

MUSICAL STATUES: MONUMENTALISING IRISH TRADITIONAL MUSIC

Verena Commins

The year 2016 has generated a considerable degree of both academic and popular interest into processes of remembering and public forms of commemoration which in turn provoke questions about the meaning and interpretation of heritage and culture. Contributing to that conversation, this essay reflects on the commemoration of Irish traditional music and musicians, a practice that has emerged over the past four decades. It gives particular attention to monumentalisation, that is, the material expression of placing statuary and monuments in honour of Irish musicians. Entwining geographical resonances from other 2016 centenaries that pertain to Irish traditional music, this essay considers the ways in which these have become embedded into the cultural and musical identity of contemporary Ireland.

1916 saw the death of two notable uilleann pipers: the old Donegal piper, Tarlach Mac Suibhne (1831-1916, Gweedore, County Donegal, also known as *An Píobaire Mór*) and the young piper (and Proclamation signatory) Éamonn Ceannt (1881-1916, Ballymoe, County Galway).¹ Descending from a line of pipers (both Tarlach Mac Suibhne's father, Éamonn Rua and his grandfather played), Mac Suibhne himself formed part of a generation that witnessed the virtual extinction of the uilleann piping tradition in Ireland (Breandán Breathnach, "The Pipers of Kerry"; Meehan). His performances brought him to the attention of national and international audiences, notably in appearances at the Chicago World Fair (1893), annual visits to Glasgow and closer to home at the early Feiseanna Ceoil of 1897 and 1898 respectively.² Despite this, however, primary sources of information on Mac Suibhne are scant, consisting of a brief biographical note by Francis O'Neill, which includes what Seosamh Breathnach later describes as "the buffoonery about his relations with the fairies which McSweeney indulged in in Chicago" (Seosamh Breathnach 6; O'Neill 289-295).³ He remains, therefore, a somewhat irreducible figure. With no extant recordings, the opportunity to champion and advocate his music is therefore absent and his legacy con-

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- 1 According to Breandán Breathnach, Kerry piper Michael O'Sullivan (Micí Cumbá) also died in 1916. A plaque in commemoration of Cumbá at Castlecove, Co. Kerry, however, cites his dates as 1835-1915 (Breandán Breathnach, "The Pipers of Kerry" 49).
 - 2 He was awarded second place in the uilleann pipes competition and first place in unpublished airs at the first Feis Ceoil in 1897. He does not appear to compete at the Feis Ceoil again, but is listed to play at the opening Feis Ceoil concert in Belfast the following year (1898).
 - 3 O'Neill had the opportunity to meet with Mac Suibhne during the months Mac Suibhne spent at the World Fair in Chicago. Ó Giolláin drawing on Joep Leerssen suggests that "the fascination with fairies – something which Catholic intellectuals shied away from as an embarrassing part of their recent peasant culture – was part of a Romantic embrace of the irrational and the mysterious as a source of creative inspiration" (Ó Giolláin 112).

tinues to exist largely outside both the realm of musical commemoration and monumentalisation.⁴ Éamonn Ceannt on the other hand is widely commemorated albeit primarily on political grounds.⁵ A key aspect of his legacy, mostly absent from popular commemorative narratives, is his role in the revival of Irish traditional music, the uilleann pipes in particular, during the early twentieth century period of cultural revival.⁶ A founding member and secretary of Cumann na bPíobairí (the Dublin Pipers' Club, founded in 1900), Ceannt undertook the vital revivalist initiative of bringing older piping practitioners, such as blind Galway piper Martin Reilly, to Dublin. Invariably, however, Ceannt's piping legacy is reduced to just one anecdote: that he performed on the war (not the uilleann) pipes for Pope Pius X during the Catholic Men's Society's visit to the Papal Games in 1908. The Pope's reaction to the war pipes is recounted by Ronan Ceannt, Éamonn's son: "the pope of course got a full blast of the war pipes. He was a little bit pained by it, but very charmed all the same."⁷ Like Mac Suibhne there is no sonic record of Ceannt's uilleann pipes playing. Ceannt's role in revivalist activity demonstrates the cultural impetus that compelled him to take part in the 1916 Rising. Yet in commemorative tributes to Ceannt, this is ultimately subsumed under the legacy of his "supreme sacrifice" (Henry).

One further musical centenary resonates with the timing of this essay: the one-hundred-year anniversary of the establishment of the Irish music recording industry in the United States. In 1916, Ellen O'Byrne DeWitt, a New York music seller and travel agent, contracted Columbia Records to make a recording of Irish traditional music for retail in her shop (Ní Fhuartháin, "Copley Records" 205).⁸ Subsequently recognising the inherent market potential within the Irish immigrant community, the American recording industry's contribution to the commodification of Irish traditional music led to one of the most significant changes in its reception both at home and abroad.⁹ The recordings that ensued, particularly those of Sligo-born musicians, created a stylistic

4 A small plaque was raised to Mac Suibhne in 1999 at the old church in Derrybeg during a McSweeney clan gathering and the newly founded (2012) association of Donegal uilleann pipers take his name: *Cumann Píobaireachta Tharlach Mhic Suibhne*.

5 Official narratives of the Rising pass little comment on his piping legacy. Tim Pat Coogan mentions briefly that he played the pipes and had a place on the Governing Council of the Gaelic League (Coogan 64). Therefore the monuments in which his name is immortalised remember Ceannt as one of the executed leaders of 1916 and a signatory of the Proclamation. These include Ceannt Station, Galway (officially renamed in 1966), one of the Ballymun towers (built in 1966 and demolished in 2005), Áras Ceannt, 14 Thomas St., Dublin, Ceannt Barracks, Curragh Camp, Co. Kildare, and a large portrait bust (1963) by Domhnall Ó Murchadha for the series of Anglo-Irish War heroes in Leinster House (Turpin 77).

6 The third chapter of William Henry's biography *Supreme Sacrifice* is devoted to Ceannt's contribution to the Gaelic Revival (Henry 12-18).

7 *On Behalf of the Provisional Government* (documentary film, RTÉ, 1966).

8 This consisted of an accordion and banjo duet by Eddie Herborn and James Wheeler.

9 In Ireland, even after the establishment of the Free State, there was no independent Irish recording industry.

imprint which, as this essay will seek to demonstrate, is a significant influence on the current geographical pattern of Irish traditional music monumentalisation.

Concretising what had previously been a sonic and print legacy, the stones, statues, and monuments dedicated to Irish traditional musicians begin to appear in civic spaces from the 1970s onwards, representing a new cultural trajectory of commemoration in Ireland. Undertaking research on the Willie Clancy Summer School led me somewhat unintentionally to the discovery that the monument raised to Clare piper Willie Clancy in 1974 was in fact the first public monument to a named Irish traditional musician.¹⁰ This monument, a bronze relief portrait plaque of Clancy playing the pipes created by sculptors John Behan and James McKenna, is situated at Ballard Cemetery in Miltown Malbay, County Clare. Placed adjacent to the grave of Willie Clancy it was unveiled in 1974, eighteen months after his death and during the second year of the Willie Clancy Summer School.¹¹ Whilst the school itself is widely acknowledged as the first summer school of Irish traditional music and the blueprint on which all others have subsequently been modelled, it is not widely credited with pre-figuring the first monument to an Irish traditional musician. In fact the process of monumentalising Irish traditional musicians and a discourse on that process is still in its infancy. The incorporation of this monument into an annual commemorative ritual, along with the actual summer school itself, creates what Emily Fitzgerald describes as a “social praxis of iterative remembering that sustains its on-going significance” (Fitzgerald 86). In doing so, it has shaped a devotion to Willie Clancy, arguably introducing what Nigel Hamilton calls “the commemorative instinct” in stone into the field of Irish traditional music (Hamilton 9).

Daithí Kearney draws attention to monuments and statuary specific to the commemoration of Irish traditional musicians, opening up a geography-centred perspective on the tradition (Kearney). Expanding on this research by chronologically logging the geographical spread of monuments dedicated to Irish musicians, this essay reveals the emergence of an interesting and specific pattern of temporalised and territorialised commemoration. The general project of monumentalisation in Ireland demonstrates that it was politically driven, moving from a symbolic royal domain to a primarily nationalist one (Johnson, “Sculpting”; Hill). According to David Fitzpatrick, “the commemoration of dead heroes or saints, and the events by which they left their mark, is an essential element of Irish political, religious and social organisation” (Fitzpatrick 184). It recurs consistently as different groups and political factions attempt to legitimate their own activities by celebrating particular interpretations of the past. Ac-

10 This research situates the harper Turlough Carolan (1670-1738) outside of the Irish traditional music canon. The first of numerous monuments to Carolan consists of a bas-relief in St. Patrick’s Cathedral, Dublin, 1824.

11 Despite its location in a cemetery, the Willie Clancy monument does not constitute a headstone (which are discounted for the purposes of this research) but forms a discrete memorial. This makes it distinct from the memorial headstone raised to uilleann piper Jack Wade in 1968, discussed further in Commins.

ording to Paula Murphy, monuments provide a “concentrated visual manifestation of Irish cultural identity” (Murphy 29), and likewise Judith Hill states that they “inculcate a sense of Irish identity” (Hill 147). Earlier cultural monuments that date from the nineteenth century were raised as a means for the Anglo-Irish to create a connection to the native tradition, echoing their attention to antiquarian research into traditional aspects of Gaelic culture (Davis). The first sculpture of an Irish musician, Thomas Moore (erected on College Green in 1857), was followed by Oliver Goldsmith and Edmund Burke, who as “Protestant men of letters were comparatively uncontroversial and could comfortably coexist with the more imperial statues gracing the city” (Johnson, “Cast in Stone” 59). Monuments and statues provide a backdrop for both the representation and framing of national and local identities in public spaces. However, for the most part, as Joep Leerssen explains, “the native tradition in Ireland had no control over the dedication and monumentalisation of public space” (Leerssen 210). The traditional decoration of major urban centres, and of Dublin in particular, with statues of firstly royal and then political leaders was an attempt (mirrored across Europe and North America) to construct and galvanize a sense of national identity. Ireland’s cultural heritage, therefore, does not figure highly in the commemorative realm until later in the twentieth century due to the hegemony of monumental nationalism.¹² However, this position changes from the 1960s onwards following rapid social and political change in Ireland. Joe Cleary makes the point that “the most [...] consistently innovative figures of the contemporary Irish cultural scene [are] its singers and musicians,” demonstrating what Dowling refers to as “an important cultural shift [...] in the study of Irish identities [...] where identity [can no longer be] quickly reduced to national identity” (Cleary 32; Dowling, “Rambling” 112). Until recent times Irish traditional music, and indeed other aspects of Ireland’s cultural heritage, have clearly played second fiddle to that of its political heritage in terms of commemorative fervour. This chimes with wider debates about Irish identity, not least the discourse and practices surrounding music revival. Tensions were inevitable between the cultural tastes of predominantly middle-class revivalists and the values of the folk culture of the “old” Irish nation. Martin Dowling’s exposition of the differing opinions and intentions held by members of the Feis Ceoil committee, the Gaelic League and other commentators during the revival period of the early twentieth century, illuminates the status of “the music of the ‘peasant’ class [before it] would eventually move to the centre of the discourse of the nation’s music” (Dowling, *Traditional Music* 205).

The monument to Willie Clancy, identified by this research as the first monument to a traditional musician, was quickly followed by the raising of a cenotaph to fiddle player Michael Coleman in Gurteen, County Sligo. This was unveiled in September 1974 just a few months after the monument to Willie Clancy but thirty years after the death of Coleman, in the United States, in 1945.¹³ A country-wide survey catalogues the

12 A notable exception is the statue to Pádraic Ó Conaire erected in Eyre Square, Galway in 1935 (since relocated to the Galway Museum).

13 Planning for the Coleman cenotaph began, however, in 1963.

placement of a total of 79 monuments to named Irish traditional musicians since 1974.¹⁴ These are clustered in just 17 counties (therefore a further 15 counties are monumentless). A closer analysis of their topographical arrangement places County Sligo at the top of the musical leader board with 14 monuments, followed closely by the other western seaboard counties of Clare (12), Galway (11), Kerry (8), and Cork (7). The appearance of such monuments represents the development of new spatial coordinates of the identity of Irish traditional music, as more wide-scale and affective commemoration emerges towards the end of the twentieth century.

Clearly the performance practices of Irish traditional music are replete with intrinsic modes of commemoration prior to Irish traditional music's debut on the plinths and bases of Ireland's cultural landscape. Nomenclature is one such commemorative tool; individual musicians are remembered through the naming of tunes, versions of tunes, and more recently the naming of festivals, lecture series, and branches of *Comhaltas Ceoltóirí Éireann*. Furthermore, the enactment of playing a tune or singing a song resounds fundamentally with commemorative content. Yet invariably, such commemorative acts sit within the confines of a particular community of interest. Even where these take place within the public sphere, they are largely contained within the community of practice of Irish traditional musicians. Appositely, the raising of a monument brings Irish traditional music into a wider public sphere. Engraved stones and plaques solidify the intangibility of performed utterances, placing them as permanent, visible, and therefore less ephemeral records.

The trajectory of the monumentalisation of Irish traditional music, emerging in the mid-1970s, demonstrates that urban landscapes are no longer the sole "depository of symbolic space" (Yvonne Whelan, "The Construction" 509). Indeed the majority of the 79 inventoried monuments occur in small towns and villages, townlands and crossroads. This locally driven placement of monuments and statues, particularly in non-urban environments, stretches the canvas of Irish identity back into rural Irish spaces. Furthermore, it speaks clearly to the re-territorialisation of Irish music in local and rural places, corresponding to a de-nationalisation of Irish traditional music narratives (Commins). The appearance of small-scale monuments, such as those to Willie Clancy and Michael Coleman, continue sporadically in the years that follow 1974.¹⁵ However, the project of monumentalising Irish traditional musicians gathers momentum with the approaching millennium, coinciding with the Celtic Tiger years and the finances that it made available for the costly process of monumentalisation.¹⁶ The

14 This does not include monuments to institutions of Irish music, abstract representations of music, and/or unnamed musicians or monuments inside buildings.

15 For example, a bronze plaque to Joe Cooley, Peterswell, County Galway, 1975; a stone monument to John 'Piper Reilly', Dunmore, County Galway, 1977; a monument to John McKenna, Tarmon, County Leitrim, 1980.

16 Emilie Pine suggests that the plethora of monuments raised during the Celtic Tiger years have themselves "become a memorial to a time of visible wealth, security and prosperity, now lost" (Pine 11).

moving statues of the mid-1980s are replaced both physically and metaphorically with stationary musical ones demonstrated by the fact that more than half of these 79 monuments have been raised since the millennium.

The myth of the West as a traditionalising musical narrative becomes further solidified in stone as 63 of the 79 monuments to Irish traditional musicians occur in western seaboard counties. This has particular importance for Sligo and Clare, counties that might both legitimately claim the label “home of Irish traditional music.” Sligo’s claim is fuelled by the prodigious American success of the ‘Sligo Three’: champion fiddle players Michael Coleman (1891-1945), James Morrison (1893-1947), and Paddy Killoran (1904-1965), who left Sligo as young adults in the early 1900s and spent the rest of their lives in the United States. Their music, popularised by the nascent (post-1916) recording industry in the States, returned to Ireland and to the homesteads of countless traditional musicians via 78 rpms. Collectively the performance rubric ‘Sligo style’ is assigned to their music with the result that these recordings achieved national significance. Sligo style sonically instated itself throughout the country due to the geographic accessibility offered by recorded sound. This accessibility resulted in imitation, and the subsequent success of Sligo style as a winning style at Fleadhanna Cheoil co-opted and reinforced its position as the national standard. The death and burial of Michael Coleman in 1945 in the United States deprived County Sligo of a graveside at which to pay tribute. The 1974 Coleman cenotaph located just outside Gurteen, County Sligo, remedies this absence to some extent, but more significantly represents a repatriation of not just Coleman himself, but the label ‘Sligo style’ back to County Sligo. Indeed County Sligo’s claim on Irish traditional music as a central part of its Sligo identity draws its legitimacy from the American success of the ‘Sligo Three.’

In November 2011 a monument stone was unveiled near Ballintogher, southeast County Sligo, listing the engraved names of 48 deceased musicians drawn from the local Lavally townland. Four other stones just like this one have been raised in County Sligo in the previous ten years, celebrating the names of musicians in Moylough, Castlebaldwin, Doocastle, and Tubercurry. This monumental naming of musicians is unique in its magnitude to County Sligo, projecting the image of a county saturated with music-making. It is also reminiscent of political monuments that list the names of volunteers who gave their lives in the fight for Irish freedom. This in turn reiterates an older bardic tradition of recalling people’s names and thereby recognising their worth, a system of tracing, which prevents names from being forgotten. Reflecting a process Guy Beiner labels “social remembrance” (Beiner 28), local communities negotiate a particular identity of abundant musicality. This is achieved through a listing process, affiliating particular localities to a deep seam of music-making, which in turn reinforces and legitimises Sligo’s claim to being a music-rich county.

Sligo's first monument, the Michael Coleman cenotaph, celebrates one of Sligo's most popular traditional music exponents and a widely acclaimed musician. More recent monuments, however, open up new spaces in which to retrieve both musicians and styles from beneath Coleman's musical shadow. The commemoration of individuals services a diverse range of micro-narratives, which, as Kevin Whelan suggests, act as a defence mechanism against the totalising claims of historical meta-narratives, producing a sense of place and "shared historical experiences, [which] is a necessary component of a sense of community" (Kevin Whelan 46). As such, these monuments counter the sonic national hijacking of Sligo style, by geographically reinstating the music, albeit in stone, into its original location. These grass-roots movements, led by local branches of Comhaltas Ceoltóirí Éireann and local amateurs, create social memory in local contexts and demonstrate local efforts in the creation of a cultural economy. According to Rowlands and Tilley, "monuments are powerful because they appear to be permanent markers of memory and history and because they do so both iconically and indexically, that is, they can evoke feeling through their materiality and form as well as symbolize social narratives of events and sacrifices retold in public rituals" (Rowlands & Tilley 500). They reflect, therefore, not just the commercial success of emigrant musicians like Coleman, a success that would have been unachievable had they remained in Ireland, but also the desire, still extant, to 'make it' in America for contemporary traditional and indeed popular music bands. The raising of a monument speaks as much, if not more, to the present moment as it enacts a celebration of the past, and statues have the potential to elevate the status of their geographical proximity as much as the status of the actual people named on them.

The next county with considerable monumental wealth (in Irish music terms) is County Clare. Readily endorsed as 'the home of traditional music' much of this narrative stems from the extensive collecting activity that developed, in particular, from the 1940s onwards when music collectors like Séamus Ennis, Ciarán Mac Mathúna, and, later, Tom Munnely began to collect, record and broadcast musicians from County Clare.¹⁷ The evidence assembled by these collectors was subsequently broadcast, bringing musicians from County Clare to prominence and national attention. Paradoxically, these broadcasts re-inscribed the ideal of the musical west into the national consciousness, often at the expense of other regional performance styles. According to Connell and Gibson, "regions of dynamism and creativity, places perceived to be the origins of novel sounds, become credible as sites of innovation, and subsequently become authentic, as they are increasingly depicted in media and imaginations in relation to music" (Connell & Gibson 44). The popular success and renowned rivalry be-

17 Séamus Ennis collected in County Clare in 1945 for the Irish Folklore Commission and in 1949 for RTÉ. Ciarán Mac Mathúna began his collecting in Clare in 1955 for RTÉ radio and television. Tom Munnely began collecting in County Clare from 1971 and relocated there in 1978. The attendant broadcasting of collected materials contributed to the legacy of County Clare as a site for Irish traditional music.

tween the two Clare Bands, the Tulla and the Kilfenora, further augmented the status of County Clare as a bastion for Irish traditional music-making (Ní Fhuartháin, “Comhaltas”). Méabh Ní Fhuartháin also considers the high rate of participation and exceptional success of Clare musicians at Fleadh Cheoil competitions from 1953 onwards to be a contributing factor to County Clare obtaining the musical metonym ‘home of Irish traditional music’ (Ní Fhuartháin, “Comhaltas”) 293). This represents an entirely different route to that travelled by their Sligo cousins. Clare musicians were not captured in the recording boom of the ‘20s and ‘30s in the United States.¹⁸ Indeed it was 1961 before the first solo commercial recording of a Clare-born musician took place.¹⁹

In County Clare on a wet Sunday afternoon in November 2013, Liam Óg O’Flynn unveiled another representation of Willie Clancy, this time a statue sculpted by Shane Gilmore, on the main street in the centre of Miltown Malbay. This statue now brings to five the number of life-size uilleann piper statues unveiled in Ireland,²⁰ consolidating the recuperation of the uilleann pipes within the Irish music tradition since the late nineteenth century. The legacy of Willie Clancy, augmented by the summer school instituted in his name, lies rooted in his own revivalist tendencies and dedicated recourse to the past, in which he attempted to recover and resound the notes and techniques of pipers from previous centuries. It mirrors the actions of Éamonn Ceannt, who brought pre-famine pipers such as Tarlach Mac Suibhne to the attention of revivalists through his involvement with the Dublin Pipers’ Club and the Feis Ceoil. Ceannt also foresaw the importance of recording these musicians and bears some responsibility for the existence of cylinder recordings of older pipers such as Micí Cumbá Ó Suilleabháin, who inspired, influenced, and profoundly affected future musicians, notably Willie Clancy.²¹ Almost half of the eleven monuments in County Clare are to uilleann pipers, and the monumentalisation of pipers, not least the monument to the nineteenth-century piper Garret Barry in Inagh, represents a continuity and re-

18 In the 1930s, tracks by “Pat Roche’s Harp and Shamrock Orchestra” were released by Decca. However, while Roche himself was (a dance teacher) from County Clare, none of the other band members were of Clare origin (Taylor).

19 In 1961, *Memories of Clare: Irish Accordion Magic* by button accordion player Bobby Gardiner and *Irish Dance Music* by concertina player Chris Dronney were both recorded (on Gael) in the United States (Ní Fhuartháin, “Copley Records”). A significant group recording of County Clare musicians predates this: *All Ireland Champions – Violin*, featuring Paddy Canny, P.J. Hayes, Peadar O’Loughlin, and Bridie Lafferty (Dublin Records), was made in 1959.

20 The other four are: Edward Keating Hyland, 1999, Cahir, County Tipperary; Séamus Ennis, 2001, the Naul, Dublin; Loughrea Uilleann Piper, c. 2001, Loughrea, County Galway; and Canon James Goodman, 2006, Skibereen, County Cork.

21 Minutes of the Dublin Pipers’ Club (2 May 1902) demonstrate that Ceannt proposed the purchasing of a phonograph at several Dublin Pipers’ club meetings (though there is no certainty that it was bought) (Breandán Breathnach, “The First Pipers Club”). Clearly an early adopter, Ceannt was also responsible for the acquisition of a printing press on which to print the journal *An Piobaire* (Henry).

course to a distant past reflected in Clare's commemorative trajectory. The raising of statues and monuments to Irish traditional musicians offers a new space in which to orient and ground Irish traditional music. It consolidates a sonic, traditional legacy into something more tangible and marks a new territorial imperative in claiming the places and spaces that are sonically referenced. This is a new departure in the acquisition of status at county level for Irish traditional music.

Monuments to heroes and heroic acts dominate the town squares and greens of Ireland. Irish traditional musicians, however, do not constitute heroes in the traditional, fighting for your country, sense of the word. The developing role of Irish traditional music as an integral part of an Irish identity enables an increasingly institutionalised and organised Irish traditional music constituency to proclaim and label its own giants and heroes.²² Monuments empower locally-centred interpretations of the past, and this more recent impulse to commemorate traditional musicians reflects a "cultural maturing of the State," illustrating a groundswell of confidence in the Irish music community to proclaim the importance of musical heroes beyond their own constituency (Yvonne Whelan, "Symbolising" 155). The growth of monuments dedicated to Irish musicians since 1974 is ideologically commensurate with the growth in the heritage industry and shares a similar chronological expansion. The rural, indigenous, and old-fashioned qualities associated with Irish music, which led to its marginalisation in the first place, now inscribe an authenticity which forms an integral basis for its international attention and acceptability. As this attention garners confidence and pride, it is mirrored through the appropriation of public spaces with monuments to Irish traditional music. John Morrissey suggests that "the iconography of public space represents what any given society exalts as its heritage" (Morrissey 109), and this growth in monuments dedicated to Irish traditional musicians since 1974 reflects the increasingly significant role now being played by Irish traditional music within contemporary perceptions of Irish heritage and identity.

The first two monuments, those raised to Clancy and Coleman, mark a turning away from earlier monuments to cultural figures by representing an indigenous Irish national identity as opposed to an Anglo-Irish one. Building on the commemorative impetus inherent in the successful American post-1916 recording output, commemoration through monumentalisation presents a tangible way in which local communities can proclaim and reclaim local Irish traditional music narratives. Weaving these into county histories contributes to the re-territorialisation of the local from nationalising narratives of Irish traditional music. While Ceannt's own piping legacy is as mute as the five statues dedicated to uilleann pipers, these considerable works of art are in themselves monuments to Ceannt's efforts. Changes in the Irish monumental landscape since 1974 present a new basis on which interpretations of Irish culture and

22 This resonates with the semantic development of the Irish term *gaisce* (hero) which gradually changes in meaning from "combat" to "a value highly prized in [...] communities" (Williams & Ó Laoire 158).

heritage can be both proclaimed and understood. In the discourse of remembering and commemoration prompted by the forthcoming 2016 centenary, monuments to Irish traditional musicians offer a different tangible manifestation of the cultural aspirations of the movement that culminated in the Rising.

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