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Monuments represent important anchoring devices, tying "collective remembering" to physical places and mobilizing a sense of shared memory and identity consolidation (Rowlands and Tilley 500).[1] In the specifically Irish context of the last half-century, the types of events and people remembered by this process of monumentalization has changed significantly. Yet as the current decade of centenaries (2012–22) demonstrates, the erection of monuments persists in constituting a significant backdrop for both the representation and framing of national and local identities in public spaces (Commins, "Musical Statues"). Demonstrating their agency as devices to (re) create emotional bonds with particular histories and geographies, monuments focus attention on specific places and events, offering spatial and temporal landmarks loaded with memory. Situating itself within a body of work examining the growth of this monumental culture within Ireland (Breathnach-Lynch; Hill; Johnson; P. Murphy, "Introduction"; Whelan), this article examines Irish traditional music as a cultural channel that has more recently come to embrace monumentphilia. It considers the particular intersections of collective memory with local and national identity (and identities) as represented by monuments specifically raised to commemorate and celebrate Irish traditional musicians. In a rapidly changing world in which identities are increasingly fluid, the subsequent perception that cultures are becoming homogenized or indistinguishable from one another is widely shared (Tovey et al.), raising the attractiveness of the concept of tradition. This research addresses how the "in-placeness" of monuments—their materiality and physical presence—brings

1. The term monument is used throughout this essay to refer to any consciously raised marker (monument, plaque, statue) that performs a commemorative role.

these "traditions" to a much wider public, and in this particular case, beyond the listening and performing community of practice of Irish traditional musicians. In order to do so, it bookends its investigation with two monuments, indeed two moments, that commemorate uilleann piper Willie Clancy (1918–73): both located in Miltown Malbay, Co. Clare, and raised in 1974 and 2013 respectively (figure 1).

With an initial focus on County Clare this essay considers the emergent relationship between music and place and the augmentation of this dynamic by the insertion of commemorative material-culture into place. Stepping outside of County Clare and Irish music practices per se, this article goes on to examine the wider vista of monumentalizing commemoration in Ireland. General trends in commemorative culture are charted in order to contextualize the space that preceded the arrival of the first monument to Irish traditional music, the Clancy relief in Miltown Malbay, revealing a shift from the celebration of institutional to vernacular memory. By examining details such as commission, design, reception, and legacy, it employs the statue of Clancy and its portrait-relief predecessor as framing devices. It reflects, firstly, on the creative sector and cultural capital developments in the region that provide context for the creation of the monuments. Secondly, through an examination of the visual semiosis performed by these two displays of material culture across a forty-year span, it reveals how the meanings attached to the musician Willie Clancy changed, both literally and symbolically, in tandem with the shifting status of Irish traditional music during the bookended time frame.

The First Monument

The uilleann piper Willie Clancy died suddenly and tragically in January 1973. The affective power of Clancy and his music was appositely demonstrated by an immediate compulsion to commemorate. Hence the initiation in February 1973 of the Willie Clancy Memorial Fund and the subsequent launch in the same year of the Willie Clancy Summer School (WCSS). A weeklong celebration of Irish traditional music, its practices of transmission, performance, and commemoration are in keeping with Clancy's own philosophy with regard to music (Commins, "Locating"). As the first weeklong sum-

FIGURE 1. Willie Clancy bronze relief at Ballard Cemetery (1974), top, and statue on Main Street (2013), bottom. Miltown Malbay, Co. Clare. Photographs by courtesy of author.

mer school of Irish traditional music, this was virgin territory for the founding committee (Commins, "Scoil"). The relationship between Clancy and his hometown Miltown Malbay, Co. Clare, is synergized through the annual repetition of the WCSS, as indeed are subsequent local, national, and international developments in Irish traditional-music practice.

In February 1973 the memorial-fund committee also mooted the idea of commemorating Clancy with a physical monument ("Willie Clancy"). As Jack Santino observes, physical memorials provide a visceral and material response, particularly in relation to sudden or tragic death, "to the disturbance of equilibrium and natural order" (10). Given the significant costs and the type of agency necessary to erect a major piece of sculpture, the final outcome of these discussions was a much smaller gesture: a bronze-relief plaque, designed by James McKenna (1933–2000) and cast at the Dublin Art Foundry, unveiled at the second WCSS in 1974. The Dublin Art Foundry, established just a few years earlier by John Behan (1938–), was one of the first art foundries in Ireland. Prior to this, all Irish bronze casting work was sent to England or Milan (Frazier 56–57). The development of the Dublin Art Foundry was significant because it opened up the possibility of more affordable, large-scale bronze casting for Irish artists. The design of the Clancy relief plaque, while intricate and representative, was somewhat problematic in terms of the proportions of both Clancy and the uilleann pipes, which speaks to the urgency and rapidity with which it was assembled and the attendant budget. John Kelly (senior), musician and close friend of Clancy, collected the monument from the foundry, and John Behan recalled Kelly's muted response with regard to its likeness. The plaque's location is also significant: set into the back wall of Ballard cemetery, located at the edge of the town of Miltown Malbay, on the periphery.

The impulse, aesthetics, and location of this first monument provide a useful overview of the estimation with which Clancy and the wider Irish music tradition were held at both local and national levels in the early 1970s. Fulfilling Alan Merriam's description of the high prestige and low status ascribed to musicians (123–44), the international, hagiographic role of cherished tradition-bearer that Clancy acquired after death is not commensurate with his local status at the time of his death. Anecdotal evidence suggests that while his skills as

a tradesman were respected locally (he was a joiner and builder), his preference for whiling away time in the idle pursuit of Irish music practices rather than using his work skills profitably were both misunderstood and deprecated in some quarters. While undoubtedly Clancy's music and personality enjoyed significant lifetime repute, this was within a community of practice that during the 1950s and 1960s was relatively small and geographically dispersed. In contrast the far-sighted Donal Foley, news editor of the *Irish Times*, cognizant already of the national importance of the loss of this "píobaire agus saoi" (piper and expert), berated the scarcity of public representatives in attendance at Clancy's funeral, excoriating a pattern of ongoing official disrespect for indigenous culture (Foley). Despite, therefore, an impulse by some to erect a monument to his memory, a central or prominent location in the town of Miltown Malbay was not an option. Rather, the solution was its placement in Ballard cemetery, adjacent to the Clancy family plot (Hughes, Interview). This was certainly a public space, but not one with the attendant need for official planning permission or additional efforts on the part of the local County Council. Instead, and mirroring the status of Irish traditional music in the 1970s, it was placed on the town's periphery. As there was no precedent in 1974 for commemorating or remembering a traditional musician with a monument, there is additional significance attached to this plaque as it is the first monument raised in tribute to a named Irish traditional musician (Commins, "Musical Statues").[2]

Commemorative Statues in Ireland Pre-1974

What monumental elements were present in the commemorative landscape of Ireland prior to 1974? And who were the people and what were the events considered worthy enough to constitute the subject matter of public commemoration? While space here does not permit a detailed examination of three hundred years of commemoration in Ireland, it is useful to sketch broad trends, drawing in particular on the work of Judith Hill, Paula Murphy, and Yvonne

2. The concept of the Michael Coleman cenotaph in Gurteen, Co Sligo, was mooted and fundraised for in the years prior to the Clancy monument, but it was not unveiled until several months later, in September 1974.

Whelan. During the early eighteenth century a very small number of Irish public monuments were raised, primarily in Dublin. These were entirely in the royal domain: an encounter with the colonial. King William III atop a horse, towering high on a pedestal, arrived in College Green in 1701, followed by an equally equestrian King George II at St. Stephen's Green in 1758. (Both were subsequently bombed, destroyed, and eventually removed.) These prestigious, grand-scale monuments of the established dynastic realm represented an attempt (mirrored across Europe and North America at the time) to construct and galvanize imperial identity.

In the nineteenth century Irish public sculpture embraced the opportunity to distinguish itself from, and indeed compete with, the sculpture of the Anglo-Irish. It incorporated a shift to the political with the celebration of nationalist subjects. The O'Connell monuments in Limerick (John Hogan, 1857) and Dublin (John Henry Foley, 1880), and the Parnell monument in Dublin (Augustus Saint-Gaudens, 1899), are pedestal-mounted, demonstrating equivalence with the royals, with high positions demanding emulation. Despite this shift in subject matter, few of the commissioned sculptors were Irish, nor, as was the case with Hogan and Foley, did they reside or work in Ireland. This is unsurprising given the dearth of indigenous facilities for casting artworks of this size in Ireland at the time (P. Murphy, "Introduction" 7). At the approach to the turn of the twentieth century, and in keeping with Gaelic Revival sensibilities, sculpture became more distinctly Irish and local (Hill). The centenary anniversary of 1798, the legacy of the Manchester Martyrs, and the spirit of cultural nationalism coincided with an increased use of symbolism in statuary. Maid of Erin, Liberty, and Pikemen statues dating from this era were increasingly adorned with harps, flags, chains of bondage, wolfhounds, shamrocks, and Celtic crosses. Maid of Erin statues, for example, were erected in Birr, Co. Offaly (1894), Skibbereen, Co. Cork (1904), and Tipperary town (1907), all symbolically grasping harps rather than actually playing them. This tendency was tied to a wider desire to establish a distinctive Irish-Ireland identity drawing on "an ancient preconquest past with its single Gaelic tradition, culture, and language" (Breathnach-Lynch 45). The twentieth century was dominated by monuments to political leaders, with no shortage of commemorative subject matter following the Easter Ris-

ing, the War of Independence, and their subsequent anniversaries. Religious statues also moved beyond church interiors. Statues of Christ the King gained in popularity after the Eucharistic Congress of 1932 (such as the one in the Glen of Aherlow, Co. Tipperary), and religious statues formed a significant part of the output of Irish sculptor Séamus Murphy (1907–75) (P. Murphy, "Introduction"). Nonetheless, sculpture still remained a generally neglected art form in Ireland, lagging behind its development in other European countries with regard to both subject matter and style. Eamon Delaney, son of sculptor Eddie Delaney, suggests that this was a legacy issue; the historical absence of affluence to create objects of aesthetic pleasure, as was available in other European countries, gave rise instead to an oral tradition in which playing music, telling stories, and singing songs as a means of expression were privileged (152). Paula Murphy points out the "protracted introduction of Modernism into Ireland" in the first half of the twentieth century, and the reluctance of sculpture to engage with new trends ("Introduction" 2). This conservatism, embedded in the postcolonial condition, echoes Cronin's observation that "the past offered, until the mid-1960s, a safe haven for Irish politicians and their people. It was often more reassuring to cast their minds back to landmark events and personalities rather than face the reality of the complex problems that dogged Irish society in the decades following independence" (396).

An emerging mid-nineteenth-century cultural (monumental) metanarrative disrupted the chronology of this royal and later nationalizing and politico-religious narrative. The statue of Thomas Moore, the first sculpture of an Irish musician (albeit not a traditional one), was erected in 1857 on College Green, where he was subsequently joined by two further bronzes: Oliver Goldsmith and Edmund Burke (1864 and 1868 respectively). The agency of this cultural metanarrative is questionable. As Joep Leerssen discerns, "the native tradition in Ireland had no control over the dedication and monumentalization of public space." Paula Murphy furthermore suggests that there is nothing distinctly Irish about the sculpted statues other than the birthplace of the sculptors and their subject matter (Leerssen 210; P. Murphy, "Introduction"). Yet the statue of Thomas Moore was one of the first raised in response to "public demand that Irish people and their achievements be acknowledged in . . . public monuments"

(P. Murphy, *Nineteenth*). Nearly a full century passed, however, before the first monumental celebration of a "national character" (Hill 191) in the form of the statue of Pádraic Ó Conaire (1882–1928) in Eyre Square, Galway city (1935), commissioned by Galway-branch members of the Gaelic League (figure 2).

In depicting Ó Conaire, a modern literary figure who wrote exclusively in the Irish language, the Irish sculptor Albert Power dispensed with the didactic function of heroic sculpture and its conventional formula of elevated representation on a plinth. Instead, the figure of Ó Conaire, conveyed in a realistic style, informally, and somewhat shabbily dressed, was depicted seated on a dry stone wall, at eye level with the spectator, thereby "capturing the quiet informal character of the man" (Breathnach-Lynch 47). Furthermore, Power, who held clear, publicly articulated views on the need to produce a distinctive Irish art, insisted on using native Irish limestone, circumventing the extranational processes required of bronze-casting and stylizing the Gaelic poet instead as an "Irish icon." In both style and material form the Ó Conaire statue subverts conventional artistic practice employed in the commemoration of men of worth in bronze (Hill 191). Instead, Power created something new and declaratively Irish, the first foray into the privileging of popular/vernacular memory over the pedestaled elite (Gillis 3–6).[3] Power found the heroic in the native, acknowledging the power residing in Ó Conaire's pen and aligning popular and vernacular memory with elite and nationalizing memory. This in turn paved the way for the future monumentalization of indigenous talent.

The statue of Ó Conaire remained something of an anomaly until later in the second half of the twentieth century, when a significant shift took place in the commemorative subject matter of public sculpture. Artists began to dismantle the link between commemorative practice and raising public monuments as tools of nation building (Hill). The civic spaces in the center of countless Irish small towns and villages were increasingly employed to embrace local heroes and citizens: men who might not qualify as advocates of political national identity, but whose actions herald a new type of pride in (indepen-

3. Ó Conaire suffered decapitation in 1999, a controversial move to the Galway Museum in 2006, before finally returning to Eyre Square, in bronze replica in November 2017 (figure 2).

FIGURE 2. Pádraic Ó Conaire, Eyre Square, Galway, bronze replica (2017). Photograph by courtesy of author.

dent) Irish identity. (In twentieth-century Ireland those commemorated were unfortunately primarily men.) Early examples include the monument to Olympic athlete Martin Sheridan in Bohola, Co. Mayo (1966), the W. B. Yeats bronze in St. Stephen's Green, Dublin (1967), and the monument to writer Brian Merriman in Feakle, Co. Clare (1968). Each provide a welcome "antidote to the heroic nature of much of Ireland's traditional public sculpture" (Campbell 306).

Musical Change: Laying the Foundations

In 1973, the year of Clancy's death, Irish traditional music had yet to achieve the wide association that it currently enjoys as a significant and central element of contemporary Irish identity. Raising a monument, however minor or peripheral, to an Irish traditional musician was not part of social praxis and was without precedent. While Irish traditional music was mobilized during the Gaelic Revival as a sonic

marker of a separate identity, it was not commemorated as part of the endeavor for independence, nor was it celebrated on a pedestal for its artistry. Significant cultural and musical changes materialized as the twentieth century progressed, reflecting wider global processes that in turn facilitate the attribution of new meanings to Irish traditional-music practices. This "new openness to the inheritance of the past" (Brown 310) shifted the balance toward music as a key signifier of Irish cultural affairs and identity and away from its commonly perceived inferior status. Global musical flows emerged that resonated within Irish traditional-music practices in both Ireland and its worldwide diaspora. These changes became manifest in the reorientation of local and national power relations embedded in the material commemoration of the past and a newfound ability for the Irish to conceptualize and create new narratives and images of and about themselves.

Coinciding with the folk revival of the 1960s, a major development within Irish traditional-music culture was the self-reflective development of a language to describe music-making practices in tandem with their performance. Crucially, what transpired was the conceptualization and articulation of a narrative of regional style. This territorializing discourse incorporated a postmodern awareness that music and place—and the central meanings generated by the performance of Irish traditional music in place—have become separated and dislocated. Clancy in his lifetime was an embodiment of this postmodern anxiety, conscious of the gravity attached to his role as an uilleann piper (something of an endangered species during most of his life) and as a tradition-bearer. Clancy was caught quite literally between the jigs and the reels. He devoted enormous energy attempting to recover the music of his locality and the art of uilleann piping, much of which centered on the playing style of the great west Clare piper Garret Barry, who died twenty years prior to Clancy's birth. Very little is known about Barry and there are no extant recordings of his music, which further complicated Clancy's attempts to foster a line of musical continuity. Yet Clancy embraced in their entirety the music-making and music-learning opportunities made available to him by the processes of modernity as they unfolded in the first half of the twentieth century. In essence these processes were part of the root cause of the dislocation of music-making from place, and while

they were not peculiar to Ireland, their impact on Irish traditional-music practices was substantial. Intense developments occurred in media and communications: the first commercial recordings of Irish traditional music were made by diasporic musicians in the United States from 1916 onward; the onset of national radio (2RN, 1926, and later, Radio Éireann) included Irish traditional-music broadcasts in its content; the arrival of the motorized car increased accessibility; Comhaltas Ceoltóirí Éireann was founded in 1951, an institutionalizing force in the revival of Irish traditional music; and the influence of the international folk revival reverberated nationwide. All of these developments facilitated the circulation of music between different parts of Ireland that had previously been relatively contained, giving rise to the concept now referred to as regional style. Clancy engaged with all these modern modalities by listening to recordings, traveling extensively to meet and learn from other musicians, and eventually performing, recording, and broadcasting himself. Thereby the deterritorialization of once place-centered music practices was realized through the agency of musicians like Clancy and through their embodied actions and the musical exchanges that they experienced.

Context for Commemoration: WCSS

Willie Clancy's efforts to recover the musical legacy of west Clare and the performance style of Garrett Barry were fundamental to the conceptual articulation of a west Clare pedigree and key to the founding of the WCSS. That effort was initially situated in—and re-sounded by—the west Clare gatekeepers who first taught at the WCSS: Bobby Casey, John Kelly, Junior Crehan, and Joe Ryan. As this cohort aged and as the WCSS continued to grow and expand, new gatekeepers arose. Crucially, the WCSS, rather than relocating to an accessible (and more convenient perhaps) urban space, such as the towns favored by Comhaltas Fleadhanna, instead retraditionalized music-making to the small rural town of Miltown Malbay: an idealized rural location from which Irish traditional music was imagined to emerge. The unveiling of the first monument to an Irish traditional musician, the portrait relief of Clancy, was incorporated into the annual graveside tribute to Clancy that takes place on the first Sunday of the summer school week. Heralding the start of the WCSS, this annual

commemorative ritual reiterates Clancy's musico-cultural influence, enacting a mimesis of the key components of his life: the performance of a solo uilleann piper, the tunes of local west Clare musicians, and the foregrounding of the Irish language—elements carefully choreographed in the crafting of a symbolic site as the annual "iterative remembering . . . sustains its ongoing significance" (Fitzgerald 86). From this starting point the WCSS builds a culture of commemoration rooted in the celebration of the local, where place and the people located in those places are privileged. The graveside becomes the omphalos of Miltown Malbay, and this ritual encompassing the monument and the graveside visit at the start of each WCSS is integral to the development of a culture of devotion to Clancy.

Taking 1973, the first year of the summer school, as a starting point, there is a tenable parallel between the timelines of increasing attendance at the WCSS and decreasing attendance in Ireland at Sunday Mass. In 1973, 91 percent of the Catholic population attended Sunday Mass (Inglis, "Secularization"). By the late 1990s this figure had declined to just over 60 percent (Inglis, "Religion"). During a similar time period attendance at the WCSS increased exponentially from just eighty people at the first WCSS to an attendance of over 1,000 in 1995 (Ó Rócháin, "Willie") a figure which has stabilized since then (Hughes, "Obituary"). David Cregan observes that declines in Mass attendance in Ireland are accompanied by an increase in pilgrimage to sites such as Lough Derg and Croagh Patrick (Cregan). Indeed, Helen O'Shea conceptualizes summer-school attendees as pilgrims, and while evidencing a direct correlation might prove difficult, when factored into the wider postmodern condition that finds people searching for meaning, authenticity, and a sense of belonging, extrapolating Miltown Malbay, the site of the WCSS, as a secular pilgrimage site is not unreasonable (78–104). Furthermore, the initiation of the WCSS corresponded to a physical manifestation of the "cultural turn," to which Chris Gibson and Natascha Klocker refer as "an increasing embrace of the idea that creativity, cultural diversity, and the cultural industries are vital to regional economies" (93). This was concurrent with a growing need to experience nostalgia and a search for authenticity in Western society (Gibson and Connell), along with a recognition of the very particular cultural meanings embedded in music-making practices. The process of tying

music-making to place imbues the WCSS with cultural authority, and Miltown Malbay has become therefore an authenticating space with the added "magnetism of the rural, where there is a rich tapestry of myth and symbolism" waiting to be tapped (Cloke 369). The pursuit of Irish traditional music and the concept of pilgrimaging to the source take on a mantle of religious fervor. The WCSS creates a relational context, it provides an arena where people experience a sense of belonging, and meaning is generated through the transmission, performance, and commemoration of music, firmly rooted spatially each year (Commins, "Scoil").

The WCSS is an integral part of the extraordinary increase in the popularity of Irish traditional music that has gained traction during the final quarter of the twentieth century. The new meanings attributable to the genre labeled Irish traditional music are part and parcel of its role as a major facet of Irish identity. This is most readily quantifiable by the traditional music-tourist experience nexus. A visitor-attitude survey conducted by the Irish Tourist Industry Confederation reported in 2014 that 83 percent of visiting tourists listened to Irish music in a pub (the highest ranked response for activities in which tourists participated while visiting Ireland), and on departure one in five tourists identified the pub experience and listening to Irish traditional music as the top advantage of holidaying there. The recognition that Irish traditional music has an increasing and significant role to play in the construction of national identity has led to a recasting of the monumental sphere. The limestone arrival in Galway of Ó Conaire in 1935 eventually precipitated a nationwide monumental act of cultural brokerage, as politico-national forms were replaced with locally evolving alternatives on commemorative pedestals and plinths countrywide. As the ideology of commemoration in Ireland shifted its attention to the cultural, the surge in popularity of Irish traditional music intersected with the steady arrival of traditional-music monuments geographically placed throughout the country (although notably predominating on the western seaboard). The chronological manifestation of this monumentalization in the musical realm, and an interrogation of its geographical placement, design, and significance is discussed elsewhere (Commins, "Musical Statues"). However, in the new millennium Ireland has succumbed to a widespread cultural commemorative fervor that extends far beyond the realm

of just Irish traditional-music celebration. Stonemasons and sculptors nevertheless find themselves commissioned to whet their tools as research published in 2015 has catalogued a total of seventy-nine monuments dedicated to named Irish traditional musicians in Ireland since 1974 (Commins, "Musical Statues").[4] The ceremonial bronze icing on the monumental Irish traditional-music cake is the five life-sized uilleann-piper statues that now grace public spaces in Cahir, Co. Tipperary (Edward Keating Hyland, 1999); the Naul, Co. Dublin (Séamus Ennis, 2001); Loughrea, Co. Galway (anonymous piper, 2005) and Skibbereen, Co. Cork (Canon James Goodman, 2006). The fifth, the subject matter of this article, is of course in Miltown Malbay, Co. Clare.

Cast in Kilbaha

The realist, exquisite, life-sized bronze statue of Willie Clancy portrays a seated, smiling Clancy mid-tune. Beside him a bronze replica of his pipe-case rests on a block representing his tool box that incorporates the inscription and also doubles as a seat. The statue is raised on a low-broad plinth that invites spectators to rest and musicians to play, while an adjacent bench facilitates the same. The likeness and essence of the statue are in no small part a result of the extensive research undertaken by its sculptor Shane Gilmore. Gilmore's knowledge of Clancy's music before embarking on the commission was moderate, but he quickly discovered the critical audience attendant to his task to accurately "chisel the likeness of the chief," the opening lines of Thomas Davis's poem honoring sculptor John Hogan's likeness of O'Connell ("Lines to Hogan").[5] With access to the small number of extant images of Clancy, Gilmore set about a process of consultation with remaining family members (including seeking out and photographing a nephew said to resemble his uncle) and other uilleann pipers in order to capture accurately not just the instrument itself but the pose and individual way that Clancy held the instrument. In this multisensory project the creative method included an immersive listening process to recordings of Clancy, resulting in a

4. Two further unveilings since 2015 brings this total to eighty-one.
5. Qtd. in Turpin 82, it appeared in the *Nation*, Oct. 1843.

much admired, sensitive portrayal of the piper. Particular attention was necessary to faithfully reproduce the Taylor set of uilleann pipes that Clancy's statue is portrayed as playing. Accurate uilleann-pipes replication was also a matter of utmost importance in the design and sculpture of all four life-size uilleann-piper statues in Ireland that preceded this one (Commins, "Musical Statues").

Unveiled on 9 November 2013, just shy of forty years after the first monument, the resulting Clancy sculpture enjoys a prominent position on Main Street, directly outside Varden's pharmacy and oriented so that Clancy can keep a watchful eye on the changing matrimonial styles of Miltown Malbay's Bridal Emporium. The statue location also retains a close proximity to houses, both domestic and public, in which Clancy lived, played music, and worked as a carpenter during his lifetime. The artwork was commissioned and funded by philanthropists Judith and Barry Merrill, a North American couple with Irish connections who developed a long-term relationship with Miltown Malbay beginning in the early 2000s, primarily owing to the WCSS. So enamored were they by the dynamics at the WCSS and the sense of integrity and authenticity it engendered for them and many others that they felt compelled to "give something back," as demonstrated by the commission they offered in 2011 (Merrill).

More so than in the cases of any of the preceding four uilleann-piper statues, issues of identity, culture, and place are embedded in the entire process of development and eventual coming to fruition of the Clancy statue in Miltown Malbay. According to sculptor Séamus Murphy, "it stands to reason that the stone of a country, like the wine of a country, is always best where it is produced" (178). In many respects the Clancy-statue commission follows the precedent set by Albert Power's Ó Conaire sculpture in Galway's Eyre Square. Every aspect of the Clancy statue is indigenous to County Clare. Its sculptor Gilmore, now resident in Corofin, is a native of Clarecastle. It was cast by Séamus Connolly at his foundry in Kilbaha, and while indigenous copper was not an option, the Liscannor slates utilized in the platform ensure that Clancy's feet rest on solid Clare ground. Furthermore, Gilmore's own lifecycle interleaves the cycle of continuity. Born in 1973, the same year that Clancy died, he states, "It's a continuing on. He died and I was born" (Gilmore). Just as the retraditionalization of Irish-music practice is central to

the ethos of the WCSS, so too the vernacular practices of County Clare are emplaced by this statue. It thus represents a complete reversal of nineteenth-century commemorative practices from the imperial bronzes of Foley and Hogan cast in London and Milan in favor of the west Clare uilleann piper, emerging from the foundry in Kilbaha.

Reception

With its prominent location on Main Street the statue has fashioned an additional dimension to the organization of public space in Miltown Malbay, creating what French historian Pierre Nora refers to as a *lieux de memoire*, a symbolically loaded site that conflates memory, history, time, and space. Memorial sites frequently encompass latent performative potentiality in the spaces that they occupy. The Clancy statue is unrivaled in this regard: it is a new focal point for outdoor music-making in the town; the sonic dimension embedded in its design attracts, like a bronze magnet, musicians to play at the feet of the master piper. The quotidian practice of walking down the street in Miltown Malbay is now delightfully disrupted by the uilleann piper (albeit dependent on the passivity or receptiveness of the walker). Exhibiting polysemy, the statue offers a visual representation of the symbolic meanings held in common by an international community of practice about Clancy, Miltown Malbay, and Irish traditional music. It speaks to specific social, musical, and cultural values, empowered by the careful stewardship of Clancy's memory by the founders of the WCSS. It signifies something of the affective power of Irish traditional music, which in turn multiplies through the symbolic processes materializing in Miltown Malbay, and through the functioning of the WCSS. To borrow from Séamus Heaney speaking about John Behan's sculpture, it has an "in-placeness" and "this-worldness" (qtd. in Frazier 19) that demonstrates, visually and materially, the current status not just of Clancy or even the uilleann pipes but also of the meaning and central place held by Irish traditional-music practices within a wider Irish sense of identity, to which the WCSS has made an enormous contribution. The statue is therefore integral to the cyclical link between Clancy, the WCSS, and Miltown Malbay, and represents a further development in the cultural capital

that the piper bestows on County Clare. It is also a valuable contribution to the "creative sector," representing a seal of approval to the steady and continuous work undertaken by the voluntary committee of the WCSS since its inception in 1973.

Assessing value in the creative sector is a complex matter, and the gifting of this statue is exactly the type of "impact" or "output" that policy-makers, arts-funders, and economists enjoy measuring (Collins et al.). Eminently quantifiable (in that its production has an exchange value), the erection of the Clancy statue, if tabulated as a creative-economy contribution, generates a significant result for the festival. Furthermore, as the statue was both designed and cast in County Clare, all monies involved stayed in the local economy, making 2013 a bumper year for the WCSS as far as those who attempt to measure its economic benefits are concerned. What economists are ill-capable of capturing are the hundreds and thousands of other people who also reciprocate—that is, who also feel the same way as the philanthropists who gifted this statue but lack the fiscal wherewithal to reciprocate in such a remarkably visible fashion. Summer-school attendees are inevitably bound up in systems of economic exchange such as bed nights, hospitality, provisions, and ticket sales. This economic exchange, however, is predicated on the noneconomic relationship between the summer-school goer and Miltown Malbay itself, succinctly explained by Dean MacCannell in the context of cultural tourism: "They cannot buy what they travel to see or to experience" (147). Yet it is the regular attendance of these people, or at least their contribution to a discourse that shares that same sense of reciprocity, and the way in which the WCSS gives them a sense of belonging and meaning that is equally or even more implicit in the success of the summer school. Funding for the WCSS is primarily sourced from the Arts Council and local businesses, with a clear policy on refusing any corporate funding that might compromise its founding principles and aims (Ó Rócháin, Interview). Yet the cultural turn heralded in the 1990s, and realized through major tourism campaigns such as the Wild Atlantic Way, has quietly taken place in Miltown Malbay without the input of a major funding campaign for more than forty years.

Legacy and Conclusions

In 1974 the possibility of raising a life-sized bronze figure of any Irish traditional musician in the center of any town in Ireland would have been unimaginable. The minor portrait plaque raised to Clancy was an innovative act for the 1970s and a major achievement and statement at a time when Irish music still played a negligible role in Irish identity. Meanwhile, the central siting of the bronze statue of Clancy in 2013 underscores the distinction of both the uilleann pipes and Irish traditional music in County Clare. The bronze Clancy statue is the eighth such life-size sculpture of an Irish traditional musician. In addition to the aforementioned four uilleann-piper statues, three other life-sized statues of Captain Francis O'Neill (Tralibane, Co. Cork, 2000), Johnny O'Leary (Killarney, Co. Kerry, 2007) and Seán Ó Riada (Cúil Aodha, Co. Cork, 2008) have been raised in the new millennium. Brian Osbourne notes that portrait sculpture "has joined flags, anthems, national chronicles, currency, coins, etc., as symbolic devices for building a sense of community, identity, and nationalism" (53). In fact, monuments represent a further arena of mediation for Irish traditional-music practice in the twenty-first century as signifiers of a new construction of Irishness and Irish national identity.

There has been much contention in recent years regarding the raising and erasure of monuments, with public clashes, protests, and the shrouding of the statue of General Robert E. Lee in Charlottesville, Virginia, in 2017 providing a notable example. While these debates are primarily about removal versus retention (Forest and Johnson), they also shed light on agency and power, revealing how the powerless, people with no agency and no voice, rarely have the opportunity to raise monuments. This is a useful framework in which to view the monumentalization of Irish traditional music and assess its more recent enjoyment of public commemoration. The brief sketch of Irish monumentalization presented here demonstrates how power resided firstly in the hands of the Anglo-Irish Ascendancy and from 1922 became embedded in church and state. Monuments were necessarily raised to heroic figures, demonstrative of national progress and not to the practitioners of Irish traditional music. Despite the burgeoning efforts that accompanied cultural nationalism throughout the twenti-

eth century, Ireland remained encumbered by a postcolonial inferiority complex juxtaposed between a shame about, and recuperation of, indigenous and nonliterate oral traditions. Something of this juxtaposition resides in the two monuments bookending this article. The first, a local, grassroots response that channelled an outpouring of grief, captures a vernacular memory that circumvents official expressions of identity and memory. The second, a validatory gift, is externally granted and capitalizes on the potency of Miltown Malbay as an authentic and authenticating site iconized by its heroic tradition-bearing son Willie Clancy. This reterritorialization of Clancy both materially and symbolically moves the music of the "peasant" class to the center of the discourse of the nation musically and culturally (Dowling 205).

The first piper whom Clancy ever encountered, a musician who subsequently exerted a significant influence on his music, was the traveling piper Johnny Doran (1907–50), a frequent visitor to Miltown Malbay during his lifetime. Clancy himself also exhibited significant minstrelsy tendencies, notwithstanding a deep desire to root himself musically in west Clare. He traveled extensively, living in both Dublin and London, purportedly in search of work but primarily in search of music. And yet here he is, immobilized, fixed in bronze, and cemented permanently into the ground in west Clare. Countering any tragic interpretation is the fact that Clancy, unlike so many others, had the opportunity to return home. West Clare, the WCSS, and now his statue have reembedded Clancy back into his home town of Miltown Malbay. Furthermore, his current fixedness facilitates the musical minstrelsy of all those future pilgrims who travel to west Clare in their journey into Irish traditional music.

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