the early nineteenth century notators represented only the most popular and enduring specimens of a much larger root stock.

With Angus MacKay's 1838 publication new pibrochs were for the first time introduced to the piping public through the medium of the printed page. (Donald MacDonald included no contemporary pieces in his 1820 collection.) The new tunes included by MacKay were mainly his father's compositions, and at least three of these (MacLeod of Colbeck's Lament, King George III's Lament and Lady D'Oyly's Salute) had found their way into the competition repertoire by 1844. This is indeed testimony to the influence of MacKay's published collection, and it is of interest that (with one exception), none of John MacKay's tunes recorded by Angus in manuscript alone [Appendix V(b)] found their way into the competition repertoire. (The exception was Millbank's Salute, performed in 1844 by John MacAllister, piper to Davidson of Tulloch, an associate of

the MacKay family.)

Even though the foregoing evidence suggests that the art of composing was not dead, the truth is that from the very start of competitive piping in 1781, there was considerable resistance to new compositions on the part of judges and competitors alike. J.G. Dalyell recorded in 1838 that several new tunes had been entered at the competition

> "... but of them the committee selected very few: nor do I think that any one was heard at the public performance where the piper has his own choice." [Dalyell Gen. 378D: 55].

Pibroch playing is a conservative, even reactionary art form, and is hampered by a conviction that the finest manifestation of the art lies firmly in the past. In truth, there have been few compositions in the last two centuries to rival the great tunes of old, but this must stem in part from the evident lack of encouragement for the aspiring composer. James Logan's remarks in 1831 will sound all-too-familiar to the modern enthusiast:

> "The composition of Salutes and other Piobrachds is now, perhaps, oftener attempted than success can warrant; and pipe musicians would acquire greater credit by paying more attention to the inimitable works of their ancestors than to their own rhapsodies". [Logan J. 1876 Edn. II: 285].

(d) "MARCH" AS A GENERIC TERM

The use of the term "march" to denote a pibroch is singularly inappropriate - for it is impossible to march to pibroch in any conventional sense - yet it seems to have come into use at an early stage. Nowadays we apply the term "march" in a specific way to distinguish a tune from other pibroch types such as Laments, Salutes and Gatherings. The term holds "martial" connotations, signifying perhaps "the march of the clan to battle".

In earlier times, however, it is clear that "march" was used in a generic sense, in the same way as we now use the term pibroch. There are many examples of the use of the term in this way, from Joseph MacDonald's 1760 Treatise on the bagpipe, to Daniel Dow's 1778 Collection of Ancient Scots Music (which included "Marches or Pibrachs"), to an 1820 dissertation on the bagpipe by an Inverness student with a keen interest in "pibrochs or Highland Marches". [Anderson G.: 1820]. One specific example is from the 1798 Statistical Account entry for the Parish of Thurso, which remarked on how

> "... the proper slow bag-pipe tunes and marches are not given in that perfection here, which seems almost peculiar to the West Highland pipers." [O.S.A 20 (1798): 581].

The indications are that "march" was a catch-all term, applied to the broad music category (pibroch), and also to tunes which did not fit into more specific categories such as Salutes and Laments. Certainly, where other tune types

adopted a consistent nomenclature over the years (Cumha for Lament, Failte for Salute, Port Tionail and later Cruinneachadh for Gathering), marches were linked with several different Gaelic terms. At the Edinburgh competitions the following terms were applied:

TABLE IV/4

GAELIC TERMS FOR "MARCH"	
SIUBHAL	SPAIDSEARACHD
Clanranald's (1785) Grant's (1786)	Clanranald's (1824, 38) Glengarry's (1824) Donald Gruamach's (1814,38) MacLean's (1824, 44) MacNeill of Barra's (1824, 29) Robertson's (1824) Chisholm's (1824) Stewart's (1824) Sutherland's (1824) Highland Society of London's (1824) Earl of Aboyne's (1838)
MARSHAL	
Trigge's (1783) Clanranald's (1784) Chisholm's (1790) MacDonald of Keppoch's (1823) Sutherland's (1823)	
PIOBRACHD	
Domhnuill Dubh (1785-1844) Clanranald (1813) Earl of Ross (1821, 24)	

Source: Competition Records

The term "Spaidsearachd" had come into general use by the 1820's, and remains the preferred term.

In the Campbell Canntaireachd (1797), the earliest major pibroch collection, we find several tunes labelled marches, which in subsequent records are given more specific titles. The Duke of Hamilton's March [CC II: 228], for instance, is in later records known as The Lament

for the Duke of Hamilton; Boisdale's March [CC II: 28] is in subsequent records Boisdale's Salute; Glengearrie's March [CC II: 40] is in subsequent records The Lament for Alasdair Dearg of Glengarry". The competition records reveal several similar instances of tunes labelled "Marches" in early years being given more specific titles as the competition progressed. Examples are:

Clanranald's March (1783-1838)	-	Clanranald's Salute (1823-1844)
Chisholm's March (1785-1825)	-	Chisholm's Salute (1818-1844)
Grant's March (1785-1790)	-	Grant's Gathering (Craigellachie) (1813-1844)
MacDougall's March (1822)	-	MacDougall's Salute (1838)
Struan Robertson's March (1824, 25)	-	Struan Robertson's Salute (1844

Clanranald's March was a popular tune in the early years of the competition, not least because Clanranald himself was an enthusiastic supporter, and acted as Preses in 1783 and 1785. Indeed, the 1783 event concluded with all twelve pipers playing Clanranald's March in unison around St. Andrew's Square. [E.E.C. Oct. 27 1783]. The tune is nowadays known as a Salute (after Reid [1826: 29] and MacKay [1838: 96]), but prior to 1823 at the competitions it was exclusively known as a March, by which title it was entered 14 times. The title for the tune in

Dow's 1778 collection, Pibrach Chlann Raonuilt. Clan Ranald's March to Edinburgh, reflects this early preference.

The tune now known as Chisholm of Strathglass's Salute [PS: 252] was also labelled a March prior to 1818, a title echoed in the Campbell Canntaireachd's Marsh na Shisalach. [CC I: 155]. From the 1820's the Salute title came to predominate, and was preferred by Donald MacDonald [1826: 216] and Peter Reid [1826:23]. This tune should not be confused with the contemporary composition, The Chisholm's Salute, published by Angus MacKay (1838).

The Grant's March appears to have been the common early title for The Grant's Gathering or Craigellachie. Significantly, even the Laird of Grant's own piper, William MacDonald, used the March designation in 1786 - a strong indication that it was then in common use. Other tunes to which the same process applied were the MacDougall's March (entered by Nicol MacIntyre, Lorn, in 1822, and recorded by Peter Reid [1826: 44]), later called a Salute by MacKay [MS. I: 96]; and Struan Robertson's March (1824, 25) which MacKay also published and popularised as a Salute. In the late nineteenth century this tune still bore an alternative title, Teachd Chlann Donnachaidh (The Coming of Clan Donnachie) [Whyte 1899: 5; Thomason 1900(b): 307], which possibly reflects an earlier incarnation as a march.

Such data appears to reflect a movement in naming tunes from the generic (e.g. "march") to the more specific (Salutes, Laments and Gatherings), over the first forty

years of the competition. The term "march" continued in use, but applied to specific martial clan pieces. Towards the end of the century "march" also gradually came to be applied to the real marching tunes, the quicksteps which were a major feature of the development of piping in a military context during the nineteenth century. The march, however, does remain a distinct pibroch type, despite the fact that it cannot actually be marched to, other than (as John MacCulloch put it in 1824) "as men may walk in spite of any noise". [MacCulloch 1824, II: 356].

(e) CONFUSION BETWEEN SALUTES AND LAMENTS

Salutes and Laments lie at different ends of the emotional spectrum, and pipers are of course keen to inject the one with a suitable measure of joy, to charge the other with appropriate sorrow. How, precisely, this is done is open to debate, and deserves further research.

Is it a question of the tonality and tempo of the tune? Do particular tune types appropriate specific keys? Is there an elusive but vital ingredient in the piper's "expression"? Do we rely, in fact, on the emotion ascribed to the tune in the common mind?

Joseph MacDonald devoted several paragraphs of his 1760 treatise to a discussion of the keys or "tastes" most appropriate to specific tune types: 'G' a "grave taste" for Laments; 'A' a "key for most of the martial marches"; and so on. [MacDonald J. 1760: 19]. Unfortunately the competition records show that by the early nineteenth century distinctions between tune types were sometimes blurred. At least four examples exist of tunes which were originally Salutes being described as Laments (or vice versa). The Lament for MacDonald's Tutor, named after William MacDonald of Vallay [d. 1730], was played at early competitions as a Salute. King James VIs Lament, first published by David Glen in 1880, was also considered a Salute, and was recorded as such by Angus MacKay [MS I: 101]. Sir Ewen Cameron of Lochiel's Salute appears in the competition records as both a Salute and a Lament (although