THE BAGPIPE BEFORE 1600:
HISTORY, ORIGINS, AND SCHOLARSHIP WITH SPECIAL INTEREST IN BRITAIN

by
Kym Lorraine Masera

ADVISOR:
Professor Harry Ray
Music Department

A paper submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Bachelor of Arts at Kalamazoo College

Winter 1980
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to thank the libraries of Glasgow University and Stirling University, and, the music library of Edinburgh University, the Reid Music Library. Also I would like to thank the National Library of Scotland, Stirling Burgh Library, and the Kirk Parishes that would let me browse through their Session Registers.

Blame it on Judith Whaley, for she suggested something to me one day and before I could come to my senses this paper had already been written.

I would like to thank the Kalamazoo College Music Department for their support and also the Kalamazoo College History Department for letting me do a split SIP.

More than I can ever give thanks towards the Bahá'í Community of Scotland. Without them the research for this paper would have been impossible.

Kym Lorraine Masera
Spring Quarter
1980
CONTENTS

Acknowledgments i
Contents ii

THE BAGPIPE BEFORE 1600: HISTORY, ORIGINS, AND SCHOLARSHIP WITH SPECIAL INTEREST IN BRITAIN 1

Notes on the Text 84
Bibliography 106
THE BAGPIPE BEFORE 1600:
HISTORY, ORIGIN, AND SCHOLARSHIP WITH SPECIAL INTEREST IN
BRITAIN

by

Kym Lorraine Masera
THE BAGPIPE BEFORE 1600: HISTORY, ORIGINS, AND SCHOLARSHIP WITH SPECIAL INTEREST IN BRITAIN

The bagpipe is so interwoven into the tapestry of history that it appears to have been used at one time or another in every single European, Middle Eastern, North African, and Asian country. The weave becomes more intricate when one considers that a majority of these areas can trace the bagpipe to the very depths of their antiquity and proudly proclaim themselves the most important innovator, if not the actual creator. These disagreements in possession of birthrights—along with other conflicts, unique and non-unique to bagpipe organology, make the study of bagpipes one of the most controversial subjects in modern musicology.¹

On its own, the bagpipe is one of the most versatile and stubborn instruments known to man. Its stability is evident all through the Middle Ages, especially as manifested by paintings and other physical evidence that remain from that era.² The usual bagpipe depicted in the pictures resemble our modern folk bagpipes so closely that it is thought quite safe to assume that they were similar in other aspects also. Yet, the bagpipe is constantly changing. This protean nature is manifested by the existence of hundreds of folk and cultural variations extant in the world today, and, these modern variations are merely the tip of this his-
torical iceberg.

The development of musical instruments are conditioned at first by two basic problems. These are the problems of how to sustain a musical tone and then how to make it loud enough to be heard. The questions of scale, harmony and technique can only be approached after a solution to these two basic problems are found. The bagpipe was one instrument with a rather unique solution to both problems. It solved, also, the difficulty of maintaining the flow of music. The solution was, of course, the bag. The bag is the key to the main characteristic of bagpiping: the sound continues while the performer takes a breath. However, the advantages of the bag are balanced with the disadvantages. The greatest handicap of use of a bag is that the musician has no direct control over timbre, dynamics, or articulation. Unfortunately, these are three of the most important tools of musical expression for a musician.

The British Isles, like the bagpipe, also have a tendency to be versatile and stubborn. Perhaps this is why the bagpipe retained its status longer in these islands than anywhere else in the world. In fact, the Scottish Highland bagpipe, the infamous piob mhór, which is basically a folk species, has become the world bagpipe. When one thinks of bagpipes, very rarely is it not the piob mhór of the rustic Highlander.
To challenge the piob mhor's ascendancy, many revivals of localized bagpipes have crept up through the years--yet, if one looks closer he finds that the piob mhor is only more known because of Sir Walter Scott and nineteenth century imperialism. There are musicians today playing their own native bagpipes that are not part of any revival movement. They are part of an unbroken tradition that goes back to when the bagpipe was first introduced into that specific area or country--whether it be Scotland, England, Ireland, France, Italy, Spain, Yugoslavia, Russia, India, Poland, Greece, Czechoslovakia, or some other less obvious country.

The extant folk bagpipes left in the world are ample proof of the widespread popularity the bagpipes must have had in the Middle Ages. Perhaps it was that tendency to avoid personal expression in the Middle Ages that made the bagpipe a popular and hence, a constant companion in the literature, the paintings, and the architecture of the period. Its popularity is confirmed by its enclosure in the miniatures of the CANTIGAS DE SANTA MARIA. Collected in the thirteenth century by King Alfonso the Wise of Castile (1252-1284), the CANTIGAS DE SANTA MARIA is illustrated within by woodcuts of musical scenes. Included in these assorted scenes are forty illustrations of musicians practicing their trade. The manuscript forms the most com-
plete collection of popular Spanish music from the thirteenth century. Unfortunately, the CANTIGAS DE SANTA MARIA suffers from the same malady as most written records of that age. The records are simply more concerned with the dealings and activities of the court than with the ordinary life of the countryside. Thus, what we can glean from the written sources tend to be ignorant of or biased against the contemporary folk development of the bagpipe in the countryside.

During what was to be later named the Ars Antiqua (mid-twelfth century), the winds of change blew at a gale force. Western Europe slowly started to establish what would be called by its descendents the age of the Goth. It heralded in a style, 'the Gothic', which Western Civilization is still being influenced by. A wave of new instruments, and old instruments played in new ways, swamped the area. The bagpipe was the fullest expression of Gothic inventiveness in respects to the wind instruments of the Middle Ages. By the Ars Nova advent, these instruments of the Gothic era began a process of dialectic change. Some instruments were totally rejected by the new art music and others were adopted and nurtured. The bagpipe lost its previous eminent position as many other instruments did. The new criterion was the ability to participate in unrugged
polyphony and regardless of the bagpipes frequent appearance in paintings and lists along with other instruments, it is extremely difficult to conceive how the bagpipe could have been a satisfactory instrument for polyphonic music.12

The word bagpipe is a generic name for instruments which have at least one reed pipe attached to a wind-bag from which air is blown into the pipe(s). Bagpipes are divided immediately into two specific sub-groups. The first concerns those bagpipes whose bag is inflated by lung power and the second concerns those bagpipes whose bag is inflated by bellows which are operated by the arm. Further divisions can be based on any of the following:

(a) kind of reedpipe -- drone, chanter, or regulator;
(b) number of each kind of reedpipe -- double chanter, double drones, etc.;
(c) type of drone -- cylinder with slides, shuttle-type, etc.;
(d) kind of reeds -- single or double;
(e) type of bore -- cylindrical or conical;
(f) type of chanter -- open or closed, double or single, etc.;
(g) number of finger-holes and keys, if any; and,
(h) scale and peculiarities of playing technique.
The main divisions in modern musicology, however, are based on the type of bore and type of reed used within the chanter. The chanter is the reedpipe which serves as the melody pipe. With these as the determining factors, two classes of bagpipes stand out. These are those with chanters of a cylindrical bore and single reed, and, those with a conical (expanding) bore and double reed. The cylindrical bore and single reed class includes the elementary bagpipes found in Asia and North Africa, and all of the European bagpipes east of Germany and Italy. The conical bore and double reed class include all of the typical Western European bagpipes, including Italy, which has the good fortune of having both classes of bagpipe played throughout the country.\(^{13}\)

The variety and many times conflicting ways that one could divide up the bagpipe kingdom had led many a musicologist into utter confusion, if not the deepest depths of despair. With a dark cloud of frustration hanging over his musical soul, Anthony Daines once wrote rather defeatedly, "The bagpipes of western Europe is not an easy group to define organologically beyond stating the fact that a double reed is used in chanters and a single reed in drones (with an exception)."\(^{14}\) It appears that the only way one can approach any true study of bagpipes is to approach them
on an individual regional basis. This means that one
regional type of bagpipe may have more in common with a
foreign non-bagged reed than in the bagged reed across the
river. The variety of bores, reeds, chanter, drones, fin-
gerholes, methods of insufflation, and the variety of
arranging them on one single instrument make the bagpipes
a typologically complex group.

There are approximately thirty distinct European
typological groups of bagpipes with many others in the Mid-
dle East, Asia and North Africa. Of those thirty kinds,
the historical interrelationships are basically unknown,
even though similarities between one species and another are
apparent. Through years of research into the typology
problem inherent in bagpipe organology, most musicologists
have surrendered to applying the general reed instrument
classes to the individual regional varieties of bagpipe.
These are also according to the type of bore and kind of
reed. The first group is the cylindrical bore and double
reed. In the non-bagged world these include the crumhorn
and racket. In the bagpipe world these include the French
musette, the Northumbrian small-pipes, and the Scottish
small-pipes (not to be confused with the Highland bagpipe--
Piob Mhor). The second group is the conical bore and double
reed. The common woodwinds represented in this class are
the shawm and oboe. The bagpipes included in this classing
are the French cornemuse, Brittany and Spain's bagpipes, the Scottish Highland and Lowland bagpipes, the Irish Uileann (Union) bagpipe, the Scottish Hybrid-Union bagpipe, the Italian Zampogna, and the now extinct Northern European bagpipe—once very popular in the Middle Ages. The third group is the cylindrical bore and single reed. This is the category of the chalumeau and modern clarinet. Bagpipes in this division are characteristic of Central and Eastern Europe. It includes such bagpipes as the Polish koza, Bohemian dudy, and Bulgarian-Macedonian gajda. The final group, the fourth, is that of the conical bore and single reed. Being the rarest combination in the woodwind world, these are represented by the saxophone and tarogato. In the bagpipe family these are also the rarest combination. The only types found are the Bulgarian varieties.15

At least six other varieties of bagpipe have been known in the British Isles.16 Their survivors are present only in Ireland, Scotland, and Northumberland. While the bagpipe died out or became a backwoods folk instrument ignored by the masses in the rest of the world, the bagpipes of the British Isles went from strength to strength. On the island of Britain itself, the existence of the Highland bagpipe and the Northumbrian small-pipes in such secure numbers attest to the fact that somewhere along the long
march of time, Britain won the title of possession of the bagpipes by default. Northumberland kept alive the concept of chamber bagpipes while the piob mhór gave to the world Piobaireachd, a musical form as valid and worthy as any sonata or raga. In Wales and in southern England the bagpipes went fallow and then eventually died out by the nineteenth century. Wales had an active bagpipe culture during the Middle Ages, but it was England that apparently introduced and disseminated the bagpipe into each and every island in the British Isles. The literary evidence alone is massive. Almost each country had their own local variation. In the sixteenth century the Worcestershire, Lincolnshire, Lancashire, and the Nottinghamshire bagpipes gained a popularity which few instruments achieve.

A few contemporary scholars believe the bagpipe to be a very ancient instrument. This was once the consensus of thought, but modern scholarship has strayed from it. Although the OXFORD COMPANION TO MUSIC's 1970 edition still agrees with the author's 1952 remark that "forms of the bagpipe have existed for at least 3,000 years." The majority of modern scholars concerned with the origins of the bagpipe are skeptical. Even those who want to favour it do so cautiously, as to not take a rigid stand that might be by the next year considered very wrong. This skepti-
The bagpipe in Antiquity has four main groups of evidence. These are those concerning the Hittites, the Susa finds, Biblical references, and the Greeks. In the early 1900s John Garstang unearthed a relief from a Hittite palace at Eyuk. He dated it 1300 B.C.E. and said he could see a representation of a bagpipe on it. In 1968 this find was cited as the earliest evidence of the bagpipes existence, but the statement was given the disclaimer of "the design is so worn and vague that no one can really be sure what it is supposed to represent." In 1970 the OXFORD COMPANION TO MUSIC, to strengthen its stand on the age of the bagpipers, said, "there are in existence Hittite carvings that definitely prove its [bagpipes] use a thousand years before Christ." The most recent opinion on the Hittite finds was taken in 1975. This stand refers to the relief as a "shadowy suggestion of a bagpipe" centuries before the advent of the Christian Era. But once again one finds the cautious disclaimer, "even if these references are accepted as having a factual basis, the instrument must have been of quite localized use, and probably rustic; for it failed to influence the mainstream of the development of the bagpipe." The modern scholarship of the late 1960s and early 1970s...
seem to want to accept the Hittite finds yet also want to keep all the proverbial bases covered just in case the strong anti-Antiquity party ever get control of the organology dogma once again. It is significant that all of the three quoted above virtually ignore Curt Sachs' views on that specific subject. This comes as no surprise when one considers that Sachs was the unchallenged leader of the anti-Antiquity party of bagpipe organology. As early as 1940 Sachs' stand on the Hittite finds were very plain and in English. He wrote, "on a relief from the thirteenth century B.C., belonging to the Hittite Palace at Ashuk, all too eager students have imagined they detected the earliest bagpipe; in reality, the bag is an animal offering, and the two 'pipes' are ribbons hanging down from the two strings of a lute carried before it."25

This type of occurrence is common in bagpipe organology. The moods and fads of an era somehow get swept up into the methodology. Soon, all one seems to be reading is someone else's cultural preferences for that moment. This was very true during the Victorian age when the Gaelic School of thought was willing to go to its death rather than admit nothing less than the Scottish Highland bagpipe being a totally Celtic instrument.26

The Susa finds concern a terracotta figurine that was
discovered during the turn of the last century. It has been dated the the eighth century B.C.E. and most of the research done on it has been done by Kathleen Schlessinger. Very few people currently support the terracotas as conclusive proof of the existence of pre-Christian Era bagpipes. However, the discussion of them can lead to an interesting tangent concerning possible stages of development for the bagpipe or even similar, yet distinctly differing, instruments of the bagpipe genus. Descriptions of the terracotas always stress the absence of a blow-pipe for the figurine. For many that is the final proof that destroys its chances of being a real bagpipe. Others have attempted to explain it away, yet none seem to correlate it with other similar finds. Discoveries of bagpipe-ish instruments with no blow-pipes are not what one could call common but nor is it that which you could call uncommon.

There are a series of Alexandrian terracotas from the first century B.C.E. belonging to the reigns of Ptolemy VIII to Ptolemy X. One of the figurines show what is basically a one-man band. The man is playing a large syrinx (panpipe) with his right hand, a bag with his left arm, holding (not fingering) a pipe which protrudes from the bag with his left hand, and is working a wooden clapper with his feet. There are no apparent means of inflating the bag during per-
formance so it was probably a very primitive and rudimentary instrument that was limited in its use. Possibly the combination of syrinx and bag drone was common. This idea becomes more attractive after one discovers what can be found by any explorer of the shire museum in Gloucester. In this museum is an altar of limestone which dates to the Roman occupation. This altar has a crudely carved figure of the god Atys playing the panpipes and accompanying himself with a bag-blown drone. It is remarkably similar to the syrinx and bag drone of the Alexandrian terracotta figurines. The next encounter with a bagpipe without a blow-pipe is in the Psalter from York which is currently held by the University of Glasgow. The Psalter dates back to the twelfth century B.C.E. and it shows an illumination of King David playing a harp while being accompanied by other musicians. One of the musicians is playing a bagpipe without a blowpipe. Finally, the last encounter is with an illumination in a collection of songs of Zurich from the beginning of the fourteenth century B.C.E. It shows a group of musicians and one of them being a bagpiper without a blow-pipe.

The above examples are in no way exhaustive but finding a logical progression as such makes one's imagination begin to churn. Francis Galpin's argument of artist purpose will always be a valid point in the examination of the
painted and sculptured evidence, yet the idea of a bag drone appearing before a bagpipe is very appealing.34

A large amount of controversy orbits around the instrument called the sumponia (symphonia) in the Book of Daniel in the Bible (chapter three, verse five). The instrument was referred to as being in Nebuchadnezzar's orchestra and in the King James Version it is translated as dulcimer. Refering to this Francis Galpin, rather cautiously wrote in 1910 that "the word in the original is symphonia, which is far more likely to have been the bagpipe."35 Twenty-seven years later he wrote, "It is also very doubtful whether the symphonia mentioned in the Book of Daniel and translated 'dulcimer' was really a bagpipe."36 This change in degrees of middle-of-the-roadness ('likely to have been' to 'very doubtful') marked the last battle of a war just as vicious and just as by private invitation only as the War of the Roses. It looked for a while as if people would actually be willing to die for their belief in the Daniel-bagpipe, but when the Canon Francis Galpin admitted that he too was doubtful, it was only a matter of time before the majority admitted to their doubts. But doubt was not good enough for Curt Sachs. Three years after Galpin's confession of doubt, Sachs firmly stated that Nebuchadnezzar definitely did not have any bagpipes. He added too, that the instrument had never existed at all in Israel or in classic
Greece in any type of form or variation. His assurance of his decision caught the eyes of many future followers. One of the most recent is Francis Collinson, who referred to Galpin's claim as "a claim which Sachs demolishes convincingly." It is nice to know, though, that the school of doubt which Galpin created in 1940 continues on. An example would have to be William A. Cocks' article on bagpipes in the fifth edition of GROVE'S DICTIONARY OF MUSIC AND MUSICIANS. He writes, "It has been supposed by some scholars that the dulcimer mentioned in the book of Daniel was in reality a bagpipe, but this supposition appears to be mere guesswork, and the point remains undecided." He then hints at the main item of proof that the traditional Daniel-bagpipers have to offer: the similarities of the Aramaic word sumponyah to the Italian bagpipe name zampogna. Cocks neither supports the proof nor does he make a comment on how stupid a proof it can appear to be—a point which Sachs makes incredibly clear. Cocks merely writes, "this also is said to have no justification."

Concerning references to bagpipes in the New Testament I could find none. Alexander Duncan Fraser refers to bagpipes in the prodigal son parable, but off all the translations I have looked through I have found nothing stating or even alluding to bagpipes. An author in 1968 commented how fas-
cinating it was to "speculate whether Jesus heard a bagpipe, for it is just about this time that we can be sure it was being played somewhere around the Mediterranean." If the bagpipes are mentioned somewhere in the New Testament, I am not the only one who does not know about it.

The Greek connections to bagpipes before the Christian Era can be roughly divided into two main topics: the mystery of the askaulos and the mystery of the Aristophanes plays. There is one exception to this and I will begin with it. In 1937, Francis Galpin wrote "In some form or other, it [the bagpipe] was known to the Greeks in the fifth century B.C. under the name Physallis." Comment on this is very difficult since I have not seen any other references concerning Greece in the fifth century B.C.E., or even concerning the name Physallis. This includes the writings of Canon Galpin himself and the subsequent Galpin Society. If Galpin had gone to the trouble to have substantiated his claim, it perhaps would have thrown bagpipe organology into another controversy to run deep into the souls of musicologists, but since the claim is neither expounded on nor a source given for it, it has basically been ignored completely by mainstream bagpipe organologists.

Somewhere along the line, the askaulos was decided to be an ancient Greek bagpipe. To the satisfaction of many
musicologists it is accepted that the askaulos (Greek for bag pipe) was a name that the poet Martial (first century C.E.) gave to a new instrument that was making the rounds in Rome of his day. Since Greek was the intellectual language of ancient Rome, as Latin was the intellectual language of medieval Europe, this seems to be a fair assumption. To many it was evident. Charles Burney in 1789 mentioned that the askaulos was "a Roman invention with a Greek name; a piece of affection that was frequently practised about the time of Nero. Greek was the French of the Romans." The fact that such a respected man like Charles Burney was not believed is obvious. This is obvious not through actual people admitting on paper that the askaulos was Greek but through other people trying to prove that the askaulos was not Greek. In a rare disappointing moment, Curt Sachs only mentions Martial using a Greek word in a Latin epigram meaning bagpiper. He mentions not what he believes the askaulos' origin to be--such as whether Greek or Roman, he just uses it in a case for the definite existence of the bagpipe in the first century C.E. Four years after Sachs, the HARVARD DICTIONARY OF MUSIC took a definite stand. In the 1944 edition it says conclusively that the bagpipe was not known to the Babylonians, Jews and Greeks. In 1968, Seumas MacNeill gave one of the best reasons against the
Greek connection by writing, "There is no evidence that the Greeks ... had the bagpipe, and it is unlikely that they would have used the instrument without leaving some trace in their literature, paintings or sculpture." \(^{46}\)

With all the above in mind, it is amazing that only 181 years after Burney, 26 years after the HARVARD DICTIONARY, and 2 years after MacNeill's PIÓBAIREACHD book, that the OXFORD COMPANION TO MUSIC in its tenth edition (1970) would define the askaulos as being an ancient Greek instrument. \(^{47}\)

It is no wonder then that Collinson took a very Sachsian turn in 1975. Collinson wrote, "One musicologist has rather amazingly deduced from this \(\text{[the Greek name]}\) and from the fact that Greece lay to the east of Rome and had colonial settlements in Asia Minor, that the askaulos, the bagpipe, must have come from the East, which is about as irrational as we ourselves saying the same of the telegraph and the telephone and other such Greek-derived names." \(^{48}\)

The Aristophanes plays of LYSISTRATA (line 1242) and ACHARNIANS (line 862) make what could be taken to mean that squeezed bladders were sometimes used as wind-reservoirs for reeded pipes. If they were really what they seem to some people \(^{49}\), that would push the bagpipe into the Greece of the fourth or third centuries B.C.E. There is very little evidence, however, and it seems to be a matter of
who has the better imagination, than who has the better case.

The confusion that has been created concerning the origin of the bagpipe may be the result of an initial confusion. The problem seems to be hinted at by Emmanuel Winternitz when he wrote, "The bagpipe . . . is in timbre the counterpart of the ancient Greek aulos or Roman tibia, for its sounding pipes, the chanter and the drone, are fitted with reeds like the aulos and produce a similar bleating 'reedy' timbre." The bagpipe fills a preconceived role so well, that it is difficult to conceive any other instrument replacing it. Reedpipes are known to have been in existence over 3,000 years before the discovery of the bagpipe. The reedpipe was the instrument of antiquity. We have sculptures and physical remains of pipes over 4,000 years old. Perhaps it is merely confusing reedpipe for bagpipe which is making everything so complicated. In the ancient world, lyra could mean any plucked instrument and tibia could mean any blown instrument. The term pipers during the Middle Ages could mean anyone who played on "the shawm, wayght, quhissel, or drone-pipe." The designation of pipes in a Shakespeare play could mean equally the pipe (as in tabor), hautboy, cornett, recorder, or lastly a bagpipe. In contemporary England, the word
piper is not restricted to bagpiper, yet in Scotland it is. Even the English word pipe is ambiguous and not always associated with a reeded instrument. With this in mind, it is understandable how early bagpipe historians mistook the pipes mentioned in the Irish Erehon Laws (5th century C.E.) and the ancient Welsh Laws (10th century C.E.) to be bag-pipes and not merely reedpipes.

With the question of origin still not conclusive, many musicologists have proceeded to accept certain theories and attempt to win support for them by special attributes inherent in the bagpipe itself. The main contentions seem to divide themselves up into four main groups: Eastern origin, Sumerian Plain origin, Egyptian origin, and Regional origin.

The Eastern origin stance is by far the most popular. Within it, though, there are certain ambiguities which can only be sorted out by dividing this category into four sub-headings. These are Oriental, Asian, Near Eastern (urban/pastoral), and Arabo-Islamic. As one can immediately see, all the sub-headings could mean each other and more. The sub-headings were chosen according to the choice of the individual authors of the sources I am citing. It is true that a few would refer to exactly the same development as being Oriental while others discussing the exact same thing
would refer to it as Near Eastern, but I see the word Near Eastern as meaning Asia Minor, the Orient as Asia plus Asia Minor and Asia as Asia. The Arabo-Islamic influence is greater than Asia Minor, but not the same as the Orient. The Sumerian Plain is considered non-Eastern because of its intimate connection with the Celtic migrations.

The Oriental-Eastern position is held together by two theories on why there is a connection. The first is based upon the great variety of wind instruments used by Eastern cultures. This has proven to be as true in antiquity as in today by such physical evidence as bas-reliefs and other representations. If the bagpipe is an equal with such instruments which existed in antiquity— it should be safe to assume that the bagpipe travelled the trip through time with them. The second clue is that the bagpipe drone harmony has more in common with Eastern music than with Western music. Karl Geiringer mentions that the bagpipe that was used in the Roman army was an oriental one, and Sibyl Lacouze states that the bagpipe is definitely of "Eastern parentage."

The contenders of the Asiatic origin follow just about the same suit as the Orient originers. The Asiatic have one main reason for believing what they do. Galpin puts it as such. "It is presumably of Asiatic origin," writes Galpin,
"if inference may be drawn from the simple forms of the instruments still in use on that continent." Since Asia has so many primitive bagpipes around, it is logical to assume Asia is where the bagpipe originated. Curt Sachs states that the bagpipe must have been recently imported from Asia and Frank Harrison and J. Westrup feel it was probably of Asiatic origin. Emanuel Winternitz seems to be the only one who takes a definite stand. He wrote pithily, "the bagpipe came to Europe from Asia."

The Near Eastern supporters use two reasons for the support of their stand. The first is a theory that the bagpipe would be more apt to develop where the reed is not held between the lips of the player, but when taken entirely into the mouth. The theory also takes in those instruments where gourds and horns appear to cover the reed. These instruments are seen as the intermediate stage between mouth and bag. Since the Near East is very famous for this type of reed playing (mouth covering reed), it seems that if the theory is correct, then the Near East would have the advantage for discovering a bagpipe. The second reason resembles the second reason for support of the Oriental stand, yet this is no surprise since the Near East is in the Orient. The reason is that since the bagpipe provides the drone type of two part music, which seems to be the most
popular type in the East, then it follows that perhaps the bagpipes were created there. A healthy supporter of the Near Eastern origin is Anthony Baines. Yet in his simple statement of his belief he lets loose a potential bombshell. In 1961, a year after his book THE BAGPIPES, Baines mentioned an idea which did not enter into the previous book. Almost as an aside, he wrote, "The shawm, which we will consider later, and the bagpipe are both reed instruments, probably of urban origin in the Near East shortly before or soon after the beginning of the Christian Era." The key phrase is 'probably of urban origin'. He gives no clues, no mention of where he developed or received the idea, or even a direction to source materials. The concept of urban origin could on one hand explain many problems relating to the origin of the instrument yet it could also confuse many things relating to the bagpipe in the Middle Ages.

The pastoral image of the bagpipe is strong. So strong indeed, that very few musicologists ever stray from that idea. Anthony Baines did just that, but he did it without making it a strong point. Emanuel Winternitz did the same type of thing in 1967. Although not as aggressive, he basically alludes to the same stand as Baines. He wrote, "The bagpipe known to antiquity as tibia utricularis,
was not a pastoral but a sophisticated instrument." Baines was also referring to the very same tibia utricularis. Winternitz adds, though, that the bagpipe "appears for the first time in the hands of shepherds in medieval miniatures, although in a more primitive form." This idea of the eventual denigration of the bagpipe from a sophisticated urban instrument to pastoral country instrument is supported by Karl Geiringer. William Cocks even comments on the curious fact that while the primitive bagpipes seem to always survive, it is the highly developed ones that come and go.

Even though the stand for pastoral origin for bagpipes is quite strong, this does not rule out the chance for urban origin in the Middle East. The urban Middle East at the beginning of the Christian Era would be very hard for a modern Westerner to see as urban. The animals and herds would still be there and many would mistake it as a nomad camp with permanent buildings. However, it would still be urban and offer a striking contrast to the non-urban world surrounding it.

Aside from the debate on origins, one fact always shines through the mist. This is that the countryman could make a bagpipe for himself more easily than many of the other musical instruments of that time. In the beginning,
all instruments had the potential of being made by anyone who had the urge to do so, but, with the advent of the urban society, specialization slowly took root and found its way into musical instrument construction. Perhaps this is the reason why the sophisticated bagpipes came and went with the fads of the upper classes while the lower classes basically kept the same instrument unchanged for almost a thousand years.\textsuperscript{70} The bag is obviously an addition to a reedpipe. The reedpipe was a shepherd's instrument for literally thousands of years.\textsuperscript{71} The idea of combining reedpipes with a bag must have seemed too obvious to herders who used hidebags to contain their water supply. Douglas Kennedy in 1964 wrote that he had observed that "the bagpipe when seen in its peasant-made form in the mountain regions of Eastern Europe, looks like an animal lying on its back, with its legs sticking out of its blown-up belly. A stalker, who could not only look like an animal, but make the kind of animal sounds of which the bagpipes are capable, would have an almost unfair advantage over hunters not so equipped."\textsuperscript{72}

The bagpipe is useful to the shepherd. It helps to guard the sheep\textsuperscript{73} since they are taught to grow use to the strangely relaxing monotone sound while the very same sound scares away the unsuspecting intruding creatures of the
night. If a mist develops, the bagpipe can be used as a signaling device for the shepherds, and also, the sheep, after properly trained, would gravitate around the source of the sound. The bagpipe can also be used to help the flocks feed better. Because the bagpipe had connotations of being a shepherds instrument in the early Middle Ages, it was introduced into Christmas music. This is where the great bagpipe Nativity myth had its inception. Some bagpipes are specially considered intimately linked with shepherds, such as the cornemuse in France and some Middle Eastern varieties. The bagpipe and shepherd were already considered partners in crime by the fifteenth century.

"The MEMOIRES of Olivier de la Marche and the CHRONIQUE of Mathieu d'Escouchy describe the Banquet of the Oath of the Pheasant, at which Philip the Good and the Knights of the Golden Fleece vowed to undertake a crusade against the Turks to recover Constantinople, which had fallen to them in May, 1453... held in February 1454 at Lille." On the report on the program it was said, "three little children and a tenor sang a very sweet chanson, and when they had finished a shepherd played on a bagpipe in most novel fashion." The evidence seems to be on the side of pastoral origins of the bagpipe, but whether this conception took place in the middle of some pastoral flock or
in the back of some pseudo-pastoral urban alley is inde­
terminable.

The final link in the Eastern connection is the Arabo-
Persian influence that used the mighty sword of Islam as its
medium. But before entering the main stream it is con-
venient to mention the existence of what many consider to
be proof of a Persian bagpipe in the sixth century C.E.
This is quite an exciting find when one puts it in the
historic perspective. Previous to this find the material
evidence of bagpipes existed for 100 C.E. and then did not
show up again until the eleventh century. This produced a
historic gap of a thousand years in which the bagpipe could
not be accounted for. On the archway at Tack-i-Bostan,
near Kermanshas in Iran, there are many carved sculptures.
One of these sculptures contain a carved figure of a body
with a bagpipe which resembles the drone which accompanied
the syrinx in Alexandria. These sculptures were carved
by Khosroo Purviz who lived ca. 590-ca. 628 C.E. Yet, like
the tibia utricularis of Rome, these bagpipes of Persia
seem to have dropped out of use and momentarily were for­
gotten until someone rediscovered the sculptures on the
archway. Regardless of this notarized existence, many have
suspicions of the bagpipe being an Islamic plot or adopted
and adapted by the Muslims.
Francis Galpin gives the Muslims the credit for introducing the bagpipe into Spain, but considers them only the medium and not the originator. The fact that the CANTIGAS DE SANTA MARIA does highlight a few bagpipes and one very special one, does make the Near Eastern/Arabo-Persian theory seem a healthy contender for the origin sweepstakes. However, one must not forget that Arab music once on the bandwagon of Islam, in its turn, absorbed and then carried a great deal of European contagion. Perhaps the bagpipes in the CANTIGAS DE SANTA MARIA is proof of not the Muslims giving the bagpipes to Spain, but the Muslims taking the bagpipes from Spain. This idea will become clearer after the discussion of the Regional Originists theories.

That the bagpipe only appears in Africa where the Islamic influence was felt could be used in support of Middle Eastern development, but it could also be proof of how excellent a medium of culture Islam was -- whether this culture was indigenous or adapted is not known. The intonation of the chanter has been compared to Arabic and Persian scales and was found by Alexander John Ellis to correspond "most nearly with the Arab scale of Zalzal, a celebrated lutist who died ca. 800 A.D." It has also been suggested that the introduction of the double reeded chanter took place with the advent of Arab expansionism. Although Sibyl Marcuse has a suspicion that the Romans may
have received their bagpipe from Arabo-Persian lands, she states, concerning the double-reed connection, that "the fact that up to the invention of the clarinet around 1700 no European art-music aerophone with single reed existed (single reeds were reserved for folk instruments) would tend to invalidate this theory."

The Eastern origin supporters have the most complete case in current musicology. Their ideas that the bagpipe's origin exists in the East can be simplified to three main points:

1) A great variety of wind instruments in all forms and varities, and, in all forms of evolutionary development, exist in the East today. There is ample proof that the same menagerie existed in the past;

2) The harmony inherent in the bagpipe is very Eastern in character; and,

3) Islam introduced the bagpipe into many areas, and Islam was originally a Middle Eastern phenomenon.

However, just because the Eastern origin has the most complete case does not necessarily mean it is true. Although the other three origin groups do not have as much evidence, they do have as much possibility of being correct since history very rarely leaves us its legacy without giving it
to us in an uncoherent, garbled and confused state. Because one man can look at the night sky and see that a group of stars resemble a bear does not mean that he is indeed looking at a bear nor does it guarantee that anyone else looking at the same stars will see a bear. The need for other opinions, even if contrary, are needed to define and explain all things.

In 1910, Francis Galpin mentioned the Sumerian Plain as one of the three possible places the bagpipe could have originated from. By the 1950s, the Sumerian Plain supporters were represented by William Cocks when he wrote his entry in the fifth edition of GRAVE'S DICTIONARY OF MUSIC AND MUSICIANS. In this article the Celtic tie-in made William Cocks to accept the probability that the bagpipes were transmitted from the Sumerian Plain to the east and west by Celtic migrations. Galpin also supported this Sumerian-Celtic connection. He wrote, "Its introduction is attributed by Mr. Henry Balfour to the Keltic migration from the East. It may be so, for in the Sumerian plain which formed the cradle of our race, the bagpipe has existed from time immemorial and spread eastward to Persia and India and westward to the civilizations of Greece and Rome, and possibly by the northern route to Britain and Gaul."
Although the Celtic argument has never been totally refuted, it is currently considered by many musicologists an old wives' tale. But even Sibyl Marcuse in 1975 accepted that "independent Celtic origin" was still a valid contender in explaining some bagpipes. The greatest thing going against the Celtic origin stand is its historic reputation. It has never entirely shed off the mad-Victorian 'Gaelic is Great' school of thought. The school never really completely died out until after World War Two, and because of this many musicologists blindly resist the Celtic connection since they feel it is more mythology and wishful thinking on the part of Celtic-descended scholars than with the true investigation of the available facts. This idea has been challenged passively in the recent decades of the mid-twentieth century. Along with Marcuse's acknowledgement that Celtic origin is still a possibility, the 1971 English edition of the LAROUSSE ENCYCLOPEDIA OF MUSIC presents a potential point in favour of the Celts. The encyclopedia discusses how the scale of the Celtic dominated lands are pentatonic and then ties in the pentatonic bagpipes of Britain. Though they take no stand, it is obvious that they are trying to at least present the Celtic connection as a legitimate alternative. However, standing on its own the observation could
show how well the Celts adapted the instrument when they received it externally.\textsuperscript{100} The case for Celtic origin has more going against it in the form of bad publicity than it does supporting it. The Celtic origin theory can get new lifeblood and more supporting evidence through the Regional Origin theory. This theory will be discussed after a short comment on the possibilities of an Egyptian origin.

Reedpipes were one of the major instruments of ancient Egypt, if not the most popular. On whether bagpipes originated in Egypt one gets aggressive "NO!"s to lukewarm "maybe."s. In 1968, Seumas MacNeill wrote that "there is no evidence that the Egyptians had the bagpipe, and it is unlikely they would have used the instrument without leaving some trace in their literature, paintings or sculpture."\textsuperscript{101} However, Mr. MacNeill is wrong -- there is evidence in sculpture. Francis Collinson cites this when he wrote "It is not difficult to guess how and from whence the bag idea may have come to Rome, for we have seen that it had been known in Egypt for a hundred years at least as a bag-blown drone accompanying the syrinx--and Egypt now belonged by conquest to the Roman emperor."\textsuperscript{102} The Egyptian connection is more interlinked with the specific introduction of the bagpipes into the British Islands. It will be discussed more under that topic.\textsuperscript{103}
The Regional Origin theory is becoming the most popular theory for current musicologists. It appeared in the late 1950s and early 1960s as a rational explanation to explain why bagpipe organology was in such a confused state concerning origin. The idea of re-invention and simultaneous discovery does answer many questions concerning the variety of the types of bagpipes and the unique locations of these variations; however, those holding this opinion of regional origin very rarely agree with their own kind let alone those not strictly adhering to a straight line regional theory.\textsuperscript{104} Regardless of this disunity within the ranks of supporters, this theory does have a tinge of logic about it. As Seumas MacNeill wrote in 1968, "To graduate from a one-note whistle to a more sophisticated many-note pipe is probably not a step involving great insight or intuition. It is very likely that from earliest times inventions of this kind were going on quite independently in many places ... to add a bag as a reservoir for air, enabling the player to continue the melody while taking a breathe, was an advance of a different order of magnitude, but still this is something which might be discovered and forgotten and discovered again, quite independently in time and space."\textsuperscript{105}

The logic of the Regional Origin is completely out-
done, however, by a stand which is more political than musicological. This position is definitely the most logical and rational stand to take after perusal of all the evidence. This is the Origin Unknown school of thought. When pressed, most musicologists—at least the important ones, will resort to this as their basic stand and their other theories suddenly become grain tossed to the wind, or usually educated guesses.

Apart from Eastern, Sumerian Plain, Egyptian, or Regional origins, these educated guesses sometimes assume that the bagpipe evolved from another independently existing musical instrument. This means there are some who believe that the bagpipe came to be on its own not through a pure and independent evolution. The two instruments which appear to qualify for this independently existing instrument is the hornpipe and the blatterpipe.

Hornpipes are reedpipes mounted with cowhorn bells to cover the open reed. They are very common over all of Europe and are single reeded. Hornpipes have left us a record less discontinuous than the bagpipe and could be one of the reasons some bagpipe organologists have taken to this instrument as being a proto-bagpipe as opposed to the bagpipe being a proto-hornpipe. Sibyl Marcuse sees the hornpipe as a proto-bagpipe, but only in respects to the
idea that the bagpipe had to evolve from a regular open reed to a bag-covered reed. She sees the hornpipe as a missing link in this evolutionary chain of events.\textsuperscript{109} The common hornpipe comes equipped with a double chanter. This implies that simple harmony, unison melodies, or a drone and melody could be played on the hornpipe. The most known ancient hornpipe was the Phrygian aulos and it was very popular in Rome. Descriptions of the Phrygian aulos are very similar to the Italian zampogna bagpipe.\textsuperscript{110} The hornpipe has been viewed by Francis Collinson as the possible indigenous pipe of Britain. He even conjectures that it may have reached Britain before the Romans and was the missing link between the ancient Egyptian pipes and the native bagpipes of Britain.\textsuperscript{111} Collinson also ties in the Welsh pibgorn, a hornpipe with a cap of horn over the reed, with the practice chanter of the \textit{piob mhòr}. He believes the Gaelic feadan to be an instrument very similar to the practice chanter if not a direct ancestor.\textsuperscript{112} The practice chanter is a chanter with a capped reed and is used for practicing fingering. It lets the bagpipe student learn fingering without getting confused with the complexities of bag manipulation. The cap keeps the reeds dry and so improve the hornpipes performance.\textsuperscript{113} This idea was followed by using a bag with the hornpipe but many disagree whether
the bagged hornpipe is a bagpipe or not. Regardless of whether it is a bagpipe or hornpipe, the first recognizable bag-hornpipe appears in the CÁNTIGAS DE SANTA MARIA. Anthony Baines says that the bag was added to the hornpipes because of Western music's abhorrence of the nasal inhalation technique used by the East when dealing with reeded instruments.

The hornpipes' history within Britain is very intimate. Known under the name of corn-pipe, pibcorn, and pibgorn, the hornpipe found itself mentioned constantly throughout the literature of the Middle Ages and Renaissance. The musical form of hornpipe and the dance can find their origins from the instrument of the same name. In the Post-Renaissance, the hornpipes took on a definite pastoral nature when they were usually only played by Welsh and Scottish shepherds in the eighteenth century.

Hornpipes are very similar in some ways to bagpipes and yet in other ways very dissimilar. It is this problem which invites guesses as to its actual relationship to the bagpipe. Blatterpipes have basically the same problem but more crucial since instead of having a real bag, in which a bag-hornpipe has, a blatterpipe has a blatter. Is the difference between blatterpipe and bagpipe organological or etymological?
Sibyl Marcuse in MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS: A COMPREHENSIVE DICTIONARY defines the blatterpipe as "a medieval woodwind instrument . . . a simple form of bagpipe in which the bag is replaced by an elastic animal blatter and a stiffener, inserted between a short blowpipe and the main tube."119 She takes the stand that the blatterpipe is a simple bagpipe and that the twelfth century choros was a blatterpipe. She also gives the blatterpipe as evolving into the crumhorn in the fifteenth century.120

The blatterpipe was very popular in the Middle Ages. The pictorial evidence is immense and begins with a few appearances in the CANTIGAS DE SANTA MARIA. Its continuance into the Renaissance is well documented by Sebastian Virdung in his MUSICA GETUTSCHT (1511) and also in John Leyden's THE COMPLAINT OF SCOTLAND (1548).121

The blatterpipe still survives in Europe but only as a toy.122 In the past it probably varied regionally just as much as bagpipes obviously do. Anthony Baines believes they may have also had double reeds.123 Nevertheless, the relationship of blatterpipe to bagpipe, if any, has yet to be clarified. All that exists is opinion upon opinion piled atop of each other.

Francis Galpin supports a connection in the lines of blatterpipe as primitive bagpipe.124 He also believes the
twelfth century chorus to be a blatterpipe. He makes a connection between hornpipes and blatterpipes by stating that the blatterpipe -- "save for the elasticity of the air reservoir -- is contained in the gourd-pipes of pre-Christian times."\(^{125}\)

Although Sibyl Marcuse believes the twelfth century chorus to be a blatterpipe also, she writes that although the chorus of the ninth century forgery of Jerome's Epistle to Dardanus' "description . . . fits the blatterpipe, it is more likely to relate to the bagpipe because the word pellis, used here, has the meaning of skin or hide, rather than blatter."\(^{126}\) This shows that although the make of the bag is important in determining whether the instrument is a blapper or a bagpipe, the blatterpipe is still a simple bagpipe and thus an etymological problem and not an organological one. Marcuse never sufficiently explains why the etymological distinction is so important if the blatterpipe is a bagpipe which is specifically referred to as a simple bagpipe, thus giving enough details about it in the bagpipe family.

Along with the direct relationship supporters is a group of musicologists who believe the blatterpipe and bagpipe to be related, but indirectly. This group usually gives the relationship as cousins\(^ {127}\) or as "variety."\(^ {128}\) The
usual reasoning for this view is that the blatterpipe is often pictured with the bagpipe. This is also true in the CANTIGAS DE SANTA MARIA. It implies that they were played often together.129

On the other side of the spectrum are those musicologists who believe that the blatterpipe may have come from the bagpipe and not vice-versa. David Munrow wrote in 1976 that "the existence of the blatterpipe from the thirteenth century onwards suggest that whatever the bagpipe's status, players may have been trying to solve some of the problems of having a bag] ... in essence, that blatterpipe seems to have been an attempt to have it both ways: to combine the bagpipe's continuous airflow with an instrument which could stop and start more easily, and on which some kind of tonguing and articulation may have been possible."129 Even Anthony Baines warns that a bagpipe with a blatter bag should not be confused with a blatterpipe, since in a blatterpipe "the blatter is not touched by arm or hand but presumably preserves enough of its own elasticity to feed the reed for an instant whilst the player snatches a breath."130 Perhaps this explains the confusion that has developed concerning blatters, bags, and blatterpipes.

The arguments for blatterpipe seem less valid than hornpipes since only the hornpipe stand has produced a horn-
pipe in ancient Rome (Phrygian aulos) and a modern bagpipe resembling the hornpipe (Italian zampogna). This is important since it is in 100 C.E. in Rome where history gives us our first definitely documented bagpipe. This is the tibia utricularis of ancient Rome. 131

The bagpipe in Rome must have been recent if not spontaneous since the contemporary writers of that period give no references for its use previous to their lives, nor do they even agree to what it was called. Suetonius was the only one to give it a Latin name: tibia utricularis. 132 This name occurs nowhere else in classical literature and there is a question whether it really did appear at all. The word utricularis is a Latin word concerning a wine-skin or some other bag of skin, and, tibia, is the Roman reedpipe, hence musicologists have deemed the tibia utricularis a bagpipe. The passage of Suetonius which concerns the tibia utricularis was translated by Carl Sachs in 1940 and it read, "towards the end of his life he [Nero] had publicly vowed that if he retained his power he would at the games in celebration of his victory give a performance on the water-organ, the choraulam et utricularium." 133 This line has caused much ado. Sachs seems to be referring to the water-organ and water-organ alone, yet, this is the most often cited sentence in his HISTORY OF MUSIC INSTRUMENTS (1940)
concerning the bagpipe in Rome. Perhaps it is the 'et utricularium' ['and bag'] that causes the controversy. If so, this bagblown organ may have more in common with the flute and bag connection. Nevertheless, this quote is one of the most often used pro-tibia utricularis citations. The confusion definitely exists since the names of the instruments do not even match up. It seems the scholars can not even agree to the name of the instrument Suetonius refers to, let alone identify what it actually was.

In 1910, Dio Chrysostom's literary evidence was enough to "prove that the instrument was known in Greece in A.D. 100." Once again Nero is the subject described, yet a name for the instrument is not given. Loeb's Classical Library translates the passage as "besides they both say that he could paint and fashion statues, and play the pipes, both by means of his lips and by tucking a skin beneath his armpits, and so avoid the reproach of Athena." The 'reproach of Athena' refers to the puffing out of the cheeks when using them as an air-reservoir. This phrase has been used as proof against the idea that Chrysostom was referring to the syrinx and bag-blown drone as used in Egypt. Yet, this passage has also been used by William Cocks to make the point that the passage implies a bellows blown bag
more than a mouth blown bag.\textsuperscript{137} This evidence, like the Suetonius, suddenly becomes less definite and more subjective when studied.

Martial (ca.40-ca.104 C.E.), the third man in the Roman trinity, instead of using tibia utricularis or avoiding to mention it, borrows some Greek words to make up the name of askaulos (Gk. bagpipe). This seems to be the most definitive literary source to support the existence of bagpipes in ancient Rome; however, since the word was made from Greek words many have used the askaulos as evidence towards a bagpipe in Ancient Greece.\textsuperscript{138}

After Suetonius, Chrysostom, and Martial, only one other writer has been accused of mentioning the bagpipe. This was Procopius, a Greek military historian. The belief that the bagpipe was in the Roman army can be traced to him.\textsuperscript{139} This was also supported by the discovery of a bronze bagpiping figure at Richborough, thought to be Roman in origin.\textsuperscript{140} However, the passage in which infers a bagpipe to so many,\textsuperscript{141} can also infer a drum to yet others. John Graham Dalyell wrote that it "rather appears to be the drum as known to the Goths."\textsuperscript{142} This thought took a long while to seep into bagpipe organology. It only became generally accepted by the 1970s. Previous to this the theory that the Roman's adopted and then transmitted the native forms of bagpipe from their
captured territories was in vogue. In the 1970s, Francis Collinson became a supporter of this theory. He wrote in 1975, "Finally it is conceivable that, though the Roman Legions themselves did not possess this form of the instrument, some of the auxiliary units of the Roman army, the ALAE (cavalry wings) and the foreign cohorts, might well have brought the two handed chanter from their own countries. These non-Roman 'foreign' contingents came from all over Europe, as far as the fringes of Asia Minor, and from North Africa." He then informs us that the Sarmatians were stationed at Lancashire, the Syrians at Hadrian's Wall, the Balkans (Thracians) in Scotland, and that there were incredible amounts of Hispani all over Britain during the occupation. On the topic of Procopius, Collinson takes neither the bagpipe or drum position, he says that it is obviously a "light cavalry trumpet." These four citations, Suetonius, Chrysostom, Martial and Procopius, make up the evidence for the Roman bagpipe. After the reign of Nero, the instrument is never mentioned again by any writer of the classical Roman period.
Was the principle lost immediately afterwards? Or was it cast into the murky depths of Rome's social underground and bequeathed to the lower classes only to emerge some ten centuries later? Did the army, indeed, adopt it and introduce it to all of the empire of Rome? The answers to these questions are impossible to find. No one thought at the time to record the path(s) the bagpipe was to take — if it existed enough to take a path. The fact that concerns us here is that somewhere along the way, the bagpipe arrived on the island of Britain.

When we come to the question of the introduction of the bagpipe into the British Isles, and especially Scotland, we are at once on highly controversial, not to mention shakey, ground. Theories and personal observation abound sevenfold and very few can produce evidence that supports their theories and theirs alone. Amidst this academic chaos some order does appear. The majority of speculations on the arrival of the bagpipe, or at least the main ingredients of a bagpipe, in Britain can be divided into
four categories. These categories are (1) the bagpipe was invented independently, (2) the Roman Legions stationed in Britain introduced it, (3) the bagpipe infiltrated across the land-mass of Europe (basically by Celtic contagion), and (4) the bagpipe came directly or indirectly from Egypt or very early Mediterranean migrations (basically pre-Celtic contamination).

The most enthusiastic of the independent inventors is Francis Collinson. Although his enthusiasm is incredible, he is still the first to admit that it is merely one of his various opinions on the subject. In BAGPIPES (1975) he wrote, "first, of course, such an inherently simple instrument could have been invented independently by the folk of the Scottish Highlands, extremely musical as they have always been, in pre-Roman times. It is not impossible indeed that even the bag component could have been discovered by the ingenious Highlander and applied independently of the discoveries of the other countries. This, of course, can only be the purest speculation, for which there is no actual evidence . . ." and "in the
face of . . . evidence that the bagpipe has obviously been invented independently in many countries of the world, there is no need to suppose that the bagpipe must necessarily have been introduced into Scotland from outside."

Of the four main possible entries, the independent invention idea is the least popular. The most popular view is the Roman connection. The fact that the Gaelic piob resembles the Latin pipa has meant more than coincidence to many musicologists. The Roman occupation of Britain began in 43 C.E. under Cladius. It officially ended in 410 C.E. when the Roman military forces were recalled for urgent use nearer home. It can hardly be said though, that the Romans left in the completed sense of the word. By the year 410, many generation of retired veterans, both of the legions and of the foreign auxiliaries, had married British wives and settled permanently at such centers as London, Bath, Catterick, Carlisle, or in the smaller vici (settlements) near their place of military
It seems that the bagpipe could have been introduced quite easily into British life by the Romans and perpetuated if the Romans had the bagpipe to begin with. The Highland chiefs were educated, travelled, and well-informed men. They had taken part in the political councils of the Kingdom of the Scots at Perth, Scone, and Edinburgh since the end of the first millennium C.E. A wealth of cultural interchange occurred at Hadrian's Wall and if the bagpipe was there it surely passed through the gates many times. Similar incidents could have introduced the Roman bagpipe to Wales. From Wales it could have gotten to Ireland easily. The captivity of Saint Patrick illustrates this well. Saint Patrick as a boy lived in Roman occupied Wales. If there was a bagpipe he must have surely heard it or at least heard of it. He was captured by marauding Irish and taken as a slave to Ireland. This capturing of occupied peoples for use as slaves was common during the later occupation, and this could have carried the contagion of the Roman bagpipe, granted there was a Roman bagpipe.
The scenario is set. All roads are identified and are seen to originate in the Roman occupied zones. The only problem is deciding whether the bagpipe used these roads or not. There is no evidence either in writings, carvings, or archaeological remains in Britain, that support conclusively that the bagpipe did exist in Roman Britain and was the effect of a Roman invasion. 151 The only form of musical pipes depicted in Roman Britain, with the exception of the rudimentary bag-blown drone played by the god Atys, are the mouth-blown pipes. 152 As Francis Collinson gleefully wrote, "With all our apparent clues one by one discredited, we are left uncertain as to whether the true bagpipe as we know it was ever seen in Britain in the hands of a Roman piper. There is no representation of it of Roman date to be found anywhere in Britain, either in stone, pottery, terra-cotta, coinage, or mosaic, in all of which, forms of art depictions of the mouth-blown double-pipes are to be seen." 153

The lack of evidence found thriving in the Roman
theory has currently invited many neo-Gaelic Schoolers out of the organological closet. This neo-Gaelic School of thought advances the Victorian theory of Celtic origin but places the actual creation of the bagpipes off of the island of Britain. The neo-Gaelic School accepts both those who the Celts as mere carriers of the bagpipes, while also accepting the die-hard Celt originists.

The Celtic migration was a later immigration to Britain. It is dated at ca. 500 - 400 B.C.E. The most obvious point towards Celtic introduction is that Ireland, which was never touched by a Roman invasion, has a very strong piping tradition. It is true that this culture, to our knowledge, was not a bagpiping culture, yet it seems that all the ingredients were there. The Irish connection is very strong. Ireland made its way with Wales between the third and tenth centuries C.E. by raiding, trading, and colonising. The connection to Scotland is similar. Two massive colonizations between the second and sixth centuries C.E. make a strong kinship tie to both countries.
However, this theory suffers from the same spiritual problem as the Roman theory. Whereas the Roman theory has no conclusive evidence supporting it, the Celtic theory basically has no evidence -- conclusive nor inconclusive. The one fact that could be used as evidence does not even support a Celtic connection in the British bagpipes. This is the fact that the Celts seem to have favoured the Greek divergent pipes and not the Egyptian parallel pipes. The idea that British bagpipes evolved or at least have quite a bit of thanks due to the parallel pipes (as opposed to divergent) is moderately popular in current musicology.

The well-defined trail of the divergent mouth-blown pipes which can be traced unbroken from ancient Babylonia comes to a sudden -- if not abrupt, halt at the Romano-British frontier. How can one explain it? Could it be that they had pipes of their own of a different species and had no desire to change? If this is true then the Celts could have brung the bagpipe or proto-bagpipe to Britain. However, just as possible as it is that the Celts brought the (bag?)pipe to Britain, it is just as
It is possible that they found a pipe already there. This is great news for a supporter of the Egyptian introduction theory.

The question always asked is, "did the . . . bag-pipes have their origin in the divergent double-pipes of the Roman Legions, or could they have sprung, at however great a remove, from the ancient Egyptian parallel pipes?" and, the answer is invariably yes. Francis Collinson discusses this position in his BAGPIPES (1975). He writes, "Megalithic immigrations, those of the folk of the stone circles, and the gigantic stone menhirs and the chambered cairns, are said to have reached Scotland from the Mediterranean by way of the West Coast between 2000 and 3000 B.C., which fits the time factor very nicely. Alternatively, such immigrants, bringing with them the pipes in their Egyptian form, could have come over, at a further remove, from Ireland. The early civilizations of Ireland had close affinities, ethnological and cultural, with those of Spain. A race of Iberian stock as a component of the ancient peoples of Ireland and Scotland is a
fact of commonplace knowledge." It seems that this position can take the proof of the Celtic position and use it as their own. Nevertheless, the logic of a pipe existing in Britain before the Romans came is strong since they had every opportunity of acquiring the Roman pipes, which they must have been perfectly familiar with, the peoples of both the occupied and unoccupied territories of Britain seem to have totally rejected them.

The connection can be found also in the sailings of the Phoenicians. Phoenicians played the Egyptian double pipe and they also explored Britain ca. 1194 B.C.E. However, this may be reading too much into recorded events. It is interesting to note, however, that in the legendary story of Scotland's settlement that Egypt is mentioned most conspicuously. Where and under what circumstances the bagpipe or proto-bagpipe arrived in Britain seems to be anyone's guess. The only statement one can make concerning bagpipe organology in Britain is that the bagpipe was a mature instrument by the thirteenth century. It was
most common as a mixture of bag, blowpipe, and chanter, and, all other developments concerning the bagpipe seem to be additions to this simple type. Its use was not confined to any one stratum of society, either. It could be found being played in the country with the same enthusiasm it found being played at the court. This was the age when the people -- the folk -- at last became participators in general culture. The bagpipe became a direct benefactor from this surge of popular culture.

Perhaps it was because of that "tendency to avoid personal expression" that explains the popularity of the bagpipe in the Middle Ages, or perhaps even, it is more obvious. Anthony Baines wrote that "the prevalence . . . of bagpipe in the period preceding that of regular ensemble-playing is explained if we consider their sounds . . . with its drone . . . a solo musician (could) hold the attention and sustain the spirits of the listeners
or dancers to a degree far exceeding that which is possible with a simple pipe without accompaniment." But others, who have agreed with the basic assumption that it was the sound that caused the bagpipe's popularity, have disagreed with Baines' conclusion. This idea was expressed by the LAROUSSE ENCYCLOPEDIA OF MUSIC in 1971. They wrote "the bagpipes . . . were drone instruments and it is not surprising to find them in high favour at a period when the rudimentary harmonic element of Western music was not much advanced beyond the chords formed by the melody notes on a drone bass." Whether it was a tendency to avoid personal expression or an attention inspiring instrument, or even because Western harmonic development was immature, the fact still remains that the bagpipe was very popular during the Ars Antiqua.

How do the scholars know this? Medieval musicology has left us remains of scholarly works which were produced during this age of musical development. However, much of this itself is as controversial as the Roman and antiquity bagpipes. The main sources usually cited for medieval
bagpipes are pseudo-Jerome, John Cotton, and Giraldus Cambrensis.

The letter EPISTOLA AD DARDANUM DE DIVERSIS GENERIBUS MUSICORUM was attributed in the Middle Ages to St. Jerome (ca. 340-420). Eventually as the middle ages got further away from the real world, it was discovered to be a forgery. Most musicologists accept this letter as coming from the ninth century as opposed to the fourth century C.E. In this letter is a passage which Curt Sachs in 1940 translated as "The chorus is a simple skin with two brazen pipes and one [the player] inspires through the first one, and it emits the sound through the second." This passage definitely associates the name chorus with that of bagpipe, and the ninth century dating is crucial. If it was written in the ninth century, the bagpipe must have existed since the odds are very much against some forger inventing an instrument that would turn out to be perfectly correct. It has become a fraud which has grown respectable with age. If it indeed did come from the
ninth century, it would be the first conclusive bagpipe description in recorded history. However, there is a controversy over the actual name chorus. What does it really mean? Confusion sets in after one reaches the twelfth century.

John Cotton, a theorist at the turn of the eleventh to twelfth centuries, described the musa as one of the most excellent of instruments existing in his day. He based his judgments on the fact the musa took the good parts, or at least what he considered to be the good parts, of certain instruments to create the perfection inherent in the instrument. He said that the secret of the musa's perfection was that it used the human breath as in a flute, the human hands as in a fiddle, and a bag as in the organ. Gustav Reese used Cotton's statement as the authority when he wrote that bagpipes "were known in England circa 1100." But the evidence is not that strong, or not at least as strong as Mr. Reese wishes it to appear to be. First, John Cotton's real name was Joannes of
Liége. He was as English as Ghengis Khan; to assume that he was writing about England would be quite an assumption. Secondly, the French connection is very strong. The musa would eventually become the French musette. Once again the focus is not in England or Britain whatsoever. True, during this time French was the lingua franca of the newly conquered British Isles, but the center of culture nevertheless was Paris, et al. And thirdly, the translation may be wrong. The word musa was used also in the early twelfth century by John of Affligem, but it is not too clear what he meant by the word.

In 1118 or 1185 C.E., Gerald Barry, a Welshman, writing under the name Giraldus Cambrensis produced his DESCRIPTO CAMBRENSIS. In this work he observed that the Irish only used two instruments, the cithara and the timpan; the Scots three instruments, the cithara, the timpan, and the choro; and the Welsh three instruments, the cithara, the tibia, and the choro. This choro has been interpreted to mean quite a number of things. Collinson
wrote in 1975 that "the first clear reference in Britain to the actual word chorus, meaning a bagpipe, is by the twelfth century Welsh monk and archdeacon of Brecknock, Giraldus Cambrensis." However, this is misleading. The majority of musicological thought places Cambrensis' chorus as being a crwth. In 1901, W.L. Manson wrote that "Some ancient writers class the chorus with stringed instruments and assert that it has no connection whatever with the bagpipe." In 1910, Francis Galpin wrote that "since... the chorus has been shown to be the crwth or crowd, it is evident that Giraldus does not mention the existence of the bagpipe in Scotland in his own day, nor does he allude to any use of it in Ireland." In 1911, William H. Grattan Flood interpreted the choro as a crwth. In 1940, Gustav Reese wrote that "the chorus was apparently a small type of crowd." And finally, to answer Collinson's 1975 phillipic, Sibyl Marcuse wrote the same year, "Giraldus Cambrensis ... was evidently referring to the crwth."
Regardless of what the musa or chorus was in the twelfth century, by the third century England had literature definitely mentioning the bagge-pipe. The most famous reference is in Chaucer's Prolouge to Canterbury Tales where he mentions the miller as playing upon the bagpipe. By this time there is no doubt to the existence of a bagpipe. Literature, sculpture, paintings and reliefs prove this point no end. The mystery is very potent, though. Where did the bagpipe come from? Why did it have so many potential birthplaces and birthdates and why can not it be traced more clearly? Did it indeed spontaneously generate in the Middle Ages as a full mature bagpipe or did it have its roots in the chorus, musa, or even tibia utriculaius? No one seems to know, even though everyone has an opinion.

In the Middle Ages the bagpipe was the universal folk instrument. It was used mainly as a herdsman's instrument in the earlier days of its physically proven existence. Karl Geiringer cites this as the reason that
the bagpipe was introduced into Christmas music. The question of why the bass drone with a melody always is used to evoke a Christmas-type mood has been used by many musicologists as a diving board for supporting a bagpipe in New Testament times, however, the Medieval connection is so strong that Geiringer's stand that the intrusion into Western Christmas music was a middle age phenomenon seems to be the best available explanation currently.¹⁸²

The bagpipe of the Middle Ages was probably very similar to the bagpipes of today, perhaps only differing from some of our modern ones as much as many of the modern ones differ from each other.¹⁸³ It probably also shied away from ensemble playing (excepting, of course, playing in unison) as much as the modern bagpipes of the world usually do.¹⁸⁴ However, there is record of composers of the Ars Nova composing compositions with bagpipes in mind and some specifically specifying the bagpipe as part of the instrumentation.¹⁸⁵ Yet, the reality of the sound created by a bagpipe makes the instrument a difficult one to mix with others for a smooth ensemble
The bagpipe permeated medieval society in almost all walks of life. In their folk music, in their religion, in their battles, and in their towns, everyone was constantly aware of the presence of the bagpipe. Few instruments gain such popularity, and also, very few fall from popularity so quickly as the bagpipe did with the advent of the common practices period of music and the Reformation. These two forces almost wiped the bagpipe off the face of Europe. The bagpipe only survived with its dignity in the British Isles.

The bagpipe is one of the most popular and widely diffused folk instruments currently extant in the world today. The bagpipe seems to have always had this 'folk' tinge about it -- even in the middle ages. Curt Sachs wrote that "in the fifteenth century bagpipes were used in the service of courts and free cities; but they never lost their character as folk instruments, not even when the bucolic fashion at the French court had
brought forth an aristocratic variety in the seventeenth century." \(^{187}\) This connection is understandable when realizing that during the Anglo-Norman period of Britain (1066-1424) the rise of folk song was underway. \(^{188}\) The rise of high culture was also occurring and the bagpipe seems to have gotten in the path of both of these movements. Torn asunder into musette/bellows types versus rustic/rural types, the history of the bagpipe got once again horribly confused. On one hand it was perpetuated by folk culture, yet on the other it was cultivated to a high art form known as piobaireachd. The folk connection is strong and may possess the key to its origins, but the bagpipe goes far beyond a simple folk appellation.

The references to the bagpipe in churches are so fragmentary that it is very difficult to draw any conclusion concerning their specific place and use in the Church. \(^{189}\) Nevertheless, the bagpiper seems to have had, at least before the Reformation (mid-sixteenth century), found in the Church a usefulness it has now apparently lost. In the early 1900s, the idea of the bagpipes as a
replacement to an organ in the early Church gained popularity. Either as a solo instrument or as an aid to sustain the sacred chant the bagpipe would furnish sound where the organ would not be feasible because of size or expense. W.H. Grattan Flood, though not too sure about elsewhere, was positive that "in medieval England the pipes were employed in connection with church services." Regardless of where the tradition started there is documented evidence that the bagpipes were played in a Roman Catholic Service in Edinburgh in 1536. How the bagpipes were used are not known, and there is no other documented evidence to make anyone conclude that this was a regular practice. Strangely enough, in 1556, again in Edinburgh and again by followers of the Roman Catholic faith, a religious procession occurred with bagpipers in tow. Bagpipes used in processions were quite popular, especially in funerals, but this procession was very obviously a religious procession since it was in honour of the patron saint of Edinburgh, St. Giles. Five years later
in a book named *HUNTING OF PURGATORY TO DEATH* (1561) the following 'true tale' was told: "I knewe a Priest whiche, when any of his parishioners should be maryed woulde take his Backe-pipe and go fetch them to the Churche, playnge sweetely afoyre them, and then would he laye his instru-
ment handsomely upon the Aultare, tylle he had maryed them and sayd Masse. Which thyng being done, he would gentillye bringe them home againe with Backe-pipe. Was not this Priest a true Ministrell, thynke ye? For he dyd not con-
terfayt the Ministrell, but was one in dede." 193

It appears that the bagpipe was appropriate in some churches; however, Alec Harman and Wilfrid Mellers in *MAN AND HIS MUSIC* (1962) remind us that for the most part, bagpipes "were used almost entirely outside of the church," 194 and Bruce Seton wrote that "the pipes, at least in the pre-Reformation days were sometimes played in church; in course of time, however, piping on Sunday scandalised the authorities, religious and civil, and, in the burgh records, we find repeated instances of pipers being
punished for this misdemeanor."  

The tradition of the bagpipe being played as an accessory to battle goes back to the fourteenth century, but the first non-traditional documentation was by George Buchanan in RERUM SCOTICARUM HISTORIA (1583), who mentioned the bagpipe as the military instrument among the Gaelic-speaking peoples of Scotland. He mentioned also that it supplanted the horn and trumpet. The first battle ballad to mention bagpipes was the Battle of Balrinnies (1594) and the legal stand was finally created in the eighteenth century. In the Disarming Act of 1746 the bagpipe was legally deemed "an instrument of war." The possessor of a bagpipe was liable to severe punishment which could end up as exile, or, as in one unfortunate case, execution. Under James VI the bagpipe was fixed as a military instruments, but before that time it is impossible to say when the bagpipes were used in battle -- if ever used at all previous to his reign (1565-1625). There is a suspicion that it was used earlier, though.
James MacKenzie wrote in 1861 that in the Battle of Harlaw (1411) "the Highland host came down with pibrochs deafening to hear".199b and Francis Collinson, in commentary on this battle wrote in 1975 that, "there is one circumstance above all else which may point to the probability that it was about the time of the Battle of Harlaw that the probability that the Highland bagpipe graduated from a domestic instrument to an instrument of battle. This was the sudden and otherwise inexplicable outburst of professional jealousy against the piper and his instrument by the bard whose duty it was with voice and harp to inspire the Highland host with war-like fervour before the battle."200 The possibility of this representing the introduction of bagpipes into the military life of Britain is very strong.

It is believed that it was during the second half of the sixteenth century that the war-pipe replaced the harp as the most popular and widely used musical instrument of Britain. This is understandable since the sixteenth
century was a period of time when attempts to restore the Lordship of the Isles occurred frequently and religious conflict was everywhere. These problems helped to create a break in popular Highland tradition and thus produced the crack into which bagpipes seeped into and took over as its own. 201 This transition from the harp to the bagpipe appears to have been spread over approximately two centuries. George Buchanan spoke of the Highlanders using both instruments (1565), and during the seventeenth century the use of the harp declined to such a degree that the existence of the profession of harpers almost died out completely. 202 And besides supplanting the harp, the bagpipes also supplanted the bards themselves! The bards did not welcome the intrusion of the bagpipes with any degree of enthusiasm. Instead, some of them used all of their arts to throw ridicule on the newer instrument. The most impressive of these protesting bards was MacMhurich of Clan Ranald. 203

Lachlan Mór MacMhurich was the last Clan bard known to have acted officially in battle. It was he who com-
posed the brosnachadh \(^{204}\) before the Battle of Harlaw (1411)\(^{205}\) and it was he, who in the same year, composed a poem of a most uncomplimentary nature about the bagpipe. In the set of verses he describes the bagpipe and its lineage as the piob gleadhair -- the pipes of clamour -- and refers to them as "the two sweethearts of the black fiend -- a noise fit to arouse the imps." J.F. Campbell said of these verses, "it is as bitter and coarse as anything in Dunbar's Daunce."\(^{206}\) The poem is definitely more graphic, humourous and forcible than elegant or gentlemanly.

Three hundred and forty-five years previous to MacMhurich, the Norman invasion of Britain began. This invasion was the start of the Anglo-Norman period of influence on the island. The Anglo-Norman period (1066-1424) marked two important features in the history of music in northern Britain: (a) the rise of the wandering musician and the folk song, and (b) the feudal organization incorporating the musician.\(^{207}\) Both of these striking features created a movement in European music which likes
will probably never be seen again. Soon after the Con-
quest (1066), the wandering musician lost their ancient
saxon appellation of Gleemen and were in turn called
ministraulx, or in English, minstrels. The ancient
Celtic bard was a person of high social position who re-
sided at the court of the prince, but under the new
regime another type of musician appeared at court. This
was the minstrel. In imitation of the ways of the
court, and also with a view of maintaining some of the old
feudal dignity and clan independence, the nobility soon
had their minstrels. It became the rage to use minstrels.
This made minstrels a very common and very important part
of the Middle Ages’ day to day living. With more min-
strels, it affected the mainstream of music. People from
other countries were to be found in the ranks of the
wandering musicians and this brought new ideas into
music. It manifested itself in the novel instruments and
new song and dance forms that leapt out of the Ars Antiqua
and Ars Nova.
The minstrels eventually entered the new towns and cities. Henry George Farmer in MUSIC IN MEDIEVAL SCOTLAND (1930) holds that these minstrels usually were pipers who performed upon shawms and bagpipes. Francis Collinson is almost certain that for nearly a century before the 1300s, the term piper was concealed under the general term of minstrel, whether it meant a bagpiper or a player of the shawm. In records from this period we can find the term minstrel used consistently connected with the burgh piper. In the RECORDS OF THE ROYAL BURGH OF LANARK for 1566 is this entry: "John Watsone, town minstrel, to gang throw the toun with the syws [tenor drum] morne and evening, and quhen it is weit, that the swyche [syws] may nocht gang, that the said Jhone sall gang himself throw with the pip morne and evening." The use of the word minstrel to include or even specify piper persisted into the sixteenth century and later. This is true especially of the toun minstrel or town piper, a term very common in Scotland. Francis Collinson,
though, tells us that by this time (sixteenth century) that piper definitely meant bagpiper. 214

The town or burgh pipers of Scotland was largely a Lowland institution. It started as a service maintained by private sources but by the later Middle Ages it was mostly maintained out of public funds. Between 1497 and 1505, pipers and other minstrels were employed by Aberdeen, Edinburgh, Dumbarton, Baggar, Wigton, Glenluce, and other towns. 215 Not only did the various towns of Scotland employ burgh pipers, but the clans followed suit, and there are many references at the close of the sixteenth century to the prevailing custom of a piper being considered an indispensible adjunct to the chief's establishment. 216 The office was a general rule hereditary, and the chief duty of the town or burgh piper was to play through the streets of the town once in the early morning and again in the evening. In Dundee, Jedburgh and Lanark the piper's round started by official edict at 4 a.m. At Perth and Dalkeith it was 5 a.m. The evening
round varied from 6 p.m. at Lanark, 7 p.m. at Perth to 8 p.m. at Dalkeith and Jedburgh. These duties were performed under penalty of forfeit of wages and eight days imprisonment. Other duties of the piper were to play at the town's horse races and fairs. In Sir Walter Scott's OLD MORTALITY, a burgh piper was used on the day of the election of magistrates. The piper was also in evidence at weddings and in the harvest field, but whether these occasions were officially required of him or whether they were free-lance is not recorded.217 Their music and tales were their livelihood and they were usually given a donation of seed corn apart from the regular small salary from the burgh. In some towns the pipers were allotted a small piece of land which usually wound up being called Piper's Croft.218 This free house eventually became a common part of the parcel of being the burgh piper. The payment for services usually varied. At Dundee the burgh piper was paid 12 pennies yearly by each householder in the town. Many of the town pipers wore the
town's distinctive livery. The piper of Dalkeith was given a suit of clothes. This suit consisted of a long yellow coat lined with red plush breeches, white stockings and shoes with buckles. Neil Blane, the town piper of the unnamed locality portrayed in Sir Walter Scott's OLD MORTALITY, had a salary of five marks and a new livery coat of the town's colours yearly. However, not all the Scottish towns and burghs were favourably disposed to the idea of the town piper, and those that were sometimes changed their minds. The city of Edinburgh brought up the question of expense. The magistrates in 1660 decided a single drummer would be cheaper than a bagpiper. Aberdeen in 1630 decided to dispose with their piper's service, but not because of cost. Their magistrates decided it was for the reason of raising the culture of the community.

In England the same duties of the Scottish burgh piper was performed by the town wait. The wait's primary instrument was the shawm and the bagpipe was secondary -- if played at all. The waits were usually obliged
to play every night and morning all year and were not to 
leave the town to play except at approved fairs and 
weddings. They were not paid as much as their Scottish 
counterparts. It is clear that the waits evolved from the 
custom of having night watchmen at palaces, castles, camps 
and walled towns. These watchmen's only purpose was to 
pipe the watch upon a loud musical instrument at stated 
hours and it was only a matter of time before these paid 
civil servants would be used for other things. It is not 
ever easy to distinguish waits from minstrels since their 
duties often appear to be the same. There was for cen­
turies hostility between the waits and the common min­
strels. This is not surprising considering that the waits 
were trained musicians who served an apprenticeship and 
were accorded official status, badges of office, livery 
and emoluments while the minstrels were usually itinerant 
players of very varied capabilities and some were little 
better than rogues and vagabonds.

In the sixteenth century an external social mood pre-
vailed which changed the future of the bagpipe. This mood would eventually be called the Reformation. Up to the Reformation, the bagpipe had been looked upon kindly by the Church, and even used, like the organ, as an adjunct to Christian worship. At this time religious troubles were coming to a boil, especially in Scotland. John Knox recorded an incident which was becoming only too common. He wrote that in June of 1556 a riot broke out in Edinburgh against the carrying of the image of St. Giles in procession through the streets by the Roman Catholic Church (or what soon be known as the Roman Catholic Church!). The image was captured and was "first drowned in the North Loch and afterwards burnt," another was then found and the procession continued regardless of the riot. Knox concluded the incident with "there assembled priests, friars, canons and rotten Papists, with tabors and trumpets, banners and bagpipes." By the later years of that century the Kirk (Presbyterian Church of Scotland) was firmly in control and able to vent its displeasure on all who offended it, including
players of the bagpipe whose strains assailed their ears at the wrong times and places. It was reasonable enough for the times that the Kirk should take action against the playing of the pipes on the Sabbath, especially when it occurred in competition with the minister in his performance of the service, but the Kirk was incredibly savage against any kind of merriment during Christmas or Yuletide to the accompaniment of the bagpipes. In Scotland the bigotries of the Kirk eventually caught up with the innocent frolics at weddings and other public gatherings, and by the seventeenth century the bagpipe was officially phased out. It is strange why one instrument would be deemed sacred while another instrument would be declared profane, yet this difficult decision was tackled by the Kirk.

After the Reformation, the bagpipes were held to be the devil's instruments and between 1570 and 1624 pipers were severely persecuted. This more sinister turn of events showed itself especially in the witch trials which were to bring so many unlucky people to the stake and/or
fire. Hans Holbein the Younger (1497-1543) even made a whole series of woodcuts on the theme of the dance of death. Throughout these woodcuts the bagpipe is played by the skeleton which represents death.

The widespread use of bagpipe began to wane in the later sixteenth century. No longer were they the instrument of princes -- they were only used by shepherds, soldiers on the march, or dancing peasants. The bagpipe was a drone instrument so it was not surprising to find it in high favor at a period of time when the basic harmonic element of Western music was not much advanced beyond the chords formed by the melody notes over a drone bass. But when harmonic awareness developed in the upper class music (courtly), the bagpipes gradually declined in the social hierarchy of music. Eventually, in every country except one, the bagpipe either disappeared from view or was left to the lonely hill men or the occasional crank. Regardless of what the piper might have thought of himself, people were disposed to think the worst of him.
So many petty offenses were to be laid against him that he became the topic of numerous ballads. The immoralities of that breed of musician soon became proverbial. It is difficult to define exactly the meaning of phrases such as 'as drunk as a piper' and 'as fou as a piper' but W.L. Manson, quite defensively wrote that "they seem to have generally meant half seas over, not helplessly inebriated." In further explanation he added; "The piper, being an important social personage, could hardly escape the reproach of being addicted to liquor, although there is nothing to show that his class were in this respect any worse that the average of the people of their day."\textsuperscript{236}

Eventually the bagpiper was consigned to the lower ranks of society, and only used by the blind and the wandering or medicant classes. Polite society, however, did resume it in the time of Louis XIV and Louis XV.\textsuperscript{237} The practice of parlor music was a fad in all classes of society. Those who could not afford a spinet or clavichord could procure an inexpensive lute which could be purchased in
any reputable barbershop. A discrimination, though, grew up between certain instruments. This resulted in the grouping into noble (serious or art instruments) and plebeian (folk instruments) the extant instruments. A noble was in theory to cultivate the more intimate and delicate instruments, while the bagpipes, reed pipes, trumpet and shrill variety of flutes were not considered suitable for educated and refined people. The most popular instrument of the middle ages was the bagpipe. This instrument yielded to the lute during the Renaissance, which in turn yielded to the piano. 238

After the bagpipe passed, its past presence was recorded by the composition fads of the Renaissance. Two of the bagpipe's characteristics have been widely imitated, that of the use of drone bass and that of the ornament of short duration known as the cut or snap. The music produced by the bagpipes strongly affect the emotions and the physiology of the listener. The contrast between a lively melody and a monotonous humming bass creates
varying emotions amongst us all. Sometimes it is felt as restful, as in the nineteenth century when it was used to convey a pastoral atmosphere, and other times it is felt as exciting, as in the battle tunes of the Highland bagpipes. In the pedalpoints in classical and contemporary music there seems to be a similar ambiguity of expression. This similarity, though, may be a closer similarity than many may think. In 1967 Emanuel Winternitz wrote that "the early writers on polyphony deal mainly with vocal music. Their subject was the tabulation of rules for accompanying the traditional melodies of Gregorian chant with a second melody following those rules that singer had to improvise an accompaniment called the descant. The rules changed through history but, very roughly, two main methods can be distinguished. One was the 'organum' found in the writings of the Flemish monk Hucbald (840-930); it prescribed an accompaniment in fourths and fifths -- sometimes with the octave also added. The other, as found in Scotus Erigena (ninth century) and
again later in Guido d'Arezzo (about 1020), directed that the chant be accompanied by an improvised melodic line below, which started and finished in unison with the chant and often held the same note for some time with the chant moving above. The first method would correspond with the drone principle as found in bagpipes with drones... it is worth noting in this connection that Scotus Erigena, the first writer on polyphony, was a son of Eire, where drones in bagpipes were supposedly used early. Indeed, Irish historians trace the beginnings of medieval polyphony directly to the Irish bagpipe.\textsuperscript{241} In any case, there is food for thought in the conjecture that the development of polyphony in theory and practice was connected with the introduction of drones to the bagpipe.\textsuperscript{242} This is a valid idea but in 1916, Charles Villiers Stanford and Cecil Forsyth in HISTORY OF MUSIC dismissed this idea by writing, "still less satisfactory is the suggestion that the new art [plural-melody] sprang somehow from an analogy with the drones of the bagpipes... for, if that
were so, we should expect the earliest form of harmony to consist of tunes with pedal basses. And this they certainly are not. In light of this controversy it is interesting to note the similarities and possible etymological relationships between the word organum and the word organon -- the Greek word for musical instrument.

The most obvious contribution the bagpipe has made to sophisticated music is the Musette movement. This movement is associated with many of the eighteenth century gavottes. It appears as a middle section to these, thus producing gavotte-musette-gavotte. Usually a pedal appears in the musette. In a point of bagpipe trivia, Anthony Baines discusses in his WOODWIND INSTRUMENTS AND THEIR HISTORY, about the possible influence bagpipes may have had on the baroque recorder. He wrote that Jean Hotteterre's recorder design "probably the earliest of the important woodwind remodellings, and the design we follow today -- seems to show the head joint, which, whatever its acoustical effect might be, takes after the chanter stock
of a musette as if meant to match it." Jean Hotte-
terre was a bagpipe maker and the man who laid the
foundation for the modern oboe.

In retrospect, one can not really say anything defi-
nite about the bagpipe since every 'yes' source has an
equal and opposite 'no' force. When one cuts through the
rubble, the decision lies on which source you particularly
believe at the moment. The bagpipe does still exist in
Britain and it looks like it will take nothing less than
a nuclear holocaust to get it out of there.
NOTES ON THE TEXT

THE BAGPIPE BEFORE 1600: HISTORY, ORIGINS, AND SCHOLARSHIP WITH SPECIAL INTEREST IN BRITAIN.

1 Nicholas Bessaraboff in ANCIENT EUROPEAN INSTRUMENTS (Cambridge, Massachussets: Harvard University Press, 1941, p.84) stated that the controversy raging within bagpipe organology was only rivaled by the controversy raging within Irish harp organology. It is interesting to note that British bagpipe organology, apart from origin studies, is one of the pillars of the controversies that infest bagpipe-ology. It is a comforting thought, at least to me and my maternal British ancestry, that it is that tiny group of islands somewhere off the northwest coast of Europe who is supplying (or at least once supplied) Western musicology with, at a bare minimum, two gigantic enigmas in the world of music.

2 Anthony Baines, WOODWIND INSTRUMENTS AND THEIR HISTORY, London: Faber and Faber, 1967, p.212. Mr. Baines also cites the Spanish bagpipes as a strong example of modern bagpipes which resemble the way medieval bagpipes appear in pictures.

3 Seumas MacNeill, PIOBAIREACHD, Edinburgh: British Broadcasting Corporation, 1968, p.11 Mr. MacNeill states that, luckily, the solution to the sustaining problem solved the loudness problem also. The bag can create a high pressure for a longer time than the human mouth. This can excite the reed more and produce a constant and stable volume of sound.

4 To have continuous sound on a non-bagged reed, one must learn the difficult art of breathing in through the nose while still maintaining a blowing pressure in the mouth.

5 Anthony Baines in BAGPIPES (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1960) relates this anecdote, "Of all the bagpipes existing today, it is the Spanish which is my own favourite for playing on, mainly because for a busy musician it is the least trouble to look after. Sometimes I give my visitors a tune on it. Their remark is always the same: 'But I thought only the Scottish had bagpipes.'" (p.13)

6 MacNeill, PIOBAIREACHD, p.12

7 Karl Geiringer, MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS, London: George Allan and Unwin, Ltd., 1943, p.83

8 Spanish MS Escorial j.b.2. Bibl. Escorial, Madrid ca. 1270
Emanuel Winternitz, MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS AND THEIR SYMBOLISM IN WESTERN ART, London: Faber and Faber, 1967, p. 72

Anthony Baines, BAGPIPES, p. 251

Paul Henry Lang, MUSIC IN WESTERN CIVILIZATION, New York: W.W. Norton and Co., 1941, p. 239

David Munrow supports this opinion in INSTRUMENTS OF THE MIDDLE AGES AND RENAISSANCE (London: Oxford University Press, 1976, p. 4)

Bessaraboff, ANCIENT EUROPEAN MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS, p. 84
Baines, WOODWIND INSTRUMENTS, p. 212
Ms. Marcuse notes that there are exceptions to the second class mentioned. These exceptions are the British small-pipe (Northumbrian or Northumberland Small-pipes) and the French musette, which both have cylindrical bores and double reeds. She adds that for purposes of classification, stepped bores (made in two or three joints of varying diameter) are considered to be cylindrical.

Anthony Baines, BAGPIPES, p. 103


An example of this would be the sly way Francis Collinson in THE TRADITIONAL AND NATIONAL MUSIC OF SCOTLAND (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1966) says that "speculations on the origin of the bagpipe in Scotland must be largely futile, as the instrument is everywhere so ancient as to be beyond the means of estimating whether it was indigenous, or where otherwise it came from." (p. 159) He basically says that he doesn't really know anything about the origin but he is open to any theory that is currently popular since his statement is so open to easy manipulation.

This seems to happen to Francis Galpin's opinions every so often.

MacNeill, PIOBAIREACHD, p.9

Scholes, OXFORD COMPANION TO MUSIC, p.65


This is how a typical, self-made bagpipe organologist of the Victorian Gaelic School of thought answered a wave of criticism aimed towards the very foundations of that school's most cherished ideas:

"We are now told that it is not a Highland instrument: the harp is the Highland instrument. It is not even a Scottish instrument: it is an English instrument, and never was a favourite with the Lowlander, and cannot therefore be the national instrument of Scotland. We are further told -- and this by a Celt, and quite recently, too, that it is not even of Celtic origin; that we Highlanders took it from the Lowlander, who in turn borrowed it from the Anglo-Saxon: all of which is, to put it mildly, so much ignorant twaddle and tommy-rot."

Alexander Duncan Fraser, SOME REMINISCENCES AND THE BAGPIPE, Falkirk: John Callander, 1907, p.103


Francis Galpin in A TEXTBOOK OF EUROPEAN MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS (London: Williams and Norgate Ltd., 1937, p.203) gives his explanation of the absence of the blowpipe as being either an accidental breakage of the physical remains or reason concerning artistic purpose. Never once does Galpin consider it an instrument on its own.


Glasgow University Library, Special Collections, MS. U.3.2.f. 2IV, p.21 (has penciled in page numbers)


The above list is nowhere close exhaustive. I find it significant that I could find so many references under such a short budget and even shorter duration of time.

see note 28
Since tangents to tangents are very unorthodox, I will try to be brief. The idea of syrinx (→panpipe→flute) made me start thinking about the relationship of the flute (or syrinx or panpipe) to the bag. W.L. Manson in THE HIGHLAND BAGPIPE (Paisley: Alexander Gardner, 1901) said that "Nero played a flute with a bladder under the performer's arm." (p.34). That can be disregarded since in the translation of Latin until recently, the words for pipes (tibiae) have been consistently rendered as flutes. The interpretation that tibiae means reedpipes and not flutes, in this respect, is in part proven by Dio Chrysostom's remark that the player of a tibia utricularus (bagpipes as opposed to a flute with a bag) would avoid the facial contortions that are inevitable with the antique way of blowing a reed pipe -- i.e., open reed with mouth covering all of the reed and using the cheeks as the air reservoir (the physical condition is called 'the reproach of Athena' because of the myth concerning the creation of the reed as a musical instrument). What Manson means, then, is a reedpipe and bag -- basically what a layman would call a bagpipe and does not interest us in this footnote.

Once we get past the translation problems we find a small core of scholars who are interested about this connection between the flute and the bag. Charles Burney in his GENERAL HISTORY OF MUSIC (London: N.P., 1789, p.389) went as far to say that it was probable that the union of the bagpipe with the syrinx suggested the first idea of an organ. In 1916, Charles Villiers Stanford and Cecil Forsyth in A HISTORY OF MUSIC (London: MacMillan and Co., 1916, revised 1940, p.73) said that it was that attempt to play the syrinx mechanically, as the reedpipe had, that led our ancestors to invent the organ. It seems that the most primitive organ was actually blown by human lung power. James E. Matthews in MANUAL OF MUSICAL HISTORY (London: H. Grevel and Co., 1892, p.37) tells of two attendents who were needed to blow alternately to keep up the wind pressure. Kathleen Schlesinger in her bagpipe article in the tenth edition of the ENCYCLOPEDIA BRITANICA (1910) mentioned that the bagpipe "forms the link between the Syrinx and the primitive organ, by furnishing the principle of the reservoir for the wind-supply." (p.202). A year later, David James Blaikley, in his article 'The Single and Double Reed Instruments' in ENGLISH MUSIC (London: Walter Scott Publishing Co., second edition, 1911, p.343) refers to a source which says that the bagpipe is the organ reduced to its most simple expression. The latest contribution to this running saga sums up the historical development of this relationship between bagpipe and
organ. Gerald Abraham in the CONCISE OXFORD HISTORY OF MUSIC says that the panpipes turned out to be the ancestor of the organ while the reedpipe begat the bagpipe once the bag principle was applied to both. (p.3). He adds later, a mystery which still haunts bagpipe organology, that the bellows were added to the bagpipe sometime between B.C.E. and C.E., thus creating the hydraulics, while the bagpipes had to wait until the late sixteenth century C.E. for bellows. (p.45-46).

Francis W. Galpin, OLD ENGLISH INSTRUMENTS OF MUSIC, London: Methuen and Co., 1910, p.67
Galpin, TEXTBOOK OF EUROPEAN MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS, p.203
Sachs, HISTORY OF MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS, p.141
Collinson, BAGPIPE, p.77
Cocks, 'Bagpipe', GROVE'S DICTIONARY, p.353
Including a copy of the Greek version which was so kindly translated for me by an indifferent observer.
MacNeill, PIOBAIREACHD, p.10
Galpin, TEXTBOOK OF EUROPEAN MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS, p.203
Martial, EPIGRAMS, Loeb's Classical Library, X.3.8
Burney, GENERAL HISTORY OF MUSIC, p.388
Sachs, HISTORY OF MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS, p.141
Willi Apel, HARVARD DICTIONARY OF MUSIC, Harvard University Press, 1944 (17th printing 1966), p.66
see also: Willi Apel, HARVARD DICTIONARY OF MUSIC, London: Heinemann Educational Books Ltd., 1970 (2nd ed.)
MacNeill, PIOBAIREACHD, p.10
Scholes, OXFORD COMPANION, p.70
Collinson, BAGPIPE, p.45
Abraham, CONCISE OXFORD HISTORY OF MUSIC, p.44
Winternitz, MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS AND THEIR SYMBOLISM, p.154
J.S. Manifold, THE MUSIC IN ENGLISH DRAMA, London: Rockliff, 1956, p.64
Roger Bragard and Ferdinand J. Detten, MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS IN ART AND HISTORY, translated by Bill Hopkins, London: Barne and Rockliff, 1968, p.31
The documented evidence for a definite bagpipe is ca.100 C.E. Baines argues for a bagpipe just after or just before the advent of the Christian Era. Winternitz continues on with how Nero played the tibia utricularis. Nero was the emperor of Rome in 100 C.E.

"The nimbus of the Bagpipes paled in the sixteenth century. They no longer were the instruments of princes; they were only used by shepherds, soldiers on the march, or dancing peasants."

A good example is the Highland Bagpipe. Though additions have been made (drones, different building materials, keys, etc.), the instrument is still basically the same type of keyless, limited range instrument anyone could make in their backyard if they had a few common tools, a thin tree and a sheep.

It is also one of the most simplest and cheapest and easiest instruments to make.
Baines, 'Ancient and Folk Backgrounds', p.224
Manson, THE HIGHLAND BAGPIPE, p.46
Geiringer, MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS, p.83
Marcuse, MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS, p.87
It was never carried out.
Collinson, BAGPIPES, p.78
Galpin, TEXTBOOK, p.204
It shows four drones in existence for the thirteenth century. Most liberal musicologists give fourteenth century as the introduction of the first or second drone.
Winternitz, MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS AND THEIR SYMBOLISM, p.72
Starting on page 33 and ending on page 34.
Winternitz, MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS AND THEIR SYMBOLISM, p.69
Schlessinger, 'Bagpipe', ENCYCLOPEDIA BRITANICA, p.203
Marcuse, SURVEY, p.676
Marcuse, MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS, p.30
Marcuse, SURVEY, p.676
Galpin, OLD ENGLISH INSTRUMENTS, p.173
Cocks, 'Bagpipe', GROVE'S DICTIONARY, p.353
I could not find out who this man was!
Galpin, OLD ENGLISH INSTRUMENTS, p.174
Marcuse, MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS, p.31
Examples of the school of thought would have to be Fraser's quote in footnote 26 and William Grattan Flood's statement in THE STORY OF THE BAGPIPE, London: Walter Scott Publishing Co., 1911: "Archaeologists are now agreed that much of the Roman civilization was due to the Celts." (p.19)

They did go underground between the wars. An example would be Bruce Seton in his essay 'A History of the Pipes' in THE PIPES OF WAR (Glasgow: Maclehose, Jackson, and Co., 1920). By Seton's time the Gaelic School was under massive criticism. To combat this the School for the most part tried to appear to be aware of modern evidence yet also conclude with a definite Celtic conclusion. Seton wrote that "It is obvious . . . that the
instrument is not peculiar to the Celtic races; that it has maintained its hold on them so long after the disappearance in other European nations is equally so. But who introduced it into these favoured isles, whether the Cruithne or Prydani or Picts or the later "C" Gaidheal branch of the Celtic stem -- who shall say?" (p.10)


99 How can Ellis hear an Arabic scale when LAROUSSE ENCYCLOPEDIA hears what they deem a natural Celtic scale? It is just more proof of the sad state of confusion many parts of modern musicology has found itself in.

100 A proof of how quickly the Celts could adapt external influences is shown in the observation of Maurice Lindsay in his article 'Folk Music: Scottish' in GROVE'S DICTIONARY, fifth edition. He wrote "it comes as something of a surprise to discover that there is no old Gaelic word for dancing (those in use now are importation)." (p.350)

101 MacNeill, PIOBAIREACHD, p.10
102 Collinson, BAGPIPE, p.46
103 Alexander Duncan Fraser in SOME REMINISCENCES gives one of the ultimate Gaelic School anecdotes which illustrate not only his view on the possibility of Egyptian origin for the bagpipes but also his personal view on some members of the human race who support the Egyptian origin theory. He writes, "While discussing the Piob mhor or Great War Pipe of the Highlands, he [Laird of Melford, Capt. Stoddart M'LLellan] suddenly asked me, 'Where do you think the Pipes came from originally?'

I answered cautiously, 'Where?'

'From Egypt, of course!' he replied. 'It is the sistrum of Egypt. I was at a meeting lately in London of pipers with one or two others interested in the Bagpipe, and we came to the conclusion that it came originally from Egypt.'

I did not tell him that the Egyptian Pipe was nothing more or less than the Greek sumphonia, a borrowed instrument, but I said, 'You are acquainted, I believe, with Eastern peoples, and speak several of their languages, and you have also studied, more or less, Egyptian hieroglyphics? Have you ever seen a Bagpiper in hieroglyphic?'

'No!'

'Then why ascribe its origin to the Egyptians?'

'Well, you see, we came to that conclusion in London,' which was no argument, whatever, but the best which the gallant Captain could advance." (pp.232-233)
Examples of this would be Anthony Baines' position in his article 'Ancient and Folk Backgrounds' in MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS THROUGH THE AGES (p.160) that the bagpipes most likely were reinvented in the Middle Ages, but basically only then. Thus dividing east and west bagpipes genetically. Collinson, on the other hand, goes more extreme. In TRADITIONAL AND NATIONAL MUSIC (p.160), he accepts the possibility of the point that the bagpipe was re-invented independently in many places. He uses this as the foundation for his claim to the modern Gaelic School of thought. He writes, "In the face of evidence that the bagpipe has obvious been invented independently in many countries of the world, there is no need to suppose that the bagpipe must necessarily have been introduced into Scotland from outside." (p.160)

MacNeill, PIOBAIREACHD, p.9

Random examples:
Sachs, HISTORY OF MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS, p.141: "The origin of the bagpipe is unknown."
Cocks, 'Bagpipe', GROVES DICTIONARY, p.353 "Of the earliest history of the bagpipe little or nothing is known with certainty"
Collinson, TRADITIONAL AND NATIONAL MUSIC, p.159 "Speculation on the origin of the bagpipe in Scotland must be largely futile, as the instrument is everywhere so ancient as to be beyond the means of establishing whether it was indigenous, or where otherwise it came from."
Marcuse, SURVEY, p.673 "Age and homeland of the bagpipe are unknown."

Baines, 'Ancient and Folk Backgrounds', p.224
Baines, BAGPIPES, p.61
Marcuse, MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS, p.30
Baines, BAGPIPES, p.57
Collinson, BAGPIPES, p.62, 64, and 75
Collinson, BAGPIPES, p.126
Baines, WOODWIND INSTRUMENTS, p.197

Anthony Baines supports for the most part that the hornpipe developed into the bagpipe after the addition of the bag (see 'Ancient and Folk Backgrounds', p.224 and WOODWIND INSTRUMENTS p.197), while Sibyl Marcuse does not. She writes, "In some areas the pipe [hornpipe] is covered with skin and is called with a youth, thus not there is a bag, the instrument is still called hornpipe." MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS, p.247
From its first allusions in Chaucer to John Leyden's COMPLAYNT OF SCOTLAND (1548)

Baines, 'Ancient and Folk Backgrounds', p.224

Marcuse, MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS, p.56

ibid.

Bessaraboff in ANCEINT MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS agrees, but he refers to the crumhorn as a cromorne, and calls the difference between the Platerspiel (blatterpipe) and cromorne as "typological." (p.393)

Munrow, INSTRUMENTS OF THE MIDDLE AGES, p.11

Galpin raises doubts on this. In OLD ENGLISH MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS he wrote, "The author of the COMPLAYNT OF SCOTLAND (1548) appears to allude to the yet simpler form of the instrument, which was known in Germany as the Platerspiel ... it may be, however, that he is only describing the droneless bagpipe which still lingered in use in the sixteenth century." (p.177)

It is made by fixing a mouthpipe and a miniature wooden cane single reed chanter in an ordinary rubber balloon.

Baines, WOODWIND INSTRUMENTS, p.218

Galpin, TEXTBOOK, p.203. He also wrote that he believed the Greek fifth century B.C.E. Physallis to be "probably the blatter-pipe form."

ibid., p.203

Marcuse, SURVEY, p.674


Sachs, HISTORY OF MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS, p.283

Bragard and DeHen, MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS, p.59

Munrow, INSTRUMENTS OF THE MIDDLE AGES, p.11

Baines, BAGPIPES, p.17

Collinson finds it more proof of possible Egyptian origin. His reasoning it that since Egypt was then controlled by Rome, no doubt the idea would be channelled there immediately. (p.46) He also connects the Roman tibia utricularis with the modern Italian zampogna (p.46)

Suetonius, LIVES OF THE CAESARS, Nero
Chrysostom's Nero 'putting a skin bag under his arm in order to avoid the disfigurement of Athena' might possibly be taken to suggest the early use of the bellows, for a bag blown by the mouth would not avoid the straining of the player's cheeks.'

Geiringer, MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS, p.63 cites a different tradition. He states that Nero introduced the bagpipe into the army, although the bagpipe was already known during Caesar's time. He gives no sources.

The Procopius passage is in DE BELLO GOTHICO (VI, xxiii, 19-23). It states 'leather and very thin wood.' How this constitutes a bagpipe or even a light cavalry trumpet is beyond me.

Collinson writes that "R.L.C. Lorimer cites similarities to piob and Latin pipa."

The Richborough Statue is now considered to be middle ages or early Renaissance.
Francis Collinson in BAGPIPES (1975) says that these may not actually be what they appear to be. He writes, "Some of these various representations . . . may of course be regarded as classical motifs, belonging, even in those days, to the far past and separated by centuries from the daily life of the Romans living in Britain during the occupation." (p.49)

Collinson, BAGPIPES, p.55

Flood, STORY OF THE BAGPIPE, p.28
John Grant, PIOBAIREACHD, Edinburgh: John Grant, 1915 p.17

Flood, STORY OF THE BAGPIPE, p.42
Seton, "A History of the Pipes", PIPES OF WAR, p.11

Collinson, TRADITIONAL AND NATIONAL MUSIC, p.160

Collinson, BAGPIPES, p.59

ibid., p.60
He adds though, "The term 'Mediterranean race', however, does not necessarily denote direct contact with Egypt; so we are still left with a large gap in the jig-saw puzzle." (p.60)

In the ancient Scottish chronicles there are legends concerning the founders of the Scottish nation. It is the legend recorded by Andrew of Wyntoun and John of Fordun which provides the most interest to this paper. I might also add that I first heard this folk legend from a tour guide after a guided tour of Holyrood Palace in Edinburgh. It is said that one, Gedeyl-Glays, came from Scythia somewhere north of the Black Sea and that he received the hand of the daughter of the ruling Pharoah of Egypt, the Princess Scotia, as reward for his help against the Israelites within the Egyptian borders. (In some versions Princess Scotia was the woman who found Moses in the bulrushes). One of his sons was said to have been among the Egyptians drowned in the waters of the Red Sea after the Israelites had got across. In the Egyptians' hostility to all immigrants after the Israelite incident (or probably the Hyksos invasions of Egypt) Gedeyl-Glays was politely asked to take leave of Egypt. He and his Egyptian wife, the Princess Scotia, settled in Spain, where eventually he died. His son by Scotia, Hyber, went to Ireland and colonized it under the name of Hibernia. From there the children of Scotia, by then known as the Scots, migrated in their turn across the short sea passage to Dalriada, on the mainland of the country to become known as Scotland (bringing with them their ancient Stone of Destiny that was originally taken by Scotia...
as a 'reminder of home').

Since the time schedule fits so well with the pre-Celtic migrations it is a pity that the story of Gedeyl-Glay and the Princess Scotia are complete fable. But it is not impossible that the ancient chronicles have as their basis the folk memory or tradition of an east-west migration, into which this colourful though purely imagined history of the Scottish race has been embroidered? How much so though is impossible to say.

160 Remnant, MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS, wrote, "While this simple bagpipe continued in use some time, the most usual medieval type had appeared by 1250. This had the bag, mouthpiece, and chanter as before, but also a drone pipe, which became one of the most important characteristics of the instrument." (p.135,136)

161 Farmer, MUSIC IN MEDIEVAL SCOTLAND, p.11
He places this change of opinion between 1124-1424.

162 Geiringer, MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS, p.83

163 Baines, 'Ancient and Folk Backgrounds', MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS, p.227,228

164 LAROUSSE ENCYCLOPEDIA OF MUSIC, p.56

165 This is what Sibyl Marcuse calls this source. Others usually call it St. Jerome or Jerome. I prefer Ms. Marcuse's since it separates the Saint from the forgery.

166 ap. Opera, tom.V.col.192 (information from Dalyell, MUSICAL MEMOIRS)

167 Sachs, HISTORY OF MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS, p.281

168 Marcuse in SURVEY tells that the description given in the letter also fits a blatterpipe. Is the chorus a bagpipe or a blatterpipe? This question would be meaningless to some musicologists, yet to others it would be one of the most crucial question concerning the Pseudo-Jerome letter -- apart from affixing the proper date to it.

169 Marcuse, SURVEY, p.674
She also states that Cotton's views were repeated by Jerome of Moravia in the thirteenth century.

170 Gustav Reese, MUSIC IN THE MIDDLE AGES, London: J.M. Dent and Sons Ltd., 1940, p.409

171 But then England was very Plantagenet during the times of Cotton. Actually the problem was not whether Joannes was English, but how French was England at that time. Ghengis Khan was neither -- to my knowledge.
Even though quite a lot of what happened in England was France oriented (or Norman), very little of what was French was oriented towards England. France was egocentric even then.

This is just the start of disagreements. Manson in HIGHLAND BAGPIPE (p.35) says 1118 and Flood in STORY OF THE BAGPIPE (p.31) says 1185. They don’t even agree where the information was gleaned. These are the names of the texts the information may have come from: DESCRIPTO CAMBRENSIS, TOPOGRAPHIA HIBERNIAE, of ITINERARIUM CAMBRIAEO.

Farmer, MUSIC IN MEDIEVAL SCOTLAND, p.10
W. S. Gwynn Williams, WELSH NATIONAL MUSIC AND DANCE, London: J. Curwen and Sons Ltd. 1933 p.39
Flood, STORY OF THE BAGPIPE, p.24
Fraser, SOME REMINISCENCES, p.351
Collinson, BAGPIPES, p.82
Marcuse, MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS, p.98
The actual Latin is:
Hibernia quidem duobus tantum utitur at clelectatur instrumentis cythera salicete at tympano; Scotia tribus, cythera, tympano, at choro; Gwallia vero cythera, tibialis at choro.

Collinson, BAGPIPES, p.82
Manson, HIGHLAND BAGPIPE, p.62
Galpin, OLD ENGLISH, p.175
Reese, MUSIC IN THE MIDDLE AGES, p.407
Marcuse, MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS, p.98
Geiringer, MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS, P.83
Baines in WOODWIND INSTRUMENTS wrote "the common medieval bagpipe appears in pictures so much like many Western bagpipes of today that it is reasonable to suppose that it resembled them in important details." p.212

The example of Guillaume Machaut. In a personal letter concerning his ballade 'Ne's Que On Perroit' he wrote that its nature was to played on organ, bagpipes or other instruments. This implies bagpipes in a polyphonic setting if not a polyphonic reality.

About this 'aristocratic variety', Emanuel Winternitz wrote in MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS AND THEIR SYMBOLISM that "The fashionable shepherds, smelling rather of perfume than of the stable, took over the pastoral bagpipe, along with the hats and ribbons. This folk instrument, as it then was, did not, of course, fit the hands of courtiers. It had to be refined: its most awkward heavy parts, particularly the drones, were reduced; the chanter became smaller in size and sweeter in tone and received more conveniently spaced fingerholes and, later, even keys; and, as mentioned before, the blowpipe, unbecoming to a lady's mouth, was replaced by bellows. Thus arose the musette, which remained in vogue from the early seventeenth century until almost the end of the Ancien Regime." (p.80)

The common practices period is considered that period in music where the ordered fads of the day took root. This would include the Baroque, Classical, Romantic and some of the Impressionist Schools. Approximately 1600 to 1900.

Reese in MUSIC IN THE MIDDLE AGES wrote that "The whole subject of the use of instruments in church music is beclouded by the symbolic references to instruments, common in medieval writings. Some authors -- whether for symbolic or encyclopedic reasons -- mention instruments no longer in use or else fundamentally changed" (p.124) "It is not always possible . . . to know whether an instrument is being mentioned as a mystic symbol or as a source of musical sound. On the other hand, there are so many miniatures and larger representations suggesting the practical use of instruments, sometimes even illustrating different stages in their history . . . that it seems not unreasonable, in doubtful passage, slightly to favor a musical rather than a mystical interpretation." (p.124)

This idea could have come about in many ways. Collinson in BAGPIES suggests this connection with England may have to do with Henry VIII. He wrote, "Henry VIII (1509-1547) is also an important monarch in bagpipe history. He was an accomplished musician and composer."
Being the younger of two brothers and therefore not expected to accede to the throne, he was intended by his father for the Church, with a remote view to attaining the archbishopric of Canterbury. Music therefore formed a necessary and special part of his education." (p.95)

191 Collinson, BAGPIPES, p.102
Manson, HIGHLAND BAGPIPE, p.47
Flood, STORY OF THE BAGPIPE, p.50

192 Flood, STORY OF THE BAGPIPE, p.22
Manson, HIGHLAND BAGPIPE, p.158
Flood in STORY OF THE BAGPIPE writes "in John Knox's HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION, under date of 1556, there is an account of the indignity offered to the statue of St. Giles, patron saint of Edinburgh, by the zealots, to mark their disapproval of Roman Catholic worship. It is stated that the statue was cast into the North Loch of Edinburgh, in order to prevent it being borne in procession at a Catholic festival. However, another image of St. Giles was borrowed from the Franciscans Friars, and we read that 'the procession, led by the Queen Regent, was attended by bagpipes' and other instruments." (p.64)

Previous to this, Manson in HIGHLAND BAGPIPE mentions another interesting procession in 1529. He writes, "At a procession in Brussels in 1529 in honour of the Virgin Mary, 'many wild beasts danced round a cage containing two apes playing on the bagpipes.'" He adds cautiously, "This statement may be taken for what it is worth. It is difficult to construct a theory that will explain it." (p.46)

193 Galpin, OLD ENGLISH INSTRUMENTS, p.176,177
This is also in Dalyell's MUSICAL MEMOIRS.
195 Seton, 'A History of the Pipes', p.13
196 Francis Collinson mentions the tradition of the bagpipes being used in the Battle of Bannockburn (1314). He wrote in BAGPIPES that "History (as distinct from tradition) is silent about the presence of the Scottish pipes upon the field of Bannockburn and mentions only trumpets and horns at the battle." (p.89) He refered to John Barbour's work and goes into more detail in TRADITIONAL AND NATIONAL MUSIC by writing, "bagpipes are not mentioned by Barbour, who only writes of horns and trumpets; and there seems to be no actual historical evidence of the bagpipes being played at the battle. It was however probably not till about 1375 that Barbour wrote (he is thought not to have been born until about two years after the battle) and
it was perhaps too long after it to be trustworthy about such musical details." (p.89)

197 George Buchanan, RERUM SCOTICARUM HISTORIA, Edinburgh: Alexandi Arbuthneti, 1583
For an English translation see George Buchanan, HISTORY OF SCOTLAND FROM THEEarliest Period, translated by James Aikman, Glasgow: Blackie and Son, 1845 volume one, chapter thirty-three.

The statement made in the paper is not entirely true, though. There was an earlier non-Traditional documentation. It was Beague's L'HISTOIRE DE LA GUERRE D'ECOSSE (Paris, 1556). Beague, a French military officer, in 1549 visited Edinburgh and observed that the 'wild Scots . . . encouraged themselves to arms by the sound of their bagpipes.' (as translated by W.H. Grattan Flood in the STORY OF THE BAGPIPES, p.64). It was not cited in the main text because he was not a native of Britain. The quote is referred to in Manson's HIGHLAND BAGPIPES p.48

198 The Battle of Balrinnes is the only ballad in Lowlands Scots to make specific mention of the bagpipes in battle. It was first printed in 1681 in Edinburgh and was almost certainly of a later composition than the period of the battle itself.
Collinson, BAGPIPES, p.131

199b Mackenzie, HISTORY OF SCOTLAND, London: n.p. no page numbers
200 Collinson, BAGPIPES, p.138
201 Ann Grant of Laggan, ESSAYS ON THE SUPERSTITIONS OF THE HIGHLANDERS OF SCOTLAND, Edinburgh: n.p., 1811, volume two, p.201
202 Manson, HIGHLAND BAGPIPE, p.23-24
203 Other examples of the bard's reactions are given in Manson's HIGHLAND BAGPIPE, p.26
204 The song which the bard would perform to instill the warriors with the spirit of battle.
205 Derick S, Thompson, CELTIC STUDIES, London: Faber and Faber, 1968 p.147
206 J.F.Campbell, POPULAR TALES OF WESTERN HIGHLANDERS, Edinburgh: n.p. 1862, volume four, p.56
207 Farmer, MUSIC IN MEDIEVAL SCOTLAND, p.10
Trends had been pointing toward this before the Norman invasion (1066) and the Norman influence reaching North Britain (1124). Farmer in MUSIC IN MEDIEVAL SCOTLAND tells us (p.12) that in the coronation of Malcolm Canmore in 1057, the head minstrel usurped the old Celtic sennachie -- the Scottish bard.

The first noticeable change was in the nomenclature. The old Celtic term bard and the Anglo-Saxon designation scop passed quickly out of existence in favour of the Norman word minstrel. The Celtic instrument known as the clairseach suddenly was referred to as the harp. The wandering musician brought into use a number of new instruments like the rybybe, lute, naker, and tabor.

Farmer, MUSIC IN MEDIEVAL SCOTLAND, p.12

The lists of freemen of York show no fewer that 101 entries referring to persons of the name of Wayt(e), Wakeman, Waite, or Wate, were admitted between the years 1272 and 1759. John Hawkins, GENERAL HISTORY OF THE SCIENCE AND PRACTICE OF MUSIC, London: J.Alfred Novello, 1853, rep. 1875, volume one p.271

A mark or a merk was worth 13s 4d in Scotland or 13½d Sterling (England)

The Hastie family (the traditional burgh pipers of Jedburgh) still hold the Piper's House in Duck Row at the foot of Jedburgh's Canongate.

Records of the Royal Burgh of Lanark, Glasgow: Glasgow, 1893 year 1566

The lists of freemen of York show no fewer that 101 entries referring to persons of the name of Wayt(e), Wakeman, Waite, or Wate, were admitted between the years 1272 and 1759. John Hawkins, GENERAL HISTORY OF THE SCIENCE AND PRACTICE OF MUSIC, London: J.Alfred Novello, 1853, rep. 1875, volume one p.271

A mark or a merk was worth 13s 4d in Scotland or 13½d Sterling (England)


The lists of freemen of York show no fewer that 101 entries referring to persons of the name of Wayt(e), Wakeman, Waite, or Wate, were admitted between the years 1272 and 1759. John Hawkins, GENERAL HISTORY OF THE SCIENCE AND PRACTICE OF MUSIC, London: J.Alfred Novello, 1853, rep. 1875, volume one p.271

A mark or a merk was worth 13s 4d in Scotland or 13½d Sterling (England)
The account is of interest for its description of the wayte (wait) or musical watchman whose duty it was to make his rounds sounding his pipe, at stated times during the night. The wayte was the forerunner of the town waits and town pipers.

225 Langwill, 'Waits', p.128
227 This is best shown in the Kirk Sessions Registers. All over the country there are entries concerning unfortunate pipers being "comperit," "summondit," "admonen-
ist," "delated," "accusit," "ordanit to forbear," "inhibit," "requirit to find caution," "continewit", and even "banest" for playing their pipes "out of turn" I would like to add that 'continewit' meant to be condemned to languish in the jail or in the Church steeple.

228 The Kirk Session Registers of Elgin are significant in showing a number of instances of this. In Elgin in 1592, James Roy, a bagpiper was: "accusit for ganging thru the town playing of his gryit pypile in the nycht season . . . and lykwayes for playing this last Sonday upon his gryit pyp at eftermone in tyme of preaching . . . and thairfor thai [the Kirk Session] appoint him to stand in the hairclayth on Sonday nixt and mak:his repentance publiclie and that he remain in the steeple till he find caution to do the same." A resident in the burgh of Elgin in 1593 who was named Tiberius Winchester was 'comperit' for "gypsing through the town" on Dec. 27 accompanied by a piper.

Five days before Christmas of 1599, the Kirk Session Register of Elgin issued an edict prohibiting football, snowball fights, singing carols, bagpiping, violing and dancing.

In 1601, at Elgin, Alexander Thome was not only cautioned for piping on the night of twenty-fourth June to the dancing of Agnes Pyerie, but he was ordered by the Kirk Session to marry the girl in the morning.

229 The Kirk Session Registers of Perth and Stirling of 1592 and 1648 respectively record that no bagpipers were allowed at wedding festivities.

230 In the year 1570, three pipers in St. Andrews were admonished to keep the Sabbath holy, then to attend sermon and on Wednesday and also to abstain from playing on the streets after supper or during the night. (St. Andrews Kirk Session Register MS. 10th March 1590)

In the years 1591 and 1593, George Bennett and James
Brakenrig. pipers in the Water of Leith, promised to abstain from playing on the bagpipe on Sundays. In 1595 and 1596, Thomas Cairns, another piper in Water of Leith, along with others, fell under animadversion for playing and dancing on Sunday. William Aiken, in Braid, also pledged himself "never to profane the Sabbath day in playing with his pipes." (St. Cuthbert Kirk Session Register MS. 30th Oct. 1591, 19th Apr. 1593, 19th Feb. 1596, 12-19th Aug. and 2nd Sept. 1596, 24th July 1600)

The Kirk Session Register of Holyrood House records that the minister found two women of his congregation drunk on a week day and dancing with a piper playing to them.

The Privy Council Record MS. 1597-1580 p.422 shows that in 1597 a complaint was made against William Stewart for bringing "into the Kirk-yard tua or three pypers, and thereby drew in grit nowmer of people to dans befoir the Kirk dur, in tyme of prayeris, he being alwayis the ring-leadar himself."

Much wild play concerning bagpipers seem to have prevailed in the neighbourhood on Trinity Sunday 1599 according to the St. Andrews Kirk Session Register MS. for 30th May 1599.

Playing on the highland pipe founded the charge of misdemeanor against a piper in the year 1623. (Perth Kirk Session Register, MS. 30th Oct. 1623).

Popular belief in the seventeenth century labelled the pipes as the Devil's favourite musical instrument. In 1679 some unlucky women were burned at Bo'ness for sorcery and they were accused, among other things of "meeting Satan and other witches, at the cross of Murestane, above Kinneil, where they all danced and the Devil acted as piper." Manson, HIGHLAND BAGPIPE, p.223

Paul Day Hilbrich, AESTHETICS OF THE COUNTER-REFORMATION AND RELIGIOUS PAINTING AND MUSIC IN BOLOGNA 1565-1615 (thesis), Ohio University, 1969 gives a good view on the situation of music in the Church during the counter reformation.

G. Fenwick Jones, 'Wittenwiler's Becki and the Medieval Bagpipe', JOURNAL OF ENGLISH AND GERMANIC PHILOLOGY 48 (1949) 209-28 discusses the social status of the bagpipe and E.A. Block 'Chaucer's millers and their bagpipes' SPECULUM 29 (1954) discusses how the bagpipe got to generally symbolize gluttony and lechery. Block also discusses the bagpipe's use in Chauser.

MacNiell, PIOBAIREACHD, p.13
It is interesting to note that though the bagpipe found temporary upperclass popularity in France, it found no such luck in Britain. By the later Middle Ages it was an instrument definitely not in favour with the upper classes. Eventually the bagpipe was detached from the general lower masses when it was rejected by the Southern English. Today the bagpipe exists only in the north as a legitimate traditional instrument.

Bessaraboff in *ANCIENT EUROPEAN MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS* writes that "The music of the bagpipes, especially that of the Scotch Highland bagpipe, affects the emotions strongly. It is passionately loved by many and disliked just as intensely by others. The perpetual pedal of the drones induces a philosophical calm in lovers of the bagpipe and completely unnerves the haters. Paradoxically, the chanter in this dialectical entity, so prosaically called the bagpipe, supply the excitement of change. Perhaps this strident antithetic juxtaposition of such contrasting elements may provide a clue to the violent emotional reactions to bagpipe music." (p.84)

The bagpipe was mainly a herdsman's instrument in the Early Middle Ages; for that reason it was introduced into Christmas music, and well into Modern times musicians have imitated the peculiar effect of the bass drone with a melody, in order to evoke the mood of Christmas.

Flood in *STORY OF THE BAGPIPE* writes, "The Irish may claim the invention of the musical form known as 'pedal point' or 'drone bass' -- that is, the sustaining of the keynote, or tonic, as an accompaniment to the melody. Guido gives a specimen of this primitive form of harmony in his MICROLOGUS, and the bagpipe may be regarded as the substratum of the modern harmonic scale." (p.24)

The Loure (seventeenth century French dance) also takes its name from an earlier type of bagpipe once popular in France.
246 Baines, WOODWIND INSTRUMENTS, p.277
BIBLIOGRAPHY


J.C. Atkinson, THE HISTORY OF CLEVELAND, ANCIENT AND MODERN volume one, Barrow-in-Furness: J. Richardson, 1874


--- BAGPIPES, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1960

--- 'Bagpipes', AN EXHIBITION OF EUROPEAN MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS (catalogue), edited Graham Melville-Mason, Edinburgh University: Reid School of Music, 1968


--- WOODWIND INSTRUMENTS AND THEIR HISTORY, London: Faber and Faber Ltd., 1967


Nicholas Bessaraboff, ANCIENT EUROPEAN MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS: AN ORGANOLOGICAL STUDY OF THE MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS IN THE LESLIE LINDSEY MASON COLLECTION AT THE MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS, BOSTON, Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1941
D.J. Blaikley, ACoustics in relation to Wind Instruments, London: Boosey and Co., 1890


E.A. Block, 'Chaucer's millers and their bagpipes', Speculum 29 (1954)


Peter Hume Brown, History of Scotland, Cambridge: University Press, 1911

John Buchan, Montrose, Edinburgh: Thomas Nelson and Sons Ltd., 1928

George Buchanan, History of Scotland from the Earliest Period, translated by James Aikman, Glasgow: Blackie and Son, 1845

--- Rerum Scotiae Historia, Edinburgh: Alexander Arbuthnot, 1583


J.F. Campbell of Islay (Iain Ileach Campbell), Cann-Taireachd: Articulate Music, Glasgow: Archibald Sinclair, 1880

Henry Holland Carter, A Dictionary of Middle English Musical Terms, Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1961


John Graham Dalyell, MUSICAL MEMOIRS OF SCOTLAND WITH HISTORICAL ANNOTATIONS AND NUMEROUS ILLUSTRATIVE PLATES, Edinburgh: Thomas G. Stevenson, 1849

John Derricke, THE IMAGE OF IRELAND (1581), with the notes of Sir Walter Scott, Edinburgh: Adam and Charles Black, 1883


Louis C. Elson, SHAKESPEARE IN MUSIC, London: David Nutt, 1901

Carl Engel, AN INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF NATIONAL MUSIC, London: Longmans, Green, Reader, and Dyer, 1866

--- MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS, London: Wyman and Sons, 1875 (revised edition 1908)

Henry George Farmer, A HISTORY OF MUSIC IN SCOTLAND, London: Hinrichsen Ed. Ltd., 1947

--- MUSIC IN MEDIEVAL SCOTLAND, London: William Reeves, 1930
Fionn, THE HISTORICAL, BIOGRAPHIC AND LEGENDARY NOTES TO DAVID GLEN'S COLLECTION OF ANCIENT PIOBAIREACHD, Edinburgh: David Glen, n.d.

William H. Grattan Flood, 'The Irish Pipes', THE PIPES OF WAR, by Bruce Seton, Glasgow: Maclehose, Jackson and Co., 1920


Alexander Duncan Fraser, SOME REMINISCENCES AND THE BAGPIPE Falkirk: John Callander, 1907

Francis W. Galpin, OLD ENGLISH INSTRUMENTS OF MUSIC, London: Methuen and Co. Ltd., 1910

--- OLD ENGLISH INSTRUMENTS OF MUSIC, revised by Thurston Dart, London: Methuen and Co. Ltd., 1965

--- A TEXTBOOK OF EUROPEAN MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS, London: Williams and Norgate Ltd., 1937 (reprinted 1944)

Galpin Society, BRITISH MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS, AUGUST 7-30, 1951, London: Galpin Society, 1951


John P. Grant, 'Canntaireachd', PIPES OF WAR, by Bruce Seton, Glasgow: Maclehose, Jackson and Co., 1920

--- PIOBAIREACHD. ITS ORIGINS AND CONSTRUCTION. Edinburgh: John Grant, 1915


José Guerrero Lovillo, LAS CANTIGAS: ESTUDIO ARQUEOLÓGICO DE SUS MINIATURAS, Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1949


G. Fenwick Jones, 'Wittenwiler's BECKI and the medieval bagpipe', JOURNAL OF ENGLISH AND GERMANIC PHILOLOGY 48 (1949) 209-28

Douglas Kennedy, ENGLISH FOLK DANCING, London: G.Bell and Sons Ltd., 1964

Henry Cart de Lafontaine, THE KING'S MUSIK; A TRANSCRIPT OF RECORDS RELATING TO MUSIC AND MUSICIANS (1460-1700), London: Novello and Co. Ltd., 1909

Paul Henry Lang, MUSIC IN WESTERN CIVILIZATION, New York: W.W. Norton and Co. Inc., 1941


Edward Ledwith and Francis Grose, THE ANTIQUITIES OF IRELAND, London: M. Hooper, 1791

John Leyden, THE COMPLAYNT OF SCOTLAND (1548), Edinburgh: Archibald Constable, 1801

Maurice Lindsay, 'Folk Music: Scottish', GROVES DICTIONARY OF MUSIC AND MUSICIANS, edited by Eric Blom, fifth edition, 1954


W. L. Manson, THE HIGHLAND BAGPIPE, Paisley: Alexander Gardner, 1901


--- A SURVEY OF MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS, London: David and Charles, 1975

James E. Matthew, MANUAL OF MUSICAL HISTORY, London: H. Grevel and Co., 1892


Michael Praetorius, SYNTAGMA MUSICUM, Wolfenbüttel, 1619

PRIVY PURSE EXPENSES OF ELIZABETH OF YORK, WIFE OF HENRY VII EDITED BY Nicolas Harris Nicolas, London 1830

PSALTER FROM YORK (12th C.), Glasgow University Library MS. U.3.2.f.2IV, Special Collections


--- GUILLAUME MACHAUT, London: Oxford University Press, 1971

Gustav Reese, MUSIC IN THE MIDDLE AGES, London: J.M. Dent and Sons Ltd., 1940


Bruce Seton, 'A History of the Pipes', THE PIPES OF WAR, by Bruce Seton, Glasgow: Maclehose, Jackson, and Co., 1920


Richard Stanihurst, DE REBUS IN Hibernia GESTIS, London: Apud Christophorum Plantinum, 1584


M. Vogel, 'Zum Ursprung der Mehrstimmigkeit', KIRCHEN-MUSIKALISHES JAHRBUCH 49 (1965) 57-64


Robert Wedderburn, COMPLAINTE OF SCOTLANDE, 1549

W.S. Gwynn Williams, WELSH NATIONAL MUSIC AND DANCE, London: J. Curwen and Sons, Ltd., 1933

Emanuel Winternitz, MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS AND THEIR SYMBOLISM IN WESTERN ART, London: Faber and Faber Ltd., 1967

--- MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS OF THE WESTERN WORLD, London: Thames and Hudson, 1966

Walter L. Woodfill, MUSICIANS IN ENGLISH SOCIETY FROM ELIZABETH TO CHARLES I, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1953