

The Lower Hand:
New Perspectives on Performance-Practice Evidence in
Edward Bunting's Early-Irish-Harp Field
Transcriptions of the 1790s

A thesis submitted to Middlesex University in partial fulfilment
of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Siobhán Armstrong

M00505879

Faculty of Arts and Creative Industries

Middlesex University London

August 2020

*...Ach in ainneoin na neamhairde go léir
Níor chaill said a dhath den tseanmhianach...
...Caithfear pilleadh arís ar na foinsi.*

*...But despite all the neglect
They never lost any of their true mettle...
...There will have to be a going back to the foundations.*

FROM *AN TOBAR* [THE WELL] BY CATHAL O'SEARCAIGH



Dennis O'Hampsay (1695–1807)¹



Edward Bunting (1773–1843)²

-
- ¹ Bunting, Edward. 1809a. *A General Collection of the Ancient Music of Ireland...* London: Clementi & Co., plate following iii
- ² Pencil sketch by Henry Griffiths (died 1849), published in Petrie, George. 1847. 'Edward Bunting'. *The Dublin University Magazine* 29 (169): 64–73.

Abstract

The Lower Hand: New Perspectives on Performance-Practice Evidence in Edward Bunting's Early-Irish-Harp Field Transcriptions of the 1790s

Siobhán Armstrong

The early Irish harp was the aristocratic musical instrument of Ireland, and the Highlands and Islands of Scotland, for 800+ years until c. 1800. Knowledge of the instrument is weak since it has been replaced by the modern Irish harp. Repertory survives in field transcriptions made by Edward Bunting, from 1792 to c. 1803. Some of these display evidence of the lower-register texture played by Dennis O'Hampsay, the most significant vernacular harper then alive. These transcriptions have largely been ignored, leading to incorrect hypotheses about historical Irish harp 'basses', no systematic analysis, and little use of these in reconstructions of the repertory. Performing editions and recorded performance in the area are also deficient.

My response is within a Practice-Research framework: to analyse solely the evidence in the field transcriptions, leading to performed reconstructions, and supplementary performing editions of significant O'Hampsay repertory. These use my new notation system to communicate the subtleties of early-Irish-harp technique more effectively than previous systems. I also propose new language to express vernacular Irish harping practices clearly and unambiguously as replacements for misleading terms such as 'bass' and 'bass hand'.

This dissertation establishes my thesis that O'Hampsay's performance idiom made no use of the continuous, independent bass lines of eighteenth-century European art music nor its concomitant, functional harmony. His lower-register texture was thinner and more sporadic, relying on the long-resonating, brass-wire strings to create melodic support, and harmonicity. His lower hand functioned as an 'echoing' hand, in moments of melodic inactivity, or sounded simultaneously with the treble as a 'reinforcing' hand, often in octaves. Occasionally, his hands reversed functions, the lower hand more prominently involving itself in melodic production, while the treble hand took a more subservient role. He also reproduced compser,Turlough Carolan's, antiphonal idiom. Since O'Hampsay's idiom is not contradicted by evidence captured by Bunting from other vernacular harpers, or by the idiom of Gaelic harp music captured in Scotland in the early 1600s, my microstudy has macro implications for a new understanding of wider, early-Irish-harp performance-practice idiom in the eighteenth century but also in previous centuries, possibly with threads leading back to the late Middle Ages.

<i>Total word count</i>	<i>80,791</i>
Main body text	60,105
Words outside main-body text (footnotes and captions)	11,593
Bibliography	6,628
Appendix	2,465

Acknowledgements

I am very grateful to The Faculty of Arts and Creative Industries at Middlesex University, London, who offered me a three-year Studentship, without which this dissertation could not have been undertaken. I am also grateful to my Director of Studies, Prof. Benjamin Dwyer, for his enthusiasm and support for my work, and for his insights and patience with me until completion: he could so often see, and help me articulate, the wood when I could only see the trees. I would like to thank the Director of Research Degrees, Prof. Vida Midgelow, for many insightful questions she posed along the way: she has been inspirational in every presentation she gave to my cohort; thanks to her I first began to articulate my thoughts in writing. I thank my MDX research-degree colleagues in our office for thought-provoking conversations and support; I particularly acknowledge the friendship, intellectual and personal support of fellow PhD candidates, Pune Parsafar and Áine Alam. I am grateful to the staff of the Rare Books and Music reading room at The British Library. All IRLN-Bu MS 4 images in this dissertation appear courtesy of Special Collections, Queen's University Belfast, whose staff I would also like to thank for their kind, and efficient, assistance.

It has proved vital to have a community of Practice-Research colleagues who are willing to grapple with this difficult area, and who can open up to an unfamiliar sensibility rather than merely accepting what sounds pleasant within a familiar taste. I am fortunate in this regard: my colleagues at The Historical Harp Society of Ireland, Simon Chadwick and Sylvia Crawford, are some of my most important critics these years, since there are few researchers in this as yet, under-explored field, who grasp the finer points of the issues involved and who can argue the issues robustly. I am also grateful to Sylvia Crawford for conversations around her harp-fingering methodology, which has influenced my editions. Dr Karen Loomis's ground-breaking, organological

work on the surviving historic instruments has helped me to develop my work, and I am grateful for her collegiality, support and technical help with diagrams. Dr Maria Cleary is a sounding post for me in the wider area of European historical harps; I am also grateful for her personal support over many years. Piper, Ronan Browne, offers expert-practitioner insights and artistic collegiality that are invaluable to my work, and the input of vernacular Irish singer, Dr Róisín Elsafty, has been pivotal to my reconstructions of Irish harp songs. To those I coach in early-Irish-harp repertory, including Alessia Bianchi, Eilís Ní Ríordáin, James Ruff, and Maura Walsh, I offer my thanks for our discussions, and for their questions, insights and opinions, which inspire, and assist me, greatly. I also owe a great debt to early-Irish-harp historian, Seán Donnelly, for sharing with me the breadth and depth of his vast knowledge in many areas. I am grateful to Andrew Robinson for his help with Sibelius music-setting, and to Brendan Jenkinson for this dissertation's sound recordings.

My PhD journey began long before I ever contemplated writing a dissertation, in the years after 1990, when I first began playing European historical harps and was invited to be involved in Historically Informed performances and recordings of European Renaissance and baroque music. The colleagues who inspired me then include William Christie, John Elwes, Erin Headley, Andrew Lawrence-King and Stephen Stubbs. When I was first drawn to the idea of swapping my modern Irish harp for an earlier instrument, such a harp was kindly organized for me by Bill Taylor in Scotland. In 2002, he and Barnaby Brown organized the first colloquium to bring like-minded international colleagues in the field together in Glasgow. Harpist, Robert Maclean, sold me my late-medieval, Trinity College harp replica built by David Kortier, who has himself been a vital part of the the late twentieth-century revival. Later, Dr Ann Robson, and the late Dr Tristram Robson, together with Frank Colcord, were pivotal in

encouraging me to undertake PhD research. Early-Irish harpist, Maura Walsh, has been pivotal to my work for several decades now, welcoming me, alongside her husband, Prof. Dáibhí Ó Cróinín, to their hospitable home in co. Galway; this has also allowed me to work with west-coast harpists. In her role as director of Galway Early Music Festival, Maura has further given me unique opportunities to research and present programmes of medieval to baroque music involving early Irish harp. In Dublin, Brenda Malloy has been an exceptionally generous host over decades, giving me a comfortable base for Dublin-based activities, and constantly reviving me with her delicious cooking. She has also allowed her home to be a depot for historical harps of all shapes and sizes in embarrassingly large numbers.

At home in Kilkenny, I am grateful to Mary Ann Gelly and Libby Grant, who remind me that an outside social world does in fact exist, and who occasionally manage to coax me into it for reviving short stays. As a visual artist, art historian, and intellectual with wide-ranging interests, Mary Ann also provides me with some of my most rewarding conversations on matters artistic, psychological and historical, which enlighten, and delight, me. John Elwes has supported this dissertation by walking the dog, mowing my lawns, and even cooking me Sunday lunches towards the end, adding helpful insights from his own expert-practitioner experience in European Renaissance and baroque music. Frank Colcord has provided no end of intellectual, emotional, and technical support, particularly with the arcana of Microsoft Word. It was he who encouraged me to begin a PhD, who supported me all the way through, and who helped me over the finish line; I couldn't be more grateful. Oisín Hahessy has been the astute – but relaxed and hilarious – son that I might have conjured up, allowing me the peaceful, and fun, home life necessary to concentrate on my work. I thank my sister, Máire Armstrong, for starting me off, long ago, by patiently teaching me my E-G-B-D-F on the piano when I

was four years old, and I am grateful to my parents for paying for copious amounts of music education, and for buying me harps, when I was a child.

I would particularly like to acknowledge and thank harpist, and researcher, Ann Heymann, who has been so generous a tutor, mentor, colleague and friend. Over the last three decades Ann has inspired and supported not only me but the great majority of us now active in the field. Though she and I now differ, to some degree, in our approaches to performance practice, more than anyone it was she who first asked the research questions and began to answer them. Ann has generously shared her knowledge and expertise with everyone else who came after her, and I am happy to say that, were it not for her seminal work, and her inspirational collegiality over the years, that I would not have undertaken this dissertation.

I would like to acknowledge Charlotte Milligan Fox, at the turn of the twentieth century, who found Bunting's lost MSS and returned them to the world of research. I also acknowledge the twentieth-century scholar, Donal O'Sullivan, and the late Mícheál Ó Súilleabháin, who published previous work on the MSS, and Colette Moloney's seminal work in producing, in 2000, a catalogue of Bunting's Irish-music MSS. I am indebted to Edward Bunting, Ireland's first systematic music collector who, as a young man, had the skill and passion to capture as much as he did from a dying breed of vernacular Irish harper; in doing so, he lit a candle that still casts light today. And finally, I acknowledge my debt to the few remaining Irish harpers who had the patience to play for Edward Bunting, particularly the 97-year old living treasure, Dennis O'Hampsey, who kindly shared his art with a gifted teenager.

Contents

Abstract.....	4
Acknowledgements	5
List of Figures	12
List of Tables.....	19
Abbreviations and Symbols.....	20
Dissertation Outline.....	22
Chapter Outlines.....	23
Part 1.....	27
Chapter 1 Introduction.....	28
1.1 Introduction.....	28
1.2 Organological Background and Disambiguation	28
1.3 A Cultural Lacuna	30
1.4 Modern Irish Harping Idioms.....	32
1.5 Problems and False Narratives.....	34
1.6 The Early Irish Harp	44
1.7 Edward Bunting, Music Collector	60
1.8 Dennis O’Hampsay, Harper	87
1.9 Degrees of Transmission of Vernacular Harp Performance Practice in Bunting’s MSS and Publications.....	95
1.10 Research Question and Aims	113
1.11 Research Outcomes	115
Chapter 2 Literature Review	116
2.1 Introduction.....	116
2.2 Commentary On Lower-Hand Functions And Practices	117
2.3 O’Hampsay Transcriptions And Editions.....	123
2.4 Practice-Based Outputs Of O’Hampsay Repertory	138
2.5 Mini-conclusion.....	149
Chapter 3 Methodologies and Working Methods	152
3.1 Introduction.....	152

3.2	My General Methodological Positioning.....	153
3.3	Edward Bunting’s Methodology	167
3.4	From MS Transcription to Performed Reconstruction	205
3.5	Notation Paradigms	225
3.6	Mini-Conclusion / Reflection.....	246
Chapter 4	Dennis O’Hampsay’s Lower-Hand Practices and Functions: Analysis and Classification	249
4.1	Introduction.....	249
4.2	Modern-Irish-Harp Bass Idioms.....	250
4.3	Vernacular Irish-Harp Lower Register	252
4.4	The Effect of Nomenclature On Perception And Action.....	253
4.5	Dennis O’Hampsay’s Lower-Hand Practices And Functions: Analysis and Classification	255
Chapter 5	Discussion	288
5.1	Introduction.....	288
5.2	Wider Lower-Register Evidence in MS 4.29.....	289
5.3	A Shared Idiom	291
5.4	Carolan and Lyons: Baroque Composers?.....	291
5.5	A More Widespread Practice?.....	301
5.6	Summary	303
Chapter 6	Conclusion	305
Part 2.....		312
Chapter 7	A Microstudy: Recorded Performances of Eight Pieces from Dennis O’Hampsay’s Repertory.....	313
7.1	Introduction.....	313
7.2	The Recording Process	313
7.3	Practice-based insights gained	316
7.4	MS Facsimilies	323
7.5	Sound Recordings.....	350
Chapter 8	Supplementary Didactic Performing Editions.....	351
8.1	Introduction.....	351
8.2	Notation Rubric	353
8.3	Supplementary Performing Editions	355

Bibliography.....	382
APPENDIX Dissemination of knowledge: activities and performances....	401

List of Figures

Figure 1.	<i>The late-medieval Trinity College harp</i> Image Courtesy of Bridgeman Images	45
Figure 2.	<i>A copy of the 18th-century Mulagh Mast harp</i> Photo Courtesy of Pedro Ferreira	46
Figure 3.	<i>Bunting 1840, 24–27</i>	68
Figure 4.	<i>Bunting 1809, 53 Dawn of Day; MS 4.29, 168, extracts</i>	73
Figure 5.	<i>Bunting 1809, 53 Dawn of Day, extract, transcription</i>	73
Figure 6.	<i>MS 4.29, 168 Eirghe an lae [Dawn of Day], extract, transcription</i>	73
Figure 7.	<i>MS 4.29, 168, extract</i> <i>MS 4.33.2, 15, extract</i>	74
Figure 8.	<i>Bunting 1840, 21</i>	75
Figure 9.	<i>Bunting 1840, 74, extract</i>	76
Figure 10.	<i>MS 4.33.2, 24 A chailíní, a’ bhfacá sibh Seoirse?, extract</i>	79
Figure 11.	<i>MS 4.33.3, 56, 57 Tá mé i mo chodladh ‘s ná dúisigh mé</i>	80
Figure 12.	<i>MS 4.33.3, 23 Lady Letty Burke</i>	81
Figure 13.	<i>MS 4.33.2, 50 Planxty Connor, extract</i>	82
Figure 14.	<i>Bunting 1840, 74 Tá mé i mo chodladh ‘s ná dúisigh mé, extract</i>	86
Figure 15.	<i>The Downhill harp (1702) Photo: Siobhán Armstrong</i>	93
Figure 16.	<i>MS 4.29, 153 extract</i>	93
Figure 17.	<i>MS 4.29, 158 Cumha caoine an Albanaigh, palimpsest including field transcription</i>	97
Figure 18.	<i>Tá mé i mo chodladh, second draft</i>	98
Figure 19.	<i>MS 4.33.1, 72, extract. Pretty Peggy / Quins Burns March or 3rd tune</i>	98
Figure 20.	<i>MS 4.12.2, 29 The Lamentation of Youths, Vurneen O Hear Dubh Collad de hoigh, and Bradogg</i>	99
Figure 21.	<i>Bunting 1797D, 9 Madam Cole</i>	100
Figure 22.	<i>MS 4.33.2, 1 Coolin or Lady of the Desert, p.1</i>	101
Figure 23.	<i>Bunting 1809, 53 Eirghidhe an Lae</i>	103
Figure 24.	<i>Bunting 1809, 62 Maghthreas ini Bhreithamhain and Plangstigh ini Bhreithamhain</i>	104
Figure 25.	<i>MS 4.33.5, 48 Cumha caoine an Albanaigh</i>	105

Figure 26.	<i>MS 4.30, 16 Nurse putting the child to sleep</i>	106
Figure 27.	<i>MS 4.12.2, 10c Burns's march</i>	107
Figure 28.	<i>MS 4.27, 28 Cumha caoine an Albanaigh</i>	108
Figure 29.	<i>MS 4.13, 76 The blackbird</i>	109
Figure 30.	<i>Bunting 1840, 13 The hawk of Ballyshannon</i>	110
Figure 31.	<i>O'Sullivan, JIFSS, Part 4, 15 Burns's march</i>	127
Figure 32.	<i>MS 4.33.2, 1 Lady of the desert</i>	131
Figure 33.	<i>MS 4.29, 52 Lady of the desert, transcription</i>	132
Figure 34.	<i>Bunting 1840, 45 Lady Blaney, extract</i>	132
Figure 35.	<i>Bunting 1840, 26, extract</i>	133
Figure 36.	<i>MS 4.29, 43 Lady Blaney, extract and transcription</i>	133
Figure 37.	<i>MS 4.12.1, 48 Féilacháin, extract</i>	134
Figure 38.	<i>MS 4.33.3, 17 Féilacháin, extract</i>	135
Figure 39.	<i>MS 4.12.1, 27 Coillte glasa an Triúcha, extract</i>	136
Figure 40.	<i>MS 4.12.1, 27 Coillte glasa an Triúcha, extract</i>	136
Figure 41.	<i>A spiral research model of artistic decision making</i>	166
Figure 42.	<i>Bunting 1797D, 15 Cailin Dón</i>	173
Figure 43.	<i>Bunting 1797D, 12 Rose Dillon, extract</i>	174
Figure 44.	<i>Bunting 1797D, 13 Jigg to Rose Dillon</i>	174
Figure 45.	<i>MS 4.29, 99 A chailíní, a' bhfaca sibh Seoirse?, extract</i>	176
Figure 46.	<i>MS 4.29, 54 a féachain gléis, extract</i>	177
Figure 47.	<i>MS 4.29, 165 Seón Jones</i>	179
Figure 48.	<i>MS 4.29, 158 Cumha caoine an Albanaigh, extract</i>	180
Figure 49.	<i>MS 4.29, 10 Planxty Kelly</i>	181
Figure 50.	<i>MS 4.29, 11 Planxty Kelly, second draft</i>	182
Figure 51.	<i>MS 4.29, 38 Diarmid Ó Dúda</i>	183
Figure 52.	<i>MS 4.29, 39</i>	184
Figure 53.	<i>MS 4.29, 158 Cumha caoine an Albanaigh, first draft</i>	185
Figure 54.	<i>MS 4.29, 159 Cumha caoine an Albanaigh, second draft</i>	185
Figure 55.	<i>MS 4.29, 54 end of first system, extract</i>	186
Figure 56.	<i>MS 4.29, 54 end of second system, extract</i>	186
Figure 57.	<i>MS 4.29, 54 second system, extract</i>	187
Figure 58.	<i>MS 4.29, 99 A chailíní, a' bhfaca sibh Seoirse? variation</i>	189

Figure 59.	<i>MS 4.29, 102 Have you seen my Valentine; Maxwell</i>	190
Figure 60.	<i>MS 4.29, 167 Sgarúint na gCompánach, extract</i>	192
Figure 61.	<i>MS 4.29, 14 Codladh an tsionnaigh, with transcription</i>	193
Figure 62.	<i>MS 4.29, 61 Eibhlín a rún, extract</i>	194
Figure 63.	<i>MS 4.29, 30 Burns's march, extract</i>	195
Figure 64.	<i>MS 4.29, 46 Lady of the desert, extract</i>	195
Figure 65.	<i>MS 4.29, 49 A chailíní, a' bhfaca sibh Seoirse?, extract</i>	196
Figure 66.	<i>MS 4.29, 98 Lady of the desert, extract</i>	196
Figure 67.	<i>MS 4.29, 46, A chailíní, a' bhfaca sibh Seoirse, extract</i>	197
Figure 68.	<i>MS 4.29, 54, a féachain gléis, extract</i>	197
Figure 69.	<i>MS 4.29, 45 Lady Letty Burke, extract</i>	197
Figure 70.	<i>MS 4.29, 52 Lady of the desert, extract</i>	198
Figure 71.	<i>MS 4.29, 171 Tá mé i mo chodladh, extract</i>	198
Figure 72.	<i>MS 4.29, 46 A chailíní, a' bhfaca sibh Seoirse?, extract</i>	199
Figure 73.	<i>MS 4.29, 46 A chailíní, a' bhfaca sibh Seoirse?, extract</i>	199
Figure 74.	<i>MS 4.29, 46 A chailíní, a' bhfaca sibh Seoirse?, extract</i>	199
Figure 75.	<i>MS 4.29, 171 Tá mé i mo chodladh 's ná dúisigh mé, extract</i>	200
Figure 76.	<i>MS 4.29, 171 Tá mé i mo chodladh 's ná dúisigh mé, extract</i>	200
Figure 77.	<i>MS 4.29, 31 Burns's march, extract</i>	201
Figure 78.	<i>MS 4.29, 30 Burns's march, extract, and reconstructed texture</i>	201
Figure 79.	<i>MS 4.29, 164 Seón Jones, extract</i>	202
Figure 80.	<i>MS 4.29, 165 Seón Jones, extract</i>	203
Figure 81.	<i>MS 4.29, 108 Betty O'Brian, extract</i>	204
Figure 82.	<i>MS 4.29, 102 Maxwell, extract</i>	204
Figure 83.	<i>MS 4.29, 48 The friar and nun, extract</i>	204
Figure 84.	<i>MS 4.29, 158 Cumha caoine an Albanaigh, extracts</i>	204
Figure 85.	<i>MS 4.29, 48 A Chailíní, a' bhfaca sibh Seoirse?, extract and edition</i>	205
Figure 86.	<i>MS 4.29, 45 Letty Burke, extract and transcription</i>	205
Figure 87.	<i>MS 4.33.3, 18, 19 Burns's march, extracts</i>	219
Figure 88.	<i>MS 4.29, 30 Burns's march, first, second and fourth episodes</i>	220
Figure 89.	<i>MS 4.29, 31 Burns's march, first and second episodes</i>	220

Figure 90.	<i>MS 4.29, 31 Burns's march, fourth episode</i>	220
Figure 91.	<i>MS 4.29, 164 Seón Jones, extracts</i>	221
Figure 92.	<i>MS 4.29, 159 Cumha caoine an Albanaigh, extract</i>	222
Figure 93.	<i>MS 4.29, 159 Cumha caoine an Albanaigh, extract</i>	223
Figure 94.	<i>MS 4.29, 158 Cumha caoine an Albanaigh, extract</i>	223
Figure 95.	<i>MS 4.29, 159 Cumha caoine an Albanaigh, extract</i>	224
Figure 96.	<i>MS 4.29, 159 Cumha caoine an Albanaigh, extract</i>	224
Figure 97.	<i>Salzedo 1921, 19</i>	227
Figure 98.	<i>Salzedo 1921, 20</i>	228
Figure 99.	<i>Salzedo 1921, 20</i>	228
Figure 100.	<i>Salzedo 1921, 19</i>	229
Figure 101.	<i>Salzedo 1921, 20</i>	230
Figure 102.	<i>Salzedo 1921, 20, extracts</i>	230
Figure 103.	<i>Heymann 1989, 68, extract Image Courtesy of Ann Heymann</i>	231
Figure 104.	<i>Heymann 1989, 114, extract Image Courtesy of Ann Heymann</i>	232
Figure 105.	<i>Heymann 1998, 25 Image Courtesy of Ann Heymann</i>	233
Figure 106.	<i>Cathcart 2001, 17 Image Courtesy of Cynthia Cathcart</i>	234
Figure 107.	<i>Brown and Taylor, 2012, 17 Image Courtesy of Barnaby Brown</i>	235
Figure 108.	<i>Cathcart 2007, 38 Image Courtesy of Cynthia Cathcart</i>	236
Figure 109.	<i>Cathcart fingering-symbol examples Images Courtesy of Cynthia Cathcart</i>	236
Figure 110.	<i>Chadwick 2017, Burns's march Image Courtesy of Simon Chadwick</i>	237
Figure 111.	<i>Cathcart 2013, 38 Image Courtesy of Cynthia Cathcart</i>	241
Figure 112.	<i>Bunting 1840, 25, extract</i>	244
Figure 113.	<i>Bunting 1840, 25, extract</i>	244
Figure 114.	<i>J. B. Krumpholtz c. 1788, 36, extract</i>	250
Figure 115.	<i>Hambly 2003, 2:37 Carolan's Kitty Magennis, extract Image Courtesy of Gráinne Hambly</i>	251
Figure 116.	<i>Loughnane 2009, 31 Éirighe an Lae, extract Image Courtesy of Kathleen Loughnane</i>	251
Figure 117.	<i>MS 4.29, 52 Lady of the desert, theme extract and transcription</i>	256

Figure 118.	<i>MS 4.29, 98 Lady of the desert, division extract and transcription</i>	256
Figure 119.	<i>MS 4.29, 50 A chailíní, a' bhfaca sibh Seoirse?, division extract and transcription</i>	256
Figure 120.	<i>Bunting 1840, 26, extract</i>	257
Figure 121.	<i>MS 4.29, 31 Burns's march, extract</i>	257
Figure 122.	<i>MS 4.29, 52 Lady of the desert, theme and transcription</i>	258
Figure 123.	<i>MS 4.29, 164 Seón Jones, extract</i>	259
Figure 124.	<i>MS 4.29, 164 Seón Jones, extract and transcription</i>	259
Figure 125.	<i>Bunting 1840, 27, extract</i>	259
Figure 126.	<i>MS 4.29, 164 A chailíní, a' bhfaca sibh Seoirse?, extract and transcription</i>	260
Figure 127.	<i>MS 4.29, 158 Cumha caoine an Albanaigh, extracts and transcriptions</i>	260
Figure 128.	<i>MS 4.29, 99 Lady of the desert, extract and edition</i>	261
Figure 129.	<i>MS 4.29, 162 Bob Jordan, extract and transcription</i>	261
Figure 130.	<i>MS 4.29, 99 Lady of the desert, extract and edition</i>	262
Figure 131.	<i>MS 4.29, 45 Lady Letty Burke, extract and edition</i>	263
Figure 132.	<i>MS 4.29, 168 Eirghe an lae, extract</i>	263
Figure 133.	<i>MS 4.29, 158 Cumha caoine an Albanaigh, extract and transcription</i>	264
Figure 134.	<i>Burns's march, edition, extract</i>	265
Figure 135.	<i>MS 4.29, 89 Miss Dillon jig, extract and edition</i>	266
Figure 136.	<i>MS 4.29, 53 The Jointure, extract and edition</i>	266
Figure 137.	<i>MS 4.29, 45 Lady Letty Burke, extract and edition</i>	267
Figure 138.	<i>MS 4.29, 45 Lady Letty Burke, extract and edition</i>	268
Figure 139.	<i>MS 4.29, 45 Lady Letty Burke, extracts and transcription</i>	268
Figure 140.	<i>MS 4.29, 158 Cumha caoine an Albanaigh, extract and edition</i>	269
Figure 141.	<i>MS 4.29, 158 Cumha caoine an Albanaigh, extracts</i>	271
Figure 142.	<i>MS 4.29, 48 The friar and nun, extract</i>	272
Figure 143.	<i>MS 4.29, 171 Tá mé i mo chodladh, extract</i>	272
Figure 144.	<i>MS 4.29, 159 Cumha caoine an Albanaigh, extract</i>	273
Figure 145.	<i>MS 4.29, 49 A chailíní, a' bhfaca sibh Seoirse?, second variation, extract and edition</i>	273

Figure 146.	<i>MS 4.29, 31 Burns's march, second draft, extract; edition of first draft, extract (O'Hampsay setting)</i>	274
Figure 147.	<i>MS 4.33.1, 72 Burns's march, extract and transcription (Quin setting)</i>	275
Figure 148.	<i>MS 4.29, 55 a féachain gléis, extract and transcription</i>	276
Figure 149.	<i>MS 4.29, 54 a féachain gléis, extracts</i>	277
Figure 150.	<i>MS 4.29, 54 a féachain gléis, extract</i>	278
Figure 151.	<i>MS 4.29, 54 a féachain gléis, extract</i>	278
Figure 152.	<i>MS 4.29, 55 a féachain gléis, extract and transcription; Bunting 1840, 27, extract.</i>	279
Figure 153.	<i>MS 4.29, 54 a féachain gléis, extract</i>	280
Figure 154.	<i>MS 4.29, 54 a féachain gléis, extract</i>	281
Figure 155.	<i>MS 4.29, 54, 55 a féachain gléis, extracts</i>	282
Figure 156.	<i>MS 4.29, 54, 55 A féachain gléis, extracts. Examples 1 to 5</i>	282
Figure 157.	<i>MS 4.29, 48 A chailíní, 'a bhfaca sibh Seoirse?', extract</i>	283
Figure 158.	<i>IRL-Dn LO 1635, 1 Mr James Betagh, extract Image Courtesy of The National Library of Ireland</i>	295
Figure 159.	<i>MS 4.29, 81 Sliabh Gallan, extract and edition</i>	298
Figure 160.	<i>MS 4.29, 49 A chailíní, a' bhfaca sibh Seoirse?, second division, extract and edition</i>	298
Figure 161.	<i>Microphone and lighting stand positions</i>	315
Figure 162.	<i>MS 4.29, 54 a féachain gléis</i>	325
Figure 163.	<i>MS 4.29, 55 a féachain gléis, including image of concealed texture</i>	326
Figure 164.	<i>MS 4.29, 158 Cumha caoine an Albanaigh</i>	328
Figure 165.	<i>MS 4.29, 159 Cumha caoine an Albanaigh</i>	329
Figure 166.	<i>MS 4.29, 30 Burns's march</i>	331
Figure 167.	<i>MS 4.29, 31 Burns's march</i>	332
Figure 168.	<i>MS 4.33.1, 72 Burns's march, Patrick Quin setting, p.1</i>	333
Figure 169.	<i>MS 4.29, 46 A chailíní, a' bhfaca sibh Seoirse?, theme</i>	335
Figure 170.	<i>MS 4.29, 48 A chailíní, a' bhfaca sibh Seoirse?, variation</i>	336
Figure 171.	<i>MS 4.29, 49 A chailíní, a' bhfaca sibh Seoirse?, division</i>	337
Figure 172.	<i>MS 4.29, 50 A chailíní, a' bhfaca sibh Seoirse?, division and variation</i>	338
Figure 173.	<i>MS 4.29, 164 Seón Jones</i>	340

Figure 174.	<i>MS 4.29, 165 Seón Jones</i>	341
Figure 175.	<i>MS 4.29, 45 Lady Letty Burke</i>	343
Figure 176.	<i>MS 4.29, 52 Lady of the desert, theme and division</i>	345
Figure 177.	<i>MS 4.29, 98 Lady of the desert, variation and division</i>	346
Figure 178.	<i>MS 4.29, 99 Lady of the desert, variation</i>	347
Figure 179.	<i>MS 4.29, 171, Tá mé i mo chodladh 's ná dúisigh mé</i>	349

List of Tables

Table 1.	<i>MS 4.29 O'Hampsay Repertory Sequence 1</i>	208
Table 2.	<i>MS 4.29 O'Hampsay Repertory Sequence 2</i>	211
Table 3.	<i>O'Hampsay-Attributed Repertory Not Reconstructed in This Dissertation</i>	213
Table 4.	<i>O'Hampsay Repertory Reconstructed in Part 2</i>	216
Table 5.	<i>MS 4.29 Harp Compositions Displaying Lower-Register Texture</i>	289
Table 6.	<i>Notation Rubric</i>	353

Abbreviations and Symbols

GB-Lbl	The British Library
IRL-Dn	The National Library of Ireland
IRLN-Bu	The Queen's University Belfast
MS	manuscript
MSS	manuscripts
n.d.	no date
f	folio
r	recto
v	verso
B	lower-register notes identified as such by Edward Bunting
,	a comma is used to denote pages in a MS. e.g. MS 4.29, 45 denotes MS 4.29 page 45

For a guide to the music notation symbols used in my supplementary performing editions, please see the Notation Guide in Part 2, Chapter 8.2.

Manuscripts

MS 4	IRLN-Bu Special Collections MS 4 (Edward Bunting collection)
MS 4.6	IRLN-Bu Special Collections MS 4.6
MS 4.12.1	IRLN-Bu Special Collections MS 4.12 box 1
MS 4.12.2	IRLN-Bu Special Collections MS 4.12 box 2
MS 4.13	IRLN-Bu Special Collections MS 4.13
MS 4.20	IRLN-Bu Special Collections MS 4.20
MS 4.27	IRLN-Bu Special Collections MS 4.27
MS 4.29	IRLN-Bu Special Collections MS 4.29
MS 4.30	IRLN-Bu Special Collections MS 4.30
MS 4.33.1	IRLN-Bu Special Collections MS 4.33.1
MS 4.33.2	IRLN-Bu Special Collections MS 4.33.2
MS 4.33.3	IRLN-Bu Special Collections MS 4.33.3
MS 4.33.5	IRLN-Bu Special Collections MS 4.33.5

All MS 4 images in this dissertation appear courtesy of Special Collections, Queen's University Belfast.

A note about pagination in MS 4.29:

Three different pagination systems have appeared in the MS:

1. Bunting's own pagination (the largest visible page numbers), which I use throughout this dissertation
2. a pagination that used to appear on each MS page but which has now been erased. It is still visible in the online MS 4.29 facsimile here: <http://digital-library.qub.ac.uk/digital/collection/p15979coll9/id/106/rec/8>
3. a more recent replacement pagination, now visible, which differs from no. 2 above

Publications

- Bunting 1797D Bunting, Edward. *A General Collection of the Ancient Irish Music...* Dublin, W. Power & Co., n.d. [1797]
- Bunting 1797L Bunting, Edward. *A General Collection of the Ancient Irish Music...* London, Preston and Son, n.d. [1797]
- Bunting 1809 Bunting, Edward. *A General Collection of the Ancient Music of Ireland...* London, Clementi & Co., n.d. [1809]
- Bunting 1840 Bunting, Edward. *The Ancient Music of Ireland...* Dublin, 1840
- JIFSS Journal of the Irish Folk Song Society, London: The Irish Folk Song Society, 1927–39

Pitches in this dissertation are identified as follows using the Helmholtz system, with all pitches within any ascending octave similarly identified:

C'''

C''

C'

c' (middle C)

c

C

C

Dissertation Outline

This dissertation is divided into two parts:

Part 1 Dissertation

Part 2 A microstudy: recorded performances of eight compositions from Dennis O'Hampsay's repertory with the MS source material, together with supplementary, didactic performing editions of each piece.

Chapter Outlines

Part 1

Chapter 1 Introduction

This sets out some of the issues, addressing the organological background to two different Irish harps, and the problems of one having displaced the other, leading to a major cultural lacuna, and false narratives, in contemporary Irish culture. This is followed by a short overview of the early Irish harp and its repertory. The harper, Dennis O'Hampsay, and the music collector, Edward Bunting, whose interactions are at the heart of this dissertation, are introduced. I outline why each is of critical importance to my research. I discuss Bunting's influences, motives, intentions, and tension apparent in his work, and my dialogue with him, with some attention to his keyboard-arrangement editions of harp repertory. I also introduce IRLN-Bu Special Collections MS 4.29, Bunting's now bound-together gatherings in which he notated repertory from Irish harpers at the end of the eighteenth century in the field. Finally, I set out my research questions and aims, and my research outcomes.

Chapter 2 Literature Review

My literature review is in three parts, firstly addressing previous commentary on early-Irish-harp, lower-hand functions and practices. Secondly, I deal with existing transcriptions and editions of O'Hampsay repertory. Thirdly, I review relevant practice-based outputs of O'Hampsay repertory. In each part, I articulate the existing weaknesses and gaps in the field that this dissertation will address.

Chapter 3 Methodologies And Working Methods

This is in four sections dealing firstly with my general methodological positioning within Practice-Research parameters. I outline issues surrounding the notation of oral-tradition music, together with the archives available to me, and the shaping of my

research by my own background, and the spiral research model that articulates my position. In the second section, I set out my understanding of Edward Bunting's methodologies and methods. In the third, I articulate my own specific modes of working with Bunting's field transcriptions, based on the general principles I outlined in section 1, to get from a MS field transcription to the performance of my reconstructions in my Chapter 7 microstudy. Finally, I outline the historical background to the new notation paradigm I use in my supplementary performing editions in Part 2 to express performance practice specific to early Irish harp, also introducing its methodology, and my fingering rationale.

*Chapter 4 **Dennis O'Hampsay's Lower-Hand Practices and Functions: Analysis and Classification***

This chapter briefly addresses melodic-accompaniment idioms in modern-Irish-harp editions of historical repertory, together with period European and keyboard practices. It then outlines how language choices shape perceptions and the articulation of practices that differ from these. I go on to suggest new, more appropriate alternatives. The main body of this chapter is a presentation of evidence of a distinct, vernacular-Irish, lower-register idiom, unrelated to European art-music bass practices. It takes a very narrow focus, analysing and categorizing the practices and functions of Dennis O'Hampsay's lower hand, basing this only on field transcriptions of his performance practice rather than on any later drafts or piano arrangements.

*Chapter 5 **Discussion***

Was O'Hampsay's idiom unique or was it common practice amongst other eighteenth-century Irish harpers? If so, how far back in time can his idiom be traced, and what wider geographical spread might be deduced and how? And might the respective lower-hand idioms of harpers, Turlough Carolan and Cornelius Lyons, have been closer to

European norms? To answer these questions, I refer to the wider group of MS 4.29 compositions showing lower-register praxis evidence, to discover evidence that O'Hampsay's praxis was not exceptional. I look at evidence in the music of Turlough Carolan and Cornelius Lyons captured in field transcriptions in MS 4.29, to see what that can teach us about their idiom. Finally, I take a brief look at compositions that survive in Scottish MSS of the early- to mid-seventeenth century, observing commonality of lower-register idiom between that and eighteenth-century Irish harping.

*Chapter 6 **Conclusion***

An outline of this dissertation's outcomes and conclusions, together with suggestions for future work in the field.

Part 2

Chapter 7 A Microstudy: MS Facsimiles And Recorded Performances Of Eight Pieces From Dennis O'Hampsay's Repertory

This chapter contains facsimiles of the MS field-transcription pages that were the sole source material for the dissertation's main praxis output: a 28-minute recording containing performances of eight significant compositions from O'Hampsay's repertory. I also include an outline of the performing, recording, and editing processes involved in assembling my reconstructions of O'Hampsay compositions. I set out some performance-practice discoveries, and insights, gained along the way from using a Practice-Research approach.

Chapter 8 Supplementary Didactic Performing Editions

This chapter contains supplementary, didactic performing editions for each of the eight pieces performed in the microstudy in Chapter 7. These are another manifestation of the research presented in Part 1. The chapter contains a rubric for the new notation system I have developed for use in these. This is designed to bring visibility to my Practice-Research approach to early Irish repertory, and to educate the reader / performer about the techniques, and aesthetic, I use in my own praxis.

PART 1

Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 Introduction

This chapter sets out the organological background to Irish harping, and an overview of the early Irish harp and its repertory. It outlines the demise of the original, vernacular Irish harp as an effect of colonisation, and its further displacement by the modern instrument of the same name, with an ongoing issue of false narratives, continued ignorance of the historical instrument – even at state level – leading to concomitant gaps in research and performance-practice. I introduce Edward Bunting, the young music collector, and Dennis O’Hampsay, the elderly virtuoso harper he encountered, whose interactions are at the heart of this dissertation. I show the importance of the latter, and the subsequent source material of his repertory available from the former, with a grading of degrees of transmission – or otherwise – of vernacular Irish harp performance practice to be found in them. The chapter finishes with my dissertation’s research questions, aims and outcomes.

1.2 Organological Background and Disambiguation

The performance practice of the early Irish harp, the instrument of aristocratic Gaelic culture in Ireland and the Highlands and Islands of Scotland, was first described in the

late twelfth century.³ Known as *cláirseach* in Irish, and *clarsach* in Scottish Gaelic, the instrument was played by vernacular harpers into the nineteenth century, when it was displaced by a newly invented harp, which assumed the name ‘Irish harp’.⁴ The two instruments regularly require disambiguation because the modern Irish harp is now ubiquitous, having replaced the original in the Irish (and international) psyche. The 800+ years of the early-Irish-harp tradition effectively came to an end in the early nineteenth century. The ensuing cultural void led to the invention of the modern instrument at the same time, a harp that was both organologically and culturally distinct from the older instrument. This new harp was a smaller offshoot of the European pedal harp, with a nod to the design of the old Irish harp visible in the bowed shape of its front pillar.⁵ Its playing techniques and musical aesthetic, similarly, are distinct from the

³ I coined the term ‘early Irish harp’ in my 2004 recording, *Cláirseach na hÉireann: The Harp of Ireland* (albeit including ‘wire-strung’ in my nomenclature for clarity), in order to disambiguate the instrument from its modern counterpart, and to reclaim, and reattach, cultural context to an instrument that is still often referred to only as the ‘wire-strung’ harp in contrast to the ‘Irish’ harp: i.e. the modern instrument, now usually strung in nylon. The term ‘wire-strung’ harp is highly unsatisfactory in its reductiveness, not only completely removing its cultural context from the older instrument but simultaneously gifting that exclusively to its modern replacement when these terms are used to differentiate the two instruments. Clarity around the early Irish harp’s origins and cultural space are thereby obfuscated, and it is forced to join the taxonomy of other wire-strung harps around the world that are unrelated to the historical Irish instrument. See, for example, US harp manufacturer, Triplett, which produces a lever harp strung with phosphor-bronze strings. Triplett Harps 2014. My nomenclature has now become more widely used in Ireland, continental Europe and the USA, and all three main harp organisations in Ireland now sometimes, or always, use the term. This helps to reposition the instrument closer to its originating Gaelic culture, and reinstates the name – ‘Irish’ harp – that was used internationally, from at least as early as the sixteenth- and seventeenth centuries in English, French, German and Italian. See White and Boydell 2013, 1:466 See also Chadwick, Simon. 2008c. ‘The Early Irish Harp’. *Early Music* 36 (4): 521–32. In Gaelic languages it was known simply as ‘harp’ i.e. *cláirseach* (Ireland) and *clarsach* (Scotland), nomenclature that was also used by sixteenth- and seventeenth-century English speakers, in a variety of transliterated spellings. The instrument is also referred to as ‘Gaelic’ harp, and ‘old Irish’ harp, terms I also find acceptable.

⁴ The modern Irish harp is played around the world, and is also referred to as ‘lever’ harp, ‘neo-Irish’ harp, ‘Celtic’ harp, *clarsach* and ‘folk’ harp.

⁵ For more on the birth of the modern Irish harp and its displacement of the early Irish harp – and an outline of the differences between the two – see Hurrell, Nancy. 2019. *Egan Irish Harps: Tradition, Patrons and Players*. Dublin: Four Courts Press Ltd.

medieval playing techniques and vernacular aesthetic to be found in the surviving evidence of the praxis of vernacular Irish harpers.

1.3 A Cultural Lacuna

The early Irish harp, the internationally admired, musical pinnacle of a culturally sophisticated nation – played for possibly over a millennium – was a victim of the aristocratic-English colonial project in Ireland, given new impetus from the 1530s in a ‘reconquest’ by King Henry VIII.⁶ Over the following centuries, the ensuing destruction of the entire Gaelic political, and social, infrastructure led to the dismantling of the culture that had given rise to – and supported – this courtly instrument.⁷ The destruction of Gaelic culture, and the demise of its aristocracy, deprived the instrument of its original patrons and educated audience. Artistic training fizzled out, including the poetic schools and parallel training in music. All political control, land and wealth were removed from the indigenous Irish over ensuing centuries, with vicious, sectarian laws ensuring that they no longer had any power, influence or ability to self-determine. Both colonisation, and the impact the latter has had on the organological history of Irish harps, are at the core of the demise of the earlier instrument of that name, and the morphing that has occurred relating to organology. This has left a post-colonial nation

⁶ The first wave of conquering armies from the neighbouring island arrived in 1169.

⁷ For more on pre-colonisation Irish art, education and the sciences see, for example, Harbison, Peter. 1999. *The Golden Age of Irish Art: The Medieval Achievement 600-1200*. Ireland: Thames & Hudson, Kelly, Mary, and Charles Doherty, eds. 2013. *Music and the Stars: Mathematics in Medieval Ireland*. Dublin: Four Courts Press Ltd., and McGrath S.J., Fergal. 1979. *Education in Ancient and Medieval Ireland*. Dublin: Studies Special Publications. For more on Irish courtly poetry see, for example, Knott, Eleanor. 1934. *An Introduction to Irish Syllabic Poetry of the Period 1200-1600*. Second edition. Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, and O Riordan, Michelle. 2007. *Irish Bardic Poetry and Rhetorical Reality*. Cork University Press. For more on the colonisation process see, for example, Canny, Nicholas. 2001. *Making Ireland British, 1580-1650*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, and Palmer, Patricia. 2009. *Language and Conquest in Early Modern Ireland: English Renaissance Literature and Elizabethan Imperial Expansion*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

that generally views the early Irish harp's significance only in terms of a ubiquitously depicted, two-dimensional symbol of Irish nationhood. Though some eighteen historic Irish harps survive in museum and private collections, the tangible instrument has been side-lined and neglected. Continued ignorance at state level about even the most basic details of its shape and design continues to be apparent in the second decade of the twenty-first century as the following extracts of a letter to *The Irish Times* in 2014, by the then archivist of *Na Píobairí Uilleann*, Terry Moylan, shows:⁸

'Sir, – There was a minor controversy last year when the newly designed Irish passports began to be issued, and several people remarked on the background design of one of the pages, which incorporated images of musical instruments associated with Ireland. Those included were the accordion, banjo and bodhrán, relatively recent introductions to Irish music. The instruments that have won a global audience for Irish music, in former and in modern times – the harp and the uilleann pipes – were left out...Now "Official Ireland" has done it again. A set of stamps was issued by An Post in May as part of the Europe-wide Europa series, on the theme "national musical instruments". The An Post website tells us that the stamps feature the harp, "the classic Irish musical instrument", and the bodhrán, "the most popular".

It is difficult to know how to respond...The harp is indeed Ireland's "classic musical instrument", and the Irish harp attracted the attention and admiration of foreign observers for 700 years, from Norman times up to the beginning of the 19th century, when the unique Irish wire-strung harp ceased to be played. Examples of this instrument survive, the Trinity College harp, for instance, or Denis Hempson's harp which is to be seen in the Guinness Storehouse.

Unfortunately the stamp designers chose to depict, not the kind of harp that was celebrated for centuries, but a 19th-century instrument – one that does not deliver the sound that entranced Europe for centuries...⁹

⁸ *Na Píobairí Uilleann* is the national Irish-piping resource organization.

⁹ Moylan, Terry. 2014. 'Representing Traditional Music', 21 July 2014.

The paradox of having to explain the most basic facts about the musical instrument depicted in the Irish national emblem, and the need always to disambiguate it from its modern replacement, is a constant issue for those who work in the field of historical Irish music, and is an indication of underlying problems, some of which this dissertation attempts to address. When I write about my own praxis I inevitably find myself returning, time after time, to the enormous cultural loss associated with the instrument's demise, compounded by the modern Irish harp having seamlessly taken the place of the earlier instrument in the Irish psyche. The displacement of the old by the new has led to a lack of knowledge and awareness of the original instrument and its traditions, a situation which is still leading, every year, to false narratives, thereby further perpetuating ignorance surrounding the instrument, its characteristics, traditions, repertory, and historical performance practice.

1.4 Modern Irish Harping Idioms

Performers on modern Irish harp most often fall into one of the following types. The first group bypass vernacular Irish harp repertory in favour of Irish dance music collected in the nineteenth- and twentieth centuries – reels, jigs, hornpipes etc. – which they generally perform in a contemporary idiom: with a syncopated accompaniment, and jazz-influenced harmonies. This is now the predominant modern Irish-harp tradition.¹⁰ The modern Irish harp's dance-music repertory developed as a result of a desire by some players to bring the modern instrument closer to the rest of the

¹⁰ Exemplified by some of the most influential, virtuosic performers in this style, Michelle Mulcahy and Michael Rooney, together with very many younger-generation players of modern Irish harp. Listen, for example, to Mulcahy, Michelle. 2016. *Suaimehneas*. Video. www.youtube.com/watch?v=jIKt1GFggoE, and Livetrad.com. 2012. *Michael Rooney 'Cailleach an Airgid' Set*. Video. www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZZmFhsy8QSU

vernacular Irish music world, by creating a tradition for it within the parameters of that world.¹¹ The ubiquity and confidence of this new idiom has perhaps contributed to a lack of curiosity in Ireland about the original Irish harp's organology, playing techniques, repertory and aesthetics. There is no cultural imperative for the latter because the lacuna created by the original instrument's demise is largely unseen; that space is now occupied by a vibrant, modern tradition.

A second group of players of modern Irish harp perform historical Irish repertory: mainly the melodies of Turlough Carolan (1670–1738), Ireland's most famous harper-composer. They generally use a European art-music approach: with contrapuntal bass lines or chordal practices, full textures, rich harmonies, and sometimes also idiomatic pedal-harp arpeggiation.¹² This group generally does not work from historical sources but rather uses Donal O'Sullivan's 1958 edition of the melodies.¹³ This edition generally reproduces historical, printed-edition settings taken from players of melodic instruments of much smaller gamut than harps: flutes, violins and Irish pipes. These are therefore wholly unrepresentative of the original, wide, treble-to-bass-register gamut of many of the originals.¹⁴ In addition, many display chromaticism alien to the original

¹¹ Two leading, virtuosic harpists, Máire Ní Chathasaigh and Janet Harbison, were in the vanguard of the movement to create a role, and new repertory, for the modern Irish harp, to fit more closely within the vernacular tradition inhabited by fiddles, pipes, flutes and uilleann pipes. Ní Chathasaigh could perhaps be singled out as the re-inventor of the instrument's repertory and aesthetic c. 1980.

¹² Well-known recording artists in this tradition include Cormac de Barra and Anne-Marie O'Farrell. Listen, for example, to O'Farrell, Anne-Marie. 2013. *Carolan's Farewell to Music*. Audio recording. www.soundcloud.com/anne-marie-ofarrell and De Barra, Cormac. 2013. *Captain O'Kane*. CD track. BEO Records. www.soundcloud.com/search?q=cormac%20de%20barra

¹³ O'Sullivan, Donal. 1958. *Carolan: The Life, Times and Music of an Irish Harper. In Two Volumes. Volume I: The Life and Times and The Music / Volume II: The Notes to the Tunes and The Memoirs of Arthur O'Neill*. 2 vols. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

¹⁴ For more on the problems of this see Joyce, Sandra. 2016. "The Realization of a Long-Cherished Project": Donal O'Sullivan's Carolan'. In *Harp Studies: Perspectives on the Irish Harp*, 129–43. Dublin: Four Courts Press. Only one, no. 50, *Mrs. Garvey*, displays a rare use of bass clef to accommodate three bars of lower-register melodic material. Others, for example, no. 10, *Lady Leticia*

melodies, and some were re-composed by O'Sullivan to reconstruct them to his own satisfaction.¹⁵ In working from such out-dated editions, those who do so miss out on important idiomatic features of Carolan's music.

1.5 Problems and False Narratives

1.5.1 'The' Irish Harp

The prevailing narrative to date in academic publications by players of modern Irish harp is of a single, seamless tradition: 'the' Irish harp. This does not acknowledge the distinction, and absence of connection, between the two traditions.¹⁶ This view also generally follows a chronocentric philosophy of a slow and gradual 'evolving' and 'developing' tradition from earliest to modern times, with 'improved' instruments replacing earlier ones. In 2012, for example, Helen Lawlor wrote that 'development of the Irish harp throughout the past seven centuries along with the gradual change in technique from left to right shoulder...shows that the tradition has continued to develop...'¹⁷ And further that '...if the harp tradition gamut is accepted as one continuous tradition, incorporating new elements and experiencing episodes of both growth and decline, then the neo-Irish harpists of the 1950s contribute to that overall

Burke or no. 154, the iconic *Carolan's Concerto* suffer badly in this context. Though no MS source for the latter survives, even Edward Bunting's keyboard arrangements (1797 and 1809) demonstrate antiphony between the hands, in different registers, though it is now universally performed in the reduced-gamut version from O'Farrell. 1804. *O'Farrell's Pocket Companion for the Irish or Union Pipes...* London: Goulding, D'Almaine & Potter, a setting more generally known through O'Neill, Francis. 1903. *O'Neill's Music of Ireland: Eighteen Hundred and Fifty Melodies: Airs, Jigs, Reels, Hornpipes, Long Dances, Marches, Etc...* Edited by James O'Neill. Chicago: Lyon & Healy.

¹⁵ See, for example, O'Sullivan's notes to the best-known Bridget Cruise air, which he recomposed. O'Sullivan 1958 Vol. 2, 21

¹⁶ See Armstrong, Siobhán. 2015b. 'Exploring Irish Harp Traditions'. *The Journal of Music*, April. www.journalofmusic.com/focus/exploring-irish-harp-traditions

¹⁷ Lawlor, Helen. 2012 *Irish Harping, 1900-2010: 'It Is New Strung'*. Dublin: Four Courts Press, 52.

long, authentic tradition.’¹⁸ In 2014, Mary Louise O’Donnell acknowledged that the ancestor of the contemporary Irish harp was a nineteenth-century invention but nonetheless rejected the idea of two separate traditions, most often referring only to ‘the’ Irish harp which she saw as evolving from one to the other with ‘modifications’ leading to ‘increased capability’.¹⁹

The reality is that there was an abrupt change in the decade after 1800, with regard to instrument builders, organology, shoulder orientation, repertory, performance practice, and the cultural background of the new performers and audience. The living, vernacular tradition effectively met its demise at the same time that John Egan, the gifted pedal-harp builder, began production of his diminutive ‘Royal Portable Irish harp’ at the turn of the nineteenth century in Dublin.²⁰ This instrument was strung with the gut strings of the European pedal harp, the E \flat -major tuning of the *harpe organisée* (the single-action pedal harp), and had a pedal-harp-derived, semitone-raising mechanism to allow modulation within the European tonal system. By contrast, the old Irish harp operated within a diatonic, modal system, which did not require any such technological novelties.²¹

Increasing technological capability in manufacturing, a growing urban middle class and wider socio-political factors on two continents led to these changes. The anti-British

¹⁸ Lawlor 2012, 53

¹⁹ O’Donnell, Mary Louise. 2014. *Ireland’s Harp: The Shaping of Irish Identity c.1770 to 1880*. Dublin: University College Dublin Press, 2, 4, 93, 94.

²⁰ For an overview of the birth of the ancestor of the modern Irish harp see Hurrell 2019.

²¹ There is evidence of experimental chromaticization of the early Irish harp in the seventeenth century but this was sporadic and fleeting. For more information on chromatic Irish harps, see Billinge, Michael, and Bonnie Shaljean. 1987. ‘The Dalway or Fitzgerald Harp (1621)’. *Early Music* 15 (2): 175–87, and Holman, Peter. 1987. ‘The Harp in Stuart England: New Light on William Lawes’s Harp Consorts’. *Early Music* 15 (2): 188–203.

revolutionaries of the period – Wolfe Tone, Thomas Russell, Robert Emmett and others – were inspired by the American and French revolutions, and spurred on by the iniquities of British-Irish trade laws to lead rebellions against Britain in 1798 and 1803. These revolutionary leaders were Protestant liberals, and were examples of an increasing embracing of Irish identity by the colonial class, when indigenous culture was decimated and no longer a threat.²² This encouraged a newly receptive demographic to explore their new identity with the help of a new harp, painted a nationalistic green, and decorated with shamrocks, but which replicated the familiar construction type and ergonomics of the pedal harp in a romantically small size akin to that of a late-medieval Irish harp.

In attempting to connect early and modern Irish harps, in *Irish Harping, 1900-2010: 'It is New Strung'* (Lawlor 2012), Helen Lawlor went as far as to refer to the organologically distinct instrument with an 800+ year history as a ‘prototype’ for the modern Irish harp.²³ Lawlor further suggested that Irish harp performance practice from the eighteenth- to the twenty-first centuries may comfortably be situated within a single aesthetic – from the idiom of the eighteenth-century harper, Dennis O’Hampsay, to the still Romantic, arpeggiated song accompaniments performed by 1950s Irish harpists, to the Carolan arrangements of a twenty-first-century harpist.²⁴ This dissertation will, to the contrary, identify distinct idiomatic features of vernacular early Irish harping pre 1800 that separate it sharply from all post-1800 traditions associated with the modern Irish harp.

²² Battersby, Eileen. 2015. ‘Charlotte Brooke: “A Glow of Cultivated Genius”’. The Irish Times. 3 July 2015. www.irishtimes.com/culture/books/charlotte-brooke-a-glow-of-cultivated-genius-1.2128889

²³ Lawlor, Helen. 2012. *Irish Harping, 1900-2010: 'It Is New Strung'*. Dublin: Four Courts Press, 61.

²⁴ I will come back to this claim in Chapter 2.2.3, 122–123.

The ‘one Irish harp’ narrative distorts and muddies the waters of Irish harp history, enabling modern-Irish-harp performers and scholars to borrow the illustrious mantle, aura and antiquity of the older, vernacular harp, sometimes falsely situating their own instrument within a putative continuum that they attempt to construct, from antiquity to the present day. One effect of this narrative was the successful 2019 bid by Ireland to gain UNESCO Intangible Cultural Heritage status for Irish harping. The explanatory text provided by Harp Ireland for the UNESCO website neatly side-stepped the historical hiatus which led to two distinct, unrelated traditions, with statements that ‘the’ instrument ‘has been played for more than 1,000 years’ and that ‘[c]ontemporary gut-strung harpers have safeguarded the old repertoire and ensured its continuity’.²⁵ But there is no one Irish harp which has such a continuous history, and I would argue further that Irish harp repertory has not been played continuously throughout the nineteenth- and twentieth centuries, and has therefore not been safeguarded by the modern instrument and its practices. This is evidenced by the ubiquitous use of problematic, non-harp sources of harp repertory – collected from melodic instruments, and then further edited – in contemporary performance, which I outlined previously. On the contrary, the ubiquity of the modern Irish harp has led to the filling in of a cultural gap with something altogether new and different, leaving little appetite for knowledge about the repertory, techniques, aesthetic and performance practice of the older, vernacular instrument.

²⁵ Notwithstanding one mention of nylon, two suggestions of gut as a contemporary stringing material for the modern Irish harp, in the text, fits the pattern I see amongst some of that instrument’s performers – of making the modern Irish harp sound as archaic as possible in order to fit the desired narrative of historicity. Gut is, in fact, now almost completely unknown as a stringing material for modern Irish harps, which are almost exclusively strung in nylon or carbon fibre.

1.5.2 A Borrowed Mantle

In a similar manner, modern Irish harpists and harp organisations in twentieth- and twenty-first century Ireland use imagery of early Irish harps to promote concerts, events, festivals, repertory publications, and sound recordings, which draw on the antiquity, nobility, physical beauty, and cultural importance, of the older harp while delivering artistic work that bears little or no relation either to the original instrument, the repertory or historical performance practice.²⁶ The fact that this is never articulated as cognitively dissonant or disingenuous points to the success of decades of such practices, and a concomitant, unquestioned narrative of a continuum in Irish harp history, which operates at all levels in cultural affairs in Ireland, and now further afield, with the help of UNESCO.

1.5.3 No Historical Sources?

In 1959, Colm Ó Lochlainn wrote that ‘[t]he truth is that we know as little of the harpers’ lower register work, unison, harmony or counterpoint, as we do of ‘what songs the sirens sang’’.²⁷ No awareness was ever indicated by my own harp tutors, in 1980’s Ireland, of historical Irish-harp performance practice being distinct from more modern practice; the early-Irish-harp repertory I played was in twentieth-century arrangements only. As late as 1999, Douglas Gunn still declared that

²⁶ Publicity flyers and posters from the second decade of the twenty-first century for the summer festival of the oldest organisation promoting harping in Ireland, Cairde na Cruite, have depicted the late medieval Trinity College harp (no citable images available). See also a CD, and accompanying book, of modern arrangements of vernacular-harper repertory, depicting an eighteenth-century Irish harp on the cover, Loughnane, Kathleen. 2009a. *The Harpers’ Connellon*. CD. Kathleen Loughnane. www.custysmusic.com/products/kathleen-loughnane, and a publicity photo of a proto-early Irish harp on the web pages of modern-Irish- and pedal-harpist, Dr. Anne-Marie O’Farrell. O’Farrell, Anne-Marie. 2021. ‘Anne-Marie O’Farrell Harpist and Composer’. 2021. www.annemarieofarrell.com

²⁷ Ó Lochlainn, Colm. 1959. ‘Review. Carolan: The Life, Times and Music of an Irish Harper by Donal O’Sullivan’. *Studies: An Irish Quarterly Review* 48 (190): 218–22. My thanks to Simon Chadwick for bringing this review to my attention.

*It is not known how Carolan or the other harpers played their music...Nothing was ever committed to paper. All present-day performances of Carolan's music must therefore be in 'arrangements' of some kind or other.*²⁸

The following year, the first catalogue of the sole Irish MS collection known to contain direct transcriptions of early Irish harp repertory was published²⁹ but in 2020, one practice-based academic was silent about this source of repertory, and its performance-practice evidence.³⁰ Dr Fiachra Ó Corragáin's 'Bunting Archive' website relating to Edward Bunting's earliest published piano arrangements, suggested that the latter are as close as the modern researcher can get to historical harp performance practice; that the music may now only be approached through European-art-music, keyboard arrangements:

*Although direct, accurate transcriptions may be the ideal artefacts of historical musical traditions, Bunting's work preserves precious music that may otherwise have been lost forever, and illuminates at least a glimpse of eighteenth-century harping practices.*³¹

This online performance-practice project was funded by The Arts Council of Ireland. Such a misrepresentation of source availability provided the author with a *raison d'être* for performing Bunting piano arrangements of harp repertory, and relieved him of any need to engage with the harp-manuscript sources where these exist. In my literature review I will take up the issue of harpists and scholars, over the last ninety years, who

²⁸ Valley, Fintan. 1999. *The Companion to Irish Traditional Music*. Cork: Cork University Press, 56.

²⁹ Moloney, Colette. 2000. *The Irish Music Manuscripts of Edward Bunting 1773-1843: An Introduction and Catalogue*. Dublin: Irish Traditional Music Archive. The existence of this collection is now well-known, and many of its MSS are digitized and freely available online.

³⁰ Ó Corragáin, Fiachra. 2020. 'Bunting Archive: A Digital Archive of Edward Bunting's Collected Music'. Bunting Archive. 2020. www.buntingarchive.ie

³¹ Ibid.

have also chosen Bunting's piano arrangements as a basis for their analytical work and editions, in preference to his field transcriptions from harpers.

The website project mentioned above followed on from a 2016 project of Music Network, Ireland's national music touring and development organisation, in which Ó Corragáin participated. This was a government-funded national harp project that took the form of a series of audio-visual recordings by professional Irish harpists of 'all 66 tunes of the Volume 1 Bunting Collection, which will include solo performances from several chosen professional Harper's [*sic*]. For the recording, each musician will be sent 6 tunes from the collection and **asked to record the arrangements as written by Bunting**' [my emphasis].³² The invitation stressed that '[r]especting the tradition will be paramount'. Evidently no-one in this national music organization had the requisite expertise to understand that the tradition that would thereby be respected would be European baroque to Classical keyboard music, rather than vernacular Irish harping, rendering the project a failure according to its own criteria. The outputs of this project are now housed at The Irish Traditional Music Archive, which has based a future project on this one.³³ So here we have national cultural organisations, with the best of intentions but lacking appropriate knowledge, who are funding and perpetuating misleading, clearly inauthentic presentations of material that lies at the foundation of

³² Email received 22 July 2016. I responded, pointing out the problematic nature of this stipulation, which was subsequently loosened to allow harpists to arrange the melodies after their own fashion, if they chose.

³³ Irish Traditional Music Archive. 2019a. 'The Bunting Harp Collection: A Digital Commission'. ITMA. 26 June 2019. www.itma.ie/latest/news/tenders-sought-for-the-bunting-com

Irish music culture. My own work to do otherwise, and that of my organisation, provides a tenuous alternative.³⁴

1.5.4 Gaps in Research Focus

Until the last decade or so, there has been a lack of focus on the academic study of organological and performance-practice elements of early Irish harp studies.³⁵ Over the last twenty-five years, a prevalent theme in Irish harp research referencing the period pre 1800 has been that of Irish harp imagery as a political symbol and trope.³⁶ This has allowed the authors to engage with the subject without the need to tackle thorny, concrete questions: the material object, its repertory, and performance practices. The most prolific author on the history of the early Irish harp has been Seán Donnelly whose published output dates from 1984.³⁷ Studies that reference repertory and performance practice in addition to providing an historical context have been rare; they include Tristram Robson's 1997 doctoral dissertation and John Cunningham's published work

³⁴ In 2003, I founded The Historical Harp Society of Ireland. This organisation is spearheading an international revival in the study, and building, of the instrument, and in the rediscovery, and dissemination, of its traditions. Our work has now been acknowledged by the President of Ireland, who has become the Society's patron.

³⁵ The most recent organological overview of the majority of the surviving harps is still Armstrong, Robert Bruce. 1904. *The Irish and Highland Harps*. Edinburgh: David Douglas.

³⁶ See Boydell, Barra. 1995. 'The Female Harp: The Irish Harp in 18th- and Early-19th-Century Romantic Nationalism'. *Music in Art* 20 (1): 10; 1996. 'The Iconography of the Irish Harp as a National Symbol'. *Irish Musical Studies* 5: 131–45, Cullen, Emily. 2008. 'Meanings and Cultural Functions of the Irish Harp as Trope, Icon and Instrument: The Construction of an Irish Self-Image'. PhD dissertation, Galway: NUI Galway, and O'Donnell, Mary Louise. 2010. 'A Driving Image of Revolution: The Irish Harp and Its Utopian Space in the Eighteenth Century'. *Utopian Studies* 21 (2): 252–73.

³⁷ See Donnelly, Seán. 1984a. 'An Irish Harper in the Royal Musick'. *Ceol: A Journal of Irish Music* VI (2): 34–36; 1993. 'An Eighteenth Century Harp Medley'. *Ceol Na hÉireann* 1: 17–31; 2003. 'The Captain and the Harper: Two Mayo Brothers of Elizabethan Times'. *Cathair Na Mart, Journal of the Westport Historical Society*, no. 23: 18–34; 2008. 'The "Whip of Dunboyne" and Other Irish Dance Tunes from Tudor and Stuart Leinster'. *Ossory, Laois and Leinster* 3: 127–67.

on the early Irish harp in Stuart England.³⁸ The main body of academic work on surviving vernacular Irish harp repertory, i.e. the music contained in IRLN-Bu Special Collections MS 4 (the Bunting collection), was undertaken in the 1920s to 1930s by Donal O’Sullivan, who published the first modern transcriptions of the melodies of harp compositions.³⁹ As previously noted, a catalogue of MS 4 was only published in 2000. In the field of early Irish harping, historical performance pioneers have, over the last forty years, for the most part outside the academy, developed approaches more sympathetic to the instrument within Practice-Research parameters.⁴⁰ In more recent years, these have been joined by others who have begun to contribute increasingly to academic work in the field both within and outside the academy. Four have close connections with The Historical Harp Society of Ireland: Simon Chadwick, Sylvia Crawford, Ann Heymann and Dr Karen Loomis.⁴¹ But there is still a notable absence of

³⁸ See Robson, Tristram Newton Fatkin. 1997. ‘The Irish Harp in Art Music C1550 - C1650’. PhD dissertation, Durham University. <http://etheses.dur.ac.uk/9354/>, and Cunningham, John. 2008. ‘“Some Consorts of Instruments Are Sweeter than Others”: Further Light on the Harp of William Lawes’s Harp Consorts’. *The Galpin Society Journal*, 147–76; 2010. *The Consort Music of William Lawes, 1602-1645*. Boydell & Brewer.

³⁹ O’Sullivan, Donal., ed. 1927–1939. *Journal of the Irish Folk Song Society*. 6 vols. 22–29. London: The Irish Folk Song Society.

⁴⁰ The most significant of these have been Ann Heymann (USA) and Gráinne Yeats (IRL), with Heymann almost single-handedly spearheading the modern international revival from the 1980s until 2003, when, at her encouragement, The Historical Harp Society of Ireland was founded to give organisational weight to the endeavour.

⁴¹ See Chadwick, Simon. n.d. ‘Early Gaelic Harp Info’. Early Gaelic Harp Info. Accessed 17 April 2020a. www.earlygaelicharp.info; 2020. ‘Provenance and Recording of an Eighteenth-Century Harp’. *The Galpin Society Journal*, no. 73 (March): 85–100, 199–201, Loomis, Karen. 2010a. ‘Edward Bunting’s Annotated Volumes of Irish Music: An Overlooked Treasure at the British Library’. http://academia.edu/6808341/Edward_Bunting_s_Annotated_Volumes_of_Irish_Music_An_Overlooked_Treasure_at_the_British_Library; 2015. ‘The Organology of the Queen Mary and Lamont Harps’. PhD dissertation, University of Edinburgh. <http://era.ed.ac.uk/handle/1842/19551>, Dooley, Paul. 2016. ‘The Harp in the Time of Giraldus’. In *Harp Studies: Perspectives on the Irish Harp*, 32–56. Dublin: Four Courts Press Ltd; 2017. ‘Harp Tuning Practice in Medieval Ireland and Wales’. PhD dissertation, University of Limerick, Heymann, Ann. 2016. ‘Three Iconic Gaelic Harp Pieces’. In *Harp Studies: Perspectives on the Irish Harp*, 184–208. Dublin: Four Courts Press Ltd, and Crawford, Sylvia. 2019. ‘Towards the Potential Role of a Neglected Eighteenth-Century Harper in Cultural Tourism in the Oriel Region’. MA dissertation, Dundalk: Dundalk Institute of Technology.

published Practice-Research outputs which involve academic research combined with expert praxis resulting in reconstruction and performance of historical repertory on copies of period instruments. To date, no academic materials relating to dissemination of expert, Practice-Research knowledge in the field, i.e. performing editions of repertory, have been published.⁴² Existing academic editions of harp compositions that show evidence of lower-register texture are often at best inadequate, and at worst inaccurate and misleading. I will expand on the problems of these in Chapter 2. There has also been no concerted examination, categorisation, and practical application, of vital aspects of historical Irish harp performance-practice evidence of the kind that this dissertation addresses.

Within Ireland itself, there is still a great lack of familiarity with, or knowledge of, any aspect of the early Irish harp beyond its visual image. But there is also, as I have shown in examples above, a deliberately constructed forgetting in order to lend the aura of the old to the new; a denial of the early Irish harp's clear organological distinction, which can be discerned from the early nineteenth century: the newly invented instrument was given the same name as the more ancient one. There has been an ignoring, by almost all harpists in Ireland, of the relevant, and valuable, secondary-source performance-practice material that requires time, patience and some expertise to access,⁴³ and a pre-

⁴² Ann Heymann has published the only expert-practitioner-produced performing editions of early Irish repertory to date. Heymann, Ann. 1989. *Secrets of the Gaelic Harp*. Winthrop, MN: Clairseach Publications; 1998. *A Gaelic Harper's First Tunes: A Primer for Clairseach Based on Remnants of Gaelic Oral Tradition Including the First Tunes Taught Student Harpers*. Winthrop, MN.: Clairseach Publications.

⁴³ In Ireland, harpists Kathleen Loughnane, on modern Irish harp, and the late Gráinne Yeats, on early Irish harp, have been exceptions to this. Internationally, harpist Ann Heymann has been at the forefront of working from the Bunting MSS since the 1970s, and has encouraged an international cohort of harpists to engage with them.

occupation with the easier-to-grasp issues of imagery and symbolism, leading to a profound cultural loss that is rarely recognised, acknowledged or named.

1.6 The Early Irish Harp

1.6.1 Overview

The early Irish harp was the much-admired, courtly music instrument of the Gaelic world⁴⁴ from at least the eleventh century until its demise in the early eighteenth century (Scotland) and early nineteenth century (Ireland). Related nomenclature is still the subject of debate but it may have taken over the term *cruit* from the lyre and was, by the fourteenth century, also known as *cláirseach*, with the player known as a *cláirseoir*, even (with various spellings) in English-language contexts. The instrument became, and remains, the national emblem of Ireland, the earliest heraldic form surviving in a thirteenth-century source in continental Europe.⁴⁵ Earlier instruments, such as the Trinity College harp, had a ‘low-headed’ form, while the later, eighteenth-century instruments, such as the Mulagh Mast harp, had a ‘high-headed’ form, with longer strings in the lower register than in previous centuries.

⁴⁴ Comprised of the island of Ireland, and the Scottish Islands and Highlands.

⁴⁵ On part B of the Wijnbergen Roll of Arms, a north French or possibly Low Country armorial from c. 1280–1330. See Kennedy, John J. 1991. ‘The Arms of Ireland: Medieval and Modern’. *The Coat of Arms* 9 (No. 155): 91–109.



Figure 1. *The late-medieval Trinity College harp*
Image Courtesy of Bridgeman Images



Figure 2. *A copy of the 18th-century Mulagh Mast harp*
Photo Courtesy of Pedro Ferreira

The long resonance of the early Irish harp's wire strings, and the virtuosity of the early Gaelic court harpers, astonished cultured outsiders from the late 1100s, who remarked on the sophistication and subtlety of the performance practice. Gerald of Wales, the much-quoted relative of the head of the Norman invasion of Ireland, who was a cleric and royal secretary to Henry II, stated in his *Topographia Hiberniae* of c. 1185 that:

It is only in the case of musical instruments that I find any commendable diligence among these people; on them they are incomparably more skilled than any other people we have seen. The manner of playing is not as on British instruments to which we are accustomed, slow and solemn, but truly quick and joyous, while the sound is sweet and pleasant. It is remarkable how, with such rapid finger work, the rhythm of the music is maintained, and with unimpaired art throughout, against the ornate

*measures [divisions?] and the extremely intricate organa [polyphony?] with such smooth rapidity, such sharing of the material between the parts, such concord achieved through [rapidly shifting?] discord, the melodic line is preserved and complete...So subtly do they approach and leave their rhythmic patterns, they freely play the tinkling sounds [on the thinner strings] above the more sustained tone of the thicker strings, they take such secret delight and caress [the string] so sensuously that the most important element in their art appears to be in veiling it, as if 'it were the better for being hidden, art revealed brings shame.'*⁴⁶

The early Irish harp was much more robustly constructed than its medieval British and continental counterpart, the slender, gut-strung harp with bray pins, which gave that instrument its distinctive buzzing timbre.⁴⁷ This latter harp held sway until the advent of larger instruments, and later chromatic, multi-row harps in Spain and Italy in the late sixteenth century. Apart from occasional fleeting chromaticization of the Irish harp, only the size of the instrument increased over the centuries until it was finally overtaken – after at least 800 years – by the newer Irish harp. There are now some eighteen surviving instruments, and other fragments, whose whereabouts are known.⁴⁸

Heavily built, with a resonating chamber hewn from a single log, the three parts which together made up the early Irish harp's triangular shape were joined with mortice-and-tenon joints held together by the tension of the strings, without the need for nails or

⁴⁶ Quoted, and translated, in Buckley, Ann. 2005. 'Music in Ireland to c. 1500' in *A New History of Ireland: Volume I: Prehistoric and Early Ireland*, 760-61. Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press.

⁴⁷ See the Wartburg harp, Eisenach, from c. 1400, and the harp depicted in Hieronymous Bosch's *The Garden of Earthly Delights* c. 1500. Horse hair is also known to have been used as a stringing material in medieval Wales.

⁴⁸ See Chadwick, Simon. 2019b. 'Old Harps in Museums'. Early Gaelic Harp Info. March 2019. www.earlygaelicharp.info/harps/ for a list. See also Armstrong 1904 for an overview of the surviving instruments.

glue.⁴⁹ It was strung with brass wire.⁵⁰ Irish harpers were highly-accomplished, high-status musicians at Gaelic – and foreign – royal courts, and later in the Great Houses in Ireland, until the end of the tradition. Their sophisticated playing- and string-damping techniques were partially documented in Edward Bunting’s third and final publication.⁵¹ By the 1600s already, the ongoing decimation of the aristocratic Gaelic culture that had fostered the instrument culminated in the destruction of the artistic elite: the bardic poetic order, and that of the harpers. This led to a point of no return by the 1700s. Since the early Irish harp’s repertory belonged to the medieval oral traditions of Europe – with the first notations of its repertory not in evidence until the seventeenth century⁵² – the precise nature of the music that was performed on the instrument, until relatively late in its history, remains speculative.

1.6.2 Repertory

Ecclesiastical

Plainchant

Though there is no direct evidence for the accompaniment of plainchant by early Irish harps, there are accounts, from preceding- and later centuries, of harps accompanying sacred music. The early-fifteenth-century Great Book of Lecan mentions a ninth-

⁴⁹ The two earliest, surviving examples are the *Queen Mary* harp – likely of fourteenth-century Scottish origin – at the National Museum of Scotland in Edinburgh, and the *Trinity College* [or *Brian Boru*] harp in Trinity College Dublin’s Old Library.

⁵⁰ Some sources also reference silver; there is poetic mention of gold, and some eighteenth-century harps had iron strings in the extremity of the treble range.

⁵¹ ‘Of the method of playing, and musical vocabulary of the old Irish harpers’ in Bunting 1840, 18–29.

⁵² Demonstrated in the *port* genre, which first appeared in Scottish lute MSS of the first half of the seventeenth century.

century Irish abbot singing to an *ochttédaich* or ‘eight-stringed’ instrument.⁵³ Irish iconography of the 700s–1100s shows stringed instruments in religious and biblical contexts, possibly played by professional musicians, clerics or, ubiquitously, by King David. By the twelfth century, there was a gradual proscription on instruments accompanying plainchant in mainland Europe, with the exception of the organ,⁵⁴ but this new trend may not have been as closely adhered to in peripheral areas like Ireland since Gerald of Wales, in the late twelfth century, remarked:

...Wherefore [music] stirs courage in the bold and moves holy intentions in the pious. Hence it is that bishops, abbots and holy men in Ireland carry citharas about⁵⁵ and have grown accustomed to play on them, delighting in a holy manner.⁵⁶

Later liturgical performance

Accounts from eighteenth-century Ireland indicate that harpers of that – and the preceding – century, composed and performed instrumental music for liturgical use. The mid-eighteenth century *History of Kerry* mentions the seventeenth-century harper, Nioclás Dall Pierce’s ‘...singular capacity of composing Lamentations funeral additions and Elevations...’⁵⁷ Another eighteenth-century poem that mentions Nioclás Dall also mentions the harp in church in the context of *orgáin, cláirseach is sailm* [‘organ, harp

⁵³ O’Curry, Eugene. 1873c. *On the Manners and Customs of the Ancient Irish: A Series of Lectures*. Vol. 3. 3 vols. London, Dublin, Edinburgh, New York: Williams and Norgate, 3:261–3.

⁵⁴ Ó Cróinín, Dáibhí, ed. 2005. *A New History of Ireland: Volume I: Prehistoric and Early Ireland*. Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 804.

⁵⁵ At this period, *cithara* probably denotes a harp rather than a lyre.

⁵⁶ Gerald of Wales. c. 1185. ‘GB-Lbl MS Arundel 14 Topographia Hiberniae’. Quoted in Fletcher, Alan J. 2001. *Drama and the Performing Arts in Pre-Cromwellian Ireland: A Repertory of Sources and Documents from the Earliest Times Until c.1642*. Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 166.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 489

and psalms’].⁵⁸ The eighteenth-century harper, Thady Elliott, ‘usually accompanied the service [Mass] on his harp...’⁵⁹ as did the most famous harper of that century, Turlough Carolan, who ‘frequently assisted with his voice and his harp at the elevation of the Host; and has composed several pieces of church-music, which are deemed excellent’.⁶⁰ Carolan’s student, the scholar and antiquarian Charles O’Conor, of the distinguished O’Conor Don family in co. Roscommon, recalled in his memoirs his father, Denis O’Conor, having ‘hired a number of harpers to strike up a solemn concert at Midnight Mass’.⁶¹ O’Conor also wrote to a friend recalling a piece of sacred music performed by Carolan:

*On Easter-day I heard him play it at mass. He called the piece GLORIA IN EXCELSIS DEO, and he sung that hymn in Irish verses as he played. At the Lord’s Prayer he stopped; and after the Priest ended it, he sang again, and played a piece, which he denominated the RESURRECTION.*⁶²

Secular vernacular idiom

The early Irish harp’s performance practice belonged to the medieval oral traditions of Europe, with no repertory notated until a possible indirect appearance in seventeenth-

⁵⁸ The poem ‘Conspóid Dhonnchaidh Mhic Labhra agus Ghiollamhuire Chaoich Mhic Cartháin’ in O’Rahilly, Thomas Francis. 1927. *Measgra Dánta: Miscellaneous Irish Poems*. Part 1. Dublin and Cork: Cork University Press, 9.

⁵⁹ Bunting, Edward. 1840. *The Ancient Music of Ireland...* Dublin: Hodges and Smith, 79. <https://archive.org/details/ancientmusicofir00bunt> For an amusing story about Thady Elliott taking wagers to play inappropriate music during especially solemn parts of the Mass see Milligan Fox, Charlotte. 1911a. *Annals of the Irish Harpers*. London: John Murray, 142–44.

⁶⁰ Walker, Joseph Cooper. 1786. *Historical Memoirs of the Irish Bards*. London: T. Payne and Son, Appendix VI, 91. A Carolan composition entitled ‘The Elevation’ survives in Lee, Edmund. 1780. *A Collection of Irish Airs by the Celebrated Composers Carolan and Conolan*. Dublin: Edmund Lee, 17.

⁶¹ O’Conor, Charles. 1796. *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of the Late Charles O’Conor, of Belanagare. By ... Charles O’Conor, D.D.* Dublin: J. Mehain, 162.

⁶² Walker 1786, Appendix VI, 91

century Scottish lute and mandour MSS. The idiom of the earliest secular music performed on the instrument therefore remains elusive.

Bardic-poetry accompaniment

Syllabic bardic poetry in Irish, sung to accompaniment, was the apogee of medieval courtly performance art up to the early-modern period.⁶³ Harpers accompanied the singing of praise poems, and possibly laments, epic lays, histories and genealogies. That the poetic metres found their counterpart in measured, metrical harp accompaniments may be deduced from this late description:

*...the Poem...was perform'd with a great deal of Ceremony, in a Consort of Vocal and Instrumental Musick. The Poet himself said nothing, but directed and took care, that every body else did his Part right. The Bards having first had the Composition from him, got it well by Heart, and now pronounc'd it orderly, keeping even Pace with a Harp, touch'd upon that Occasion; no other musical instrument being allow'd of for the said Purpose than this alone, as being Masculin, much sweeter, and fuller than any other.*⁶⁴

A poem that at least predates 1200 also echoes the concept of a sophisticated rapport between harper and singer, the harp being *ar aen* ['at one'] with a clear voice,⁶⁵ while the self-accompanied singing harper might be deduced from thirteenth-century, and later, references.⁶⁶

⁶³ See examples in Bergin, Osborn. 1970. *Irish Bardic Poetry*. Dublin: The Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, and at University College Cork. n.d. 'CELt: Corpus of Electronic Texts'. Accessed 9 July 2019. celt.ucc.ie/index.html

⁶⁴ Clanricarde, Marquis of. 1722. *Memoirs of the Right Honourable the Marquis of Clanricarde, Lord Deputy General of Ireland*. London: James Woodman. Quoted in Fletcher 2001, 484

⁶⁵ In IRL-Dn MS 7. For an account of the poem see O Daly, Máirín. 1962. 'Mesce Chúanach'. *Ériu* 19: 75–80. My thanks to Seán Donnelly for bringing this poem to my attention.

⁶⁶ The Annals of Loch Cé record the death, in 1226, of Aedh Mac Duinnsleíbhe Í Shochlachain, '*sai canntairechta & crotglesa, maroen re gles do denum do fein nach dernadh remhe*', ['a master of singing, and of harp tuning, who invented a tuning for himself that had not been made before'], and in 1496, the Annals of Ulster record the death of Florinnti danceh-Ua Corcraín '*sai cruitire & fhir thed*

Medieval variation sets and marches

It is still the subject of debate whether the *ceòl mór* ['big / great music' a.k.a. *piobaireachd* ['piping']] tradition of variation sets in Scottish piping of the seventeenth century onwards, together with a unique source of variation sets in late-medieval Welsh harping,⁶⁷ had a parallel in Irish harping and in vocal-accompaniment practice. Substantial evidence is lacking but it is not implausible. The refrain-and-episodes structure of *Burns's march* – reconstructed in this dissertation – may hint at the existence of such a genre in Ireland.⁶⁸ The medieval *rondeau* form of this unique, anomalous piece is already indicative of an antique origin.⁶⁹ Other Irish marches played by harpers were also specific to clans or kings as evidenced by their titles, for example, *The king of Leix's march*.

Harp songs

Strophic songs associated with harping survive from before 1650 but it is the vocal repertory of the later seventeenth- and eighteenth-century harp composers that has best survived. Harp songs were sung and played simultaneously by a single performer. Most fall into three categories: love songs such as *Seón* ['John'] *Jones* (included in this

& fer budh roibhind do bel & do laim ['eminent harper and stringed-instrument player and winningly sweet in the mouth and the hand'] Breathnach, Breandán. 1971b. *Folk Music & Dances of Ireland*. Dublin: Talbot Press. Dublin: Mercier Press, 66.

⁶⁷ ap Huw, Robert. Early 17th century. 'GB-Lbl Add. MS 14905 Robert Ap Huw MS'. A facsimile and further information is available online: Lindahl, Greg. n.d. 'Facsimile of the Robert Ap Huw Manuscript (B. M. Addl. MS 14905)'. Accessed 15 November 2018. www.pbm.com/~lindahl/ap_huw/facsimile/

⁶⁸ Two eighteenth-century harpers had *Burns's march* in their repertory.

⁶⁹ AA BB AA CC AA DD AA etc. The survival of medieval-French compositional forms in Ireland is unsurprising given the military and cultural invasion which moved along a France – England – Wales – Ireland trajectory from the mid-eleventh century. More tenuously, Bunting also mentioned – in his own copy of his 1809 publication – an association between this piece and a family that flourished in the thirteenth century: '[i]t is said to have been composed for the Burns's who were Lords of the Marshs or papes near Newry in the 13th Century'. 1809b. Bunting, Edward. 'GB-Lbl Add. MS 41508'. *A General Collection of the Ancient Music of Ireland...* London: Clementi & Co, music page 6.

dissertation), praise songs for patrons, and epithalamiums, celebrating marriages. Bawdy, vulgar songs are rare but not unknown; these were even sung by female harpers, for example, *Giolla na scríob* [‘the libertine’], collected from the eighteenth-century harper, Kate Martin.

Didactic compositions

Burns’s march is one of three surviving, didactic pieces. It functioned as a study apparently, enabling the inexperienced performer to learn and practice treble-hand striking- and string-damping gestures. Two simpler didactic compositions also survive.⁷⁰

Preludes

The *féachain gléis* included in this dissertation is the sole, surviving example of the *féachain gléis* or Irish harp-prelude genre. The harper, Dennis O’Hampsay, explained that the harpers ‘were accustomed to play the ancient caoinans or lamentations, with their corresponding preludes’ but that the antiquity of the genre made him very reluctant to perform it: “‘What’s the use of doing so? [N]o one can now understand it now, not even any of the harpers now living.’” Bunting explained further that ‘[t]his relic is but one half of the prelude, as he solemnly averred that he had forgotten the remainder.’⁷¹ One English-language title for the surviving example is *Try if it is in tune*, and Seán Donnelly has translated the Irish title as a ‘preliminary test or tuning trial’. Donnelly has further clarified that several examples of this phrase are to be found in fifteenth- and

⁷⁰ *Mailí Bhán* [‘fair Molly’] on MS 4.33.1, 71 and *Féilacháin* [‘butterfly’] on MS 4.33.3, 17.

⁷¹ Bunting 1840, 83

sixteenth-century literary manuscripts in connection with scribes trimming and testing their pens before writing.⁷²

Harp tuning as a performative activity is documented in medieval British and continental European practice. Christopher Page has traced a harp-tuning-hero motif to Richard of Ely's *Gesta Herewardi*, written between c. 1109 and 1131⁷³, and the French *Roman de Horn* romance tale of c. 1170 also sees the eponymous hero take his harp and tune it '...[c]um ces cordes tuchout, cum les feseit trembler, asquantes feiz chanter asquantes organer...' ['touching the strings and making them vibrate, sometimes causing them to sing and at other times join in harmonies'].⁷⁴ The harp-playing Tristan in the eponymous, thirteenth-century French romance, equally performs tuning.⁷⁵ Ann Heymann has situated the Irish *féachain gléis* as compositionally parallel with the earliest surviving European keyboard preludes⁷⁶ and has noted that a description of Adam Ileborgh's preludes of 1448 – '[they] show a melodic line in rambling style and free rhythm, extending over a few sustained chords' might as easily be a description of this Irish prelude.⁷⁷

⁷² Donnelly, Seán. 1984b. 'The Irish Harp in England 1590-1690'. *Ceol: A Journal of Irish Music* VII: 54–62.

⁷³ Page, Christopher. 1987. *Voices and Instruments of the Middle Ages*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 112.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 3–5

⁷⁵ Maillard, Jean. 1959. 'Coutumes Musicals Au Moyen Âge d'après Le "Tristan" En Prose'. In *Cahiers De Civilisation Médiévale*, 7:341–53. 2. Poitiers: Université de Poitiers, Centre d'études supérieures de civilisation médiévale, 345.

⁷⁶ Heymann 2016, 197

⁷⁷ Davison, Archibald Thompson, and Willi Apel. 1947. *Historical Anthology of Music*. USA: Oxford University Press, 225.

Caoines

Edward Bunting wrote that the *caoine* [‘lament’] ‘was a solemn piece of music, intended as a tribute of respect to the deceased, and was looked on as the greatest test of the abilities of the harper. It consisted of three divisions in one lesson, and was not intended to be sung.’⁷⁸ Bunting dated the esoteric lament included in this dissertation, *Cumha caoine an Albanaigh*, by John Scott (c. 1570–c. 1650) for baron Purcell of Loughmoe, co. Tipperary, to c. 1600.⁷⁹ This suggests that Irish harps were involved in *caoinés* for dead patrons from at least the sixteenth century but probably much earlier, with Edward Bunting making an otherwise unsubstantiated claim that Scott’s brother, Harry Scott, also composed a lament, for baron Hussey of Galtrim, co. Meath.⁸⁰ Later in the harping tradition, laments were sung to harp accompaniment, with eighteenth-century examples by Turlough Carolan (1670–1738) still surviving.

Ports

The earliest examples of the instrumental genre connected with harping, known as the *port*, are found in seventeenth-century Scottish MSS for lute and other fretted, plucked instruments.⁸¹ Further examples survive in the Bunting MS collection, and in an early nineteenth-century collection from the Isle of Mull in Scotland, the latter captured indirectly from the eighteenth-century Irish harper, Echlin Ó Catháin.⁸²

⁷⁸ Bunting 1840, 90–91

⁷⁹ Ibid., Index

⁸⁰ Ibid., 69

⁸¹ See Graham, George Farquhar. 1847. ‘GB-En MS Adv. 5.2.18 Robert Gordon of Straloch Lute Book (1627-9) Transcription’, Skene, John. Early- to mid-17th century. ‘GB-En Ms. Adv. 5.2.15 Skene Mandour Book’, and Wemyss, Lady Margaret. 1643–1644. ‘GB-En Dep. 314 No. 23 Wemyss Lute Book’. Fife.

⁸² Maclean-Clephane, Margaret, Anna Jane Maclean-Clephane, and Wilmina Maclean-Clephane. Early 19th century. ‘GB-En MS 14949B [IRL-Dt MS 10615] Maclean-Clephane MSS’. For more on the *port* genre see Kinnaird, Alison, and Keith Sanger. 1992. *Tree of Strings: Crann Nan Teud: A History*

Non-vernacular influences

Medieval European

French chivalric influence on Irish poetry is well documented: the lyrics of the Irish love-song tradition were influenced by *amour courtois*⁸³ so it is not surprising to see the existence of the medieval-French *rondeau* form that I recognise in *Burns's march*. Similarly, Irish harp repertory includes examples reminiscent of the European *Nachtanz* ['after-dance']: a faster dance that uses related thematic material from a previous, related slower composition. Jigs follow seventeenth-century compositions such as *Port 7th* in the Maclean-Clephane MSS, *The Jointure* by Thomas Connellon (c. 1649–ante 1700) and also eighteenth-century Carolan praise songs such as *Mrs. Bermingham*, *Lady Dillon* and *Michael O'Connor*. Joan Rimmer has argued for further evidence of early European dance forms in the work of Carolan including estampies and bransles.⁸⁴

Renaissance European

Sixteenth- and seventeenth-century harpers working within European art-music environments – for colonial patrons in Ireland or at English aristocratic houses – would have been involved in the performance of contemporaneous European music, playing ubiquitous Renaissance dances. King James I's royal harper, the Irishman Cormac MacDermott, composed pavans and almaines.⁸⁵ Successive players of Irish harp at the English royal court performed in masques, and probably performed one, or more, voices

of the Harp in Scotland. Temple: Kinmor Music, 174–91, and McAulay, Karen E. 2009. 'Our Ancient National Airs: Scottish Song Collecting c.1760-1888'. <http://theses.gla.ac.uk/1242/1/2009mcaulay1phd.pdf>

⁸³ For an overview of its influence on Irish poetry see Ó Tuama, Seán. 1960. *An Grá in Amhráin na nDaoine*. Dublin: An Clochomhar Tta, 1960.

⁸⁴ See Rimmer, Joan. 1987. 'Patronage, Style and Structure in the Music Attributed to Turlough Carolan'. *Early Music* 15 (2): 164–74.

⁸⁵ Four of these can be heard on Armstrong, Siobhán, and The Irish Consort. 2018. *Music, Ireland and the Sixteenth Century*. CD. London: Destino Classics.

in broken consorts; they would likely also have played ground basses, to accompany instrumentalists and/or singers, and divisions, or improvised divisions over grounds themselves.⁸⁶ The Irish harp was also known in continental Europe at this period, reaching as far south as Florence by 1581, enabling the musician and music theoretician, Vincenzo Galilei – father of the astronomer – to describe an Irish harp he had been able to examine.⁸⁷ It also travelled as far east as Poland, and by the early seventeenth century was played at German and Danish courts.⁸⁸

Italianate baroque

A cadre of harpers who had once had royal patrons at Gaelic courts in the medieval period, and who were welcomed at English and continental courts in the seventeenth century, become travelling musicians by the eighteenth century. They were welcomed at the great Irish houses by descendants of Old English (Norman) and New English (Tudor) patrons alike, in addition to their traditional, Gaelic sponsors.

Italianate music became increasingly familiar in Ireland from the early eighteenth century, and was fashionable in the milieu in which the harpers and their aristocratic colonial patrons moved. Italian divas and instrumentalists performed in Dublin – the second city of the British empire – in addition to London, when they went on tour to Britain. The composer and conductor, Johann Sigismund Kusser (Cousser) (1660–

⁸⁶ For more on Cormac MacDermott, and the predominance of the Irish harp at the English court, see Holman, Peter. 1987, and Donnelly, Seán. 2000. ‘A Cork Musician at the Early Stuart Court: Daniel Duff O’Cahill (c.1580 – c.1660), “The Queen’s Harper”’. *Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society* 105: 1–26; 2008.

⁸⁷ Galilei, Vincentio. 1581. *Dialogo Di Vincentio Galilei Nobile Fiorentino Della Musica Antica, Et Della Moderna*. Florence: Giorgio Marescotti, 1443. An English translation can be found in Palisca, Claude V. 2003. *Dialogue on Ancient and Modern Music*. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 357.

⁸⁸ The latter three links are due to traffic from London rather than directly from Ireland. See Donnelly 2000, 4.

1727), moved to Dublin by 1707 and later became ‘Master of Musick attending his Majesty’s State in Ireland’. He had studied with the famous Jean-Baptiste Lully, in France, for six years in the 1670s, but was equally adept at Italian style and brought his expertise in both French and Italian music to Ireland.⁸⁹ Kusser’s death in 1727 created a vacancy that the influential Italian composer, and student of Corelli, Francesco Geminiani (1687-1762) was invited to fill but it was his student, Matthew Dubourg (1703-1767), who finally took up the position. Nonetheless, Geminiani spent a great deal of time in Ireland, from his first visit in 1733, until his eventual death in Dublin in 1762.⁹⁰ Dubourg was an English violin prodigy, musical director and composer who moved back and forth, professionally, between Dublin and London until 1765, after which he lived in London until his death two years later. He was a colleague and close friend of Handel, leading the latter’s orchestra for his Dublin premieres in 1741-2 including the world premiere of *Messiah*.⁹¹

This was the urban, colonial-music context in which some Irish harpers found themselves, and one which influenced domestic music-making in the great Irish houses, where they were received as guests or where they were employed more consistently. Some were known for adapting Italianate repertory including arias from Handel’s oratorios (Dominic Mungan, who lived c. 1715 to the 1770s),⁹² and *adagio* movements

⁸⁹ For more on Kusser, see Owens, Samantha. 2017. *The Well-Travelled Musician: John Sigismond Cousser and Musical Exchange in Baroque Europe*. Martlesham: The Boydell Press.

⁹⁰ For more on Geminiani in Ireland see Sadie, Stanley, and John Tyrell. 2001. *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*. New York: Grove, 7:224.

⁹¹ For more on the colonial music scene in eighteenth-century Ireland see Walsh, T. J. 1973. *Opera in Dublin, 1705-97: The Social Scene*. Dublin: Allen Figgis & Co. Ltd, and Boydell, Brian. 1988. *A Dublin Musical Calendar 1700-1760*. Blackrock, Co. Dublin: Irish Academic Press.

⁹² Bunting 1840, 78

from works by Geminiani and Corelli (Mungan and Echlin Ó Catháin, who lived 1729 – post 1779).⁹³

Some Irish harpers in turn travelled to London as well as to Dublin from the homes of their aristocratic employers in the provinces; for example, Cornelius Lyons (c. 1680–post 1750). These were clearly heavily influenced not only by what they heard in these cities but undoubtedly also by domestic music-making in the homes of their colonial patrons. The continental influence is particularly noticeable in the much remarked-upon Italianate flavour of some of Turlough Carolan’s output. For example, his *Lady Letty Burke*, included in this dissertation, shows a hint of an Italian-baroque sensibility in its contours. The influence is also to be seen in the ‘divisions’ discernable in compositions collected from late-eighteenth-century harpers such as Hugh Higgins.⁹⁴ Of particular note, in this regard, are divisions surviving in the two variation sets of Cornelius Lyons that are included in this dissertation: *A chailíní, a’ bhfaca sibh Seoirse?* and *Lady of the desert*.

The admiration was not all in one direction, however. Dubourg, Kusser, and Handel himself, all transcribed Irish tunes and songs, the first two even writing down Irish lyrics in transliteration.⁹⁵ The visiting Italian music-master, Lorenzo Bocchi, composed

⁹³ Gunn, John Charles. 1807. *An Historical Enquiry Respecting the Performance on the Harp in the Highlands of Scotland*. Edinburgh: A. Constable and Co., 60.

⁹⁴ See particularly the field transcriptions of his *Tá mé i mo chodladh ‘s ná dúisigh mé* on MS 4.29, 28 and *Thugamar féin an samhradh linn* on MS 4.29, 86.

⁹⁵ See the two songs I have identified: *Sín síos agus suas liom* in Kusser [Cousser], Johann Sigmund. 1690–1720. ‘US-NHub Osborn Music MS 16’, 406 <http://brbl-dl.library.yale.edu/pdfgen/exportPDF.php?bibid=2019775&solrid=3438922> and *Ciste nó stór* in Dubourg, Matthew. n.d. ‘GB-Lcm MS 860’. See also the Irish air, *Der arme irische Junge* [‘the poor Irish boy’], in an autograph copy of *Messiah*: Handel, Georg Frideric. 1741. ‘GB-Cfm MUMS 263 F211v’. Dublin, reproduced in Neal, William, and John Neal. 2010. *A Collection of the Most Celebrated Irish Tunes: Proper for the Violin, German Flute or Hautboy*. Edited by Nicholas Carolan. Dublin: Irish Traditional Music Archive, 103.

divisions on a harp song by Carolan⁹⁶ while Dubourg composed divisions on the most famous Irish song of the eighteenth century, *Eibhlín a rún*.⁹⁷ We come full circle with the inclusion of one of these divisions in the set played by the harper, Echlin Ó Catháin.⁹⁸

Though traces of the vernacular harping tradition were still faintly discernable throughout the nineteenth century, the tradition was effectively dead shortly after 1800.⁹⁹ An antiquarian interest in Irish music in general, and in the vernacular Irish harping tradition in particular, gathered pace just before this.

1.7 Edward Bunting, Music Collector

A circular issued at the end of 1791 set in motion a series of events which led to a musically gifted teenager from Armagh coming into contact with a ninety-seven year old harper from co. Derry, for the first time, in July 1792 in Belfast:

SOME Inhabitants of BELFAST, feeling themselves interested in every thing which relates to the Honor, as well as the Prosperity of their Country, propose to open a Subscription, which they intend to apply in attempting to revive and perpetuate The Ancient Music and Poetry of Ireland. They are solicitous to preserve from oblivion, the few fragments which have been permitted to remain as Monuments of the refined Taste and Genius of their Ancestors.

In order to carry this Project into execution, it must appear obvious to those acquainted with the situation of this Country, that it will be

⁹⁶ This was a marketing point mentioned on the title page of Neal, John, and William Neal. 1724. *A Collection of the Most Celebrated Irish Tunes: Proper for the Violin German Flute or Hautboy*. Dublin: John & William Neal.

⁹⁷ In Manwaring, William. 1746. *Select Minuets Collected from the Castle Balls, and the Publick Assemblies in Dublin Composed by the Best Masters for the Harpsichord, Violin or German Flute. to Which Is Added Eileen a Roon by Mr. Dubourgh, Set to the Harpsichord with His Variations*. Dublin: William Manwaring.

⁹⁸ Surviving in Maclean-Clephane, Maclean-Clephane, and Maclean-Clephane Early 19th century.

⁹⁹ For more on the early Irish harp in the nineteenth century see O'Donnell 2014.

necessary to assemble the HARPERS, those descendants of our antient Bards, who are at present, almost exclusively possessed of all that remains of the Music, Poetry, and Oral Traditions of IRELAND.

It is proposed, that the Harpers should be induced to assemble at BELFAST...by the distribution of such Prizes as may seem adequate to the Subscribers : And that a Person well versed in the Language and Antiquities of this Nation, should attend, with a skillful Musician to transcribe and arrange the most beautiful and interesting parts of their Knowledge... Belfast, Dec. 1791¹⁰⁰

Edward Bunting (1773–1843) was one of three musicians employed to transcribe the music and the only one to actually attend and do so at the harpers’ assembly, which took place over three days in July 1792.¹⁰¹ He later wrote:

...as the Belfast meeting was in fact the expiring flicker of the lamp that once shed its lustre over Christendom, the Editor cannot be expected to have done more than catch some straggling rays, which are still, however, brilliant enough to show how illustrious an instrument the Irish harp has been in former ages.¹⁰²

1.7.1 Biographical Background

Born in Armagh to an English father and an Irish mother, Bunting first studied organ in the Anglican cathedral in Armagh. On the death of his father, he lived for two years in Drogheda with his brother Anthony, who was a church organist and music teacher there.¹⁰³ A gifted musician, at the age of eleven Bunting became a substitute for – and

¹⁰⁰ Byers, David. n.d. ‘Edward Bunting’. Accessed 6 August 2020. www.byersmusic.com/edward-bunting.php. Three previous events to promote the Irish harp – ‘Harp Balls’ – had been held in Granard, co. Longford in the 1780s. The Belfast gathering of July 1792 was another such attempt to promote the instrument as part of a Belfast plan ‘for reviving the antient Music of this country’. Committees, led by Dr. James MacDonnell, advertised and organised the gathering; MacDonnell had himself been taught the harp as a child by one of the 1792 Belfast performers, Arthur O’Neill.

¹⁰¹ Yeats, Gráinne. 1992b. *The Harp of Ireland: The Belfast Harpers’ Festival, 1792, and the Saving of Ireland’s Harp Music by Edward Bunting*. Belfast Harpers’ Bicentenary Ltd, 13.

¹⁰² Bunting 1840, 20

¹⁰³ Petrie 1847, 67

then assistant to – William Ware, the organist at Saint Anne’s parish church in Belfast. Ware was born in Armagh in 1756, and was a harpsichordist and organist (later a pianist) whose own cultural life was within the Anglo-Protestant world in Ulster with its concomitant British-focussed cultural values and familiarities.¹⁰⁴ Bunting also became Ware’s deputy piano teacher.¹⁰⁵ A one-time concert promoter, Bunting was involved in the 1813 festival in Belfast at which the first Belfast performance of Handel’s *Messiah* took place.¹⁰⁶ His life, and education, spanned several eras of European art music, which affected how he thought about, transcribed, and presented in published form, vernacular Irish harp music.

Edward Bunting is acknowledged to be the first substantial collector of Irish music.¹⁰⁷ As previously stated, he was employed – as an accomplished nineteen-year old – as part of an antiquarian and nationalistic endeavour to transcribe the music performed at the historic assembly of harpers held in Belfast in July 1792, at the point when the vernacular tradition was almost at an end.¹⁰⁸ This was the defining moment in Bunting’s artistic life, propelling him into a lifetime of music collecting, editing, arranging and publication. His fascination with what he heard in 1792 led him to devote much of his life to the gathering of music and information pertinent to the subject of early Irish harping.¹⁰⁹ His further field work, in the years following the assembly, ensured the survival of some of the music, and performance idiom, of a number of the last Irish

¹⁰⁴ Johnston, Roy. 2003. *Bunting’s Messiah*. Belfast: Ulster Historical Foundation, 18.

¹⁰⁵ For more on Ware see Ibid., 17–33.

¹⁰⁶ For more on Bunting’s involvement in concert and festival promotion, inc. the *Messiah* performance, see Ibid., 74–88.

¹⁰⁷ Moloney 2000, 157

¹⁰⁸ For more on eighteenth-century Belfast, and the milieu in which Bunting lived and worked, see Johnston 2003.

¹⁰⁹ Bunting also collected from other vernacular Irish musicians on field trips; see Ibid., 11.

harpers, most notably that of the venerable Dennis O'Hampsay. Bunting amassed most of the knowledge now available about sixteenth- to eighteenth-century Irish harpers and harper-composers, together with information about the set-up and tuning of their instruments. His field transcriptions are, more often than not, the sole source of that part of early Irish harp repertory that survived in the repertory of the ten Irish harpers who played in Belfast, and of the harpers that Bunting subsequently met.

Bunting caught the tail end of an indigenous harp tradition that was first documented in the 1100s. He transcribed music from eleven Irish harpers in total over the course of two decades, between 1792 and c. 1811: Dennis O'Hampsay, Daniel (aka Donald) Black, Charles Byrne, William Carr, James Duncan, Charles Fanning, Hugh Higgins, Rose Mooney, Dominick O'Donnell, Arthur O'Neill and Patrick Quin. Bunting's keyboard arrangements and song settings – with newly composed English lyrics – of some of the material he had collected from harpers, singers and other traditional instrumentalists, were published in three volumes: in 1797, 1809 and 1840. In his 1840 publication, he remarked that '[i]t was well that the security of notation was so soon resorted to, for, even in 1809, at the time of the Editor's second publication, two only of the ten harpers assembled in Belfast on this occasion [1792] were surviving, and these two are long since dead.'

His work was ground-breaking: he was the first collector to transcribe and disseminate Irish music; he also wrote about it using descriptive and analytical methods. He gathered information about harpers, and published narrative and anecdote to contextualise the music.¹¹⁰ Bunting devoted an entire chapter of his 1840 publication to

¹¹⁰ Bunting 1840, 67–82

‘[t]he method of playing, and musical vocabulary of the old Irish harpers’.¹¹¹ In this, he produced tables of early-Irish-harp, performance-practice information: melodic ornaments for the treble hand; dyads and larger shapes played by harpers’ lower hands, with fingerings, and nomenclature in the original Irish, and English. See these in the following four images in fig. 3.

¹¹¹ Ibid., Chapter 2

GRACES PERFORMED BY THE TREBLE OR LEFT HAND.^a

NAMES IN IRISH CHARACTERS.	NAMES IN ENGLISH CHARACTERS.	TRANSLATION.	MUSICAL EXAMPLES.
BRISIDH, ^b	Brisidh,	A break,	
LEAGADH ANUAS, ^c	Leagadh anuas,	A falling,	
LEITH LEAGADH, ^d	Leath leaguidh,	A half falling,	
SRUTH MOR,	Sruith-mor,	A great stream, ascending, ^e Or descending, ^f	
SRUTH DEAG, ^g	Sruith-beg,	Little stream,	

^a The Irish harpers played the treble with the left hand, and the bass with the right. The Welsh performed on their national harp in the same manner.

^b Performed by the thumb and first finger; the string struck by the thumb is stopped by it, and first finger string left sounding.

^c By first finger and thumb; thumb stops the string sounded by first finger, and thumb string left sounding.

^d By second and third finger; string struck by second, stopped by first, and string struck by third, stopped by second finger.

^e First, second, and third fingers of left hand slid along the strings, which were either stopped or allowed to sound, as the harper pleased; in general executed in the most rapid manner.

^f Fingered in same manner as last by right hand, performed as above.

^g By thumb, first, second, and third fingers of the left hand.

ANCIENT MUSIC OF IRELAND.

25

GRACES PERFORMED BY THE TREBLE OR LEFT HAND.—Continued.

NAMES IN IRISH CHARACTERS.	NAMES IN ENGLISH CHARACTERS.	TRANSLATION.	MUSICAL EXAMPLES.
BUALLADH SUAS NO } SUASERIGH, ^a . . . }	Bualladh suas no } suaserigh, . . . }	Succession of trip- lets,	
SHAKES, ETC.			
BARRLUITH, ^b	Barlluith,	Activity of fingers,	
BARRLUITH BEAL AN- AIRDE, ^c }	Barlluith-beal-an- airde, }	Activity of finger ends, striking up- wards, }	
CASLUITH, ^d	Casluith,	Returning actively,	
BARRLUITH FOSGAILTE, ^e	Barluith fosgailte, .	Activity of finger tops, }	
CUL-AITHRIS, ^f	Cul-aithris,	Half shake,	
TRIBHUIZLEACH NO CREATHADH COIMH- MHEAR, ^g }	Tribuilleach or creathadh coimh- mhear, }	Triple shake,	

^a By third, second, and first fingers, ascending one string each time.

^b A continued shake, by second, first, and third fingers, alternately. The harpers did not finish the shake with a turn, as in the mode adopted at present.

^c By second, first, and third fingers; the string struck by third, briskly stopped by second, first string still sounding.

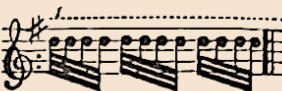
^d By third, first, and second fingers; the strings stopped instantaneously by each finger when played.

^e By second, first, and third fingers; second finger string stopped by first; first finger string still sounding.

^f By first finger and thumb.



^g By second, first, and third fingers, three times in succession.

GRACES PERFORMED BY THE TREBLE OR LEFT HAND.—*Continued.*


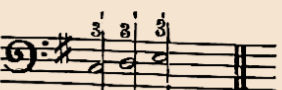

NAMES IN IRISH CHARACTERS.	NAMES IN ENGLISH CHARACTERS.	TRANSLATION.	MUSICAL EXAMPLES.
CROTACH AON MEAR, ^a	Crothachaon mhear,	Shaking,	

DOUBLE NOTES, CHORDS, ETC.

FOR THE LEFT HAND.

NAMES IN IRISH CHARACTERS.	NAMES IN ENGLISH CHARACTERS.	TRANSLATION.	MUSICAL EXAMPLES.
BOLSGAÑ, ^b	Bulsgan,	Swelling out, . . .	
GLAS, ^c	Glass,	A joining,	

FOR THE RIGHT HAND.

GLAS, ^d	Glass,	A joining,	
LACHAR, ^e	Laghar,	Spread hand, . . .	
LACHAR LAIR, ^f	Lagharlair,	Middle of hand, . .	

^a By first finger, back and forwards, on the same string.
^c By first and third fingers, a fourth.
^e With forked fingers, first and third fingers, an octave.

^b By first and second fingers, a third.
^d By thumb and third finger, an octave.
^f By first and second fingers, a third.

DOUBLE NOTES, CHORDS, ETC.—Continued.

NAMES IN IRISH CHARACTERS.	NAMES IN ENGLISH CHARACTERS.	TRANSLATION.	MUSICAL EXAMPLES.
ḡLASLUITH, ^a	Glasluith,	Quick locking,	
CÉANN AN CHROIÐH, ^b	Cennanchruich,	Extremity of hand,	
TAOBHCHROIÐH, ^c	Taobherobh,	Side hand,	
LANCHROIÐH, ^d	Lanchrobh,	Full hand,	
MALART PHONCH, ^e	Malart Phonch,	To reverse the hand,	

It is worthy of remark, that the harpers struck the upper note of these chords first, instead of beginning with the lowest tone, as the moderns do in their Arpeggios. All these graces, shakes, double notes, chords, &c., had a different sound and expression, according to the method adopted in fingering, and stopping the vibration of the strings.

^a By thumb, first and third fingers; a chord of a third, with an octave.
^c By thumb, second, and third fingers; a chord of three notes.
^e Or crossing the hands, the right hand taking the place of the left.

^b By first, second, and third fingers; a chord of three notes.
^d By thumb, first, second, and third fingers; a chord of four notes.

Figure 3. Bunting 1840, 24–27

As his friend, and fellow music collector, George Petrie, remarked: ‘...he went on journeying and collecting...draining O’Neill, and old Hempson, of Magilligan, then above a hundred years of age, of all their hereditary knowledge of the art of playing...as

practised by their predecessors...'¹¹² He also understood the importance of collecting song lyrics for a genre of music which was very often vocal in nature, employing Irish-speaking scribes to gather lyrics in the field.

1.7.2 Intentions and Tensions in Bunting's Representations and Presentations

David Cooper, who has written about George Petrie, has raised the question of the underlying tension inherent in those born in Ireland whose culture was more connected to Great Britain than it was to Ireland:

One can discern two competing strands in the colonial relationship from the perspective of the colonizer: on one hand there is the desire to dominate a culture and impose upon it the standards of the 'centre', and, on the other, there is the urge to be absorbed and assimilated within it (and potentially become 'more Irish than the Irish', as the so-called 'Old English' had done). I would suggest that it was largely the latter attitude that prompted Bunting...to collect and publish the music of Ireland, rather than an attempt to adapt it to the norms of metropolitan England.¹¹³

But Bunting *did* adapt Irish music to those norms; relentlessly. It is difficult to position Bunting the man: members of his circle were closely associated with the United Irishmen, the organising force behind the Irish rebellion of 1798. But he was also a British loyalist who dedicated his final publication to Queen Victoria. His situation was complex involving a multi-narrativity not uncommon to Irish Anglicans and other non-Roman Catholics, where nothing was mutually exclusive. Bunting was an antiquarian¹¹⁴ but also a composer; a European art-musician collecting and publishing vernacular Irish

¹¹² Petrie 1847, 70

¹¹³ Cooper, David. 2005. *The Petrie Collection of the Ancient Music of Ireland*. Cork: Cork University Press, 13.

¹¹⁴ Bunting 1840, 2

music. All of these imply competing objectives for his *modus operandi*. In addition, the pull between the norms of vernacular Irish music and his own musical training clearly also caused significant tension in his work.

Bunting had a great love for the Irish music he heard, some of which he arranged for piano, and published between 1792 and 1840. In the latter publication he wrote of himself, and his work, that

*...what has chiefly kept alive the a[r]dour with which, for nearly fifty years, he has prosecuted it, was and is a strong and innate love of these delightful strains for their own sake, a love for them which neither the experience of the best music of other countries...has...been able to alter or diminish.*¹¹⁵

To this we can add his antiquarian motives: ‘...the present is the first General collection of its national airs...To rescue them from oblivion, and to open a new source of Musical delight...’¹¹⁶ He added further:

*[f]or the aim of all is to realize former times, so as to bring us acquainted with our ancestors; and if, towards forming that acquaintance...it surely must afford an equal share of pleasure to the reflective inquirer to become acquainted with the men themselves, and with their general turn of mind and sentiment in the very notes and cadences by which they gave expression to their ruling passions.*¹¹⁷

Specifically, Bunting wrote that he had been employed ‘to take down the various airs played by the different Harpers, and was particularly cautioned against adding a single note to the old melodies.’¹¹⁸ His own stated intention twelve years later was ‘to procure

¹¹⁵ Ibid., 14

¹¹⁶ Bunting, Edward. 1797a. *A General Collection of the Ancient Irish Music...* Dublin: W. Power & Co., Preface, first page.

¹¹⁷ Bunting 1840, 2

¹¹⁸ Bunting, Edward. 1797a. *A General Collection of the Ancient Irish Music...* Dublin: W. Power & Co., Preface, first page.

purser copies of tunes already in the hands of practitioners, and to perpetuate a variety of other extremely ancient ones, of which no copies existed, and which were therefore the more likely to be lost...'¹¹⁹ So by then he was looking, nostalgically, for 'pure' versions of known melodies in addition to those previously uncollected. This may have had implications for his editorial method with regard to all drafts and editions which superseded his field transcriptions, but this issue is not addressed in this dissertation; it is one reason why I will only be working with his primary drafts. Produced at speed these have the greatest chance of having the least amount of deliberate alteration except where they are obviously palimpsests.¹²⁰

Editorial alterations and creative additions

That Bunting was documenting a tradition as an outsider very clearly impacted his approach in many ways. As a trained European-art-music practitioner, he clearly harboured conflicting feelings with regard to the representation and presentation of the harp repertory he published. Bunting's European-art-music training was a great asset in that it enabled him to transcribe music at speed but the expectations engendered by that training worked against him in terms of his understanding, openness to, and acceptance of what he had transcribed. This led him to modify the music – to some degree also, perhaps, in palimpsests of field transcriptions – but much more obviously in later drafts and editions so that it conformed to what he – and his target audience – understood to be 'correct'. The tension between what he heard and what he felt he ought to present in his finished work can be traced from the field transcriptions to the MS piano arrangements

¹¹⁹ Bunting, Edward. 1809a, iii.

¹²⁰ For more on situating Bunting's cultural politics see Davis, Leith. 2006. *Music, Postcolonialism, and Gender: The Construction of Irish National Identity, 1725-1874*. Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 95–119.

to the published piano arrangements, in increasingly florid European-art-music keyboard settings.

Leaving his arrangements to one side, and concentrating only on the melodies, his editions are firstly problematic with regard to metre, pulse and rhythm. The subtle rhythmic flexibilities of vernacular Irish music are difficult for those outside the tradition to grasp, never mind for anyone to notate, so Bunting's transcription task – even more so as an outsider – was an unenviable one. His response to rhythmical issues was to pacify flexible rhythm within consistent time signatures and bars. This is not helpful to an understanding of the original performance practice and has created a further problem in that the modern eye is reluctant to free the texture up again, because it now looks deceptively metrical.

With regard to Dennis O'Hampsey's performance of *Eirghe an lae* [Dawn of Day], for example, parts of Bunting's 1809 melody differ so much from the MS 4.29 field transcription that the considerable rhythmic differences are not even the most noticeable feature in the comparable sections of the two:

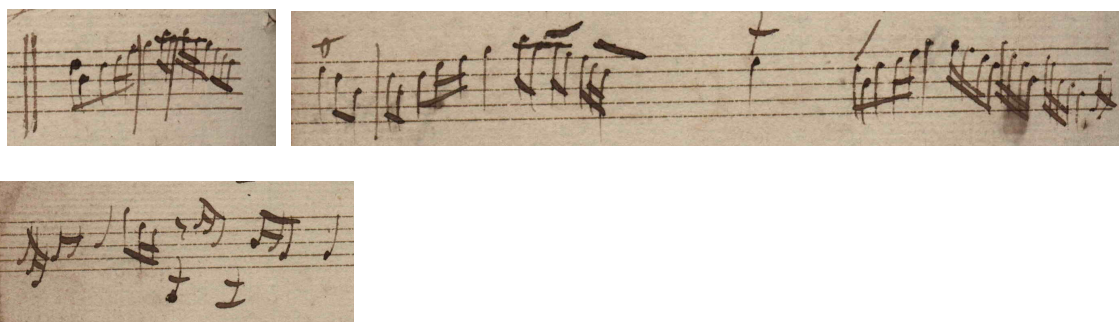
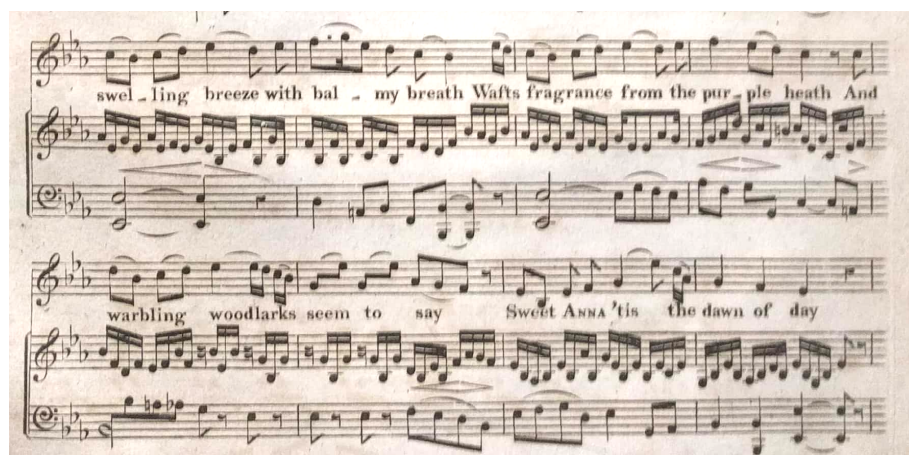


Figure 4. Bunting 1809, 53 *Dawn of Day*; MS 4.29, 168, extracts



Figure 5. Bunting 1809, 53 *Dawn of Day*, extract, transcription



Figure 6. MS 4.29, 168 *Eirghe an lae* [*Dawn of Day*], extract, transcription

In his previous, end-of-century MS 4.33.2 keyboard arrangement of the same piece, Bunting had already made subtle changes both to the rhythm and melody of the live transcription, which changes the phrasing. For example, in the sixth bar, he changed the

e'' crotchet and *d''-b'* quavers of the original to a dotted-quaver – semiquaver – crotchet rhythm. His manipulation means that the *d''-b'* no longer functions as an anacrusis to the next bar with a phrasal comma before it, but that the phrase now comes to an end on the *b'*:

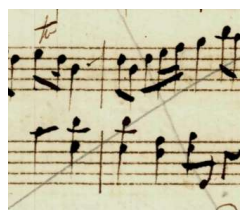
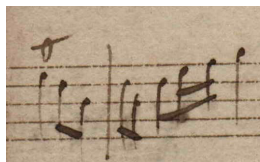


Figure 7. *MS 4.29, 168, extract* *MS 4.33.2, 15, extract*

But such modifications are minor compared to the wholesale re-composition of the original melody and rhythm shown in the comparison above.

Bunting was also clearly uncomfortable with the modality of much of the repertory, adjusting it, in editions subsequent to the field transcriptions, to conform to a European tonal idiom. In the process, he produced music in scales which were at odds with the originals, and which contained novel melodic chromaticism not found in the original material. Note, for example, the addition of raised sevenths in ascending passages in his published setting of *Sliabh Gallan* to make it conform to a minor scale:

SLIEVE GALEEN. 21

Mach: ♩ = 120 — Pen: 8 Inches. 24. Very Ancient, Author and date unknown.

Rather slow
and very
Plaintive.

Figure 8. *Bunting 1840, 21*

In passages where the modality was indispensable for the integrity of the melody, Bunting sometimes resolved the issue by including flatted mixolydian sevenths (in this case, Eb^s) as accidentals, as follows:

74

I AM ASLEEP, AND DON'T WAKEN ME.

Mus. 1: ♯ = 88 — Pen: 16 Inches. 100. Very Ancient, Author and date unknown.

Distinctly and moderately quick,

The musical score consists of six systems, each with a treble and bass staff. The notation is in a historical style, featuring various musical markings and dynamics. The first system is marked 'Distinctly and moderately quick,'. The second system includes markings for 'ten:', 'ff', and 'Dim.'. The third system includes 'ten:', 'pp', 'f', and 'pp'. The fourth system includes 'ten:', 'pp', and 'hr'. The fifth system includes 'pp' and 'hr'. The sixth system includes 'ten:', 'ten:', and 'ten:'.

Figure 9. Bunting 1840, 74, extract

This is why it is so important, for any research and analysis of historical Irish harp music, to avoid Bunting's piano compositions and to study only the earliest field-

transcriptions. Bunting transformed his transcriptions greatly, and increasingly, as he progressed towards his publications, in order to arrive at a more palatable, marketable product. These modified settings conformed to what he – and his audience – understood to be ‘correct’ according to European art-music norms. I say this not as criticism of his method but in the realisation that he probably considered this the best way to preserve and disseminate the music. Composers, Ralph Vaughan Williams and Benjamin Britten, for example, were still dressing up vernacular, insular music in art-music clothing for dissemination in the twentieth century so it is not surprising that Bunting, 150 years earlier, saw no contradiction between the aim of preserving the idiom of the original, and his major alterations and additions to the texture: ‘[t]he object, then, of the present publication chiefly is to give the remaining airs of the collection arranged in true harp style, for the piano forte.’¹²¹

Bunting was already preparing his first publication of keyboard arrangements in a year in which he was still transcribing harp music in the field: 1796. His own MS annotations of that period, which refer to his difficulties ‘setting basses’ to some of the melodies,¹²² together with the vast idiomatic differences between the original transcriptions and the piano arrangements, indicate that the bass lines to be found in the latter are of his own devising.¹²³ Bunting confirmed the major part his own compositional input played in the production of his keyboard publications in the preface

¹²¹ Bunting 1840, 6

¹²² See, for example, MS 4.33.3, 7.

¹²³ Only *Tá mé i mo chodladh* in MS 4.33.3, 56-7 is annotated ‘This setting is exactly copied from Hempson – both Bass & Treble’ implying that the lower part of the texture is presented here by Bunting as a more reliable conduit of historical performance practice not matched reliably elsewhere in MS 4.33.3 and MS 4.33.2, Bunting’s earliest keyboard arrangements of harper repertory, completed in 1798.

to the first: ‘...it was discovered that the most ancient tunes, were...the most perfect, admitting of the addition of a Bass with more facility than such as were less ancient.’¹²⁴ In MS 4.33.3 he annotated some of his Carolan piano arrangements: ‘[t]hese 2 last tunes are very middling [–] hard to set Basses too [sic]’, indicating once more that the latter were of his own invention.¹²⁵ At least one contemporary of Bunting’s also recognised the compositional creativity to be found in his work. In 1840, R. Thomas Skarrat, the plate engraver for Bunting’s final publication, when asked his opinion of Bunting’s work, by the author, replied: ‘...when it is known the naked state you had these rough old chaps introduced to you in order to be clothed, and when it is seen how richly you have decorated them, it is a matter of no small surprise...’¹²⁶

Harp-idiom transmission in piano arrangements?

Occasionally however, features of Bunting’s earliest MS piano arrangements can be seen to be unusual in not conforming to European art-music norms in ways that will be shown to be more closely aligned with field transcriptions. An example would be the absence of harmonicity, and the parallel octaves between bass and treble, in the first system of the earliest surviving piano arrangement of *A chailíní, a’ bhfaca sibh Seoirse?*:

¹²⁴ Bunting 1797a Preface, second page

¹²⁵ MS 4.33.3, 37, writing of *Cupán Uí Eaghra* and *Dr Hart*.

¹²⁶ Milligan Fox, Charlotte. 1911b. *Annals of the Irish Harpers*. London Smith, Elder & Co., 300. www.archive.org/details/annalsofirishhar00foxcuoft. Quoted in Heymann, Ann. 2001. *Coupled Hands for Harpers*. Winthrop, MN.: Clairseach Publications, 141.



Figure 10. MS 4.33.2, 24 *A chailíní, a' bhfaca sibh Seoirse?*, extract

By contrast, the fuller texture at the start of the second system is quite different, returning as it does to a European idiom, with an independent bass and a contrapuntal inner voice. Equally, the earliest MS piano arrangement of *Tá mé i mo chodladh* underneath, displays idiomatic harp lower-register features, which I will outline at greater length later: an absence of an independent bass line, and octave reinforcement of the melody by the lower register, either simultaneously or staggered, in melodic gaps:



57

This setting is exactly copied from Dempson - both Right & Left

Figure 11. MS 4.33.3, 56, 57 *Tá mé i mo chodladh 's ná dúisigh mé*

Though Bunting annotated the above arrangement with the remark: ‘This setting exactly copied from Hempson – both Bass and Treble’, not all its features are ~~not~~ plausible.¹²⁷ It is, however, clearly much closer to harper practice, I would argue, than the incessant, repeated chords in the contemporaneous, MS 4.33.3 setting of *Lady Letty Burke*, for example, reproduced below. Though this also displays – in other sections – lower-register, solo, melodic passages, and antiphony, idiomatic to its composer, Turlough Carolan:



Figure 12. MS 4.33.3, 23 *Lady Letty Burke*

An awareness of historically plausible harp performance-practice features to be found in the field transcriptions lends weight to these similar textures when seen in piano arrangements. This is particularly helpful for the reconstruction of compositions for

¹²⁷ As exemplified by the unidiomatic F-major tuning with its concomitant B \flat , and the pianistic, repeated bass dyads and triads in the second system of the piece.

which there are no earlier sources, for example, Carolan's *Planxty Connor*. The idiomatic, melodic antiphony between hands found in field transcriptions of Carolan's works is also displayed in the final bars of this piano arrangement – for which no field transcription survives – lending it added plausibility:

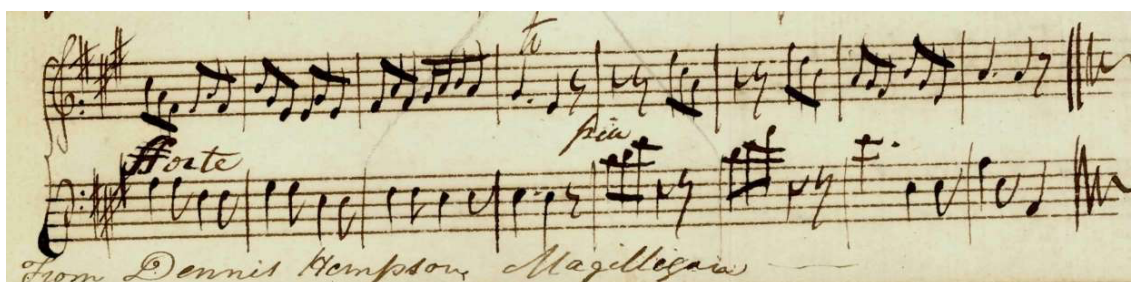


Figure 13. MS 4.33.2, 50 *Planxty Connor*, extract

Conversely, an analysis and categorisation of field-transcription evidence sheds light on the lack of plausibility of the more active, full textures with continuous bass lines and functional harmony found in so many MS piano arrangements, and also in the later, even more inventive, published arrangements to be found in Bunting's 1809 and 1840 publications.

An examination of Bunting's three published works makes clear that European-art-music practices, and his own compositional invention, generally won the day: the original music was firmly pacified, sanitized and used as a base layer for the production of piano music. Bunting's skill as a keyboard player and composer, publishing for a keyboard-playing audience, led him to publish his editions in increasingly florid keyboard arrangements between the 1790s and the 1840s.¹²⁸ These compositions make use of the capabilities of the piano, using a wide choice of available tonalities and

¹²⁸ Bunting played harpsichord, organ and piano.

chromaticism, and may be situated within baroque, Classical, and Romantic European aesthetics. Bunting did attempt, in places, to give a flavour of what he heard the harpers do but, in the main, his piano settings have crowded textures, unlike the more sparse textures captured in his transcriptions. As such, these keyboard settings can only be of interest within a Practice-Research context for compositions where no field-transcriptions survive.

1.7.3 My Dialogue With Bunting

In the years before this dissertation, and even more so in the immediately preparatory work for it, I have been in constant dialogue with Edward Bunting. Both of us attempt to understand, and to disseminate, the repertory and performance practice of the old Irish harpers. Each of us has different advantages over the other. Some of our goals are shared; some not. Bunting was fortunate in having direct access to early Irish harpers. I, however, must negotiate my way through repertory which has been mediated by Bunting before me.

I share Bunting's great love of the music¹²⁹ and his antiquarian motives, which also inform my own work. Bunting had nationalist Irish leanings and pride¹³⁰ and I have a related desire to address the cultural gap created by centuries of colonialism and cultural genocide; to help return to Irish culture a scrap of a greater part that was lost.

Bunting's position as a keyboard composer led him – over nearly fifty years of publication – to present vernacular Irish harp music in increasingly active piano arrangements. One of my aims, on the contrary, is to produce early-Irish-harp

¹²⁹ Bunting 1840, 3

¹³⁰ Ibid., 2

performances, recordings, and performing editions, using a lighter touch than he perhaps had the luxury of; without the need to correct what he perceived as the repertory's deficiencies with regard to scale, mode, metre and rhythm.

I share with Bunting a European-art-music training, which gives me advantages: my literacy helps me to understand and decipher the MSS pages. My education also helps me to understand Bunting's musical background, and any eighteenth-century, European-art-music aesthetic exhibited by the harpers he heard. Our not dissimilar training also allows me to attempt to second-guess the reasoning behind some of his notational and editing choices in palimpsest situations.

I have an advantage over Bunting in that he was much more familiar with his own music idiom than he was with that of vernacular Irish music. I, on the other hand, perform historical, vernacular Irish music, and work with unusual, vernacular-Irish music practitioners who inform my praxis in early Irish music.¹³¹

As an Irish speaker, I am also equipped to look at textual issues in MS 4.29 where, since he spoke no Irish, Bunting noted down Irish titles and text in transliteration. So I am, in places, more at home than he within the wider cultural parameters which I perceive in much eighteenth-century Irish harper repertory. I believe that I can, for example, approach the harper Cornelius Lyons's variation sets – displaying, as they do, both European-baroque and vernacular-Irish influences – with an appropriate breadth of performance-practice expertise available to me due to the wider parameters of my own praxis.

¹³¹ For more on how this influences my approach, see Chapter 3.2.2, 159–60.

My Practice-Research approach to sixteenth- to eighteenth-century European music lends me sensitivity to the articulation and phrasing of European music of the period 1500–1800, which differs greatly from post-1800 repertory. I suggest that eighteenth-century Irish harpers are to be situated within this pre-Romantic world where composers were performing craftsmen (Lyons and Carolan, for example); where surface details and ornamentation were left to performers to decide on; with dynamic inflection (as exemplified by the harper Dominic Mungan’s ‘whispering notes’)¹³² and phrasing based on small-unit gestures rather than on long phrase lines; with a hierarchy of beats and agogic accents; what Bruce Haynes has called ‘rhetorical’ music.¹³³ Bunting would also have been trained in – and familiar with – such an idiom.

Bunting had one great advantage over me: he was there; I was not. He heard, and spoke with, Dennis O’Hampsey; I cannot. But I have compensatory advantages: I play the early Irish harp; Bunting did not. This allows me to test Bunting’s notations by performing them on an appropriate instrument; I can evaluate their plausibility and I can test my own reconstructions for practicality and plausibility on a replica harp.

Bunting was a gifted musician within a European-art-music context; this enabled him to transcribe at speed. But this very training hampered him in other ways, creating tension between the vernacular, modal music that he heard, and his desire to present publications that would sit comfortably with the expectations of his late eighteenth- to mid-nineteenth-century, European-art-music buying public, and with his own. One aspect of this inherent tension is exemplified in the following piano arrangement:

¹³² Bunting 1840, 78

¹³³ Haynes, Bruce. 2007. *The End of Early Music: A Period Performer’s History of Music for the Twenty-First Century*. Oxford University Press.

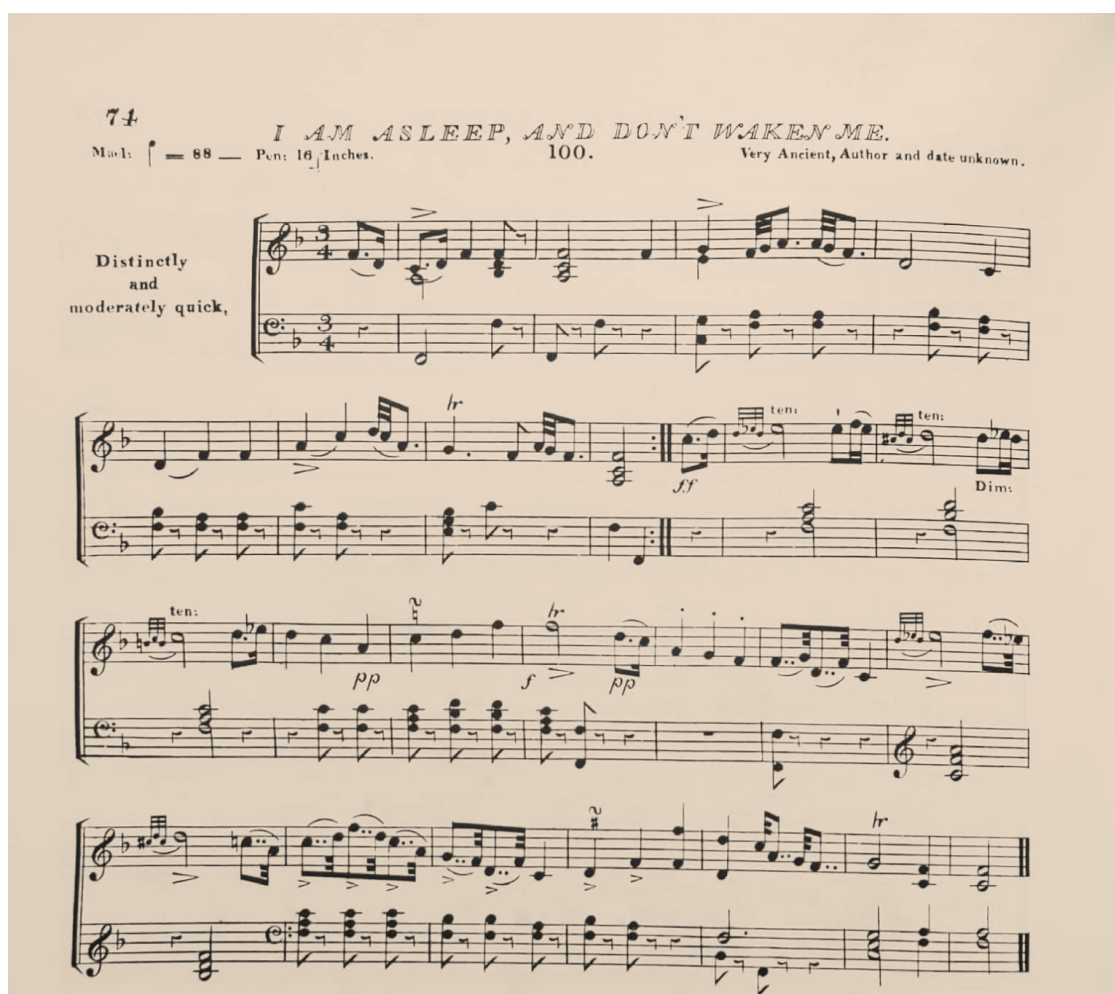


Figure 14. Bunting 1840, 74 *Tá mé i mo chodladh 's ná dúisigh mé*, extract

This mixolydian composition must, for melodic integrity, retain the flatted seventh of its modal scale; Bunting solved the key signature problem by using accidentals to contradict the F-major key signature he felt obliged to choose to accommodate the melody's final, including a significant pitch from outside this modal scale – an E \sharp – in the perfect cadence in the penultimate bar, to allow for conventional, functional harmony.

Bunting recognised modality, describing specific modes, even admitting that airs performed in these modes ‘were thought extremely agreeable by many persons’¹³⁴ but he did not accept their legitimacy: ‘neither of them perfect’.¹³⁵ He was often only prepared to publish material within parameters of ‘major’ and ‘minor’ European-art-music scales. So his publication motives and mine differ markedly: Bunting considered the best way of preserving and presenting the music to be that of publishing it in piano arrangement. I, on the other hand attempt to mediate my source material in as light-handed, and as conservative, a manner as I can, with the aim of presenting performative results of the process on a copy of O’Hampsay’s harp, and editions that differ ~~in content~~ as little as possible in content from those sources.

1.8 Dennis O’Hampsay, Harper

The focal point of this dissertation is a microstudy: an examination, reconstruction, performance of eight compositions transcribed from the playing of harper, Dennis O’Hampsay (1695–1807).¹³⁶ As soon as he heard the latter perform, in 1792, the nineteen-year-old Edward Bunting recognised that this 97-year-old man (according to O’Hampsay’s own reckoning) was the most significant surviving performer in the vernacular Irish harp tradition:

¹³⁴ Bunting 1840, 23

¹³⁵ Ibid.

¹³⁶ Donnchadh Ó Hamsaigh [or Ó hAmsaigh?] in Irish. Edward Bunting used the name ‘a Hampsy’ but much more often ‘Hempson’ when referring to the harper. See Bunting 1840, 73 The Rev. Sampson, who interviewed the harper in 1805, called him ‘Hampson’. See Owenson 1807, 246-250 L.A. Walkington, however, who visited Magilligan, co. Derry, where the harper was from, in 1905, wrote that in O’Hampsay’s own townland ‘the harper is generally known as O’Hampsay, not Hempson’ Walkington, L.A., and Francis J. Bigger. 1906. ‘Irish Harpers’. *Ulster Journal of Archaeology* 12 (3), 103. The latter is the version of his name I use throughout this dissertation.

*'[O'Hampsay] ...who realized the antique picture drawn by Cambrensis and Galilei,¹³⁷ for he played with long crooked nails...was peculiarly thrilling [and] took the attention of the Editor with a degree of interest which he can never forget. He was the only one who played the very old...music of the country; and this he did in a style of such finished elegance as persuaded the Editor that the praises of the old Irish harp...were in reality no more than a just tribute to the admirable instrument and its then professors.'*¹³⁸

Bunting's interactions with O'Hampsay leave a tantalising snapshot of a venerable harper who had learned his craft in the early 1700s. His first harp teacher, Bridget Ó Catháin, was likely born in the second half of the seventeenth century. O'Hampsay's advanced age, when the teenaged Bunting encountered him, therefore associates the harper with a vernacular performance idiom from 100 years or more before the period in which it was captured from him.

1.8.1 Biographical Background

In 1805, the Rev. George Sampson interviewed O'Hampsay about his life.¹³⁹ From this account, it is known that he was blinded by smallpox at the age of three, began learning the harp with harper, Bridget Ó Catháin, and then continued with Connaught harper, John Garragher, Loughlin Fanning (father of Charles Fanning, who played at the Belfast harpers' meeting) and Patrick Connor. He finished his harp studies at the age of eighteen, at which point three patrons shared the cost of buying him his own harp.

¹³⁷ Giraldus Cambrensis ['Gerald of Wales'] (c. 1146–c. 1223) referenced Irish harping in his *Topographia Hiberniae* of c. 1185, as did Vincentio Galilei (c. 1520–1591) in his *Dialogo Della Musica Antica, Et Della Moderna* of 1581.

¹³⁸ Bunting 1840, 3

¹³⁹ See *Ibid.*, 73–77 for Bunting's account of O'Hampsay, which includes most of Sampson's information; see O'Sullivan 1927–1939, Part 1, 60–64 for Sampson's full account.

O'Hampsay became a travelling harper, journeying throughout Ireland for at least a decade including the cities of Belfast, Dublin and Cork. He also made several trips to Scotland, the most notable in 1745, when he played before Charles Stuart (Bonnie Prince Charlie), a year before the latter's defeat at the battle of Culloden. O'Hampsay's patron in his own locality – Magilligan in coastal co. Derry, in the north-west of Ireland – was the celebrated bishop of Derry, and fourth earl of Bristol, Frederick Hervey, a minor celebrity figure of the Enlightenment whose correspondents included Voltaire, Goethe, Benjamin Franklin and the Pope.

1.8.2 Performative Idiom

Bunting described the unique cultural treasure he knew he had found in O'Hampsay:

*'Hempson was the only one of the harpers at the Belfast Meeting, in 1792, who literally played the harp with long crooked nails, as described by the old writers. In playing, he caught the string between the flesh and the nail ; not like the other harpers of his day, who pulled it by the fleshy part of the finger alone. He had an admirable method of playing Staccato and Legato, in which he could run through rapid divisions in an astonishing style. His fingers lay over the strings in such a manner, that when he struck them with one finger, the other was instantly ready to stop the vibration, so that the Staccato passages were heard in full perfection. When asked the reason of his playing certain parts of the tune or lesson in that style, his reply was, "That is the way I learned it," or "I cannot play it in any other." The intricacy and peculiarity of his playing often amazed the Editor, who could not avoid perceiving in it the vestiges of a noble system of practice, that had existed for many centuries...In fact, Hempson's Staccato and Legato passages, double slurs, shakes, turns, graces &c. &c. comprised as great a range of execution as has ever been devised by the most modern improvers.'*¹⁴⁰

The sophistication of O'Hampsay's performative idiom was not exceptional to him but was part of a wider, long-standing culture. Already in the twelfth century, Gerald of

¹⁴⁰ Ibid., 73

Wales, notwithstanding his personal connection to the then colonisation of Ireland, was most complimentary about Irish harpers.¹⁴¹ By the seventeenth century, a poem eulogizing the skill of harper, Eoghan Ó hAllmhuráin, brings to mind O’Hampsay’s ‘staccato’ passages.¹⁴² In the third verse, the poet, Muiris Ó Maolchonaire, compares Ó hAllmhuráin’s ability to produce *gearradh ponnc* [‘short points’ = short notes?] to the talent of the legendary Orpheus, an indication that the skillful string-damping needed to produce these was a hallmark of Irish harping technique a century or more before Bunting noticed the same expertise in O’Hampsay’s performances.

1.8.3 Repertory

O’Hampsay is particularly interesting because he played the widest range of repertory recorded by Bunting from any harper. He was perhaps unique among his contemporaries in Belfast in playing the sole surviving examples of the oldest genres of vernacular harp repertory that had otherwise died out by the later eighteenth century: a *féachain gléis* harp prelude together with archaic, and esoteric, compositions such as the *Cumha caoine an Albanaigh* lament, and the study, *Burns’s march*.¹⁴³ But O’Hampsay also played Italianate-influenced, eighteenth-century repertory. This is represented in my microstudy by *Seón Jones* and *Lady Letty Burke*, the first the air of a harp-song, and the second an instrumental composition, both composed by Turlough Carolan (1680–1750), and two surviving, Italianate-influenced variation sets composed by Cornelius Lyons (c. 1680–post 1750): *A Chailíní, a’ bhfaca sibh Seoirse?* and *Lady of the desert*,

¹⁴¹ See the quote in Chapter 1.6.1, 46–47.

¹⁴² Ó Háinle, Cathal. 1976. ‘An Ceol San Fhilíocht Chlasaiceach’. In *An Ceol i Litríocht Na Gaelige ‘Music in Irish Literature’*, VII:30–57. Léachtaí Cholm Cille. Maynooth: St. Patrick’s College Maynooth, 49.

¹⁴³ This was also played by one other harper, Patrick Quin.

these latter two containing the best examples of division-composition by an Irish composer.

By the time O'Hampsay met Bunting, the harper knew that he had outlived his era; he understood that an appropriately cultured audience capable of understanding and appreciating the older, more esoteric parts of his repertory, was no longer available to him:

*'It was with great difficulty the Editor was able to procure the old harp music from Hempson. When asked to play the very antique tunes, he uniformly replied, "there was no use doing so, they were too hard to learn, they revived painful recollections."'*¹⁴⁴

When O'Hampsay was asked to play the *féachain gléis* prelude, he elaborated on his position:

*'He would rather, he ASSERTED, have played any other air, as this awakened recollections of the days of his youth, of friends whom he had outlived, and of times long past, when the harpers were accustomed to play the ancient caoinans or lamentations, with their corresponding preludes.'*¹⁴⁵

O'Hampsay's reluctance to play old, esoteric repertory was further explained in his remark to Bunting: "What's the use of doing so? [N]o one can now understand it now, not even any of the harpers now living."¹⁴⁶

1.8.4 A Repository of Performance-Practice Evidence

The preciousness of the surviving field transcriptions of O'Hampsay's performances lies in the singular richness of information to be found in many of them: they are the

¹⁴⁴ Bunting 1840, 77

¹⁴⁵ Ibid., 83

¹⁴⁶ Ibid.

best examples now surviving of more complete textures, displaying not just treble-hand melodies – as so much of the material in MS 4.29 does – but also significant examples of different aspects of the performance practices and functions of O’Hampsay’s lower hand. This is critical: in the absence of any primary sources, these secondary-source field transcriptions are the most direct link to historical Irish harp repertory and its associated performance practice.¹⁴⁷ Bunting’s capturing of so much of O’Hampsay’s lower-register textures indicates the value the collector put on preserving the old harper’s performance idiom.

1.8.5 The *Downhill* Harp

Dennis O’Hampsay is also a particularly attractive choice as the subject of a Practice-Research dissertation because his harp has survived.¹⁴⁸

¹⁴⁷ *Burns’s march* and *Tá mé i mo chodladh* are the only two pieces in this dissertation’s selection of repertory for which field transcriptions from other harpers also survive.

¹⁴⁸ The Downhill harp, now housed at the Guinness Storehouse Museum, Dublin. For more on the instrument see Chadwick 2014. Only three other surviving harps may be linked to individual harpers: Patrick Byrne and an Egan-built, Irish-Harp-Society harp: see Ní Uallacháin, Pádraigín. 2018. ‘Patrick Byrne’. Oriel Arts. 2018. www.orielarts.com/harp/patrick-byrne/; Patrick Quin and the Castle Otway harp: see Crawford 2019; and possibly Turlough Carolan and the National Museum of Ireland’s *Carolan* harp: see Chadwick 2020.

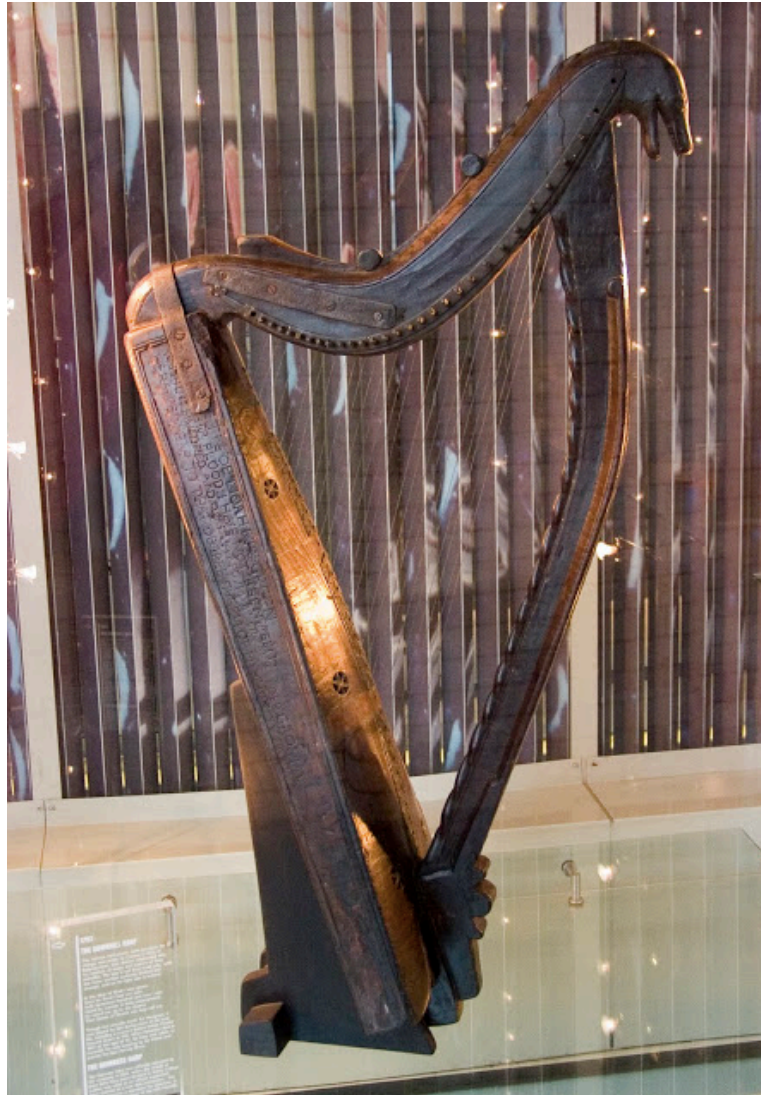


Figure 15. *The Downhill harp (1702)*
Photo: Siobhán Armstrong

Not only that, but uniquely in early Irish harp studies, the exact gamut of his instrument is known, preserved by Bunting in MS 4.29:

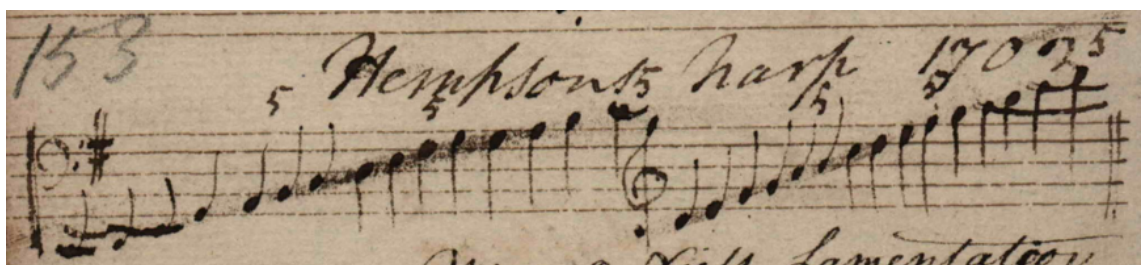


Figure 16. *MS 4.29, 153 extract*

O'Hampsay's harp, built in 1702, was typical of early Irish harps in having their enigmatic, *na comhluighe* tuning: with two unison *g* strings below *c*'. Also of note is the short octave at the bottom of the instrument's range, with no separate *F* string in the final octave. Bunting noted that the antepenultimate *E* could be tuned up to *F* if desired.¹⁴⁹

In the context of such rare and helpful parameters:

- surviving descriptions of O'Hampsay's performance practice
- a sizeable collection of identifiable, comprehensive field transcriptions of his repertory and
- the existence of his harp, together with its precise string gamut

O'Hampsay provides the best opportunity for me, as a Practice-Research harpist, to attempt a reconstruction of an eighteenth-century Irish harper's music and performance practice. Choosing him leads me to a narrow outcome: one harper, one harp and one repertory; a focused microstudy to throw light on a specific performance idiom but one which should shed light more generally on vernacular Irish-harp performance practice pre 1800.¹⁵⁰

¹⁴⁹ MS 4.29, 156-7

¹⁵⁰ For this dissertation, I commissioned a replica of the instrument from luthier David Kortier, MN, USA.

1.9 Degrees of Transmission of Vernacular Harp Performance Practice in Bunting's MSS and Publications

Bunting's harp-repertoire output contains various levels of material: from the initial MS field transcriptions to MS keyboard arrangements to published piano arrangements in baroque, Classical and Romantic idioms.

His collections were published in Dublin and London for an educated, English-speaking audience made up, as Leith Davis noted, 'in particular of women, who were spending more and more time in the drawing room'.¹⁵¹ But none were commercially successful.

The first publication, for example, incurred a 50% investment loss,¹⁵² unlike the publications of Thomas Moore, who became wealthy on foot of his 'Irish Melodies', the first volume of which was published in 1808, using melodies from Bunting's 1797 publication.¹⁵³

Each subsequent level of Bunting's output involves increasing mediation and divergence from surviving field transcriptions with more and more elaborate compositional input from Bunting himself leading to a corresponding proportional loss of historical harp performance-practice evidence. It will therefore be helpful for the reader to become more familiar with this continuum so that the choice of source material made by previous researchers for their transcriptions and editions may be better understood.

¹⁵¹ Davis 2006, 105

¹⁵² Downey, Peter. 2017. *Edward Bunting and the Ancient Irish Music: The Publication History of A General Collection of the Ancient Irish Music... Adapted for the Piano-Forte* (London: Preston & Son) by Peter Downey. Lisburn: Peter Downey, 14.

¹⁵³ Moore, Thomas. 1808. *A Selection of Irish Melodies, with symphonies and accompaniments by Sir John Stevenson Mus.Doc. and characteristic words by Thomas Moore Esqr.* London.

I have graded the relevant Bunting harp repertory material from the earliest, least mediated material, to the increasingly mediated, and then most-mediated Bunting sources. The earliest MSS are in the rawest state, giving the researcher the best chance of observing plausible transmission of historical performance practice. The first two MSS – MS 4.29 and MS 4.33.1 – are the most significant from a Research-Practice perspective because they contain field transcriptions made by Bunting in the presence of live performance by harpers. One other page – MS 12.2, 29 – may perhaps also be a field transcription. The subsequent sources I outline are of increasingly mediated Bunting MS piano arrangements, and piano publications, in chronological order (as far as I can ascertain) from the later 1790s to 1840.¹⁵⁴

1.9.1 MSS Containing Harper Field Transcriptions

MS 4.29

Spanning the period 1792 to c. 1803, these earliest, surviving gatherings that now comprise this volume include the main body of Bunting's field transcriptions from harpers, but also include secondary, and further, drafts.

¹⁵⁴ For more information, and dating information, on each of these MSS, see Moloney 2000, 30–32.



Figure 17. MS 4.29, 158 Cumha caoine an Albanaigh, palimpsest including field transcription

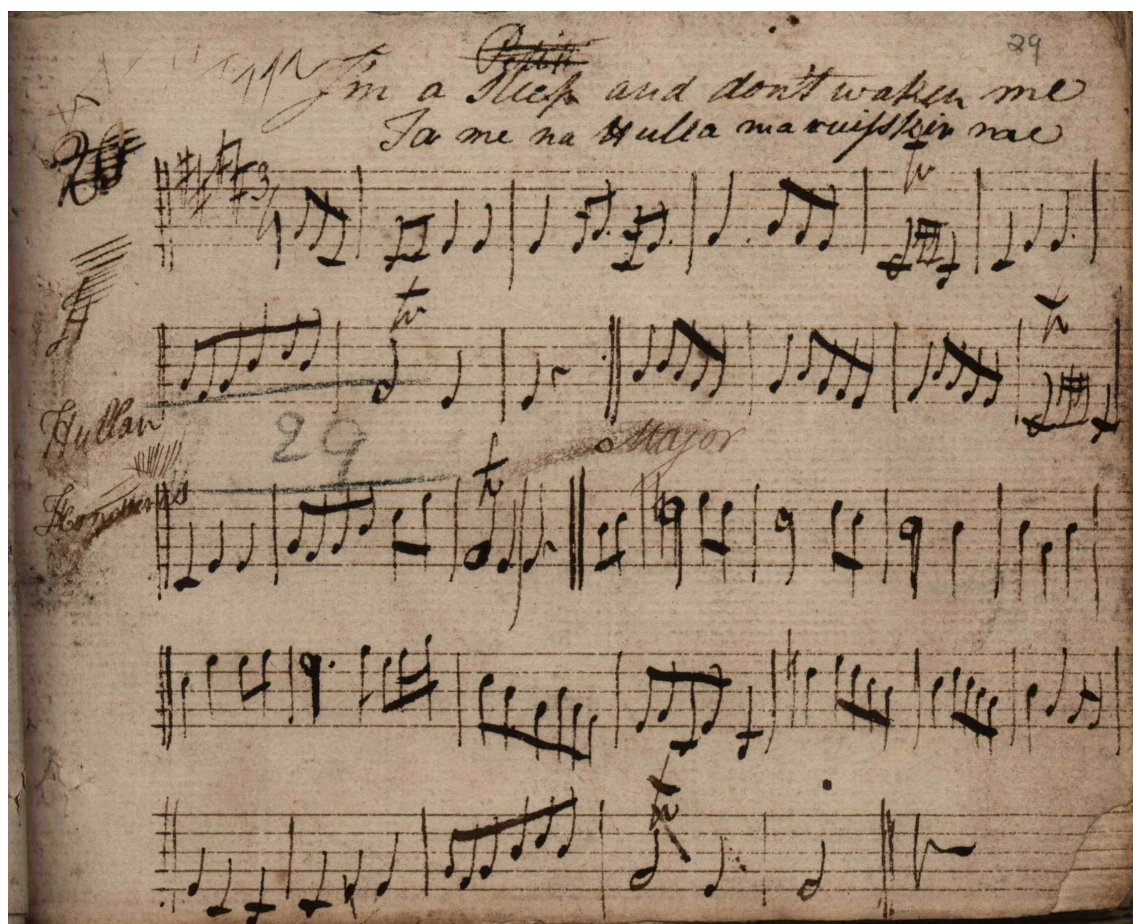


Figure 18. *Tá mé i mo chodladh, second draft*

MS 4.33.1

This is the other important source of harp-repertoire field transcriptions – also including significant lower-register evidence – taken from harper, Patrick Quin, possibly in 1803.

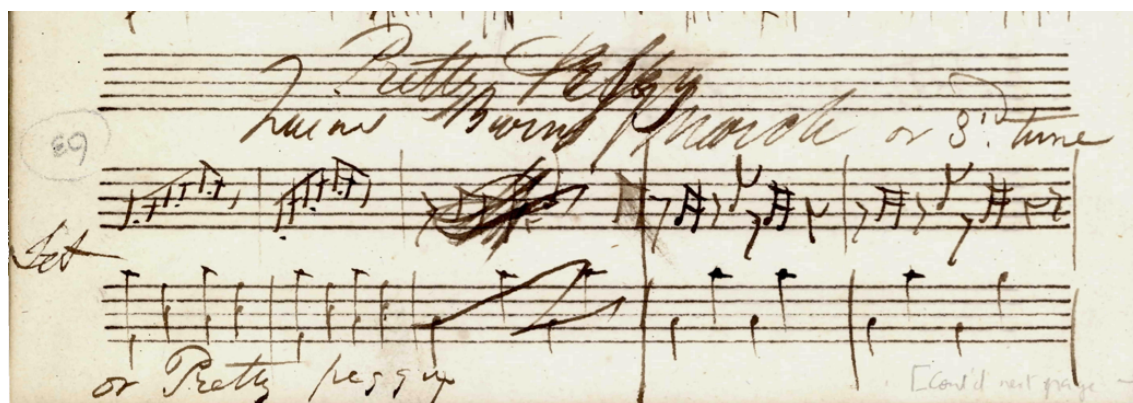


Figure 19. *MS 4.33.1, 72, extract. Pretty Peggy / Quins Burns March or 3rd tune*

MS 4.12.2

MS 4.12 is an unbound collection of pages, many of which are not obviously related, now stored in two archive boxes. One page of MS 12.2 contains drafts of three melodies annotated ‘May 7th 1811 from Dominick O’Donnell, Harper, from Mayo’. It is indeterminate whether this is a field transcription or not. Given its neatness, it may be a subsequent draft.



Figure 20. MS 4.12.2, 29 *The Lamentation of Youths, Vurneen O Hear Dubh Collad de hoigh, and Bradogg*

1.9.2 Piano Arrangements of Harp Repertory

Other harp-related MSS in Bunting’s hand, listed here, originate possibly from as early as 1795 but do not contain field transcriptions. Rather they are to be situated with Bunting’s highly mediated output, in keyboard arrangements, varying in style from late eighteenth-century harpsichord idiom to more elaborate, mid-nineteenth-century pianistic textures.

A General Collection of the Ancient Irish Music, 1797

Bunting's first publication, these early Bunting piano arrangements bass lines still show the influence of Bunting's baroque keyboard education.



Figure 21. Bunting 1797D, 9 Madam Cole

MS 4.33.3 and MS 4.33.2

A two-volume set of keyboard arrangements '[f]or the Harpsichord or Pianoforte' completed in 1798, MS 4.33.2 is a continuation of 33.3.



Figure 22. MS 4.33.2, 1 Coolin or Lady of the Desert, p.1

MS 4.20

Possibly from 1795, or shortly thereafter, this contains mainly piano arrangements of Irish and European music, including harper repertory. Some of the contents relate to material in MSS 4.33.3 & 4.33.2, and to Bunting's 1809 publication.



Figure 23. MS 4.20, 37 Uilleagan Dubh O! and Chuilte Glass an Trucha

A General Collection of the Ancient Music of Ireland, 1809

Bunting's second published collection comprises piano arrangements, and songs in English with piano accompaniment.

59

ERGHIDHE AN LAE. — THE DAWNING OF DAY.

ANDANTE
SOSTENUTO

The blush of morn at length ap - pears The hawthorn weeps in dew - y tears E -
- merging from the shades of night The dis - - tant hills are tipp'd with light The
swel - ling breeze with bal - my breath Wafts fragrance from the pur - ple heath And
warbling woodlarks seem to say Sweet ANNA 'tis the dawn of day

Figure 23. *Bunting 1809, 53 Eirghidhe an Lae*

62

Maghthreas ini Bhreithamhain

MAGHSTREAS INI BHREITHAMHAIN. ——— MADAM JUDGE

MAESTOSO

Plangstigh ini Bhreithamhain.

PLANGSTIGH INI BHREITHAMHAIN. ——— PLANGTY JUDGE

ALLEGRO

Figure 24. Bunting 1809, 62 *Maghthreas ini Bhreithamhain* and *Plangstigh ini Bhreithamhain*

MS 4.33.5

Piano arrangements composed after 1809 and before 1833.



Figure 25. MS 4.33.5, 48 *Cumha caoine an Albanaigh*

MS 4.30

Piano arrangements composed between c. 1832 and 1843.

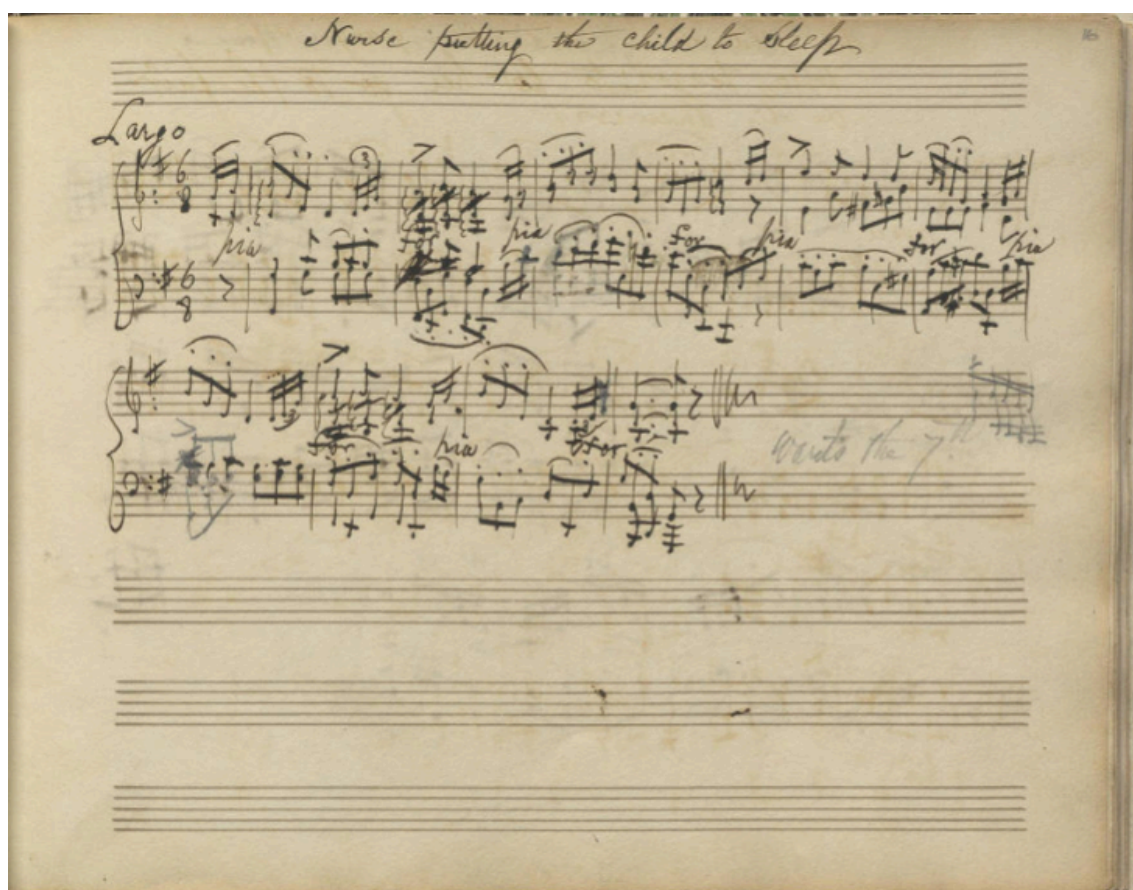


Figure 26. MS 4.30, 16 Nurse putting the child to sleep

MS 4.12

Apart from the page shown in figure 20 above, the two boxes of mostly separate sheets that comprise MS 4.12 contain – among other material – piano arrangements possibly composed in Bunting's later life.

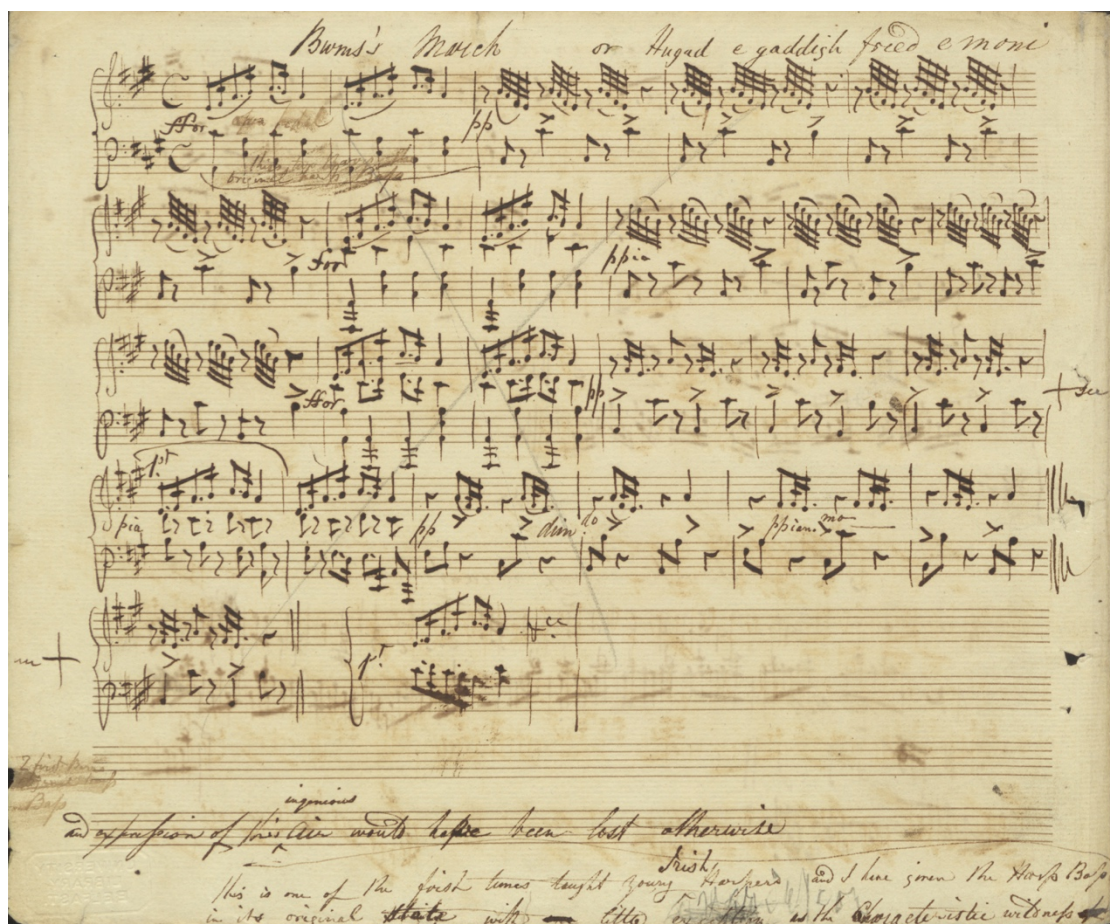


Figure 27. MS 4.12.2, 10c Burns's march

MS 4.27

Piano arrangements composed after 1825 relating to the 1840 publication.

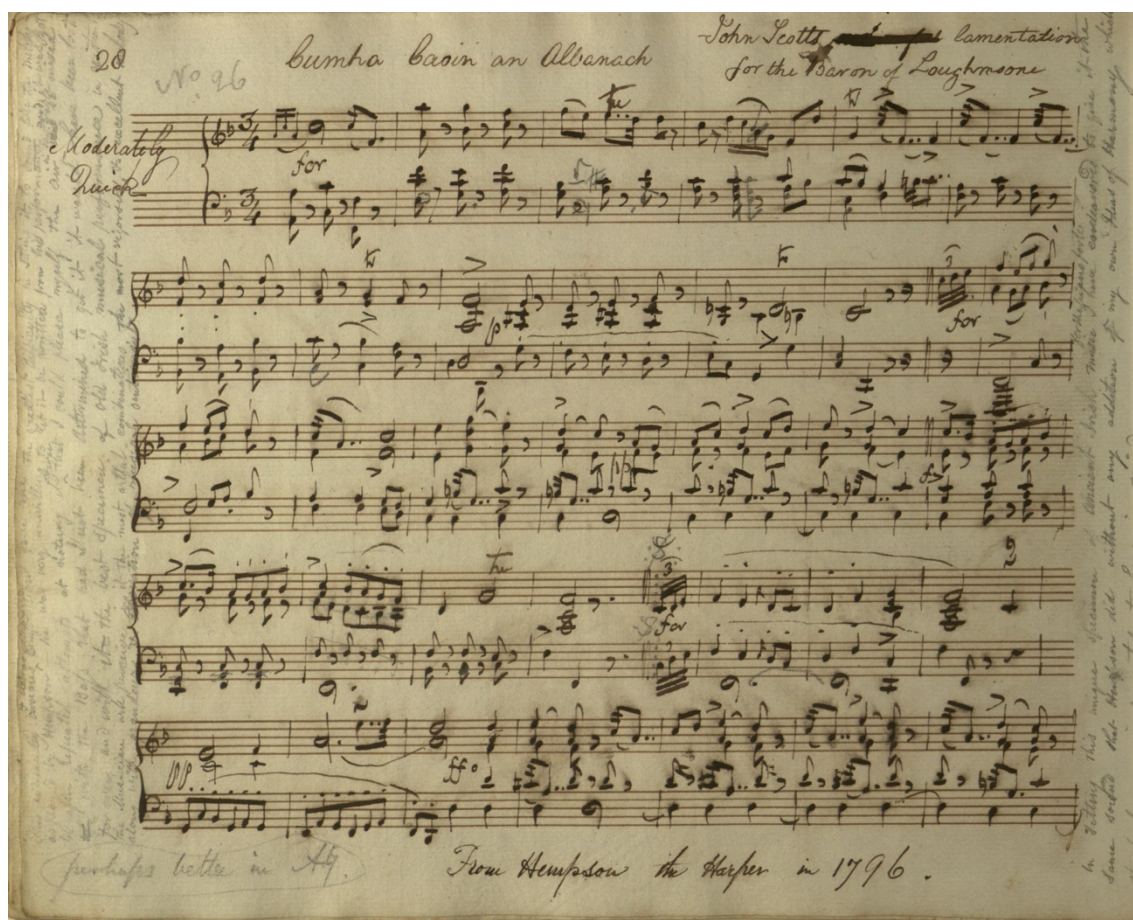


Figure 28. MS 4.27, 28 Cumha caoine an Albanaigh

MS 4.13

Mainly copies of material in MS 4.27 with slight variants.



Figure 29. MS 4.13, 76 The blackbird

The Ancient Music of Ireland, 1840

Bunting's final publication contains piano arrangements and some English-language songs.

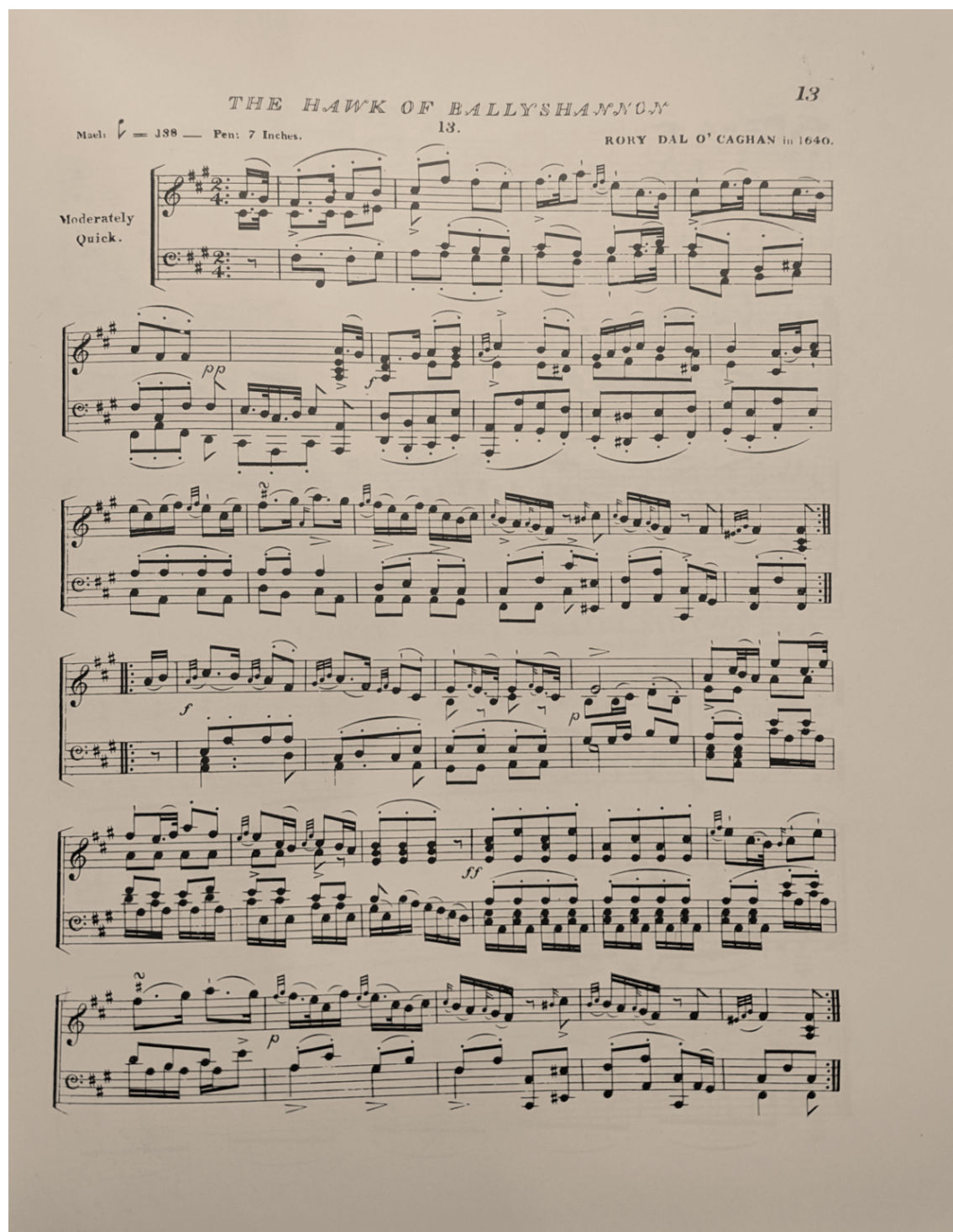


Figure 30. Bunting 1840, 13 *The hawk of Ballyshannon*

The further temporally removed each additional source is from the initial field transcriptions the more they can be seen to stray into European-art-music norms and

pacification of the original material,¹⁵⁵ and the less information they have to offer about vernacular Irish harp performance practice.

1.9.3 IRLN-Bu Special Collections MS 4.29

IRLN-Bu Special Collections MS 4.29 is the most important collection of music surviving from the early Irish harp tradition. It contains direct field transcriptions of the playing of early Irish harpers, who themselves left no primary sources of their art, since theirs was an oral tradition.¹⁵⁶

Measuring 121 mm x 141 mm, with 126 leaves of music and text, MS 4.29 is home-made, with sheets of different kinds of manuscript paper cut up and combined to make what were originally individual gatherings.¹⁵⁷ This is important because it suggests that one can have no confidence that the gathering order is the original. This has a bearing on evaluation of the material it contains, particularly the ‘first’ piece, *...or the Banks of Claudy*, which has a partially contrapuntal bass line. This composition shows no evidence of being the first such transcribed by Bunting at the Belfast harpers’ assembly

¹⁵⁵ With regard to manipulation and standardisation of various kinds inc. rhythm, texture, and the superimposition of a European art-music, tonal and harmonic language onto what was original modal music.

¹⁵⁶ A second MS in the Bunting collection – MS 4.33.1 – contains a small number of harp performance transcriptions, and another – MS 4.12.2 – contains one early draft. Taken together, these comprise a partial snapshot of the tail end of a courtly tradition of vernacular harping that was first remarked on favourably by colonial invaders in the late twelfth century, and which would survive into the early nineteenth century. For more information on early Irish harp in the nineteenth century see O’Donnell 2014, and Hurrell 2019.

¹⁵⁷ From wear and tear to the first and/or final pages in some of these it is clear that they were once separate before being bound together in – or later than – 1801, though Bunting’s annotations indicate that the bound gatherings were in use until 1805. For more on the physical structure of the MS see Moloney 2000, 30–31. For a closer examination of the papers used, and the rastography, see Ibid., 18–21.

in 1792, and nor is it a field transcription; therefore no lower-register performance-practice idiom may safely be deduced from it.¹⁵⁸

Bunting wrote at the beginning of the MS that its gatherings were in use from 1792 until 1805. Both Donal O'Sullivan¹⁵⁹ and Colette Moloney contend that some of these are the gatherings used by Bunting during the three days of the Belfast Harp Assembly in July 1792, with Moloney attributing specific sections of the MS to Bunting's work at the harper's assembly.¹⁶⁰ But much of the known Belfast-performed repertory, including prize-winning pieces, does not appear in MS 4.29. And since MS 4.29, 44 already mentions the years 1795 and 1796, this further suggests that either the gatherings are not in chronological order or that not much of the MS was available before that to accommodate transcriptions from the harpers in Belfast. Both O'Sullivan and Moloney naturally connected the year 1792 with the harpers assembly but that was also the year that Bunting began to do field work in rural co. Derry, travelling to Dennis O'Hampsey at the latter's home in Magilligan. In his 1840 publication, Bunting wrote that 'immediately after the termination of the meeting [the Belfast harpers' meeting]...he travelled into Derry...visiting Hempson, after his return to Magilligan in the former county, and spending a good part of the summer about Ballinascreen and other mountain districts...where he obtained a great number of admirable airs from the country people.'¹⁶¹ Simon Chadwick first suggested to me that none of the gatherings

¹⁵⁸ Ibid., 31 The missing first MS music page is likely to have contained the field transcription of this composition.

¹⁵⁹ O'Sullivan 1927–1939, Part 1, xxv

¹⁶⁰ Moloney 2000, 47–49

¹⁶¹ Bunting 1840, 4

are those used by Bunting in Belfast in July 1792.¹⁶² It remains possible that all or – more likely – the majority of the gatherings relate to Bunting’s post-July-1792 work, and that the majority of the Belfast transcriptions are now lost. But this question must remain open for now. I suggest that the O’Hampsay group from MS 4.29, 158–173 may be from this 1792 Magilligan trip, in addition to the other O’Hampsay group, from MS 4.29, 44–61, which was transcribed in the 1795 & 1796 period mentioned by Bunting in the MS.¹⁶³

The gatherings also contain music copied from printed music books, from field trips to north-west Ulster and Connaught in the years after 1792, including music collected from singers and instrumentalists.

1.10 Research Question and Aims

A vernacular Irish harper in the medieval Irish tradition that died out c. 1800, played mainly melodic material in the treble register of the harp with his or her left hand, the harp resting on their left shoulder. But what were the functions and practices of the other hand? To answer this question, I examine here the surviving written evidence. In the absence of primary source material, I exclude all tertiary sources, and focus only on the least-mediated, secondary sources: transcriptions notated in the field from live performance by old Irish harpers. My aim is to use my research outcome to reconstruct, and perform, more plausible Practice-Research reconstructions of surviving repertory than have been heard before. Nomenclature questions are also vital for the adequate transmission of the new perspectives I offer. I therefore consider here new language to

¹⁶² Personal communication, 12.09.2019, in which we discussed my attempts to identify individual gatherings, and Chadwick’s thoughts about the MS’s usage period.

¹⁶³ Annotation on MS 4.29, 44. See Chapter 3.4.1, 206–16 for more on my O’Hampsay attributions.

enable a clearer and accelerated understanding of the aspects of performance practice for which I contribute new knowledge. Since no editions of this repertory have been published to date,¹⁶⁴ and since a large part of my work to reconstruct the traditions of the early Irish harp is didactic, my research outcomes also result in performing editions as a supplement to the main practice output: the recorded performances. In order to begin to represent the subtleties of early Irish harp performance practice adequately in written editions, this dissertation builds on existing notation systems to devise innovative new ways of indicating the precise finger-placing, simultaneous note-striking and string-damping that Edward Bunting noticed in O'Hampsay's performances.

On categorisation of the evidence to be found, it is now clear that the bulk of the surviving evidence captured in the field was notated from harper, Dennis O'Hampsay. It is further clear that O'Hampsay's praxis would appear to have involved the widest range of repertory of any of the harpers that Edward Bunting heard in the 1790s, stretching from possibly late-medieval music to music of the eighteenth century that displays idiomatically European features. A microstudy of field transcriptions surviving from O'Hampsay is therefore invaluable to answer my primary research question. My aim here is not to investigate his entire canon but to expose, and explore, the issues at hand by focussing on eight representative compositions. Within Practice-Research parameters, I reconstruct and record these on a copy of his instrument, the Downhill harp, commissioned for this dissertation.

¹⁶⁴ *Burns's march* has appeared in print but not in a setting based solely on O'Hampsay's setting.

1.11 Research Outcomes

This is the first dissertation to analyse, and categorise, the evidence for early-Irish-harp, lower-register practice. I identify a more plausible historical, lower-register idiom than has been recognised and articulated before. I reframe an understanding of this core aspect of practice based on my critical analysis of original field transcriptions, bringing to the fore features of lower-register performance practice that have not been adequately acknowledged, or utilised, in performance before.

This dissertation's microstudy has macro implications for a new understanding of wider, early-Irish-harp performance practice, showing not only that vernacular, Irish-harp, lower-register performance practice was distinct from European art-music practices of the seventeenth- and eighteenth centuries but what precise forms that practice took.

The sound recordings in Part 2, and the supplementary performing editions, are the outward-facing manifestation of my critical research. It is not only the analysis of historical practice but also the performative element in my presentation of it that is a significant shift offered by this dissertation. My editions are the first performing editions of O'Hampsay's repertory for early Irish harp, produced using a Research-Practice approach with expert-practitioner praxis. The representation of performance practice in these editions has been honed by my didactic work, to arrive at a new notation system to express performance practice specific to this instrument.

Chapter 2

Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

This review of relevant literature and performance practice will demonstrate that despite an awareness by some academics and performers of what old Irish harper performance practice may have entailed – and also, very importantly, what it did *not* entail – that the majority of previous commentary, analyses, transcriptions and editions in the field has been either unaware of, or has ignored, the best surviving evidence of vernacular Irish harpers' lower-register performance idiom. This has led to misconceptions, incorrect information and concomitant gaps in knowledge, which the new research I present in this dissertation addresses. Different aspects of previous research and performative work require reviewing in order for the current gaps in knowledge to be grasped. This review is therefore in three parts, addressing the following:

- commentary on early-Irish-harp, lower-hand functions and practices
- O'Hampsay transcriptions and editions
- practice-based outputs of O'Hampsay repertory

2.2 Commentary On Lower-Hand Functions And Practices

2.2.1 ‘What song the sirens sang’

The standard reference work on the life and music of Ireland’s iconic, eighteenth-century harper, Turlough Carolan, is Donal O’Sullivan’s 1958 two-volume work.¹⁶⁵ In his 1959 review of the publication, Prof. Colm Ó Lochlainn remarked on the antiphonal nature of some of Carolan’s phrases: ‘treble notes, resembling another, would naturally suggest a similar left-hand [*sic*; this should read ‘right hand’] treatment and rhythm’.¹⁶⁶ He went on to write, without further explanation or evidence, that harp ‘basses’ were otherwise ‘almost always extemporized’. As I mentioned in Chapter 1.5.3, Colm Ó Lochlainn suggested that ‘we know as little of the harpers’ lower register work, unison, harmony or counterpoint, as we do of ‘what songs the sirens sang’’, and Douglas Gunn, as late as 1999, claimed that no-one knew how Carolan or the other harpers played their music, and even that no source material had survived. This narrative is still prevalent today: that Edward Bunting collected mainly only melody, and that any lower-register material added must be purely speculative, with no guidance now available as to what an historical idiom might be.¹⁶⁷

In modern harping this has led to the continuous, contrapuntal basses of the kind pioneered, from the 1970s, by virtuosic performer, Máire Ní Chathasaigh, and also includes, for example, the kind of full, arpeggiated chords and harmonies heard in

¹⁶⁵ O’Sullivan, Donal. 1958. *Carolan: The Life, Times and Music of an Irish Harper. In Two Volumes. Volume I: The Life and Times and The Music / Volume II: The Notes to the Tunes and The Memoirs of Arthur O’Neill*. 2 vols. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

¹⁶⁶ Ó Lochlainn 1959, 219–20.

¹⁶⁷ Modern-Irish-harp performing editions offer solely newly-composed bass lines for Irish harper repertory.

Anne-Marie O’Farrell’s recording of *Carolan’s Farewell to Music*.¹⁶⁸ In early Irish harping, likewise, there has been a preponderance of continuous bass-line playing¹⁶⁹ apart from those who have followed Ann Heymann’s pioneering, sparser playing style.¹⁷⁰ In addition, some players – from amateurs to some of the best-known historical harpists internationally – are now influenced by my own work. The latter are using, in their performances, recordings and tutoring, the new knowledge I am now disseminating.¹⁷¹

2.2.2 A Thread of Knowledge

There has been, however, for almost seventy years now, some awareness that harmonic and chordal accompaniment in early Irish harp repertory is not idiomatic. In 1952, Prof. Aloys Fleischmann remarked that ‘there seems to have been much doubling of the melodic line in octaves.’¹⁷² This was a very early example of acuity given that it would be another twenty-six years before Manx harpist, Charles Guard, commented on the value of Bunting’s having notated some pieces ‘exactly as the old harpers played them’ and noticed that they had an ‘almost total lack of the use of harmony’.¹⁷³ Guard was

¹⁶⁸ See, for example, Ní Chathasaigh, Máire, and Chris Newman. 1994. *The Carolan Albums*. CD. Ilkley: Old Bridge Music, and O’Farrell, Anne-Marie, and Cormac De Barra. 2005. *Double Strung*. CD. Dublin: Anne-Marie O’Farrell and Cormac de Barra.

¹⁶⁹ See, for example, La Camera Mariño, Vicente. 2014. *The Touching of the String: Scottish & Irish Music of the 1600s and 1700s for Renaissance Harp and Early Clairseach*. La Palma: La Camera Mariño, and Sáinz, Javier. 2008. *Silva Caledonia: Scottish Harp Music of the 17th Century*. Siubhal.

¹⁷⁰ These include early-Irish-harp players, Chad McAnally (USA), Violaine Mayer (Brittany) and Brendan Ring (France).

¹⁷¹ These include Andrew Lawrence-King (Estonia), Eibhlís Ní Ríordáin (Ireland), Alessia Bianchi (Italy), and James Ruff (USA).

¹⁷² Fleischmann, Aloys, ed. 1952. *Music in Ireland: A Symposium*. Cork University Press, 3.

¹⁷³ Guard, Charles. 1978. *Avenging and Bright: Charles Guard Plays Celtic Harp Music*. LP. Dublin: Ceirníní Cladaigh.

probably influenced by his teacher, the Irish harpist, singer and author, Gráinne Yeats, who wrote, in 1980, that '[d]efinite harmony notes were few and far between, as they were not necessary.'¹⁷⁴ In 1992 she further addressed the question of how to reconstruct the music of the early Irish harpers, advocating – for the first time in Irish harp studies in Ireland – a Practice-Research approach:

*It is possible, by studying all the evidence given to us by Bunting as to the manner of playing of the harpers, to try out various techniques and find out whether they work or not. We can thus arrive at some conclusions regarding the old style of playing.*¹⁷⁵

Yeats also presented a selection of quotes relating to Irish harp performance from the Middle Ages to the nineteenth century, and extrapolated more generally – and accurately, in my view – about the nature of historical performance practice on the instrument.

Breandán Breathnach, the Irish-music collector and writer, pointed out the reasons why Bunting's published piano arrangements are impossible to play on early Irish harp, elucidating, in the process, characteristics of historical Irish harp performance practice. In his 1989 publication he referenced Dennis O'Hampsey's *sean-nós* ['old-style'] harping, as he described it, situating it fittingly in the same world as *sean-nós* singing and dancing, both of which are as different from modern Irish folk-singing and dancing as early Irish harping is removed from its modern counterpart. In coining the term, Breathnach understood the enormity of the cultural loss on the demise of the vernacular tradition: '*Bhí sean-nós seanma dá gcuid féin acu agus cailleadh sin nuair a fuair an*

¹⁷⁴ Yeats, Gráinne. 1980b. *Féile na gCruitirí Béal Feirste 1792: Belfast Harpers Festival 1792*. Dublin: Gael Linn, 37.

¹⁷⁵ Yeats, Gráinne. 1992b. *The Harp of Ireland: The Belfast Harpers' Festival, 1792, and the Saving of Ireland's Harp Music by Edward Bunting*. Belfast Harpers' Bicentenary Ltd, 32.

cláirseoir deireanach acu bás, go luath sa chéad atá caite.’ [‘They had an old style of performance of their own and that was lost when the last of them died, early in the [nineteenth century]’]¹⁷⁶

Gráinne Yeats was the first writer to reference the mid-eighteenth-century, Dublin publication of Carolan repertory: IRL-Dn LO 1635.¹⁷⁷ She analysed it as a possible source of performance-practice information:

*Melodically, the bass follows the tune very closely, most often in unison, but when not, only a note or two away. There is frequently a pre-echo effect, when the bass anticipates the tune note by either a half or a whole beat. [T]his pre-echo can be by step or by interval. Occasionally there is a genuine echo effect of the same kind, but this is not so common. Rarely are more than two notes struck together, and there is a complete absence of conventional harmony.*¹⁷⁸

Sandra Joyce, agreed with Yeats, in 1996, that IRL-Dn LO 1635 may be of importance to an investigation of eighteenth-century Irish harp performance idiom but was cautious about blanket acceptance of the work suggesting that ‘detailed observations on the nature of eighteenth-century harping style...must [still] be based on informed speculation...’¹⁷⁹

I do not consider IRL-Dn LO 1635 a reliable exemplar of idiomatic, lower-register texture for two reasons. Firstly, while it is true that the parallel movement of treble and bass evident in places is not at odds with the evidence I will outline in Chapter 4, the

¹⁷⁶ Breathnach, Breandán. 1989. *Ceol Agus Rince na hÉireann*. Dublin: An Gúm, 50.

¹⁷⁷ Lacking a title page, this fragmentary publication is called ‘Compositions of Carolan’ by the National Library of Ireland. See a facsimile extract in Chapter 5.4.1, 294.

¹⁷⁸ Yeats, Gráinne. 1992b. *The Harp of Ireland: The Belfast Harpers’ Festival, 1792, and the Saving of Ireland’s Harp Music by Edward Bunting*. Belfast Harpers’ Bicentenary Ltd, 52–53.

¹⁷⁹ Joyce, Sandra. 1996. ‘An Introduction to O’Carolan’s Music in Eighteenth-Century Printed Collections’. In *Irish Musical Studies IV: Maynooth International Musicological Conference: Selected Proceedings: Part One*, 206–309. Blackrock, Co. Dublin: Four Courts Press Ltd, 298–99.

continuous bass lines in the publication are sometimes contrapuntal, making use of functional harmony; this does not reflect surviving evidence of the lower register of vernacular harping. I will come back to this publication in Chapter 5 to outline my second reason for scepticism, within a more detailed discussion of the lower-register texture of the music of Turlough Carolan.¹⁸⁰

Early-Irish-harp researcher, Simon Chadwick, touched very briefly on lower-register performance practice in his Early Music overview article in 2008, mentioning sources that showed harp repertory: ‘harmonized in parallel octaves’ and ‘melody line dropping into the bass for short sections’¹⁸¹

2.2.3 Previous Analyses Of Dennis O’Hampsay’s ‘Basses’

Colette Moloney referred to harper, Dennis O’Hampsay’s, lower-register, melodic reinforcements in her Bunting catalogue in 2000. But she based her analyses primarily on an examination of Bunting’s piano arrangements, which led her to a flawed overview of O’Hampsay’s idiom: ‘apart from interlocking sections...*Cumha Caoine an Albanaigh, Banks of Claudy, Lady Letty Burke, Tá mé i mo chodladh*, and the second half of the *Lady of the Desert* theme are’ she claimed ‘mainly in two-part counterpoint’ with ‘full chords at cadences’.¹⁸² This dissertation will demonstrate definitively that O’Hampsay’s performance idiom, and that of famous earlier eighteenth-century Irish harpers (and, by extrapolation, many others) is not chordal and harmonic in a European

¹⁸⁰ Chapter 5.4.1, 292–95.

¹⁸¹ Chadwick 2008c

¹⁸² Moloney 2000, 75

sense; that it shows no evidence of independent bass lines or counterpoint but rather displays many features that contradict this analysis.

In 2012, Helen Lawlor made her bold claim that O'Hampsay's practice was 'stylistically similar' to the metrical, arpeggiated bass line of a modern-Irish-harp song accompaniment from the 1950s.¹⁸³ She attempted to use one of the most stylistically conservative of O'Hampsay's pieces, *Cumha caoine an Albanaigh*, to bolster her contention that harpists, and other musicians in Ireland, from the early eighteenth century to c. 2010, operated within one style, aesthetic and idiom with regard to lower-register accompaniment of melodies: 'Ní Fhloinn, O'Hara, Hempson, Hambly and Ó Riada all use similar accompaniment styles.'¹⁸⁴ Lawlor referenced Colette Moloney's 2000 publication, in which Moloney had reproduced one of Bunting's two published settings of the piece.¹⁸⁵ But Bunting's genuine attempt to portray O'Hampsay's performing idiom, in his chapter on historical performance practice, led to this setting being devoid of arpeggiation, with little harmony of any kind, adhering closely to the field transcriptions, with octaves frequently outlined between the hands. Lawlor may perhaps, alternatively, have been referring to the piano arrangement in Bunting 1840, 6–7, which does include arpeggiation, but no conclusions about harp performance practice may be drawn from these arrangements, which range in style from baroque to Romantic keyboard idioms. The evidence I will present in this dissertation does not include the

¹⁸³ The singer-harpist, Mary O'Hara's performance of *Ar Éireann ní neosfainn cé hí*. Lawlor 2012, 58–59

¹⁸⁴ Ibid., 60–63 Deirdre Ní Fhloinn and Mary O'Hara belonged to a mid-twentieth-century, modern-Irish-harp tradition that was idiomatically, aesthetically and technically far removed from the early Irish harping tradition. The composer and keyboard player, Seán Ó Riada (1931–1971) used a harmonic style not dissimilar to Ní Fhloinn and O'Hara in his 1950s to '60s keyboard arrangements of Irish music. Gráinne Hambly, a contemporary performer on modern Irish harp, might be almost as surprised as O'Hampsay to find herself in this list of putatively connected performers across the centuries.

¹⁸⁵ Bunting 1840, insert after 88, music-page 4

ascending, metrical arpeggiation common to European pedal-harping, found in the performance tradition of that instrument's descendent, in 1950's Ireland, and still widely used today.

2.3 O'Hampsay Transcriptions And Editions

Published transcriptions of harp repertory collected by Bunting are largely problematic with regard to two main issues. Firstly, an almost universal use of piano arrangements as source material by the three main editors for their transcriptions, editions and analyses, with an almost complete disregard for the less mediated, much more plausible, earlier field transcriptions. The latter are admittedly off-putting because they are more difficult to decipher. Secondly, in addition to problems of notational accuracy in some of the existing transcriptions, these all too often do not include any of the lower-register material, or they make use of compressed gamuts in order to fit all the material on a single stave, obliterating distinction of register.

The main published source of harp-composition transcriptions from the Bunting MSS remains the eight volumes produced between 1927 and 1939 for the *Journal of the Irish Folk Song Society* in London by its editor, Donal O'Sullivan.¹⁸⁶ O'Sullivan was the main researcher in early-Irish-harp studies in the first half of the twentieth century. The JIFSS volumes contain his editions of the melodies that Bunting arranged in his 1797 and 1809 publications, supplemented by O'Sullivan's notes on the tunes. Musicologist and pianist, Míchéal Ó Súilleabháin, completed the work after O'Sullivan's death,

¹⁸⁶ O'Sullivan 1927–1939

producing, in 1983, a volume based on the music in Bunting's third and final publication from 1840.¹⁸⁷

Another source of transcriptions is the introduction to Colette Moloney's catalogue of Bunting's Irish music MSS.¹⁸⁸ This has been the most significant addition to Bunting studies since Donal O'Sullivan's in the early twentieth century. I will dwell at some length on the methodology and output of these three authors, as theirs are the standard reference works in the area. Their deficiencies underline the need for – and value of – the approaches I have developed and followed in this dissertation.

O'Sullivan, Ó Súilleabháin and Moloney's decisions about which Bunting sources they focussed on are not only unsatisfactory, they are also incompatible with their own evaluations of the relative merits of the source material, and their own stated editorial aims. Their transcriptions, editions and analytical commentary on early Irish harp lower-register textures are therefore often misleading or incorrect.

2.3.1 Donal O'Sullivan

Donal O'Sullivan (1927–39) claimed that he worked mainly from MS 4.29 field transcriptions:

The leading principle on which the manuscripts have been dealt with in this edition is so to edit them that students...will have as exact an idea as possible of the primitive state of the tunes and words, as they were noted down and before they were dressed up for appearance in public. To this end, Bunting's original notations of the tunes have throughout been preferred to his copies, and no alterations whatever have been made except those shown in annotations placed immediately under the airs. It

¹⁸⁷ O'Sullivan, Donal, and Mícheál Ó Súilleabháin. 1983. *Bunting's Ancient Music of Ireland*. Cork, Ireland: Cork University Press.

¹⁸⁸ Moloney 2000

*is hoped that students will consider this information as to the exact state of the manuscripts an advantage...*¹⁸⁹

In fact, O'Sullivan relied mainly on Bunting's piano arrangements, leading to significant shortcomings in the information that he suggested he was transmitting to his readers. For example, in his 1939 notes to Carolan's *Lady Letty Burke*, he did not acknowledge the existence of a field transcription, his edition being an arbitrary *mélange* of melodic material from the MS 4.33 and 1809 piano arrangements, both of which are materially different to the field transcription.¹⁹⁰ His 1958 edition of the piece claimed MS 4.29 as its source but was based on Bunting's 1809 piano arrangement¹⁹¹ as was his edition of *Burns's march*. His *A Chailíní, a' bhfaca sibh Seoirse?* editions were based on field transcriptions, but some lower-register notes that could have been accommodated without difficulty on a treble stave were left out, and others were presented an octave too high, obliterating distinctions of register. O'Sullivan's *Seón Jones* edition bypassed the harp-performance transcription entirely, delivering a different version of the melody that is also devoid of the rich lower-hand texture captured in Bunting's harp-performance transcription.

In his JIFSS settings, O'Sullivan only inconsistently included individual lower-register notes and extended lower-register passages. His *Lady Letty Burke* edition is a rare example of his attempt to show both registers, using stem direction to differentiate them. He even made use of an intermittent bass clef here. But his 1958 edition of the piece is truer to his overall methodology: working with only a treble stave, he

¹⁸⁹ O'Sullivan 1927–1939, Part 1 (1927), xxvii

¹⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, Part 6 (1939), 30 O'Sullivan justified his inclusion of features of the published piano arrangement with an unsubstantiated claim of illegibility of parts of the MS piano arrangement.

¹⁹¹ O'Sullivan 1958

compressed the gamut to fit, obscuring the much wider range, and separate voices, that Bunting's transcriptions sometimes captured, or O'Sullivan simply ignored the lower register, no matter how foundational. The limitations of this approach are most evident in his JIFSS edition of *Burns's march* where he included only the off-beat, treble figures in the episodes, making the composition incomprehensible for the reader:

69. Ím Bó Agus Um Bó,
OR BURNS'S MARCH.

TITLE: 1809, p. 6: Im Bo agas Samha Bo. Burn's March; MS. 29, pp. 30, 31: Aimbo agus umbo. Burn's March. Steal a cow and eat a cow. Huggad de gadda freed a mony—Take care of the rogue coming through the marsh; MS. 33, book 1, p. 60: Burns's March or Pretty Peggy.



MS. 29, p. 31 and MS. 33, book 3, p. 18. See the notes below.

Figure 31. *O'Sullivan, JIFSS, Part 4, 15 Burns's march*

Even some 100 years after he began to publish, O’Sullivan’s work remains highly influential. This is particularly true in the case of the music of Turlough Carolan, and is detrimental to several aspects of the integrity of the latter’s compositions.¹⁹² As we have seen above, O’Sullivan understood the importance of the ‘original notations of the tunes’ compared to the ‘copies’ but he did not deliver them in his editions. He also altered melodies, sometimes reconstructing sections to make uneven phrase lengths more symmetrical, in a similar fashion to Edward Bunting’s editions.¹⁹³ This has led to generations of harpists being unaware of unique, idiomatic features of Carolan’s music, because these have been suppressed in O’Sullivan’s editions. To take one example of many, the iconic *Carolan’s Concerto*, O’Sullivan took, as his source for his 1958 Carolan publication, an eighteenth-century publication that displayed evidence of plausible Carolanesque antiphony between registers, articulated on separate staves. But O’Sullivan edited these into a single register, on one stave, obliterating this evidence.¹⁹⁴ Such is his hegemony – and an absence of historical source use by most modern Irish harpists so pervasive – that interesting historical settings, clearly transmitting plausible, historical harp-performance practice, remain almost completely unacknowledged or taken into account in contemporary performances of the composition.¹⁹⁵

¹⁹² O’Sullivan’s work has been – and continues to be – used as the source for almost all performances, publications, recordings and performances, from Larchet Cuthbert, Sheila. 1975. *The Irish Harp Book: A Tutor and Companion*. Cork & Dublin: Mercier Press, to Rowsome, Caitríona. 2012. *The Complete Carolan Songs & Airs: Arranged for the Irish Harp*. Dublin: Waltons Irish Music, and beyond. It is difficult to think of any contemporary modern-Irish-harp performers – and also some early Irish harpists – who do *not* work from O’Sullivan’s Carolan editions.

¹⁹³ Joyce, Sandra, and Helen Lawlor. 2016. *Harp Studies*. Dublin: Four Courts Press Ltd, 133–136.

¹⁹⁴ Lee c. 1780, 20. No field transcription of *Carolan’s Concerto* is extant. Two Bunting keyboard arrangements, also displaying antiphony, can be found in Bunting 1797a, 23, 33.

¹⁹⁵ Apart from Armstrong, Siobhán. 2004. *Cláirseach na hÉireann: The Harp of Ireland*. CD. MCD0401. Carlow, Co. Carlow: Maya Recordings, Gráinne Yeats is the only Irish harpist to have used this setting; see Yeats, Gráinne. 1992a. *The Belfast Harp Festival: Féile Cruitirí Bhéal Feirste 1792*. CD.

2.3.2 Mícheál Ó Súilleabháin

Mícheál Ó Súilleabháin, in completing O’Sullivan’s work, also opined on the inadvisability of working from Bunting’s published piano arrangements:

...a comparison between manuscript and published versions of tunes show Bunting to have adopted a somewhat less scientific approach to his work than one might be inclined to believe from the general tenor of his own notes...matters such as asymmetrical phrase lengths, variable notes, gapped scales, the modal nature of the music, and at times even the characteristic melodic movement of the pieces, cause him to have second thoughts at publication stage.¹⁹⁶

But Ó Súilleabháin went on to make no qualitative difference between field transcriptions and MS piano arrangements, frequently making no mention of the former and making exclusive use of the latter as a source for many of his editions, including O’Hampsay’s *Táim i mo chodladh, Cumha caoine an Albanaigh* and his abridged version of *Lady of the desert*. In addition, Ó Súilleabháin had trouble reading the source material¹⁹⁷ and his transcriptions – even those made from Bunting’s highly legible piano arrangements – often lack accuracy.

2.3.3 Colette Moloney

In 2000, Colette Moloney produced the first catalogue of Bunting’s Irish music MSS.¹⁹⁸ In an earlier article, she had begun to outline – and analyse – early-Irish-harp

CEFCD 156. Dublin: Gael-Linn. Two years before that, her student, the Manx harpist, Charles Guard, also based his modern-Irish-harp recording of the piece on it; see Guard 1978.

¹⁹⁶ O’Sullivan and Súilleabháin 1983, xvi

¹⁹⁷ See his comments in *Ibid.*, 214

¹⁹⁸ Moloney 2000

performance practice by looking at evidence in the MSS and published works.¹⁹⁹ In *The Irish Music Manuscripts of Edward Bunting 1773-1843: An Introduction and Catalogue* (Moloney 2000) she referenced Bunting's working methods, further categorised idiomatic features of harp melody and composition structure, described performance practice as she understood it, and listed harp 'basses' for which Bunting himself claimed historical authenticity.²⁰⁰ Her conclusions carry weight as the most widely referenced work in the area in the last twenty years but they are often problematic. Moloney agreed with O'Sullivan and Ó Súilleabháin:

*Since a draft notation was written during, or shortly after, a musician's performance, it is likely to be a relatively accurate noting of the tune. The draft notations, evidently written at speed, could not have received the degree of editorial intervention, by the transcriber, that the fair copies or arrangements show.*²⁰¹

With regard to Bunting's MS piano arrangements, Moloney wrote further: '[d]raft arrangements are attempts by Bunting to arrange particular tunes for the piano. These were often altered and re-drafted at various stages in their preparation.'²⁰² adding:

It is when Bunting began to arrange material for piano that most of the editorial alterations took place. His decision was unfortunate because, in making the piano arrangements, Bunting provided versions of the music which lack authenticity in relation to the original repertoires.

It is puzzling then that Moloney used only published or MS piano arrangements for her analyses, leading to some incorrect conclusions with regard to metre, pulse and lower-

¹⁹⁹ Moloney, Colette. 1996. 'Style and Repertoire in the Gaelic Harp Tradition: Evidence from the Bunting Manuscripts and Prints'. In *Irish Musical Studies IV: Maynooth International Musicological Conference: Selected Proceedings: Part One.*, 310–34. Blackrock, Co. Dublin: Four Courts Press Ltd.

²⁰⁰ Moloney 2000, 75–128

²⁰¹ Ibid., 45

²⁰² Ibid., 57

register textures. For example, she wrote of O'Hampsay's *Lady of the desert*: 'The first variation is in 3/8 time' and 'The second variation returns to 3/4'. But the field transcription displays no such halving of the pulse.²⁰³ In the same piece, reproduced underneath, Moloney mistakenly believed the keyboard bass to be a harp bass: '[t]he bass part in the second section [of the theme]...is more unusual...it is rather unlike most of the other harp basses...':²⁰⁴



Figure 32. MS 4.33.2, 1 *Lady of the desert*

The texture in question clearly lies within a nineteenth-century, keyboard idiom; it – and many other examples Moloney gives – has no parallel in any of the field transcriptions. Compare the above passage with the field transcription:

²⁰³ Ibid., 111

²⁰⁴ Ibid., 76



Figure 33. MS 4.29, 52 *Lady of the desert*, transcription

Moloney also accepted Bunting's claims for 'Original Harp Bass' in his piano publications, even when these claims are neither backed up by earlier MS piano arrangements nor by the preceding field transcriptions. She quoted the opening of his 1840 arrangement of Carolan's *Lady Blaney* as a reliable example:²⁰⁵



Figure 34. Bunting 1840, 45 *Lady Blaney*, extract

Her conviction may have been reinforced by Bunting's presentation of a lower-hand idiom in his 1840 'Graces' chart – *laghair lair* – evidence for which, however, is absent in the surviving field transcriptions:

²⁰⁵ Ibid, 77

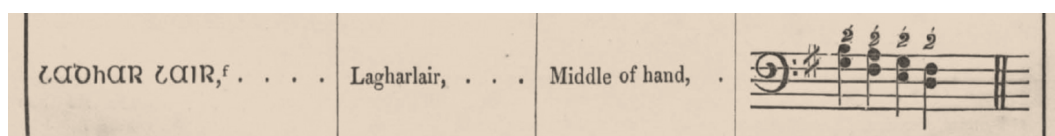


Figure 35. *Bunting 1840, 26, extract*

Carolan's textures frequently do include solo, lower-hand passages but these are invariably melodies rather than the harmonic texture of the *Lady Blaney* example above. Bunting may, of course, have been working from a now lost transcription MS but an examination of the opening of the earliest available setting shows no evidence to support either the melody moving into the lower register, or the mid-nineteenth-century piano arrangement shown in fig. 34, above:

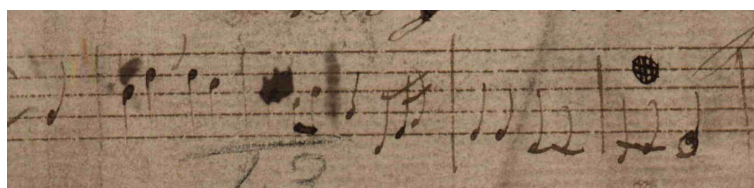


Figure 36. *MS 4.29, 43 Lady Blaney, extract and transcription*

Joan Rimmer made a similar error, in 1994, when she took the MS 4.33.2 piano arrangements at face value as examples of harp performance practice.²⁰⁶ This led her to write that 'much of [O'Hampsay's] performance in Carolan's *Mrs Kiel*] has a baroque kind of bass.' But Rimmer did notice one genuine aspect of O'Hampsay's playing,

²⁰⁶ Rimmer, Joan. 1994. 'Harp Repertoire in Eighteenth-Century Ireland: Perceptions, Misconceptions and Reworkings'. In *Proceedings of the International Historical Harp Symposium Utrecht 1992*, 73–85. Utrecht: STIMU, 77. Rimmer produced, what has been, for decades, the standard reference work on early Irish harp: Rimmer, Joan. 1969. *The Irish Harp*. Cork: The Mercier Press.

which the piano arrangement partially transmitted: ‘[s]ome of this simply parallels the tune in a characteristic older Irish fashion...’²⁰⁷ Moloney and Rimmer both admirably attempted polymetric reconstructions of O’Hampsay’s *Cumha caoine an Albanaigh* but as each took a piano arrangement as their starting point, the value of their results is limited. In my microstudy I will include my reconstruction of the piece, using the two earliest field transcriptions as my sources for a new reconstruction of the composition. Moloney theorized further performance practice based solely on her analyses of Bunting’s piano music. For example, she posited a bass drone using as evidence what I contend is a piano arrangement of *Féilacháin*, annotated ‘with original Harp Bass’.²⁰⁸ This demonstration page of a seminal, didactic composition looks as if it were drawn up at some point in the nineteenth century, prior to Bunting’s death in 1843. In this palimpsest, I would argue that Bunting later altered his original, oscillating G / A harmony in the first half to the G drone that caught Moloney’s eye:

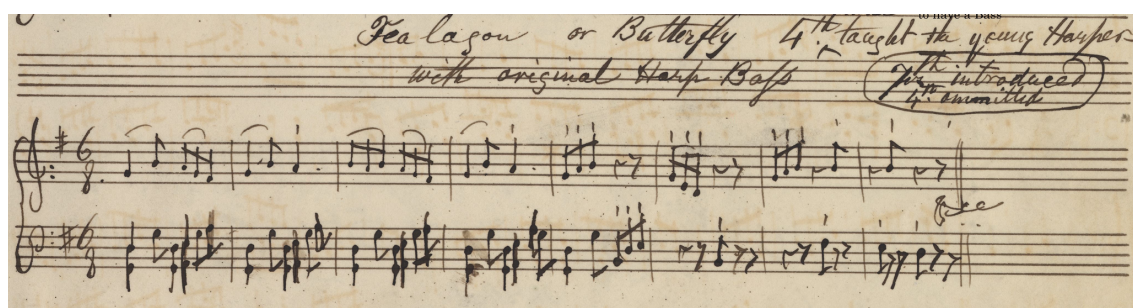


Figure 37. MS 4.12.1, 48 *Féilacháin*, extract

Bunting’s earlier, end-of-eighteenth-century keyboard arrangement of the same piece – with a different first-half bass to the above example – claims only that the second half is

²⁰⁷ Ibid., 78

²⁰⁸ *Féilacháin* [‘butterfly’] is a seminal didactic piece.

‘Harp Bass’. This is more plausible, displaying, as this half does, two verifiable features of vernacular Irish harping: the melody moving between the hands, and parallel octaves between hands:

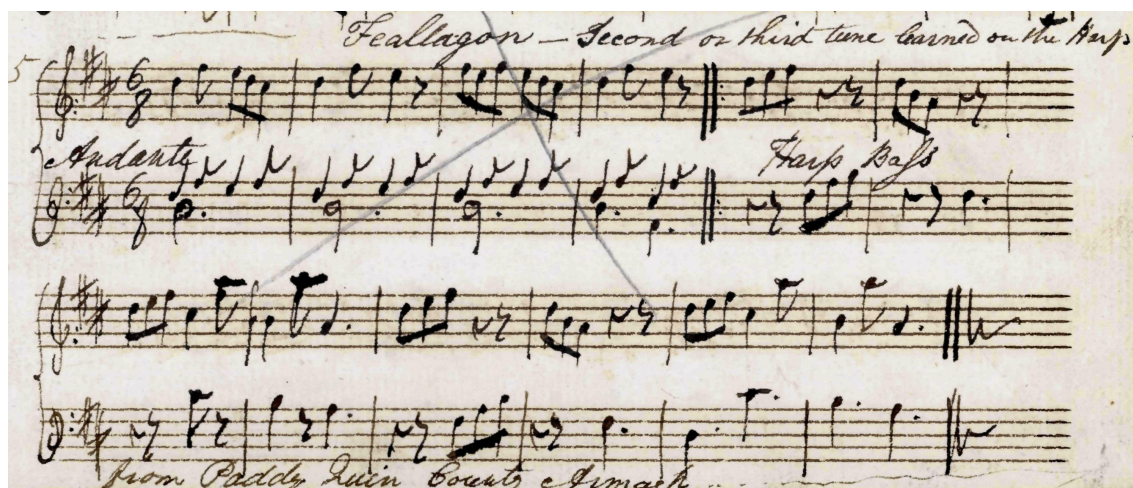


Figure 38. MS 4.33.3, 17 Féilacháin, extract

The appearance of ‘Harp Bass’ half-way through the composition undermines the possibility that the bass texture in the opening four bars, above, is any more plausible than the bass drone in the later setting. Likewise, Moloney’s trust in Bunting’s claims of historical exactitude in his MS 4.12 arrangement of *Coillte glasa an Triúcha* – ‘Harp Bass as performed by Hempson and O Neil etc.’ – must be open to question:²⁰⁹

²⁰⁹ Moloney 2000, 82

The reluctance of previous writers to engage with Bunting's field transcriptions is understandable: they can be daunting to tackle, and require close study and application over extended periods in order to come to any firm conclusions. But in ignoring them, a researcher, editor or performer deprives themselves of the best opportunity to see through the glass darkly, to catch a glimpse of precious, extinct performance practice. Worse, by working from secondary or later drafts, manuscript piano arrangements or Bunting's published piano arrangements, false data is gathered, which leads to the creation and presentation of an inaccurate picture of early Irish harp performance practice.

Even the most basic part of the research – the number of compositions in the Bunting MSS which display evidence of lower register textures – is generally misrepresented. Moloney's misleading statement that '[t]here are only ten tunes in the manuscripts or printed volumes for which Bunting provides even a fragmented harp bass' has often been quoted by others. She did, in fact, list additional relevant compositions in a footnote, but these have not been taken into account by those who have quoted her.²¹⁰ Of the ten, she wrote, 'only [*The Banks of Claudy*] is a draft notation: the others are fair copies of arrangements **with no original draft of the basses extant in the manuscripts** [my emphasis]. We cannot be certain, therefore, of the correctness of the basses...' ²¹¹

²¹⁰ Moloney 2000, 165 See references in Lawlor 2012, 59 and in Dooley, Paul. 2010. *The Harper's Fancy: A Collection of Jigs, Reels and Miscellaneous Traditional Tunes Old and New Played on the Irish Harp*. CD. PDCD00. Paul Dooley. For a list of the field transcriptions that display lower-register texture, on 49 pages of MS 4.29, see Table 5 in Chapter 5.2, 288–89.

²¹¹ Moloney 2000, 75

On the contrary, at least six of the ten survive in field transcription drafts containing lower-register indications, as we shall see, though not ‘...or the Banks of Claudy’.²¹²

2.4 Practice-Based Outputs Of O’Hampsay Repertory

Of the eight compositions included in my microstudy, only one is available in an early-Irish-harp performing edition: *Burns’s march* has been published (Heymann 1989 and 1998) and recorded (Chadwick 2008) but no editions or recordings of this are derived solely from Bunting’s field transcription of O’Hampsay’s playing.²¹³

2.4.1 Charles Guard

The Manx harpist, Charles Guard, was the first to record *Burns’s march* on a copy of an early Irish harp using Bunting’s 1809 piano arrangement as his performing edition.²¹⁴

2.4.2 Gráinne Yeats

Gráinne Yeats (1925–2013), was the first harpist in Ireland to record early Irish harp repertory using a Practice-Research approach, working from Bunting’s manuscripts and playing on early Irish harps she had built for her. Her seminal 1980 recording used two distinct styles on different instruments: her modern-Irish-harp playing involved a European-art-music, harmonic approach but her early-Irish-harp playing was very different, using a Practice-Research approach, which she used for her reconstruction and

²¹² The field transcription of this piece is likely to have been on a folio that is now missing, along with the first given title of the piece.

²¹³ Simon Chadwick’s recording comes closest: based mainly on Bunting’s second MS draft. Chadwick, Simon. 2008a. *Clàrsach Na Bànrìghe: The Queen’s Harp*. CD. Fife: Simon Chadwick.

²¹⁴ Guard 1978

performance of three O'Hampsay pieces on early Irish harps.²¹⁵ These were energetic and characterful, fulfilling Bunting's assertion that 'all the Irish tunes require to be played with a great degree of boldness'.²¹⁶ She reproduced many of the other characteristics that Bunting wrote about when describing historical performance: good rhythm, nuance of phrasing, and appropriate string damping.

Yeats's reconstructions performed on early Irish harp were harmonically sparse, working with the characteristic lengthy resonance of the instrument. She chose the most plausible-looking MS piano arrangements to work from: the unusual, barline-free MS 4.33.2, 55 *féachain gléis* setting, and the sparse MS 4.33.3, 56-57 setting of *Tá mé i mo chodladh 's ná dúisigh mé* with its 'exactly copied from Hempson – both bass and treble' annotation. Yeats's *Burns's march* recording used the MS 4.33.3, 18-19 piano arrangement as a basis, however, which differs in important ways from Bunting's field transcription and second draft, and is therefore less dependable as a source. She followed another feature of the second draft – the absence of any bass in the third episode – but, like Ann Heymann's published edition had her lower hand perform an octave higher than suggested by the field transcription.²¹⁷ Yeats also incorporated all of Patrick Quin's episodes from his setting of the piece, apparently working – to her credit – from field transcriptions of his playing.

²¹⁵ Yeats 1980b It included performances of four pieces from O'Hampsay's repertory: *Cumha caoine an Albanaigh*, the *féachain gléis*, *Burns's march* and *Tá mé i mo chodladh 's ná dúisigh mé*.

²¹⁶ Annotation in MS 4.29, 39.

²¹⁷ Heymann 1989

2.4.3 Ann Heymann

Ann Heymann is widely regarded as the animator of the international, late twentieth-century revival of the early Irish harp.²¹⁸ She was the first Practice-Research harpist to play on replica instruments placed on the left shoulder in the historical manner. Striking with fingernails, and using the double-*g comhluighe* tuning peculiar to the instrument, Heymann reconstructed historical playing and string-damping techniques, rediscovering historical repertory, making the earliest recordings in this revival, and producing the first written didactic material. This resulted in the dissemination of a wealth of new knowledge in the field.²¹⁹ Heymann was, for example, the first to gather together the appropriate source material and replica instrument to explore the music of a specific harper.²²⁰ Though Gráinne Yeats was publishing on the subject, and was making sound recordings, from 1980,²²¹ it is Heymann who has been the more influential, inspiring and tutoring many harpists internationally.²²² She is the starting point for most lineages of modern early-Irish-harp performance. In its pioneering nature, her early work was single-handed and unsupported by a peer group, which singles her out for particular respect.

²¹⁸ For an interview about Heymann's working method, research and performance approach, see Ó Catháin, Mícheál. 2018. Mícheál Ó Catháin | Interview with Ann Heymann. www.michealocathain.com/interviews/ann-heyman-1
www.michealocathain.com/interviews/ann-heyman-2 For an HHSI interview with Heymann about her contribution to the twentieth-century revival of the early Irish harp see Historical Harp Society of Ireland, The. 2017. *Ann Heymann in Conversation: My Part in the Early Irish Harp Revival*. Video. Scoil na gCláirseach–Festival of Early Irish Harp, Kilkenny. www.youtube.com/watch?v=XimXMj-w3LA

²¹⁹ Heymann, Ann, and Charlie Heymann. 1979. *Let Erin Remember*. LP. Minnesota, USA: Clairseach Records; Heymann 1989.

²²⁰ Dennis O'Hampsey

²²¹ Yeats, Gráinne. 1980a. *Féile na gCruitirí Béal Feirste 1792: Belfast Harpers Festival 1792*. LP x 2. Dublin: Gael-Linn; 1980b; 1992b.

²²² Heymann introduced me to the instrument, and encouraged me to put on the first ever summer school – now festival – for early Irish harp, in 2003, which led to the founding of The Historical Harp Society of Ireland.

Heymann's seminal 1994 recording included the *féachain gléis*, her reconstruction of which was based on Bunting's field transcription.²²³ Her recording of *Cumha caoine an Albanaigh* was the first on early-Irish harp,²²⁴ and was groundbreaking in several ways: she worked from the field transcriptions and even produced an experimental duple-time reconstruction, following O'Hampsay's advice to Bunting not to forget 'common time'. Some *glissandi* in her performance, however, were possibly suggested by what appear to me to be ink marks in the MS.²²⁵ On her 2006 recording, she included some of O'Hampsay's divisions on *A Chailíní, a' bhfaca sibh Seoirse?* but in a quite full and harmonic setting, also eschewing to reproduce the triple metre of the composition.²²⁶ Heymann's *Coupled Hands for Harpers* (2001)²²⁷ publication requires attention as it has been highly influential in early-Irish-harp circles since it has been published, and has led to performers, recording artists and tutors, in Europe and the USA, adopting its method, and teaching its theory.²²⁸ This publication outlined Heymann's method, which she articulated as follows:

... a use of both hands to express the melody: the bass thumb taking the stressed melody notes and the treble hand sounding all the others. Most

²²³ Heymann, Ann. 1994. *Queen of Harps*. CD. Temple, Midlothian: Temple Records COMD2057.

²²⁴ In 1960, Mary Rowland recorded Bunting's 'as-performed-by-Hempson' 1840 setting on a gut-strung harp, on an unreleased recording. Rowland, Mary. 1960. *Songs with Minstrel Harp and Solo Instrumentals*. Folktrax 150 / RPL LP 25995 / BBC.

²²⁵ I recorded the *féachain gléis* and *Cumha caoine an Albanaigh* in 2013, for Armstrong and The Irish Consort, which was published in 2018, reconstructing each from Bunting's first transcription. But the pace of the former now seems rather under-speed, and, in the latter, I reproduced Bunting's triple metre rather than O'Hampsay's suggested duple metre.

²²⁶ Bunting's transcription of the composition is in a triple metre.

²²⁷ Heymann 2001

²²⁸ As recently as 2019, a CD recording (and forthcoming published editions) of reconstructions of Carolan songs and instrumental music, used, and promoted, Heymann's technique: McAnally et al., Chad. 2019. *Ó Cearbhalláin-Rí na nDall: O'Carolan-King of the Blind*. CD. Chad McAnally. McAnally also promoted Simon Chadwick's 2011 *Gestures* publication, the performative aspects of which were based on Heymann's method.

of the time, the stressed notes taken by the bass hand thumb are simultaneously reinforced by the bass hand middle finger sounding an octave or other interval below.

Heymann used a draft of *Burns's march* as seminal evidence to support her methodology of both hands producing the melody in the treble register²²⁹ but I will argue that the draft in question does not lend her that support.²³⁰

It is important to acknowledge that Heymann's relatively non-harmonic approach to reconstructing early Irish harp music has been ground-breaking; this dissertation builds on that and confirms its historical validity. She 'prepared our ears' for a more plausible, restrained and 'cleaner' sound world than had been heard previously in performances of vernacular Irish harp music.²³¹ But while the evidence I outline in this dissertation broadly supports her overall approach, it does not support her specific method of having the lower hand's thumb perform individual notes in the treble register. Nor does organological or iconographic evidence support the idea of hands operating together, more generally, in the treble register.

Wear marks by arms or wrists on the sound boards of some of the earliest surviving early Irish harps attest to a historical separation of hands into distinct registers by at least the later Middle Ages.²³² Iconographic evidence in drawings, paintings and printed depictions of eighteenth-century harpers also show harpers' hands in separate registers. This is also true of the only early Irish harper – and the first ever vernacular Irish musician – to be photographed, Patrick Byrne (c. 1794–1863). In a series of early

²²⁹ Heymann 2001, 139

²³⁰ See Chapter 3.3.3, 201–02.

²³¹ Comment by Sylvia Crawford in personal communication, August 2019.

²³² Personal visual inspection, and Loomis, Karen. 2010b. 'A Comparative Study of the Wear Marks on Gaelic Harps'. Unpublished paper.

calotypes c. 1845, he can be seen to place his hands on his harp separated by register.²³³

The eighteenth-century harper, Arthur Ó Néill, himself described his left hand as that by which ‘the treble on the Irish harp is generally performed.’²³⁴

From the earliest surviving description of early Irish harpers, written by Gerald of Wales: ‘*Tam subtiliter modulos intrant & exeunt. sicque sub obtuso grossioris corde sonitu gratilium tinnitus licentious ludunt...*’²³⁵ [...they freely play the tinkling sounds [on the thinner strings] above the more sustained tone of the thicker string[s]]²³⁶ to a commentary on Patrick Byrne, one of the very last performers, in 1840: ‘[t]he high notes are given with the left hand, reserving the more powerful member for the deep chords of the bass’²³⁷ the consistent impression of early Irish harp traditions is one in which the treble (left) hand and lower (right) hand operate mainly in distinct registers. This dissertation will present performances and editions of O’Hampsay’s repertory based on the separation of registers that I contend are evidenced in the field transcriptions.

²³³ See Ní Uallacháin 2018

²³⁴ Milligan Fox 1911b, 194

²³⁵ Fletcher 2001, 166

²³⁶ Buckley 2005, 761 For more on translation issues related to this quote see Dooley 2016, 37–38.

²³⁷ Chambers, William, and Robert Chambers. 1840. *Chambers’ Edinburgh Journal*. Edinburgh & London: W. Chambers, 279. Quoted at Chadwick, Simon. 2016a. ‘Orientation’. Early Gaelic Harp Info. <https://www.earlygaelicharp.info/orientation/>

2.4.4 Andrew Lawrence-King

On his 1996 ‘Carolan’s Harp’ recording, Andrew Lawrence-King included three pieces from O’Hampsay’s repertory, two of which he performed on an eighteenth-century Irish harp.²³⁸

His ‘*Try if it is in tune* Feeghan Geleash [*sic*’] was a leisurely, rhapsodic performance of Bunting’s 1840 piano arrangement eschewing Bunting’s suggested tempo indication,²³⁹ and his ‘*I am asleep & don’t waken me* Ta mé ‘mo chodladh’ performance included only the treble voice from the 1840 published piano arrangement, played on a copy of a late medieval Irish harp.

2.4.5 Alasdair Codona

Alasdair Codona was the first researcher to provide analyses of some O’Hampsay repertory.²⁴⁰ Uniquely, he transcribed three O’Hampsay pieces from Bunting’s field transcriptions.²⁴¹ Codona’s work included highly innovative research, including comparisons of O’Hampsay’s *féachain gleis* with *ports* in Scottish lute MSS to find thematic points of comparison. But it also included dubious translations and etymologies of Irish titles and terms, with unsafe extrapolations based on these. Like others reviewed here, he also gave weight to Bunting piano arrangements and included

²³⁸ Lawrence-King, Andrew, and The Harp Consort. 1996. *Carolan’s Harp*. BMG Music *Planxty Connor* was also performed on this recording but by instruments other than a harp, using a setting familiar from late eighteenth-century printed sources inc. Hime c. 1790–c. 1814, 23, which is devoid of the Carolanesque antiphony found in Bunting’s piano arrangement in MS 4.33.2, 50.

²³⁹ Bunting 1840, insert after 88, music-page 1 Tempo indication: ‘quick and spirited’

²⁴⁰ In the decade after 2000, Codona published his work on his now defunct website: calumcille.com. The contents can be accessed at Codona, Alasdair. 2007. ‘Calumcille’. Web.Archive.Org. <https://web.archive.org/web/20071013203059/http://www.calumcille.com/faoidheall/leirshealladh/1.html> My thanks to Chad McAnally for publicising this URL in McAnally, Chad. 2020. *Ó Cearbhalláin–Rí na nDall: O’Carolan–King of the Blind*. Minnesota, USA: Chad McAnally.

²⁴¹ The *feachain gléis*, ‘*Cumha Bharúin Loch Mór*’ (i.e. *Cumha caoine an Albanaigh*), and ‘*Táim i mo chodladh*’.

these in his analyses, somewhat weakening his position and leading to some unsafe conclusions: '[t]here is also evidence for a more steady use of chords in the bass, for more pedal-like alternating bass accompaniment, and, perhaps in a later period, for movement in 3rds and 6ths between bass and treble.'

Nonetheless, amongst his conclusions, Codona outlined lower-register features that concur with historical evidence, as I will demonstrate in Chapter 4: parallel octaves between treble and lower register, octaves and staggered octaves in the lower hand, and the occasional passing of melody between the registers. He also outlined the most complete, accurate description of early Irish harp lower-register idiom to date:

*Generally, the picture is one of a melody-dependent bass line with occasional use of conchords in either hand or between the hands...For brief periods, the notes of a tune can be sounded on the Gaelic harp in the treble with no bass accompaniment, in the bass with no treble accompaniment, in both bass and treble at the same time, or the tune can be divided up between treble and bass.*²⁴²

He produced the only setting of *Cumha caoine an Albanaigh* based on Bunting's field transcriptions, following O'Hampsay's advice to consider 'common time' rather than the triple metre into which Bunting forced his settings.²⁴³ I do not find Codona's setting completely plausible as it very often seems to run against natural melodic accents, and involves many changes to the melodic rhythm to accommodate the reconstruction, but I find such a unique attempt impressive; it is paralleled only by Ann Heymann's common-time recording. It is to be regretted that there are no performing editions or recordings of Codona's work available, coming as he does, from a vernacular Gaelic

²⁴² Codona 2007

²⁴³ Ibid.

music tradition, with a background in Gaelic singing, and showing real aptitude at trying to get to the heart of the many issues involved in making editions from Bunting's field transcriptions.

2.4.6 Simon Chadwick

Simon Chadwick has been, for the last two decades, at the forefront of much of the latest research into various aspects of early Irish harp research: from organological questions to Bunting MS research.²⁴⁴ He has a wide reach, and influences researchers and performers, internationally, continuing to contribute to the posing of relevant questions, and the raising of standards, in many aspects of early Irish harp research.

His 2011 publication was the first comprehensive commentary on melodic 'gestures', as he refers to them – some ornamental; some more structural – in historical Irish sources as well as parallel Welsh and Scottish traditions.²⁴⁵ A concise didactic overview of the source material, it provided precise fingering and string-damping indications for each. However, there are occasional errors²⁴⁶ and in the *Burns's march* and *A chailíní, a' bhfaca sibh Seoirse?* examples, many of the notations are at odds with the original field transcriptions, with regard to notated pitches, rhythm and metre.²⁴⁷ The method of playing in the volume is that of Heymann's Coupled Hands method, which led

²⁴⁴ Chadwick 2008c; 2020; n.d. 2020a; and n.d. 'Simonchadwick.Net'. Simonchadwick.Net. Accessed 17 April 2020c. www.simonchadwick.net

²⁴⁵ Chadwick, Simon. 2011a. *Gestures: Harp Technique from Old Irish, Welsh & Scottish Tradition*. St Andrews: Early Gaelic Harp Info.

²⁴⁶ For example, in *ibid.*, 81, an oscillating triad in *Burns's march* is described as a 'choke plait' but the Welsh choke plait presented on p. 46 is a different gesture.

²⁴⁷ See, for example, *ibid.*, 80. The number of beats in the third episode of *Burns's march* is silently augmented, with a crotchet rest added to each phrase. There are similar issues with the fourth episode, which is based on a piano arrangement. Chadwick, Simon. 2017a. *Progressive Lessons*. Third edition. St. Andrews: Early Gaelic Harp Info. included a setting of *Burns's march*, which was performed on the accompanying sound recording; here the performance followed Bunting's MS piano arrangement.

Chadwick to make some unsupported claims such as ‘...Bunting’s field notes from Denis O’Hampsey’s playing show how the [second *A Chailíní*] division...is performed using alternating gestures between left and right hands.’ Chadwick also gave performance-aesthetic suggestions but these were not informed by vernacular-Irish, or European-art-music, period-practice norms, either or both of which could be relevant.

Chadwick’s 2008 sound recording includes a reconstruction of *Burns’s march*, the first such to be based largely on Bunting’s second MS draft; the performance following Ann Heymann in presenting the lower-register texture an octave higher than I find plausible.²⁴⁸ He made the first ever recording (video) of all the Lyons variations on *A chailíní, a’ bhfaca sibh Seoirse?* in 2011, using a Practice-Research approach, playing a copy of the *Downhill* harp in left-shoulder orientation, and reproducing almost completely all of Bunting’s transcription in a reconstruction that showed great respect for the source material.²⁴⁹ But, in addition to some questionable tuning, the lower register was still sometimes performed an octave higher than I find plausible, and Chadwick’s performance style was closer to what Haynes (2007) described as ‘Modern’ – without agogic accents and hierarchy of beats – than to any vernacular Irish or

²⁴⁸ Chadwick 2008a

²⁴⁹ Chadwick, Simon. 2011b. *Gestures: Examples: A Chailíní, an Bhfaca Sibh Seoirse*. Video. EGH.Info. www.earlygaelicharp.info/gestures/examples3.htm Seven years previously, I made the premiere recording of a Lyons variation set – *Lady of the desert* – working from Bunting’s field transcription, incorporating the indicated lower-register. Armstrong 2004 But it was performed on a late medieval-rather than a larger, eighteenth-century harp, and the setting was rather full and harmonic in places, with the lower register occasionally showing more independence and contrapuntality than the new evidence presented in this dissertation would suggest is plausible.

European Period performative idiom, the latter particularly suggested by the Italianate division writing in the composition.²⁵⁰

2.4.7 James Ruff

James Ruff is one of the new generation of Practice-Research harpists influenced by my theories and praxis. One notable result has been his 2018 recording, on an HHSI Student Mulagh Mast harp (based on the large, eighteenth-century original).²⁵¹ This included O'Hampsay's *féachain gléis*, *Cumha caoine an Albanaigh*, *Tá mé i mo chodladh 's ná dúisigh mé* and *A chailíní, a' bhfaca sibh Seoirse?*, which Ruff performed, using only the field transcriptions as source material. The latter piece is the only setting recorded, to date, which included a verse of the related song.²⁵² Ruff has great technical control in his playing, and his sensibility towards Gaelic music phrasing is in part lent to him by his ability to speak – and sing – in Scottish Gaelic. But it is also his familiarity with European period-practice norms and phrasing, from his parallel career as an early-music tenor, and early-music harpist, that makes him a polished performer, with fluency and supple phrasing in evidence. I consider this a significant recording of O'Hampsay repertory situated within Practice-Research parameters.

²⁵⁰ For further comparison between Period and Modern styles see Haynes, Bruce. 2007. *The End of Early Music: A Period Performer's History of Music for the Twenty-First Century*. Oxford University Press, 56–62.

²⁵¹ Ruff, James. 2018. *The Gaels' Honour: Early Music for Harp & Voice from Gaelic Scotland and Ireland*. Stone Ridge, NY: James Ruff.

²⁵² Heymann, Ann et al. 2006. *Cruit Go nÓr: Harp of Gold*. CD. Winthrop, MN: Clairseach Records presented verses of another related song, *Conchubhar Mhac Coiréibhe*, with some of the harp variations captured by Bunting.

2.5 Mini-conclusion

The O'Hampsey field transcriptions that survive may be compared with the later, piano arrangements that Moloney, O'Sullivan and Ó Súilleabháin relied upon. The usually profound discrepancies between the two completely undermine any perceived reliability on the part of the piano arrangements to be a conduit of historical Irish harp performance practice.

This overview of relevant work, from the 1950s to 2020, shows that despite some awareness, from early on, of what historical Irish-harp performance practice may have entailed – and also, very importantly, what it did *not* entail – that the majority of commentary, analyses, editions and performance practice is unaware of, or has ignored, the historical evidence for the early Irish-harp's lower-register performance-practice idiom, and that the latter has not been reproduced in any adequate way in transcriptions, editions, performing editions, or much recorded performance. The field currently lacks

- widespread, clear recognition of where a plausible historical performance-practice idiom does, and does not, lie in Bunting's harp-repertoire material;
- accurate transcriptions of MS 4.29 field transcriptions of harp repertoire to include all the texture, not just the treble;
- an analysis and categorisation of lower-register performance practice evidenced in this material;
- a Practice-Research approach to reconstructing the repertoire using this evidence;
- a Practice-Research approach to performance and recording of the repertoire by practitioners who have embodied expertise in the performance of both historical European- and vernacular Irish music, in order to better attempt to reproduce an Irish harper's aesthetic from the era of rhetorical music pre 1800;

- performing editions that incorporate, and articulate, the results of a Practice-Research approach.

What you are about to read in this dissertation is my response to the challenges exposed in this review of the relevant literature, transcriptions, editions and practice-based outputs in the field to date. My work here is to deal with the problems and issues outlined above. I will address these by going back to the initial field transcriptions in all eight cases in the microstudy presented, studiously avoiding, for the first time, any further drafts, MS piano arrangements or any published piano settings. My analyses and examination of these are intended to lead to new paradigms in early Irish harp studies. I intend to reframe the modern understanding of early-Irish-harp performance practice with regard to the practices and functions of the lower hand, based on a critical analysis of Bunting's earliest work in the field. Out of that I intend to rediscover, and provide a practical demonstration of plausible, historical performance practice in the area, and to re-forge pedagogy in the field by developing a new notation method to articulate these practices in didactic performing editions. These recordings, and my supplemental editions, will be the outward-facing manifestation of my critical research.

Specifically, my research will examine and categorise, for the first time, the elusive, lower-register performance-practice idiom of the most significant harper alive towards the end of the tradition, Dennis O'Hampsay. By extrapolation, I will also be elucidating the performance idiom of the wider world of Irish harping not only in the eighteenth-century but, thanks to the antiquity of some of O'Hampsay's repertory, also to an indeterminate preceding period, difficult to determine with accuracy but which certainly stretches back to 200 years before O'Hampsay's death. My analyses of vernacular Irish-harp, lower-register texture, combined with expert-practitioner praxis, should enable me

to undertake my microstudy: reconstructing, and recording, performances of eight compositions from Dennis O'Hampsay's repertory on a copy of his harp.

Chapter 3

Methodologies and Working Methods

3.1 Introduction

My methodology involves a cluster of methods – with necessarily differentiated processes – which I have used or developed in order to approach different aspects of the dissertation. These stretch from the methods I have developed to evaluate MS source material in response to my analyses of Edward Bunting’s own methodology, to the development of new methods to represent early-Irish-harp performance practice in didactic performing editions of the repertory. This chapter is therefore divided into four sections:

- My general methodological positioning within a Practice-Research framework. I outline some issues surrounding the notation of oral-tradition music, together with the archives available to me, and the shaping of my research by my own background, and the spiral research model that articulates my position.
- To develop my own methodologies I needed first to discover those of Edward Bunting in his field transcriptions. I outline what I discovered about his working methods, allowing me to read and understand his signature. This knowledge enables me to develop a response to it with my own specific modes of working.
- I then set out how I approach getting from a MS field transcription to the performance of my reconstructions of the compositions in my microstudy. In this third section I indicate how I deal specifically with the issues, and palimpsests, presented in Bunting’s field transcriptions material, based on the general principles

I outline in section 1, above, to give myself the greatest likelihood of gleaning aspects of historical performance practice for use as a basis for the reconstructions of the music I present in my recorded performances and supplemental performing editions.

- My overall methodological positioning manifests itself in the creation of the new notation system I have developed for my editions, in order to express the minutiae of performance practice specific to early Irish harp. In the final section, I outline the historical background to my notation paradigm, its methodology, and the fingering rationale used in my editions.

3.2 My General Methodological Positioning

The research methods that constitute my overall methodology are qualitative. In more general discourse, I often articulate my positioning using the distinct terms Practice as Research and Research-led Practice. The Practice Research Advisory Group UK defines the first as being ‘concerned with the nature of practice [leading] to new knowledge that has operational significance for that practice...The primary focus of the research is to advance knowledge about practice, or to advance knowledge within practice. Such research includes practice as an integral part of its method...’²⁵³ Within historical music-making, the second term, Research-led Practice, embraces the use of historical source materials, treatises, and contemporaneous descriptive writings, and also concerns itself with issues surrounding the construction of replica musical instruments to use in praxis. Both methods are mutually indivisible aspects of my approach, one feeding into

²⁵³ ‘PRAG-UK’. n.d. Pragus.Wordpress.Com. Accessed 6 September 2021.
<https://pragus.wordpress.com/>

the other in my research, and performance, of medieval, Renaissance and baroque music. Before continuing my research, and praxis, within the context of the academy, I would have articulated these approaches under the umbrella term more commonly used in the music performance world: Historically Informed Performance (HIP), the latter embracing both Practice-as-Research and Research-led-Practice methodologies.

HIP is ‘an attitude, a way of reading and rendering a score, striving for historical authenticity and at the same time taking up one’s full responsibility as a performer.

It...does not consist of...fixed sets of rules’.²⁵⁴ Nor is it a search for a single hard and fast answer, but for a range of possibilities from which to make performative decisions.

Further, it ‘keeps our eyes open to the inherently critical and revisable nature of our regulative concepts [and] helps us overcome that deep-rooted desire to hold the most dangerous of beliefs, that we have at any time got our practices absolutely right.’²⁵⁵

Critically, against a backdrop of an instrument whose music has not yet been adequately reconstructed, it enables a ‘hitherto silenced subject to speak’.²⁵⁶

For the purposes of this dissertation I use the more recent, minimalistic, academic term, Practice Research, which incorporates Practice-as-Research and Research-led-Practice methodologies, along with other related methods.²⁵⁷ This wider term has emerged from academic discussion surrounding the formation of the Practice Research Advisory Group UK from 2015–2017.

²⁵⁴ Dreyfus, Laurence. 1983. ‘Early Music Defended against Its Devotees: A Theory of Historical Performance in the Twentieth Century’. *The Musical Quarterly* 69 (3): 304.

²⁵⁵ Goehr, Lydia. 2007. *The Imaginary Museum of Musical Works: An Essay in the Philosophy of Music*. Second. Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, U.S.A., 284.

²⁵⁶ Dreyfus 1983, 304

²⁵⁷ For an overview of these related methods see Bulley, James, and Özden Şahin. 2021. ‘Practice Research - Report 1: What Is Practice Research? And Report 2: How Can Practice Research Be Shared?’ London: PRAG-UK, 19–26. <https://doi.org/10.23636/1347>

The examination, analysis, evaluation and utilisation of MS material as a basis for my praxis, i.e. reconstructing and performing the repertory, requires subtle decision-making processes at each stage. This can only adequately be approached by an expert-practitioner who is sensitive to the different musical idioms involved – from vernacular Irish to eighteenth-century European. The research I present in this dissertation is grounded in the following contexts, including the duality of my embodied expertise in both the traditions and practices of historical European music but also those of vernacular Irish music. This allows me to bring a rare combination of skills to the study and performance of music originating with historical harp composers whose output also shows some of the same duality.

3.2.1 Reaching Past The Discontinuity of Tradition

Issues of orality and notation

Ingrid Pearson pointed out that ‘[o]ral cultures conceive and articulate all knowledge by close reference to practice, through personal knowledge derived from participation or observation’ and that this eludes verbal and written explanation.²⁵⁸ Matthew Reason wrote out that ‘that which is missing (the unrepresented, unrepresentable and liminal) re-inscribes the continuing absence of the ephemeral performance²⁵⁹ and Barthold Kuijken further reiterated an understanding that archival documentation of music cannot contain the ephemeral art of the performance itself: ‘[t]he notation gives us the raw but

²⁵⁸ Lawson, Colin, and Robin Stowell, eds. 2018. *The Cambridge Encyclopedia of Historical Performance in Music*. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 448–49.

²⁵⁹ Reason, Matthew. 2006. *Documentation, Disappearance and the Representation of Live Performance*. Basingstoke; New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 27.

lifeless material from which we have to reinvent the actual music...'²⁶⁰ Reason's further comment that 'the art of documentation marks and brings into being the fact of disappearance' in this context marks more widely the disappearance not only of single performances but, on the macro level in early Irish harping, the destruction of an entire supporting culture (an intellectual elite; a cultural elite; an aristocratic and courtly performer stratum; an educated audience).²⁶¹ Any modern attempt to reconstruct historical repertory for the instrument must address these seemingly unsurmountable problems. Thurston Dart was more positive in the conclusion of 'The Interpretation of Music', his seminal 1953 publication: '[a]bove all, the written text must never be regarded as a dead laboratory specimen; it is only sleeping, though both love and time will be needed to awaken it ' but he admitted that 'love and time will be wasted without **a sense of tradition** and of **historical continuity** [my emphasis].'²⁶² These latter two create obvious areas of difficulty for me since there is no continuity from the vernacular Irish harp tradition to the present day, and therefore no carrying thread of tradition. So on what resources may I draw for help?

The promise of the archive

As an aid, in the reconstruction of a defunct tradition, Mathew Reason even argues that the promise of the archive is 'unobtainable, nostalgic and emotional rather than rational in origin'²⁶³ and mentions Harriet Bradley's 'intoxication of the archive': the sensuality

²⁶⁰ Kuijken, Barthold. 2013. *The Notation Is Not the Music: Reflections on Early Music Practice and Performance*. Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 113.

²⁶¹ Reason 2006, 27

²⁶² Dart, Robert Thurston. 1963. *The Interpretation of Music*. 2nd ed. New York & Evanston: Harper & Row, 168. <https://archive.org/details/interpretationof00dart/page/n5/mode/2up?q=laboratory>.

²⁶³ Reason 2006, 42

and attraction of handling documents and objects from the past.²⁶⁴ I prefer, and readily admit to, the slightly calmer ‘allure’ of the archive described by Helen Freshwater.²⁶⁵ My artistic work has most often revolved around the turning of historical documentation of earlier musical practice back into supple, living music, within the fields of European Renaissance and baroque chamber music, and opera, as well as in vernacular Irish instrumental and vocal music.²⁶⁶ I also value old MSS and printed sources ~~partly in~~ ~~order~~ for the possibility they offer to help find the confluence between what they suggest – using my embodied expertise in historical music – and what my replica harps teach me about what those instruments enjoy and will allow. Most significantly, in the context of a defunct music tradition, the possibility of archival research, however imperfect, adds to, and infuses my practice-based work to try to rediscover, and reconstruct, historical performance practice in a manner that has no substitute.

An additional archive

In using archive materials, I lean mainly on written documentation and the availability of an appropriate historical harp to copy and play, but there is also another archive to consider: that of audio recordings from sections of Gaelic music culture that are – to a degree – even lie parallel to the last remnants of vernacular harping.

Some of the earliest relevant recordings – from the end of the nineteenth century to the 1950s – are of high-quality, solo performances by vernacular pipers, fiddlers and

²⁶⁴ Bradley, Harriet. 1999. ‘The Seductions of the Archive: Voices Lost and Found’. *History of the Human Sciences* 12 (2): 113.

²⁶⁵ Reason 2006, 42

²⁶⁶ See Armstrong, Siobhán. 2015a. ‘Biographies’. Siobhán Armstrong — Music from Early Ireland and Europe. <https://www.siobhanarmstrong.com/biographies>

singers, some of whom were elderly at the end of the nineteenth century.²⁶⁷ This situates these masters at only one generation remove from many of the last harpers; indeed their life-spans overlap with those of the very last students of vernacular harpers, taking us as close as it is possible to get to the world of early Irish harping in recorded sound. A ‘sense of tradition’ can clearly be heard in these recordings, which can at least inspire, but possibly also inform, a Practice-Research approach to reconstruction of early Irish harping.

I can also try to bridge the discontinuity of tradition in Irish harping by collaborating with unusual, contemporary, vernacular-Irish-music practitioners who inform my praxis. These living masters either come from unaccompanied, *sean-nós* [‘old style’] singing traditions distinct from modern ‘traditional’ Irish music-making, or they are singular in having studied with now dead, master soloists within specific, distinguished lineages, and / or have listened intensively, in their self-directed education, to archive recordings of these musicians – whose performance idiom is often at some remove from that of modern vernacular performance.²⁶⁸ Such musicians with whom I work – who aim to be influenced extensively by these older performance idioms – can influence me in turn, educating me about subtle stylistic and idiomatic parameters in their praxis gleaned from recorded, or transmitted oral practice, that may be applicable to vernacular harp repertory, whilst also giving me informed feedback on my own praxis.

²⁶⁷ These include fiddle players Edward Cronin (c. 1838–c. 1913), Dennis Murphy (1910–1974) and Pádraig O’Keefe (1887–1963), pipers Mici Chumbá Ó Súilleabháin (fl. 1899), Patsy Touhy (1865–1923) and William Hanafin (1875–1924), and singers Patrick O’Neill (born c. 1893) and Cáit Tóibín (1925–1993). My thanks to Ronan Browne for having introduced me to many of these artists on the earliest available recordings of vernacular Irish music.

²⁶⁸ My in-person influences here include pipers, Ronan Browne, Jimmy O’Brien Moran and Allan MacDonald, and singers Doimnic Mac Giolla Bhríde, Róisín Elsafty, Sarah Ghriallais, Griogair Labhruidh, and Bríd Ní Mhaoilchiaráin.

Specifically, I can benefit from the influence of master vernacular musicians on my approach to melodic phrasing, intersecting with my own attempts to produce the agogic accents of Renaissance and baroque, European phrasing, perhaps leading to a fruitful hybrid. After more than 25 years of such collaborations, I hope now to have some degree of embodied knowledge that contributes to my approach.

One aspect of Irish culture which has carried through, over centuries, is the Irish language itself. My reasonable fluency in the language, and my work with singers to reconstruct the Irish harp-song genre, allows me to recognise the rhetoric of the surviving Irish-language lyrics of the Irish harp-song tradition; the poetic metre, pulse, and accents of the lyrics that lie at the heart of much of historical Irish harp repertory.²⁶⁹ I am substantially influenced by this, with regard to articulation and phrasing, in my performance of the greater part of the harp repertory that is intrinsically vocal in nature.

In an ongoing process, I am also influenced by passive and active listening to current, and previous, masters with regard to melodic ornamentation, the results of this process intersecting with my examination, and articulation, of ornaments found in Bunting's field transcriptions and in the 'Graces' chart in his 1840 publication.

3.2.2 The Shaping of My Approach

I have been familiar with modern performance of vernacular Irish music since childhood, giving me an initial context for stylistic parameters for early Irish harp

²⁶⁹ For more on the role of the language in Irish harp songs see O'Sullivan, Donal. 1949. 'Some Aspects of Irish Music and Poetry'. *The Journal of the Royal Society of the Antiquaries of Ireland* 79: 91–99, and Moloney, Colette. 2016. 'Edward Bunting as a Collector of Irish Music and Song'. In *Harp Studies*, 57–74. Dublin: Four Courts Press Ltd, 64–66.

repertory. I also have a reasonable command of the Irish language, which assists me in document research. As outlined already above, I have collaborated for over twenty-five years with significant, vernacular-Gaelic-music singers and pipers, who are themselves unearthing and performing historical repertory in their respective fields. These colleagues have shaped and informed my approach to my reconstruction and performance of old Irish harp music. Since c. 2015, I have been both passively and actively listening to archive recordings of the earliest, most significant solo performers of vernacular Irish music, in order to allow for the possibility of some transmission of style and idiom subtleties from recorded tradition to pass to my reconstruction of a defunct tradition.²⁷⁰

In addition to solo recitals of vernacular Irish music, and collaborative performances with vernacular Irish-music practitioners, I have extensive expertise within the context of English, and continental, art music of the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries. My work with Practice-Research soloists, chamber ensembles, orchestras, and baroque-opera companies has given me a rich contextual framework for approaching this dissertation. Eighteenth-century Irish harpers may be situated in this pre-Romantic era in which composers were performing craftsmen; where surface details and ornamentation were left to performers to decide on; with subtle dynamic inflection (Bunting referenced the ‘whispering notes’ of harper, Dominic Mungan);²⁷¹ and phrasing based on small-unit gestures rather than on long phrase lines; with a hierarchy of beats and agogic accents; Bruce Haynes gives this the overall term ‘rhetorical’ music.²⁷² Edward Bunting’s

²⁷⁰ The earliest date from the 1880s.

²⁷¹ Bunting 1840, 78

²⁷² Haynes 2007

musical training was also pre-Romantic, apprenticed, as he was, to William Ware, the harpsichordist and organist (later pianist) who was born in Armagh in 1756. This allows me to attempt to both approach Bunting's mindset and to second-guess the rationale behind some of his notational practices. I also believe that I can approach Dennis O'Hampsay's European-baroque-influenced repertory, i.e. the variation sets composed by Cornelius Lyons, with useful performance-practice insights gleaned from the scope of my praxis in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century European repertory.

Historical repertory, and the appropriate instrument on which to perform it, are two sides of the same coin for a Practice-Research practitioner. Integral to my methodology for this dissertation is the use not only of a replica early-Irish harp but a copy of Dennis O'Hampsay's own harp, which I commissioned for the purpose.²⁷³ John Butt points out that period instruments 'alert the player to historical difference', forcing them to rethink technique; further, that their use ensures that repertory has to be seen in a new light.²⁷⁴ In the case of defunct traditions, original instruments – or, failing that, replicas – are the invaluable teachers, setting out some performance-practice parameters for the modern performer. Playing historical music on modern instruments is akin to translating a poem into another language; the 'meanings can be approximated in translation, but the sound and general effect cannot be duplicated'.²⁷⁵ I would go further and suggest that specific

²⁷³ Built by luthier, David Kortier, MN, USA, from measurements taken by him from the original, held at the Guinness Storehouse in Dublin.

²⁷⁴ Butt, John. 2002. *Playing with History: The Historical Approach to Musical Performance*. Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 65.

²⁷⁵ Haynes 2007, 155

compositional techniques, performative effects, and an entire aesthetic are completely lost in translation: '[t]he medium is the message'.²⁷⁶

I use O'Hampsay's harp's original string-pitch gamut, as noted by Bunting, including the two mysterious *comhluighe* strings [unison-g below *c'*] that were unique to Irish harping.²⁷⁷ These are also documented amongst other Irish harpers; none, however, were able to explain their origins or rationale; perhaps the practice, like the term itself, was rather ancient.²⁷⁸ O'Hampsay's stringing regime also included a short octave at the bottom of the harp, with one string for *F* or *E* as appropriate. I play my copy of O'Hampsay's *Downhill* harp with fingernails, as O'Hampsay did, using historical harp techniques described by Bunting – and also those intuited from a Practice-Research approach on early Irish harp – with which I prepare, strike and damp strings. There is a caveat to my approach however: I do not use O'Hampsay's left-shoulder orientation – his left hand played the shorter, higher strings, and his right the longer, lower strings – an orientation that he shared with all vernacular Irish harpers who preceded and followed him. All the other harps I have played, i.e. modern Irish harp, and European pedal harp, and those I currently play, i.e. Italian and Spanish, chromatic baroque harps, are played on the right shoulder, with the concomitant hand orientation on the strings, opposite to that of O'Hampsay. The effect of playing a harp on a different shoulder is similar to flipping a keyboard top to bottom, with the treble now situated in the bass and vice versa; it is completely disorientating and, within a context of four decades of performance on right-shoulder-position harps, is not an orientation I can chose without

²⁷⁶ Ibid., 154

²⁷⁷ ['Lying together'] Also called 'the sisters' in English. See MS 4.29, 153 and 155.

²⁷⁸ See Chadwick, Simon. 2016b. 'Na Comhluighe'. Early Gaelic Harp Info.
<https://www.earlygaelicharp.info/tradition/sisters.htm>

depriving myself of the ability to perform at any level of proficiency. I encourage all those I coach to use the historical orientation but I am not in a position to do so myself.²⁷⁹

My didactic work over twenty-five years of coaching in the area of early Irish harp – and historical harping more generally – has allowed me to consider, articulate and develop my own praxis. It has also given me opportunities to test and hone my ideas and notation systems, using my students' responses to adjust and improve. Indeed, many of my innovations have been in response to issues or difficulties my students have had in understanding, remembering and executing early-Irish-harp performance techniques. Some have been in response to their wishes for some aspect of praxis to be made more explicit in their written representation.

My multi-faceted personas – artist, academic researcher, educator, area advocate, research-cluster and community builder – are all 'unfenced' and operate together to address the cultural lacunae I have identified in my dissertation introduction.²⁸⁰ I build on work done in the area since the 1970s, first by Ann Heymann, Gráinne Yeats and others working within Practice-Research parameters, who first abandoned idiomatically

²⁷⁹ Left-shouldered players I coach have not yet articulated any specific insights in relation to this orientation question, and I have not yet noticed any differences in outcome that I can articulate between these and right-shouldered players. The historical orientation encourages a performer not to try to look at the strings since at least the higher register is less visible due to harp stringing on the left of the instrument's neck. It is not yet clear how such a non-visual orientation would differ from a visual one, if indeed it would. Some performers who use a left-shoulder orientation have suggested that this can shift the balance of emphasis between the hands: the lower hand (for most players this is their 'dominant' right hand) sounding more powerfully than the left hand, which would perform that role in a right-shouldered orientation. However, I haven't yet found this to be apparent in the left-shouldered players I coach. It remains for numbers of left-shouldered players to increase significantly to allow for greater comparison to establish what, if any, effects the different orientations demonstrate.

²⁸⁰ Reeder, Laura. 2012. 'Hyphenated Artists: A Body of Potential'. *The Journal of Social Theory in Art Education*, no. 32: 168–170.

European-art-music bass lines and harmony, to a greater or lesser degree, in their reconstructions of historical Irish harp music.

3.2.3 A Spiral Research Model

Jonathan Impett has referred to the emergence of ‘broader knowledge patterns from the close, reflective, contextualising relationship of practice and research’ and has suggested that this is a responsibility of an individual project.²⁸¹ This is particularly true of my work with the Bunting manuscripts where his methodology and methods have not yet been sufficiently, or satisfactorily, articulated.

A 2021 PRAG report articulated that ‘[p]ractice research conveys not only explicit and exact knowledge, but also embodied and tacit ways of knowing, entering them into discourse.’²⁸² Susan Melrose previously pointed out that it is through ‘expert-intuitive and deliberative processes that the practitioner identifies ‘rich knowledge’.²⁸³ This latter term disputes the idea that intuition is merely fast and ‘frugal’.²⁸⁴ After twenty-five years of engagement in Practice Research, I now include expert intuition as part of my methodology of working with MS sources to produce live performance.

²⁸¹ Impett, Jonathan. 2017. ‘The Contemporary Musician and the Production of Knowledge: Practice, Research, and Responsibility’. In *Artistic Research in Music: Discipline and Resistance: Artists and Researchers at the Orpheus Institute*, 221–40. Orpheus Institute Series. Ghent: Orpheus Institute.

²⁸² Bulley and Şahin 2021, 12, 1.1.3.2

²⁸³ Melrose, Susan. 2017. ‘Expert-Intuitive and Deliberative Processes: Struggles in (the Wording of) Creative Decision-Making in “Dance”’. In *Contemporary Choreography: A Critical Reader*. Abingdon, Oxfordshire: Routledge, 16.

²⁸⁴ Harteis, Christian, Tina Koch, and Barbara Morgenthaler. 2008. ‘How Intuition Contributes to High Performance: An Educational Perspective’, *US-China Education Review*. *US-China Education Review* 5 (1): 68–80.

Bangert et al describe dual categories of intuitive, and deliberate, decision-making in their spiral model, which assists me in articulating my own stance.²⁸⁵ They describe a ‘deliberate’ decision-making involving conscious analysis and planning followed by a refined ‘HIP deliberate’ decision-making involving knowledge of period musical style and performing practice, in parallel with a series of ‘mature intuition’ procedural decisions informed by past conscious study, reading and analysing; the quality of that intuition improving based on increased study, knowledge and expertise. These elements together, they suggest, create a feedback loop as the authors conceive of a spiral movement of creative decision-making, which operates over time, and with increasing expertise, along an intuitive-deliberate continuum. The practitioner tests out the intuitive in the conditions of reasoning and making, and reflects critically on what emerges. The deliberate informs the expert-intuitive, and vice versa.²⁸⁶ The decreasing radius of the spiral indicates the gathering speed of convergence between increasingly expert intuition and increasingly refined, and deliberate, Practice-Research decision-making as the two become more aligned and seamless.

²⁸⁵ Bangert, Daniel, Emery Schubert, and Dorottya Fabian. 2014. ‘A Spiral Model of Musical Decision-Making’. *Frontiers in Psychology*.

²⁸⁶ Referenced in Melrose, Susan, and Stefanie Sachsenmeier. 2019. ‘Writing “Practice” /Practising/ “Writing” (in the Doctoral Research Context)’. *NIVEL: Artistic Research in the Performing Arts*. www.nivel.teak.fi/adie/writing-practice-practising-writing/

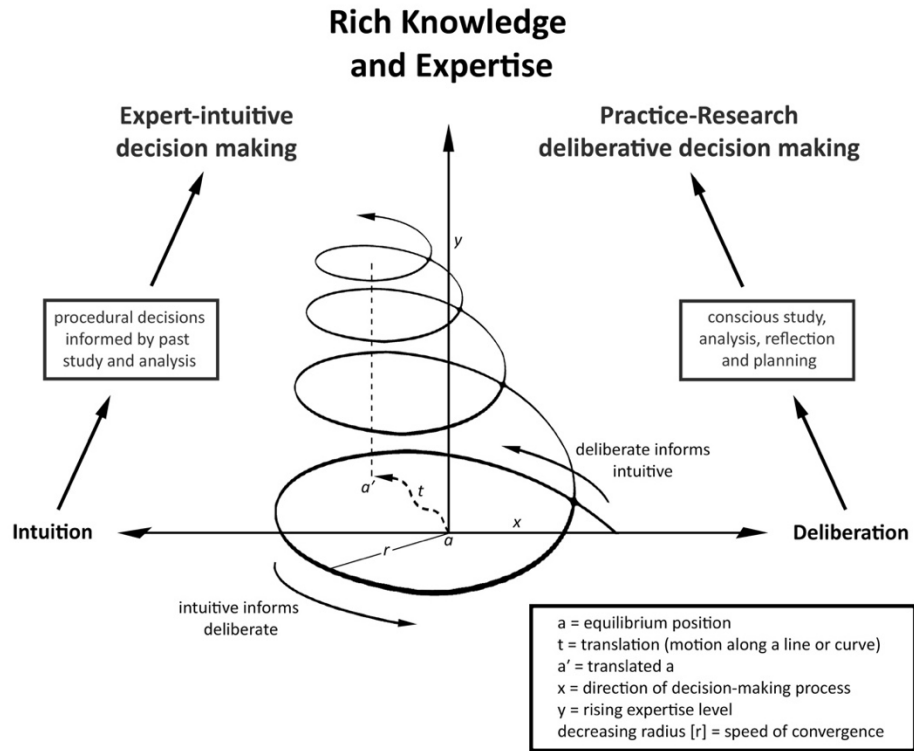


Figure 41. *A spiral research model of artistic decision making*

An important difference between Bangert et al's model and mine, above, is that their equilibrium position appears motionless but mine has the possibility of movement in any direction, at any speed. I have introduced this novelty to show that as rich knowledge and expertise increase they change the artist's underlying perspective, shifting the equilibrium position over time. This creates motion at the centre of the paradigm in addition to the more obvious movement of the ascending feedback loop.²⁸⁷

²⁸⁷ My thanks to David McGuinness for suggesting the concept of a spinning top's shifting equilibrium point as a more accurate model for artistic decision-making than a spiral with a static equilibrium point.

3.3 Edward Bunting's Methodology

3.3.1 Background

There is an initial challenge to the researcher trying to gain a more general overview of eighteenth-century, Irish harp repertory in that there was a built-in filter in what was available to Bunting for documentation – at least in July 1792 at the Belfast harpers' assembly – brought about by a decision by the organising committee to have the harpers play only Irish music.²⁸⁸ The field transcriptions contain no non-vernacular harp repertory that is idiomatically distinct.²⁸⁹

As the main surviving source of harper performance practice and repertory, Bunting's surviving field pamphlets' singular value lies in the fact that they contain the only such field transcriptions referenced to date, and are as close as the modern researcher can now get to Irish-harper performance. These transcriptions are as free of Bunting's late eighteenth-century, European-art-musician biases as any work of his can be: secondary drafts, and further settings, usually display much more obvious signs of editorial intervention. But one is nonetheless left with a great deal of ambiguity and uncertainty in dealing with this source material in the knowledge that, like any cultural outsider, what Bunting heard was being funneled through the norms of his own music culture before it was articulated on the transcription page.

²⁸⁸ 'That the airs to be performed, previous to the adjudication of the premiums, be confined to the native music of the Country – the Music of Ireland.' Quote from handwritten notes in a file at Linen Hall Library, Belfast relating to a meeting of the harpers' assembly committee. Quoted in Byers, David. 2018. 'Harpers' Assembly Committee, Premiums, Proposals, Etc.' Byersmusic.com. <https://www.byersmusic.com/resources/Harpers%27%20Assembly%20Committee%20membership%20and%20proposals.pdf>

²⁸⁹ In addition to music transcribed from harpers – but also from singers and other instrumentalists – MS 4.29 also contains melodies copied by Bunting from published works, with the greatest number taken from Neal's *Collection* [sic] of the *Most Celebrated Irish Tunes* of 1724, the first collection of Irish music to be published in Ireland, two copies of which Bunting had in his possession; one of these is now the sole surviving copy of this work.

In 1797 Bunting wrote that the paradigm given to him by his employers – the organisers of the 1792 harpers’ assembly – was to copy down the music without editorial invention; without ‘adding a single note to old melodies’.²⁹⁰ His self-stated primary abstract task, in the early 1790s then, was solely to bring as much visibility as possible to the sounds he heard and transcribed, with regard to pitch and rhythm. Though there was, from the first, a clear tension between his stated paradigm in the Preface, and the reality of the editions in the volume.

In section 3.2.1, above, I touched on the thorny issues of orality and notation. Music transcription from live performance is inevitably an imprecise process. The attempted capture of a fleeting, morphing, sonic artform in writing involves the use of symbols that have built-in limitations with regard to how accurately they can convey subtleties of pitch and – even more importantly in the context of vernacular Irish music – subtleties of rhythm.²⁹¹ Transcription cannot be trusted to encapsulate all the information desirable for adequate reproduction of transcribed music but it does offer the greatest likelihood of the fewest conscious attempts to edit the music concerned. The process of transcription from live performance is necessarily a speedy one so we can take it that field transcriptions suffer far less ‘correction’ than the later drafts and piano arrangements or songs, and are therefore the most plausible settings that can be studied in a search for historical performance practice. But, as we shall see further on in this

²⁹⁰ As previously noted in Chapter 1.7.2, 70. But their initial stated aim – in a 1791 circular – was to employ ‘a skillful Musician to transcribe **and arrange** [my emphasis] the most beautiful and interesting parts...’; see Chapter 1.7, 61. So perhaps the paradigm presented to Bunting was unclear from the start.

²⁹¹ The identification, and transcription, of individual pitches should not be overly problematic when dealing with an instrument whose strings are of fixed pitch. Though the comparison I made, in Chapter 1.7.2, 72–74, between the field transcription of *Eirghe an lae* and the piano-accompanied song in Bunting’s 1809 publication highlights the often significant distinctions between the field transcriptions and the subsequent versions that appeared in his editions.

chapter, where a transcription is a palimpsest it is vital to attempt to tease apart the layers to check for chronology of notation, to better determine the rationale and the plausibility (or otherwise) of later attention / correction to a transcription.

As previously outlined in Chapter 1, Bunting's cultural outsider status, and training within European-art-music parameters, impacted both his understanding of the music, and how he later made sense to himself of what he transcribed; this is clear from surviving palimpsests.²⁹² For example, Bunting's European-art-music notion of rhythm and metre must have been at unhelpful when transcribing music from an idiom that did not completely overlap with European art music. His sense of what constituted rhythmic propriety clearly defined his approach, leaving us evidence – even in some of his field-transcription palimpsests – of unhelpful artefacts: what was probably often rhythmically flexible music was shoe-horned into equal beats and bars, at cost to its integrity. When his transcriptions are compared to the rhythmic flexibility to be heard in the earliest archive recordings of vernacular Irish music, it can be seen that Bunting's was a more rigid paradigm characteristic of his music culture and era, with regard to what can, admittedly, be one of the most challenging aspects of transcription: an adequate capture of metre and rhythm. In Chapter 1, I outlined the trajectory of plausibility in Bunting's surviving MSS and published works – from the least to the most mediated material – from the 1790s to the late 1830s, showing examples of each.²⁹³ In section 3.3.3 of this chapter, I will attend more closely to his processes in his transcription work.

²⁹² See Chapter 1.7.1, 71–72.

²⁹³ Chapter 1.9, 95–110.

Bunting was trying to capture live performance in written form; my paradigm in this dissertation is to arrive at plausible performance based on conservative reconstruction using these written sources. But if performance has no commensurate surrogate²⁹⁴ and if the notation is not the music²⁹⁵ then both Bunting's work, and that of a modern Practice Research performer attempting to reconstruct the music, may reasonably be considered somewhat futile. Bunting's fellow antiquarian, music-collector and creative-artist friend, George Petrie, articulated Bunting's own view on his work:

*It was Mr. Bunting's boast...that...the settings of his tunes would be wholly worthless to any other person into whose hands they might ultimately fall, and this I know to have been not an idle boast, for the settings were—as it would appear intentionally—but jottings down of dots, or heads of notes, without any musical expressions of their value with regard either to key, time, accent, phrase, or section, so that their interpretation would necessarily have been a matter of uncertainty to others, and probably were often so even to himself.*²⁹⁶

Certainly, Bunting seems to have had some trouble with his own transcriptions, evidently using some guesswork later when consulting his original transcriptions with a view to composing his piano arrangements. Fortunately, however, as we shall see, it is an exaggeration to suggest that Bunting primary source material consists only of 'jottings down of dots, or heads of notes': there is a wealth of information in many of Bunting's field transcriptions to support Practice-Research reconstructions of the repertory.

²⁹⁴ Bottoms, Stephen, and Matthew Goulish, eds. 2007. *Small Acts of Repair: Performance, Ecology and Goat Island*. London; New York: Routledge, 3.

²⁹⁵ Kuijken 2013

²⁹⁶ Petrie 1902, vii

I approach these mediated MS settings acknowledging Bunting's inevitable inadequacies in capturing a music tradition from the outside; that aspects of the repertory or its performance practice unfamiliar to him may have escaped him; that his focus and that of the harper may not have been exactly aligned; and in the knowledge that one also has to be cognizant of one's own biases when deciphering and evaluating Bunting's work. My own European art-music training could lead me to wish for rhythmic regularity, metre and consistent structure of the kind desired by Bunting. I hope that this tendency is mitigated by my familiarity with – and expertise in – vernacular Irish music; that this gives me a clearer view, over Bunting's shoulder, of what he might have been listening to, and that it lends me a greater flexibility of approach than was available to him so that I can reconstruct, and perform, the repertory with greater regard to approaching an historical performance-practice idiom, and disseminate the results of my work in 'light-touch' editions that are as sensitive as possible to the source material.

3.3.2 A Dearth of Evidence

An obvious question is why lower-register texture evidence in the harp transcriptions in MS 4.29 often appears partial at best or fragmentary or non-existent at worst. The most obvious consideration must be the lack of time available to Bunting. Transcribing at speed from live performance would not always have allowed him sufficient time to capture all the lower-register texture that he may have heard. Interacting, as he was, with elderly performers, there was probably also a limit to how many times he would have been comfortable asking for repetition of material.

Working at speed, Bunting may have had a propensity to notate, more often, the more easily captured lower-register notes – those that sounded in melodic gaps – while failing

to notate many lower-register pitches that sounded simultaneously with the treble. So perhaps there is a degree of missing texture. But perhaps not. The possibility must be entertained that there was less lower-register texture in the vernacular idiom than the modern mind imagines. A highly resonant, wire-strung, early Irish harp requires far fewer lower-register notes than a modern gut- or nylon-strung harp in order to give a sense of melodic support. And indeed I will show that the surviving evidence in the O'Hampsay field transcriptions generally shows a texture that is quite thin on paper but aurally adequate when performed on an eighteenth-century Irish harp.

Where lower-register material is not captured, it might also conceivably be for lack of interest on Bunting's part. To a late eighteenth-century, European-art-music practitioner, a sparse, non-linear, treble-dependent lower voice, which tended to reinforce the treble at the octave, may simply not always have seemed significant enough to capture. Had the harpers' idiom been closer to the independent, European-baroque bass lines, of a kind more familiar to Bunting, he may, perhaps, have had more interest in collecting it.

Instead, Bunting made references to his own creative contribution – 'setting basses' – in his arrangements of harp compositions for his piano editions, occasionally referring to the fact that he found that difficult.²⁹⁷ Apart from reproducing some of Carolan's idiomatic antiphony – treble and lower-register motifs answering each other in quick succession – and occasionally showing something of O'Hampsay's performance idiom, Bunting's piano settings rarely reproduced the performance-practice idiom captured in his field transcriptions. Rather, he composed arrangements – broadly in baroque to

²⁹⁷ See Chapter 1.7.2, 78.

Classical style in Bunting 1797 (see fig. 41, beneath, for an example of a baroque-leaning bass), in MS 4.33.3 and in MS 4.33.2, and in Classical to Romantic style in Bunting 1809 and 1840.²⁹⁸



Figure 42. Bunting 1797D, 15 *Cailín Dón*

Bunting's arrangement style in his earliest publication shows different approaches, sometimes within the same composition. In the following example, Classical bass is interspersed with Carolanesque antiphony.

²⁹⁸ His life spanned three different European art-music styles, beginning with a baroque training. See an instance of his having added a figured-bass accompaniment in MS 4.33.3, 49, *Na gamhna gealla*.



Figure 43. Bunting 1797D, 12 Rose Dillon, extract

In the next example, Classical bass again gives way to a rare example of more plausible lower-hand texture – reproduced from the field transcription – in bars 12–14.



Figure 44. Bunting 1797D, 13 Jigg to Rose Dillon

But, more generally, the idiom of eighteenth-century Irish harping was sufficiently different from a European keyboard idiom that Bunting knew it would be unmarketable, and so, most often, he changed the texture radically to suit both period pianos and the ears of his buying public. He may also genuinely have thought that his piano

arrangements were the best way to ‘save’ the music, like many British collectors, and composers, right into the twentieth century.

But what of the other possibility: that the harpers’ idiom was so European, so familiar, that Bunting saw nothing unusual about their continuous, linear bass lines worth capturing? That only O’Hampsay’s more archaic performance practice was unusual, and therefore desirable to capture. A look at further lower-register evidence in MS 4.29, in pieces that are likely to have been played by harpers other than O’Hampsay, provides no evidence of such practices.²⁹⁹ On the contrary, this evidence corroborates – and provides further examples of – some of what Bunting captured from O’Hampsay’s performances.³⁰⁰ My microstudy of eight significant pieces from the latter’s repertory is therefore important in shedding light on phenomena that allow me to develop my thesis of wider lower-hand practices in at least eighteenth-century Irish harping, if not earlier.

3.3.3 Bunting’s MS 4.29 Working Methods

Not all of Bunting’s working methods are completely clear but much of his methodology may be begun to be articulated.³⁰¹

²⁹⁹ It is, of course, unknown what evidence to the contrary the lost Bunting harp MSS from the Belfast harpers’ assembly may have contained. More of the compositions in MS 4.29 than can safely be attributed to him may have been played by O’Hampsay, the surviving evidence therefore perhaps showing bias towards an older playing style. But the Cornelius Lyons, and Turlough Carolan, evidence I discuss in Chapter 5 would appear to counter that possibility, given that both were composing in the eighteenth century.

³⁰⁰ See, in this regard, examples on the following pages: MS 4.29, 78, 82, 88–9, 90–1, 102, 108, 147–8, 149, and 234.

³⁰¹ Work remains to be done on trying to establish the original order of the gatherings that now make up MS 4.29, and on the palimpsests that are evident on many pages.

Text

Texts are generally in English or transliterated Irish. Bunting tended to jot things down in available space on MS pages as an *aide-memoire*, often while in conversation with the musician in the field, I suggest. For example, many annotations on O'Hampsay transcription pages reference other composition titles, many of which are known also to have been in the latter's repertory. This suggests that they came up in conversation between harper and collector. Composition titles, therefore, are not always related to the music on the same page.

Some transcription pages contain notes on compositional structure: 'Last part Repeated' or, for example, '1st var. are 8th lower' beside the *Lady of the desert* theme on MS 4.29, 52. Some transcriptions display repeat marks at section ends. Additionally, Bunting did not always write out broadly similar repeated phrases but only the alternative phrase endings as in, for example, MS 4.29, 10 *Planxty Kelly*.

Staves

While Bunting usually used only one stave to transcribe, a very rare example in *A chailíní, a' bhfaca sibh Seoirse?* on MS 4.29, 99 provides an example of Bunting's laying out treble- and lower-hand material on two distinct staves. The lower hand takes over from the treble for two bars here:

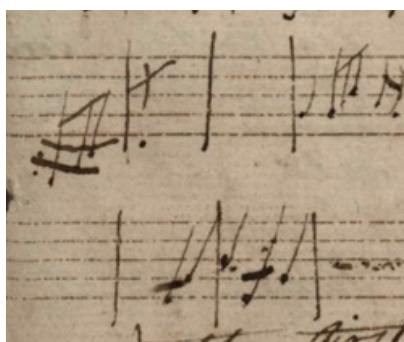


Figure 45. MS 4.29, 99 *A chailíní, a' bhfaca sibh Seoirse?*, extract

A lower stave was also sometimes used to redraft treble-stave errors:

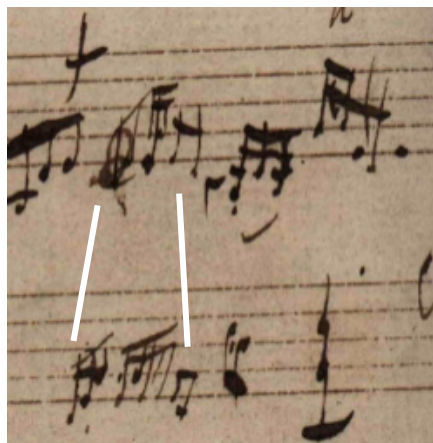


Figure 46. MS 4.29, 54 *a féachain gléis*, extract

Clefs

Treble clefs were usually not indicated by Bunting but may be assumed unless otherwise indicated. Bunting occasionally used an alto clef to keep a low-lying melody situated on the stave.³⁰² He usually used ledger lines or ‘B’ annotations to indicate lower-register notes but occasionally switched to bass clef on the melody stave to do so.

Time signatures

Bunting sometimes altered time signatures between initial transcriptions and second drafts. For example, *Saely Kelly* on MS 4.29, 24–25 was first transcribed in 4/4 but this was then changed to 2/4 in the second draft. This suggests a Bunting change of mind about pacing: the continuous quaver beaming in the later draft perhaps also hinting at a quicker one-in-a-bar pulse in the new 2/4 time signature than the original 4/4 draft.

³⁰² See, for example, the opening of *Saely Kelly* on MS 4.29, 24.

Another time signature change between drafts occurs in *Planxty Kelly* on MS 4.29, 10–11: 2/4 becomes 6/8, four dots in the initial transcription subsequently depicted as crotchet/quaver, crotchet/quaver in the next draft.³⁰³ This suggests that Bunting couldn't decide whether he was hearing lazy dotted-quaver/semiquaver couplets (2/4) or crotchet/quaver couplets (6/8).

Key signatures

Key signatures were rarely noted by Bunting in his transcriptions but may usually be deduced.

Transpositions

Transposition sometimes takes place between transcription-page settings and second drafts, as in *Mrs. MacDermott Roe* on MS 4.29, 18–19. In this instance Bunting puzzlingly changed the final from A to D, for most of the last system of the transcription page, and had the entire second draft match the new final.³⁰⁴

Bar numbering

Bunting often added bar numbers to his transcriptions in a later round of attention. This is helpful to the modern reader in that it makes it possible to follow Bunting when he redrafted material. *Seón Jones* is a good example of the possibility of following that redrafting, and to understand his process better:

³⁰³ See facsimiles of these pages in fig. 48 and fig. 49 beneath.

³⁰⁴ See also *Toby Peyton* on MS 4.29, 26–27. It is possible that Bunting had perfect pitch (an idea first suggested by Colette Moloney), and that these transpositions may have come about because the performer sang rather than played, changing pitch between successive iterations.

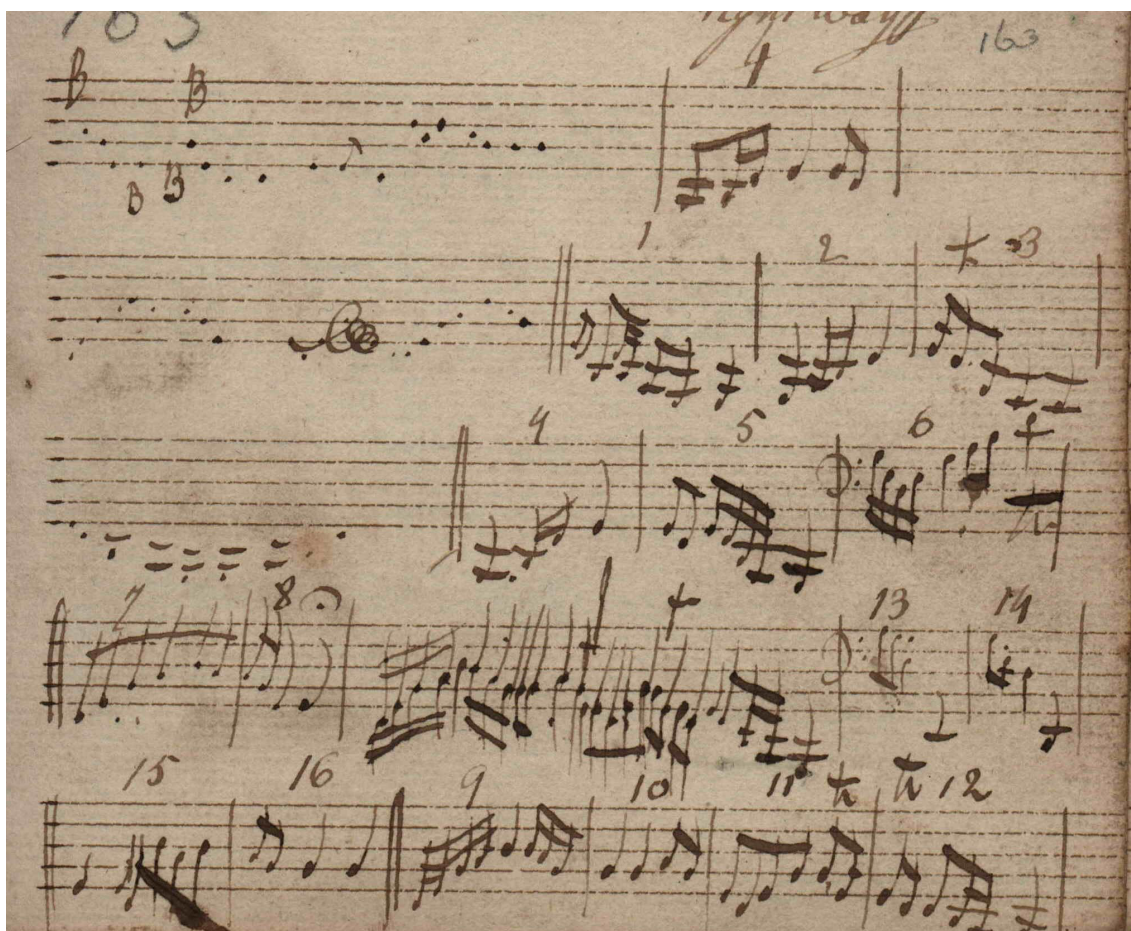


Figure 47. MS 4.29, 165 Seón Jones

Dissatisfied with the rhythm and concomitant, anomalous four beats in bar ‘6’, in this triple-metre piece, Bunting redrafted a new bar ‘4’ on the top stave, encompassing material previously in bar ‘5’, giving himself the possibility to shuffle subsequent material along in order to solve the bar ‘6’ problem in a future edition.³⁰⁵ In addition, the bottom stave shows a second passage outlining bars 9 to 12, which Bunting clearly intended as a preferable draft of the corresponding but unnumbered bars on the previous stave, between ‘8’ and ‘13’.

³⁰⁵ He seems to have forgotten, or rejected, this solution when drafting his piano arrangement (MS 4.33.3, 43). In the latter he solved the problem differently, by recomposing bar ‘5’.

But the adding of bar lines and bar numbers can also be seen to be a primary Bunting editorial tool to begin the manipulation of a composition into metrical formats that were not always appropriate, as in the case of *Cumha caoine an Albanaigh*:

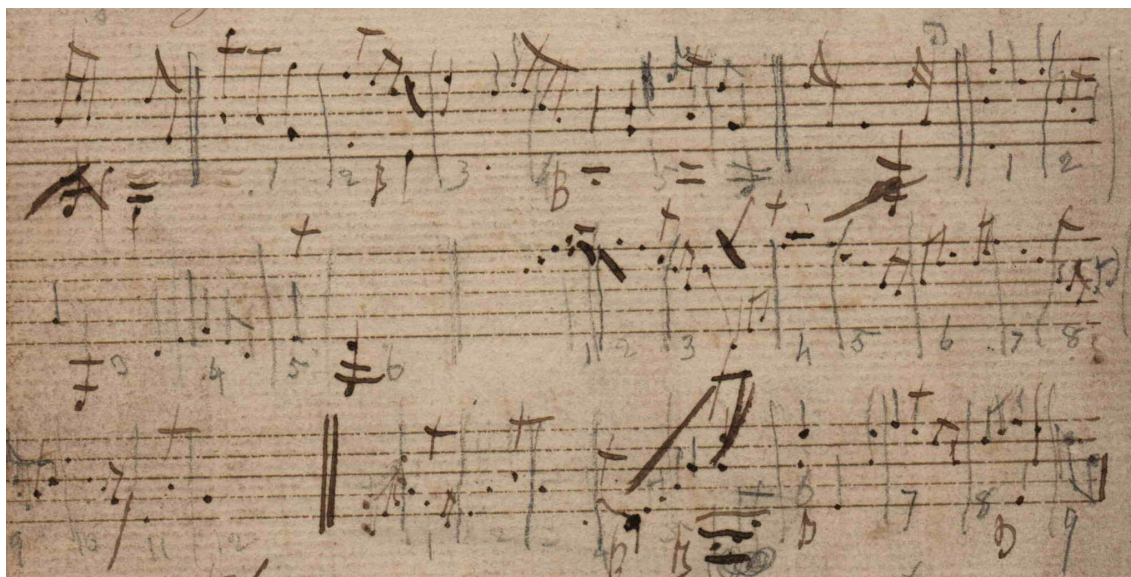


Figure 48. MS 4.29, 158 *Cumha caoine an Albanaigh*, extract

Here, the pencil bar lines force the music into largely uncomfortable, triple-metre bars, flying in the face of O'Hampsay's advice, annotated at the bottom of the page: 'don't forget common time / ay 1 2 3 4 is the cut...'.

Drafts and palimpsests

Bunting often began a field transcription with a note-head transcription on a verso folio, with bar lines added to this initial draft or to a second attempt on the same page, as can be seen in the following example:



Figure 49. MS 4.29, 10 Planxty Kelly

This is often followed by a second draft on the following *recto* folio, which often includes note stems and beams indicating rhythm, and bar lines:

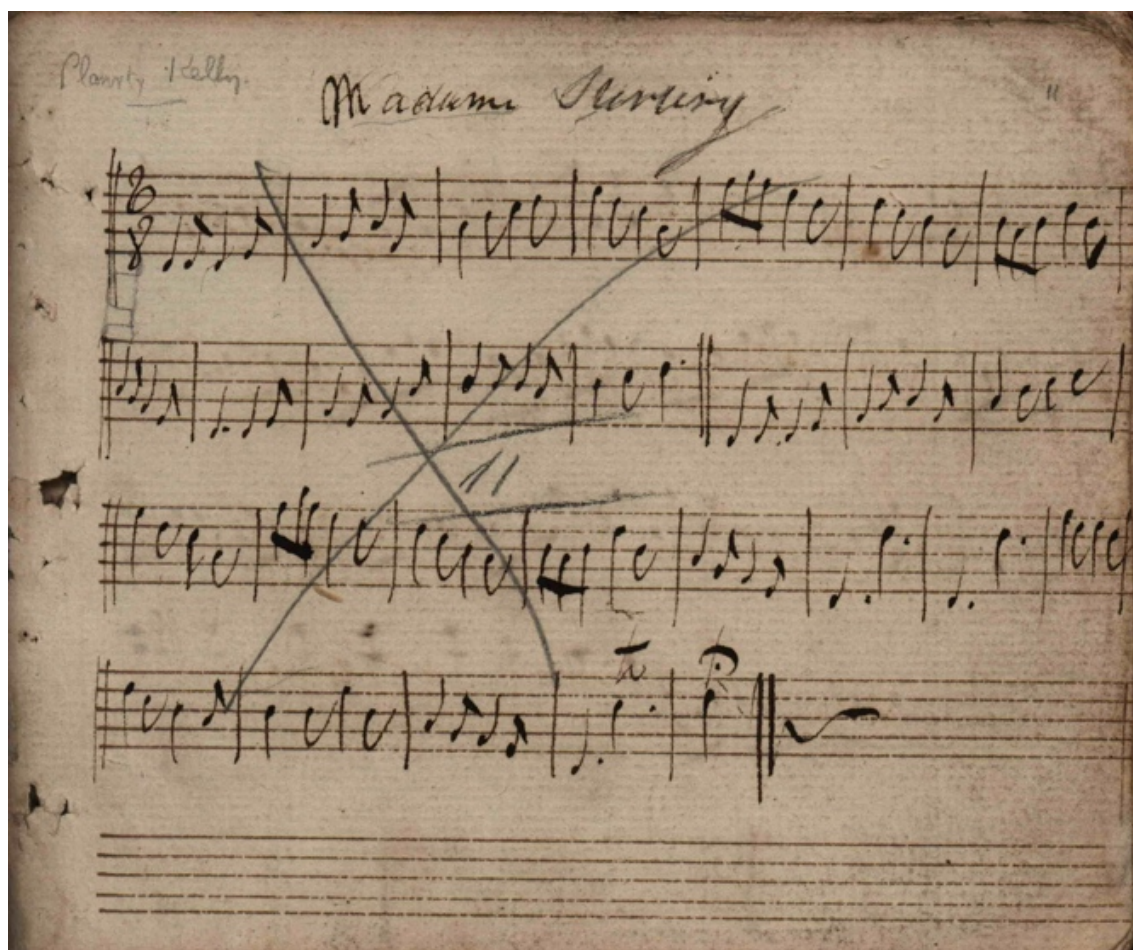


Figure 50. MS 4.29, 11 Planxty Kelly, second draft

Bunting sometimes streamlined this process onto one page, if the composition length allowed:

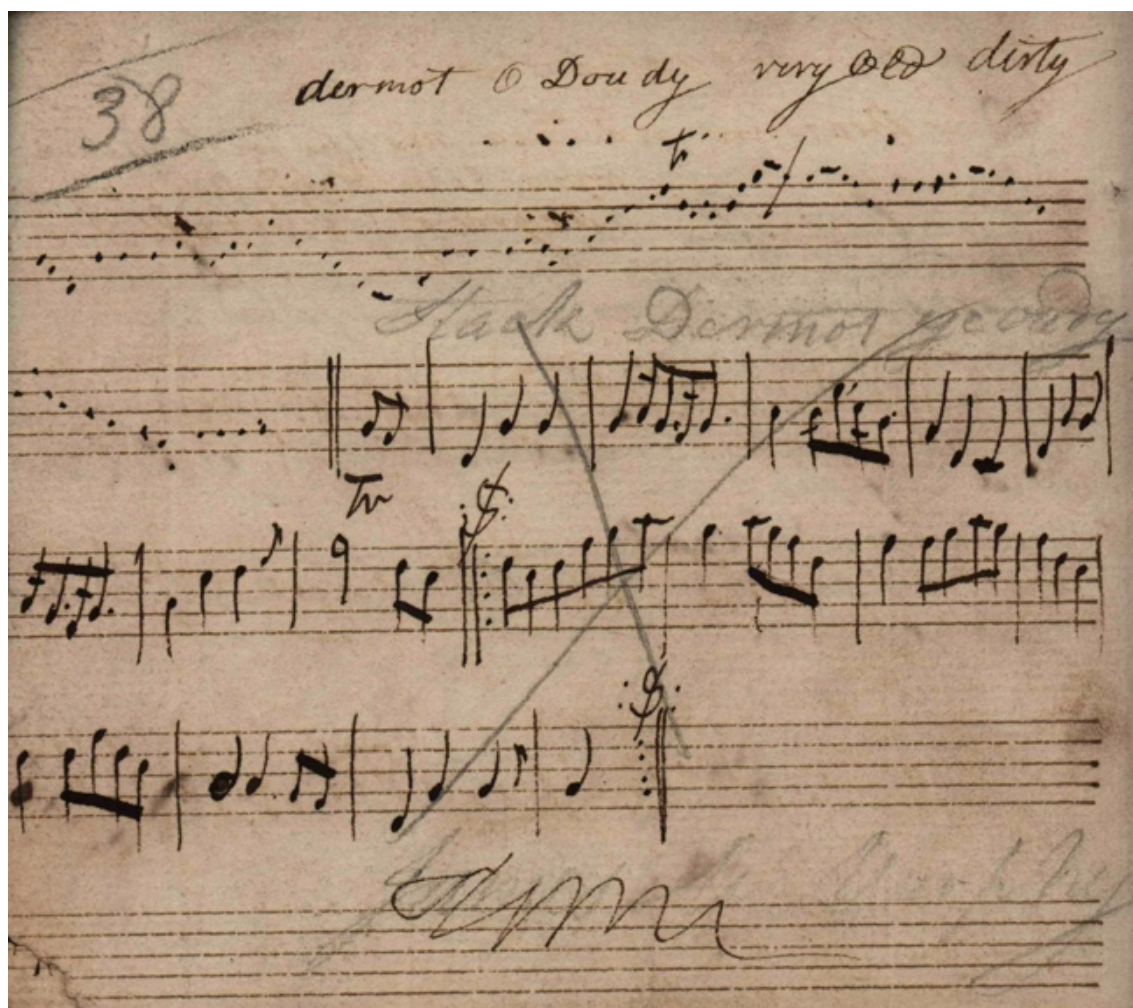


Figure 51. MS 4.29, 38 Diarmid Ó Dúda

The next example shows three drafts on the same page:

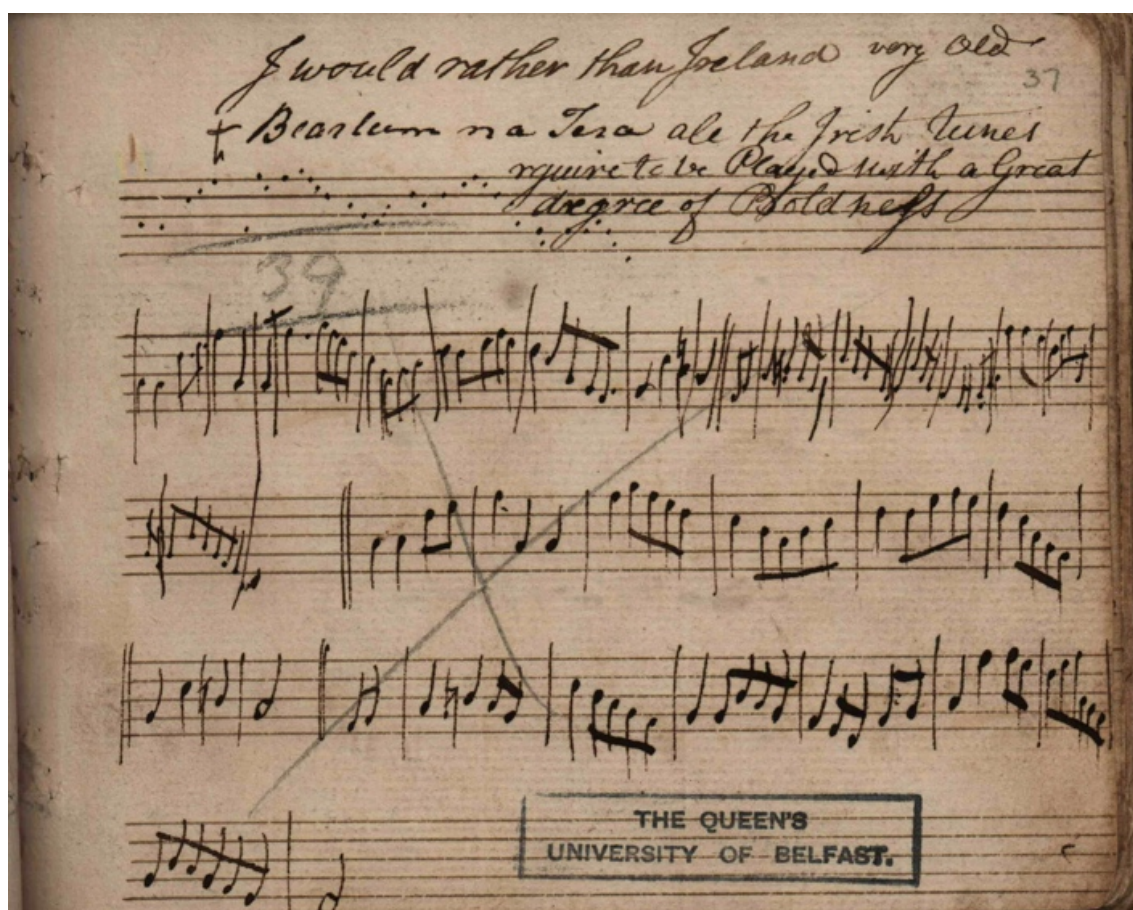


Figure 52. MS 4.29, 39

The large scoring-through lines visible on many of the pages in MS 4.29 may have been Bunting's way of keeping track of which compositions he had already arranged for piano in other manuscripts.

Sometimes a second draft follows the first, where both are attempts at transcription, as in the following drafts of O'Hampsay's *Cumha caoine an Albanaigh*:



Figure 53. MS 4.29, 158 Cumha caoine an Albanaigh, first draft

159 Lamentation

This manuscript page contains a single system of musical notation on a five-line staff. The notation is handwritten and includes various musical symbols such as notes, rests, and bar lines. Above the staff, the title "159 Lamentation" is written in a cursive hand. Below the staff, there is a line of text that reads "Cathleen". The manuscript shows signs of age, with some ink bleed-through and wear on the paper.

Figure 54. MS 4.29, 159 Cumha caoine an Albanaigh, second draft

The second example, above, displays the kind of palimpsest sometimes encountered. It would appear that Bunting attempted to redraft his initial transcription but this soon became another attempt to transcribe; in ink, followed by pencil annotations, followed by annotations in darker ink.³⁰⁶ I suggest that the contrapuntal bass and filler texture indicated by the additional, penciled notes in bars 4–6 are later additions on the way towards a piano arrangement, and that the beams in darker ink are a later attempt to pacify the rhythm.

A closer inspection can reveal subtler evidence of palimpsest. For example, Bunting can be seen to have added additional notes to his initial transcription of the *féachain gléis*:

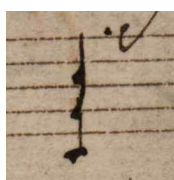


Figure 55. *MS 4.29, 54 end of first system, extract*

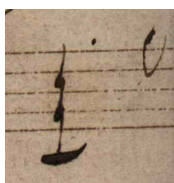


Figure 56. *MS 4.29, 54 end of second system, extract*

The first example, above, shows signs of having been a lone *E* initially to which Bunting later added a *B* and *e*. The second looks similarly emended, with *B* and *e* added to what was originally a single *E*. An examination of the progression on the second system would indicate that the same would appear to be true here too:

³⁰⁶ Some pencilled bar lines are crossed out in ink implying at least three layers of palimpsest.

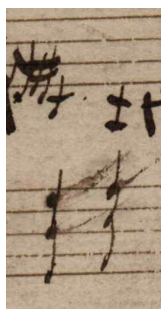


Figure 57. MS 4.29, 54 second system, extract

This raises serious questions around plausibility of historical performance-practice transmission since this transcription is then, simultaneously, both a first and second draft. Was Bunting belatedly adding what he actually heard or is this already editorial emendation? Since these added notes are not idiomatically at odds with other lower-register passages in the piece, and since it would be difficult to add so much lower-register texture on a first transcription attempt, I contend that this is plausible captured performance rather than Bunting editorial addition but the question does need to be carefully considered.³⁰⁷

Initial drafts are sometimes lacking, as in the case of the neat draft of the variations on *Eibhlín a rún* on MS 4.29, 59, where a missing folio before this may answer the question of where the field transcription lay.

Bar lines, note stems and beams

Bar lines generally appear to have been added after note heads or notes, as can be seen from the lack of space accommodating them, for example, in the transcription of O'Hampsay's *Tá mé i mo chodladh 's ná dúisigh mé* on MS 4.29, 171.

³⁰⁷ My thanks to Simon Chadwick and Sylvia Crawford for discussions around – and their insights into – these issues.

Stems may sometimes have been added to note heads by Bunting in a second round of attention to a transcription but I contend that stems were also added during initial transcriptions if the speed of the performance allowed for it. Further, since a skilled music notator often adds stems and beams to a group / a beat's worth of note heads in one go straight away, after drafting the note heads, it is often not possible to say with any confidence whether stems and beams are added at some point after a completed note-head transcription or whether they are added along the way. In the example below, for example, I suggest that the intermittent addition of stems and beams, suggests more immediate addition, as Bunting transcribed, rather than in a subsequent round of attention.

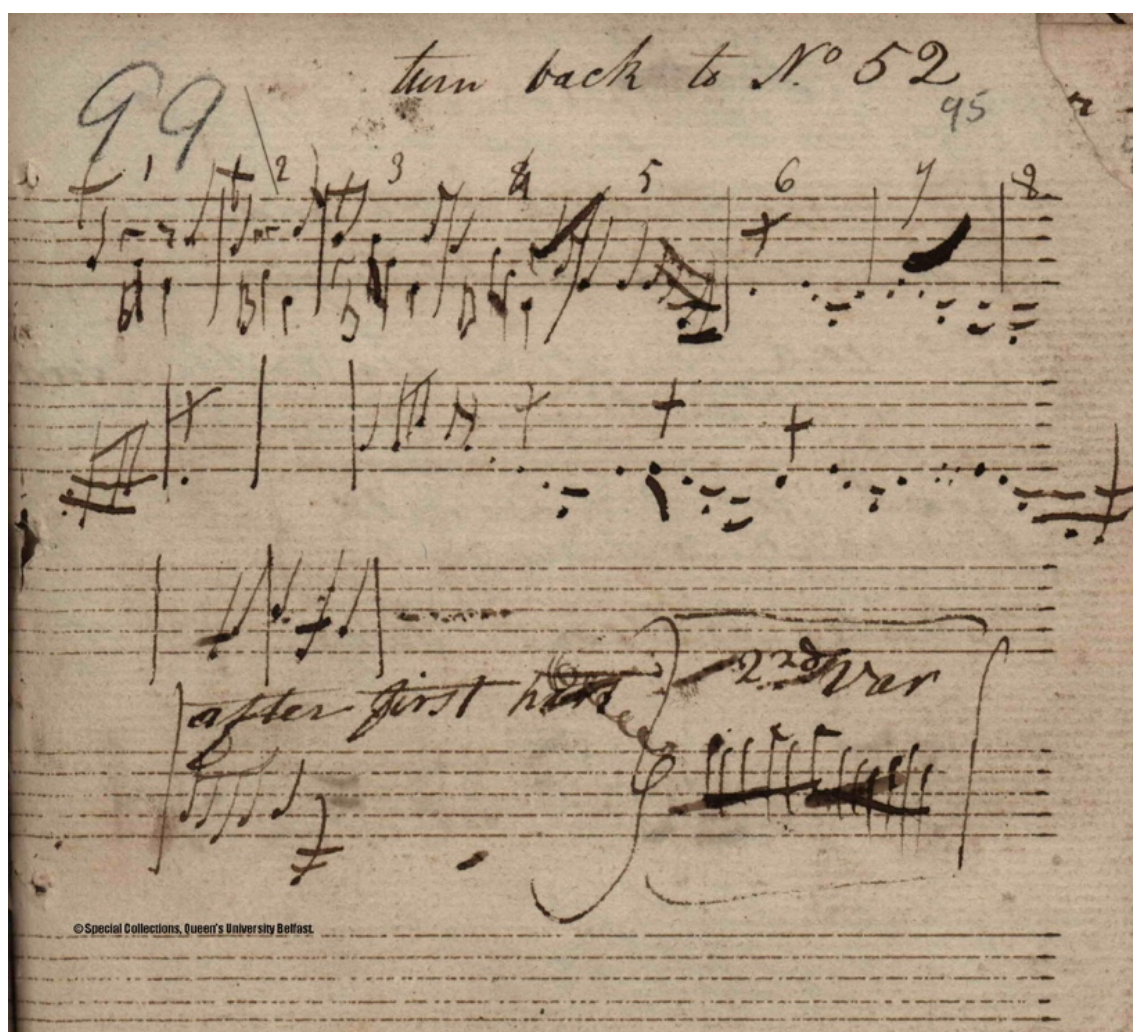


Figure 58. MS 4.29, 99 *A chailíní, a' bhfaca sibh Seoirse?* variation

The number of notes, and more labour-intensive beaming required for semiquavers, in the the *Maxwell* example in fig. 58, beneath, may suggest their addition in a second round of attention. Additionally, the lack of more than one draft may indicate that is more likely to be a note-head transcription that has been reworked.



Figure 59. MS 4.29, 102 *Have you seen my Valentine*; Maxwell

Whereas the neat, precise ends to the quaver beaming, in the first three bars of *Have you seen my Valentine*, situated above *Maxwell*, may indicate that this beaming was more likely added after the initial transcription, it is also possible that this is note-head transcription to which both stems and beaming have been added in a second round, in addition to bar lines.

Melodic revision

The melodic revisions seen in bars 5 and 6 of the first system of *Have you seen my Valentine* have been cited by Peter Downey as a possible example of Bunting's subsequent revision of transcriptions in the light of previously published settings of the compositions. Downey does show conclusive examples of the influence that previously

published settings had on Bunting's published piano arrangements.³⁰⁸ But with regard to the O'Hampsay transcriptions dealt with in this dissertation, an examination of other settings of the repertory in relevant MSS and printed collections from Ireland, England and Scotland, from the early eighteenth- to early nineteenth centuries, indicates just one instance of another setting that might be compared to Bunting's in some of its outline: *Lady of the desert* also appears in the Scottish Maclean-Clephane MSS.³⁰⁹ Since that source originated indirectly from the playing of Echlin Ó Catháin, a student of the composition's composer, Cornelius Lyons, we might expect to see some similarities with Bunting's setting. But there are also very many differences between the two. So Bunting's O'Hampsay transcriptions are clearly unique, and invaluable in having captured settings that have not survived elsewhere.

Harp-song notations

Where harpers sang as they played, Bunting occasionally attempted to notate where voice and harp melody diverged. Sometimes this is explicit, with the alternatives annotated 'played' and 'sung':

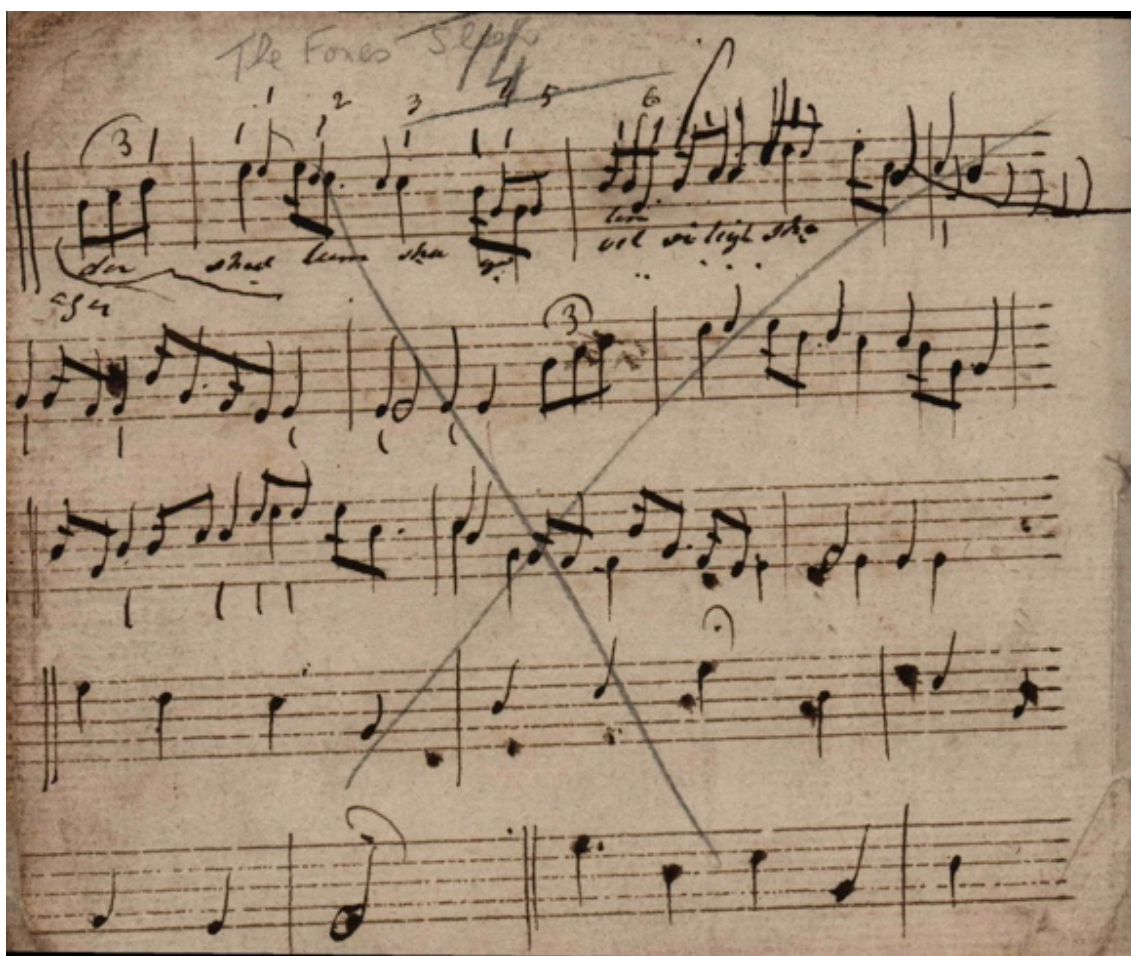
³⁰⁸ Downey 2017, 39

³⁰⁹ Maclean-Clephane, Maclean-Clephane, and Maclean-Clephane Early 19th century



Figure 60. MS 4.29, 167 *Sgarúint na gCompánach*, extract

Melodic variants, sung one way and played another, sometimes also appear on the same stave. In the next example, stem direction and additional markings clarify the pitches and rhythms of the respective vocal and harp lines:



harp melody

vocal melody

The transcription consists of two systems of musical notation. The first system is labeled "harp melody" and the second is labeled "vocal melody". Both systems are written on two staves each, using a single line with a clef and various note values. The notation is in a traditional Gaelic style, using a single line with a clef and various note values. The transcription is written on a white background.

Figure 61. MS 4.29, 14 Codladh an tsionnaigh, with transcription

Functions of note-stem directions

To indicate variants

In addition to using juxtaposed stem direction to differentiate between vocal and instrumental melody, Bunting also used stem direction, in instrumental drafts, as a tool to indicate variants, as in the enigmatic ‘his’ and ‘mine’ passages in the *Eibhlín a rún* divisions:



Figure 62. MS 4.29, 61 *Eibhlín a rún*, extract

Simon Chadwick has suggested plausibly that ‘his’ might be O’Hampsay’s version and that ‘mine’ might be a replication of a printed or MS setting already in Bunting’s possession.³¹⁰

To signal different registers or hands

Stem-direction juxtapositions clarify Bunting’s transcriptions in other ways, including the deliniation of distinct registers. In the following example the c’ – c’ – c’ – b is clearly delineated from the f’ – a’ – f’ treble passages by being depicted with descending stems, the lower notes presumably played with the lower hand and the higher with the treble hand:

³¹⁰ Personal communication circa February 2019

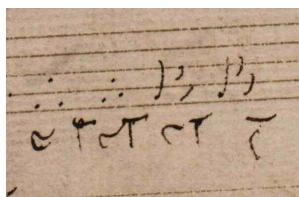


Figure 63. MS 4.29, 30 *Burns's march*, extract

But Bunting sometimes also adhered to conventional European-art-music rules in determining stem direction:

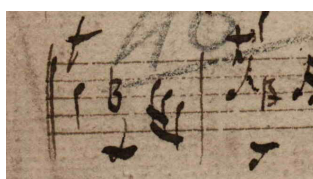


Figure 64. MS 4.29, 46 *Lady of the desert*, extract

In the example above, a 'B' [= 'bass'] annotation was Bunting's reminder to himself that the lower hand played the *c'*, while the descending stem of the *c''* does not suggest that it is anything other than a treble note played by the treble hand. In many such cases the distance of at least an octave between the treble and lower register also clarifies the performance practice.

Stems for each register may sometimes be in the same direction. The lower-hand pitches in the next example were added after the treble in a convenient gap left by a crossed-out error. The melody had already been notated following conventional stem-direction rules; the later lower-register passage equally displays descending stems but also a clarifying 'B' annotation to indicate the appropriate hand and octave:



Figure 65. MS 4.29, 49 *A chailíní, a' bhfaca sibh Seoirse?*, extract

More enigmatic is a passage in *Lady of the desert* displaying reversed stem direction at the beginning of the division, followed by a later passage, in the middle of the lower stave, with counter-intuitive stem direction:



Figure 66. MS 4.29, 98 *Lady of the desert*, extract

Nothing is notated for a putative treble hand to play, above, and none of Bunting's later settings set the relevant passages for the lower hand so it remains unclear if the first five groups form a lower-register passage or not.

To emend rhythm

Bunting also used stem-direction revisions, detectable in palimpsests, to notate a passage's rhythm more accurately, as can be seen in the following two examples:



Figure 67. MS 4.29, 46, *A chailíní, a' bhfaca sibh Seoirse*, extract

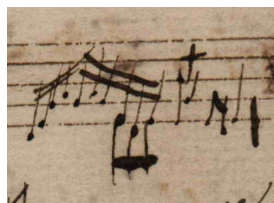


Figure 68. MS 4.29, 54, *a féachain gléis*, extract

It is to be assumed that conventional note-stem orientation indicates initial notations, and that unconventional stem direction represents revision. In the first example, above, the revised rhythm is that of two crotchets replacing the initially notated two quavers. For clarity, Bunting occasionally crossed out the first attempt as can be seen in the upper-right, and lower-left, corners of the following example:



Figure 69. MS 4.29, 45 *Lady Letty Burke*, extract

'B' annotations

Bunting used 'B' ['bass'] annotations to indicate notes usually sounded by the lower hand. These single notes and passages raise questions. In what register are they to be sounded? At pitch? One octave lower? More than one octave lower? Are they to be treated consistently or are they less prescriptive? My thesis is that

- where ‘B’ notes are pitched circa an octave lower than surrounding melodic notes that they were generally sounded at pitch;
- where ‘B’ notes are pitched in the melodic register that they were generally sounded one octave lower than notated;
- ‘B’ notes were sometimes sounded two octaves lower than notated.

‘B’ notes sounded at pitch

Where ‘B’ notes are pitched at a distance of circa one octave underneath the treble, I contend that Bunting notated such notes at sounding pitch:

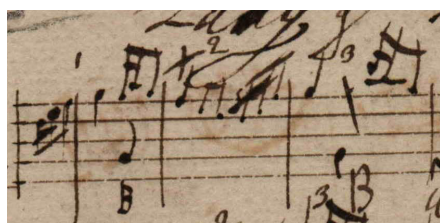


Figure 70. MS 4.29, 52 *Lady of the desert*, extract

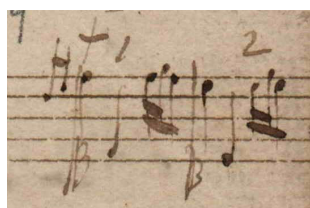


Figure 71. MS 4.29, 171 *Tá mé i mo chodladh*, extract

Two-octave gaps between the treble and the lower register did sometimes occur, but in these exceptional instances, Bunting reminded himself of that, as we shall see; a further indication that the usual register for such notes, or passages, was at pitch.

‘B’ notes sounded an octave lower

Where ‘B’ notes are pitched in the melodic register, contextual evidence most often suggests that these were sounded an octave lower than notated. For example, the pitch of the ‘B’-annotated *a*’ and *c*” in the following passage cannot be taken at face value:



Figure 72. MS 4.29, 46 *A chailíní, a' bhfaca sibh Seoirse?*, extract

An examination of the preceding bars indicates that descending octave leaps on second beats are a characteristic feature of this theme:

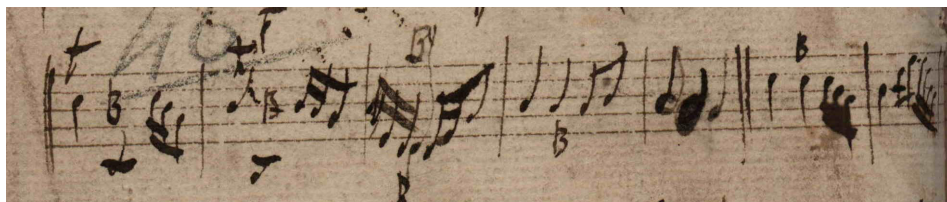


Figure 73. MS 4.29, 46 *A chailíní, a' bhfaca sibh Seoirse?*, extract

The 'B'-annotated *a'* and *c''* shown in fig. 72, above, undoubtedly follow the same pattern, and are clearly to be sounded an octave lower than notated. Confirmation of that, for the second example, is indicated by an identical passage in the first bar in that line, and also in the earlier, note-head transcription, which displays a *c'* at the parallel point, with a *c''* above it scored through:



Figure 74. MS 4.29, 46 *A chailíní, a' bhfaca sibh Seoirse?*, extract

I suggest that, by the fourth bar of the line, Bunting 'had the idea' and no longer took the time to notate the relevant notes at their correct pitch but simply annoated them 'B' as a reminder. Similarly, in this next example, the 'B'-annotated second beats are notated an octave higher than sounded:

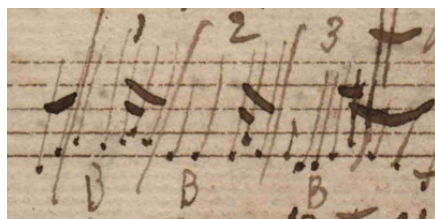


Figure 75. MS 4.29, 171 *Tá mé i mo chodladh 's ná dúisigh mé*, extract

A comparison of this third-line passage with parallel passages on the first and fourth lines show that this notation is practical rather than accurate. Bunting compressed the melodic gamut only because to do otherwise would have required too many ledger lines to indicate the actual sounding pitch of the *f*, *e* and *d* an octave lower:

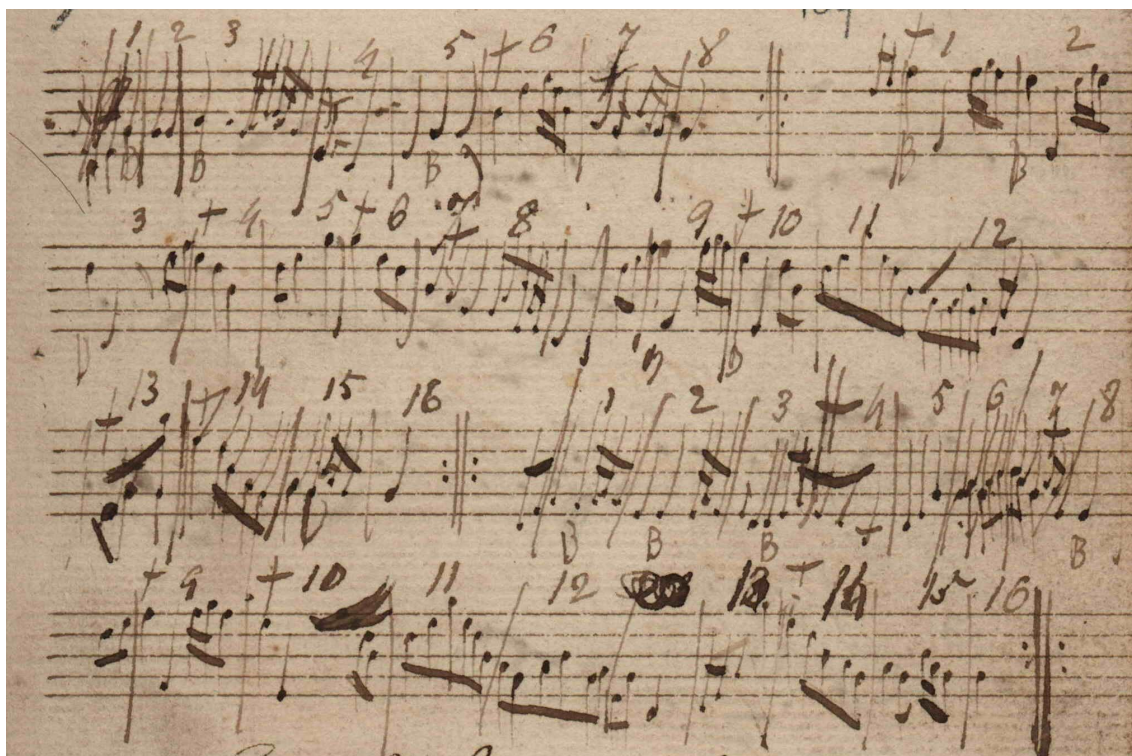


Figure 76. MS 4.29, 171 *Tá mé i mo chodladh 's ná dúisigh mé*, extract

The parallel passages [line 1 at the end; line 4 at the beginning] are accurately notated, because, in that register, it was unproblematic for Bunting to do so at speed.

Bunting's second draft of *Burns's march* provides an unusually extended example of lower-hand notes notated in the treble register:

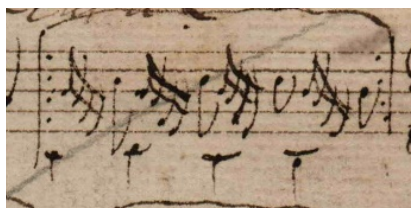


Figure 77. MS 4.29, 31 *Burns's march*, extract

Ann Heymann has claimed this as seminal evidence to support her theory of lower- and treble hands playing intertwined in the treble register.³¹¹ I would argue, however, that Bunting's initial draft, shown in fig. 78, beneath, indicates clearly that the uppermost note of these octaves is *c'* - *c'* - *c'* - *b* and not *c''* - *c''* - *c''* - *b'*. The 'B' indications below the stave in the first draft would appear to be Bunting's reminder to himself of the existence of a lower note in each staggered octave, each 'B' substituting for a pitch that could not be accommodated conveniently in the absence of a bass stave.

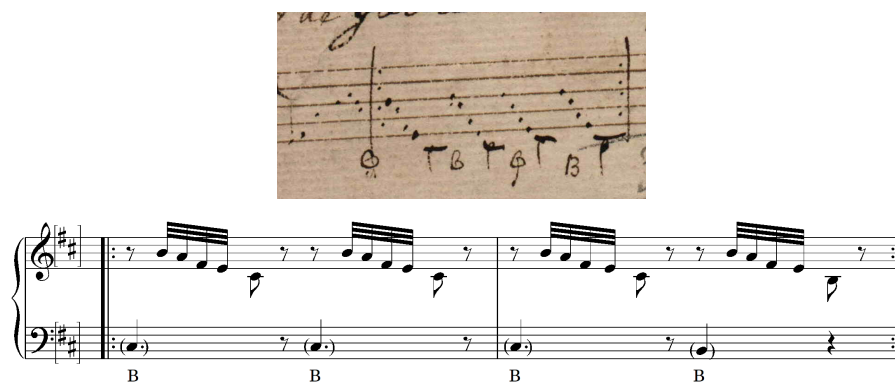


Figure 78. MS 4.29, 30 *Burns's march*, extract, and reconstructed texture

³¹¹ Heymann 2001, 139

The positioning and function of the ‘B’ annotations in this section of the composition, above, is unique to the MS 4.29 transcriptions. Bunting normally placed ‘B’ symbols underneath – or slightly to the left of – each relevant note. Each *c*’ here, at first glance, would appear to have a ‘B’ to its right. There are, however, four ‘B’s, each to the left of a lower-register note, the first overlapping with a bar line. I contend that these are not directly related to the visible notes, which were sounded at pitch, but function rather as markers for un-notated, lower-octave notes sounded before each treble group.³¹²

In the second draft, the broken-octave pattern is made explicit by being indicated an octave higher in a visual articulation of the register oscillation.

‘B’ notes sounded two octaves lower

When Bunting wished to remind himself that lower-register notes were displaced by more than one octave from the treble register, he indicated that by various means.

Register displacement

At its simplest, octave jumps within ‘B’ passages are indicated at pitch using ledger lines, as in this rare example:³¹³

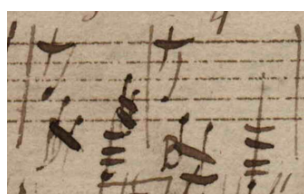


Figure 79. MS 4.29, 164 Seón Jones, extract

³¹² The tonality of this pentatonic composition requires an F# and C# not articulated in Bunting’s draft. I suggest that it was performed a tone lower, in a G-pentatonic scale (no 4th; no 7th).

³¹³ A scribal error evidently led to a notated *c* at the end of the above example; it is more likely to have been a *d* (sounding an octave lower).

Layered 'B' annotations

A reiteration of the above passage, on the following page, displays an instance of multiple, layered 'B' annotations to indicate a similar texture:

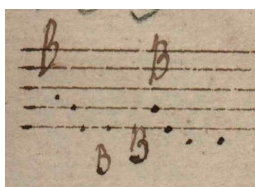


Figure 80. *MS 4.29, 165 Seón Jones, extract*

I suggest that the 'B' symbols towards the top of the stave indicate that each four-note group was played an octave lower than notated, and that the first 'B' symbol underneath the stave indicates that the second pitch notated as an *e'* was sounded a further octave lower. The second 'B', underneath the stave, is problematic: it may indicate a reiteration of the previous pitch, evidence for which is somewhat concealed by the 'B' indication itself; or it may be mis-placed, meant rather to indicate that the second notated *d'* was sounded an octave lower again, like the *e'* in the previous group.

Further register displacement

Bunting also used the digit eight, after a 'B' symbol, to indicate further registral displacement within 'B'-annotated passages, as can be seen twice in succession in the following example, and again in fig. 82.³¹⁴

³¹⁴ Of the two instances in the example, the second is easier to see clearly, the first being obscured by bar numbers, and other marks, belonging to the stave underneath.

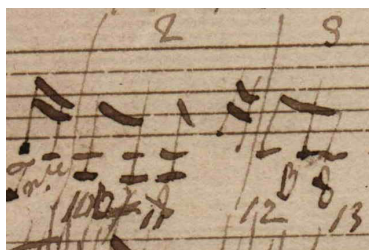


Figure 81. MS 4.29, 108 Betty O'Brian, extract



Figure 82. MS 4.29, 102 Maxwell, extract

This is not to be confused with Bunting's 'B 8ths' annotations of the kind seen in *The friar and nun*:

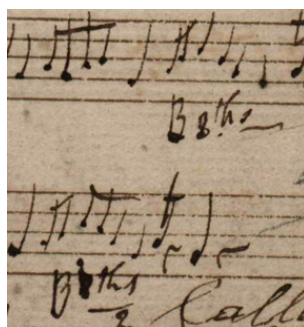


Figure 83. MS 4.29, 48 *The friar and nun*, extract

These indicate lower-register octaves running in parallel with a scalar treble, of the kind that Bunting notated explicitly in *Cumha caoine an Albanaigh*:

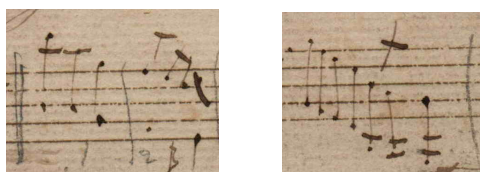


Figure 84. MS 4.29, 158 *Cumha caoine an Albanaigh*, extracts

Precise register indications

Bunting occasionally articulated the precise register of lower-hand material by specifying on which line of the bass clef the first note of a given passage would be situated. In the next example, the *a'* is annotated '5th line B', indicating the top line of the bass stave or *a*:

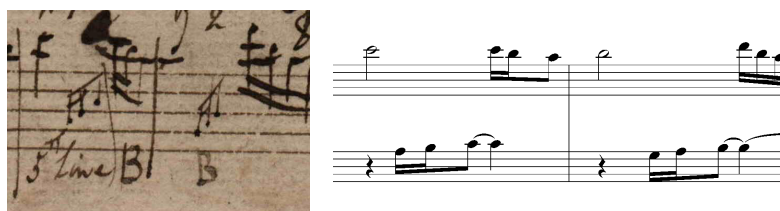


Figure 85. MS 4.29, 48 *A Chailíní, a' bhfaca sibh Seirse?*, extract and edition

In the following example, the *d'* is annotated '3rd line B', indicating that its performance would be two octaves lower than notated:



Figure 86. MS 4.29, 45 *Letty Burke*, extract and transcription

I suggest that the exceptionalism of these examples supports my thesis that lower-hand 'B'-annotated notes pitched in the melodic register were generally sounded an octave lower than notated, and that it is for this reason that Bunting added further annotations when they were to be sounded an octave lower again, as outlined in the examples above.

3.4 From MS Transcription to Performed Reconstruction

Firstly, it has been necessary to identify repertory plausibly performed by O'Hampsay. This has then been followed by detailed work with each chosen field transcription to

evaluate performance-practice-transmission reliability, and to retain reliable features to be preserved in Practice-Research reconstructions of each composition.

3.4.1 Attributing Repertory to Dennis O'Hampsay

Some of the repertory dealt with in this study was unequivocally performed by Dennis O'Hampsay: the *féachain gléis* and *Cumha caoine an Albanaigh*, for example. These were subject to Bunting's particular attention as examples of the most interesting, oldest repertory that were performed only by O'Hampsay, and by none of the other harpers he interacted with. Other compositions I attribute to O'Hampsay by triangulating from different sources as follows, listed from most to least reliable:

- Attributions on the transcription pages
- Attributions on other MS 4.29 pages
- Attributions in MS 4.33.2 and MS 4.33.1 piano arrangements, assembled within six years of Bunting's first encounter with O'Hampsay, and also in later Bunting piano arrangement MSS. It is not clear how trustworthy these are, but in the absence of other evidence, they must be considered.
- Attributions in the index to Bunting's 1840 publication. These are not unproblematic: it is not possible to know on what evidence Bunting's attributions there are based, or how trustworthy these are, published 40–50 years after his main collecting work. Some attributions here contradict others elsewhere.
- Attributions in Bunting's own annotations in his copies of his 1797, and 1809, publications. Again, where this information comes from, and how trustworthy it is, remains a matter of conjecture.

- The 1840 index attributions, and those annotated by Bunting in his own copies of his earlier publications, may come from MSS now lost; there is no way to evaluate their accuracy.

I also take into account the sequencing, and proximity, of some material within gatherings in MS 4.29, which may help shed further light on attribution questions, and I concur with Colette Moloney who tentatively attributed compositions to the playing of O'Hampsay based on their positioning in the MS.³¹⁵ But this approach is also problematic, and prone to circular argument. Work is only beginning to be done on examining the unlikely plausibility of the current chronology of the manuscript gatherings, and the chronology of the notation into those gatherings. A detailed examination of the physical structure of the MS lies outside this study but would be helpful in answering questions around the order of the material contained in it.³¹⁶ But, as things currently stand, I base the two main groups of repertory I associate with O'Hampsay on their sequencing in the gatherings in addition to other factors I set out in the commentary for each composition.

Some of these pages also include annotations referencing other compositions in O'Hampsay's repertory. Bunting jotted down text in available space on MS pages as an *aide-memoire*, either in conversation with the musician in the field, or later. 'Dennis a

³¹⁵ Moloney 2000, 48 Moloney and I both tentatively include the concluding piece in that MS section: *Róis bheag dhubh* on MS 4.29, 62-63.

³¹⁶ My inspection of MS 4.29 to establish how many gatherings it contains, and where these begin and end, contributes to the most recent work to establish chronology in MS 4.29, and to explore attributions. This work has now been incorporated by Simon Chadwick in his transcription of textual content in the manuscript. Chadwick, Simon. 2019a. 'Transcription of Textual Content of Bunting Ms29'. simonchadwick.net.
https://www.simonchadwick.net/oldirishharptranscriptiondownloads/ms29transcription_text.pdf See also Chadwick's O'Hampsay attributions contained in the above.

Hempson in 1795 & 1796' in pencil on MS 4.29, 44 is likely to be a later annotation, for example, but I contend that many annotations to do with O'Hampsay and his repertory may have been made in the field during conversations with the harper. Annotations on many O'Hampsay transcription pages reference other pieces in his repertory. An examination of these, together with a further triangulation process, may enable a more secure attribution of specific compositions to O'Hampsay.

I attribute repertory to O'Hampsay – with confidence or more tentatively – in Tables 1 and 2 as follows, in which I list the main two sequences of O'Hampsay repertory in MS 4.29 in the order in which each is to be found: on pages 44–65 in Table 1, and on pages 158–172 in Table 2. In these tables, I also lay out the evidence and/or reasoning for my attributions. Table 3 contains a wider list of repertory attributed to O'Hampsay, together with my rationale for not including any of these compositions in this dissertation, while Table 4 lists the eight pieces that form my microstudy.³¹⁷

Table 1. MS 4.29 O'Hampsay Repertory Sequence 1

Page no.	Title	Commentary
MS 4.29, 44	Ouly gan do wo [Uilleagán dubh ó]	MS 4.29, 44 'Magilligan' 'Dennis a Hempson in 1795 & 1796' (later addition in pencil) Annotated 'Letty Burke' ³¹⁸ and 'Callena (Girls, did you see George)'. ³¹⁹

³¹⁷ Bunting's MS titles are given in bold, with his transliterated titles in Irish in parentheses.

³¹⁸ Transcribed on next page.

³¹⁹ Transcribed on MS 4.29, 50.

Page no.	Title	Commentary
MS 4.29, 45	Lady Letty Burke	MS 4.33.3, 23: ‘From Dennis a Hempson — Magilligan’ Contains a list of O’Hampsay repertory: ‘Shannon Water’ [= ‘Bruach na Sionainne’] ³²⁰ , ‘The Friar & Nun’ ³²¹ , ‘Caitlin Treale’ ³²² , ‘Elin a roon Vs’ [= ‘variations’] ³²³ , ‘Coolin with V’ ³²⁴ , ‘Feaghan Geleash’ ³²⁵ , ‘?Debhins Sho Kuach [?’Daimhinse Cumha’] ³²⁶ , ‘young mans Dream’ ³²⁷ , and ‘Dawn of Day’ ³²⁸ . Title appears on previous page, perhaps indicating that it was mentioned in conversation by O’Hampsay, and became the next piece he played to Bunting.
MS 4.29, 46	Callena Vacca Sho Shurse [<i>A chailíní, a’ bhfaca sibh Seoirse</i>]	MS 4.33.3, 25: ‘From Dennis a Hempson’ BL 1797: ‘Harp Hempson’ Bunting 1840 index: ‘Hempson, at Magilligan 1792’ ³²⁹ Annotated ‘variations to Elen a roon’. This carries on underneath prior transcriptions of <i>The friar and nun</i> and <i>Codladh an óigfhir</i> on p. 48 and p. 49. Its final variation occupies all of MS 4.29, 50.
MS 4.29, 47	Cathleen Treall [<i>Caitlín Triall</i>]	Appears on an O’Hampsay repertory list on MS 4.29, 45
MS 4.29, 48	The Friar & Nun and Callena Vacca [<i>A chailíní, a’ bhfaca sibh Seoirse?</i>] division	Bunting 1840 index: ‘Hempson, at Magilligan, 1796’ Appears on an O’Hampsay repertory list on MS 4.29, 45
MS 4.29, 49	The young man’s dream [<i>Codladh an óigfhir</i>] and Callena division	BL 1797: ‘Harp Hempson’
MS 4.29, 50	2nd Part of 2nd Var [<i>A chailíní, a’ bhfaca sibh Seoirse?</i>] two variations	

³²⁰ Transcribed on MS 4.29, 104.

³²¹ Transcribed on MS 4.29, 48.

³²² Transcribed on MS 4.29, 47.

³²³ Transcribed on MS 4.29, 59–61.

³²⁴ Transcribed on MS 4.29, 52 and MS 4.29, 98–9.

³²⁵ Transcribed on MS 4.29, 54–5.

³²⁶ Probably referring to the division piece of the seventeenth-century harper, Harry Scott, given the partially transliterated title elsewhere by Bunting of ‘*Cumha an Devenish*’.

³²⁷ Transcribed on MS 4.29, 49.

³²⁸ Transcribed on MS 4.29, 168–9.

³²⁹ This date is at odds with the ‘1795 & 1796’ field trip dates given on MS 4.29, 44.

Page no.	Title	Commentary
MS 4.29, 51	Go Deashin denteashin nogh vallin shin Do [<i>Cad é sin don té sin nach mbainneann é sin dó</i>]	MS 4.33.2, 55: ‘From Dennis a Hempson of Magilligan’ References lyrics for <i>Burns’s march</i> ³³⁰ with the transliterated title: ‘ <i>Aim bagus Umbo</i> ’, which I suggest O’Hampsay sang to Bunting on the same occasion he performed the composition notated on that page.
MS 4.29, 52	Lady of the Desert	MS 4.33.2, 2: ‘From Dennis a Hempson, Magilligan’ Bunting 1840 index: ‘Hempson, at Magilligan 1796’ Bunting 1840, 75 references O’Hampsay’s performance of it, under its other name: ‘ <i>The Coolin</i> ’
MS 4.29, 53	The Jointure or Golden Star by Conalon	The final stave of MS 4.29, 52 shows the final phrase of each half of <i>The Jointure</i> . There is no reason for this to be a later addition to MS 4.29, 52 as MS 4.29, 53 provided ample room for the notation of the complete piece. The published setting in BL 1796, 16 is annotated ‘Harp Higgins’ but I suggest that O’Hampsay played the <i>Jointure</i> ’s concluding phrase at the end of <i>Lady of the desert</i> and performed the entire composition for Bunting subsequently. A <i>Jig to the Jointure</i> is notated in the second O’Hampsay sequence in MS 4.29 [see Table 2].
MS 4.29, 54–7	Veaaghan Gleash [<i>A féachain gléis</i>]	MS 4.33.2, 55: ‘from Dennis a Hempson’ Bunting 1840, 82: ‘from Hempson’s performance in the year 1792’ Bunting 1840, 88, music page 1: ‘From Dennis O’Hampsay in 1792’
MS 4.29, 58	Cooach a Division of the Lament [<i>Cumha caoine an Albanaigh</i>] fragment ³³¹	MS 4.33.2, 17: ‘From Dennis Hempson’ MS 4.33.5, 49: ‘with great difficulty this was got from Hempson in 1796 / 25 year ago. by EB’ and ‘Hempson said nobody had asked / him for this tune 50 years past’ Bunting 1840 index: ‘...Hempson, harper, Magilligan, 1792’
Missing folio		
MS 4.29, 59	Elen a roon with old var [<i>Eibhlín a rún</i>]	Appears on an O’Hampsay repertory list on MS 4.29, 45 MS 4.33.2, 8: ‘From Dennis Hempson’ Bunting 1840 index: ‘Hempson, at Magilligan, 1792’
MS 4.29, 60	Elen a roon continued	Annotated ‘Ta me ma Collow agus na Duskerme [<i>Tá mé i mo chodladh agus ná duisigh mé</i>] fixed by Lyons’. ³³²

³³⁰ Transcribed on MS 4.29, 30.

³³¹ Transcribed in next O’Hampsay section, on MS 4.29, 158.

³³² The harper, Cornelius Lyons (c. 1680–post 1750). This is transcribed in the next O’Hampsay section, on MS 4.29, 171.

Page no.	Title	Commentary
MS 4.29, 61	Elen a roon continued	This page is annotated ‘big head thinks an uncommon deal of him’ ³³³ , ‘Fannings father taught him the <i>Kooagh Divisions</i> ’ ³³⁴ and ‘ <i>Hugar Ma Fean / O’Hara’s Cup & Luke Dillon...Bob Jordan very fine / Mrs. Keil Mrs. Sterling</i> ’
MS 4.29, 62	Rosey Black or Rosh veg Doogh [<i>Róis bheag dhubh</i>]	Tentative attribution based only on its position in this sequence
Missing folio		
MS 4.29, 63	Brough ne Shanny [<i>Bruach na Sionainne</i>]	Tentative attribution. ‘ <i>Shannon Water</i> ’ [= ‘ <i>Bruach na Sionainne</i> ’] appears on an O’Hampsay repertory list on MS 4.29, 45. The annotation ‘ <i>Caussein Tughan</i> ’ references <i>Casadh an tsúgáin</i> , whose appearance on MS 4.29/170 I tentatively attribute to O’Hampsay [see Table 2].
MS 4.29, 64-5	Breed doag [<i>Brid óg</i>]	Tentative attribution. The annotation ‘Wallegon’ (?) may reference O’Hampsay’s <i>Uilleagán dubh</i> ó notated on MS 4.29, 44. This page has the ‘his’ and ‘mine’ annotations which are apparent only in notations of O’Hampsay repertory.
End of section		After this Bunting copied music from printed books into the MS until MS 4.29, 78.

Table 2. MS 4.29 O’Hampsay Repertory Sequence 2

Page no.	Title	Commentary
MS 4.29, 158-9	John Scott’s Lamentation or Coooad [<i>Cumha caoine an Albanaigh</i>]	MS 4.33.2, 17: ‘From Dennis Hempson’ MS 4.33.5, 49: ‘with great difficulty this was got from Hempson in 1796 / 25 year ago. by EB’ and ‘Hempson said nobody had asked / him for this tune 50 years past’ Bunting 1840 index: ‘...Hempson, harper, Magilligan, 1792’
MS 4.29, 160	The Showers of rain... [<i>Is galar cráite an ghrá</i>]	MS 4.29, 160: ‘Hempson says this is a Scotch tune’ MS 4.33.2, 64: ‘from poor old Dennis Hempson’ MS 4.26, 2: ‘from Dennis Hampson’ 1840 index: ‘...Hempson, at Magilligan...1796’
MS 4.29,	Molly George [<i>Molly San</i>]	MS 4.26, 2: ‘from Dennis Hampson’

³³³ A Bunting nickname for O’Hampsay.

³³⁴ ‘Fanning’ refers to the harper Charles Fanning (c. 1736– post 1792) whose father, Loughlin Fanning, was also a harper from co. Leitrim.

Page no.	Title	Commentary
161	<i>Seoirse</i>	
MS 4.29, 162	Bob Jordan	Tentative attribution due to the reference to it: ‘ <i>Bob Jordan very fine</i> ’ on MS 4.29, 61, an <i>Eibhlín a rún</i> page [see Table 1]
MS 4.29, 163	Sheen Sheessigus Swoslim [<i>Síon síos agus suas liom</i>]	MS 4.33.2, 12 ‘From Dennis a Hempson...’ Precedes the <i>Jigg to the Jointure</i> , which I attribute to O’Hampsay
MS 4.29, 163	Jigg to the Jointure	Tentative attribution. O’Hampsay’s performance of <i>The Jointure</i> is notated on MS 4.29, 53.
MS 4.29, 164-5	John Jones [<i>Seón Jones</i>]	MS 4.33.3, 42: ‘from Dennis a Hempson Magilligan’
MS 4.29, 166	?Maudhin vog even [<i>Maidin bhog aoibhinn</i>] ³³⁵	Tentative attribution based on its position in this sequence
MS 4.29, 167	Scarroom na Gompanagh [<i>Scarúint na gcompánach</i>]	The title <i>Dawn of Day</i> [<i>Eirghe an lae</i>], which appears on the following pages 168-9, is crossed out, replaced by this title.
MS 4.29, 168-9	Dawn of Day [<i>Eirghe an lae</i>]	MS 4.29, 168-9: ‘with Variations by Mr. purty ugly’ ³³⁶ MS 4.33.2, 15: ‘From Old Hempson’
MS 4.29, 170	Caussein Tughan me [<i>Casadh an tsúgáin</i>]	Tentative attribution due to its position in this sequence. An annotation on this page, ‘ <i>Ambo agus</i> ’, also references one of the Irish titles of <i>Burns’s march</i> .
MS 4.29, 171	Tame ma Colead na Duiss [<i>Tá mé i mo chodladh ‘s ná dúisigh mé</i>]	MS 4.33.3, 57: ‘This setting is exactly copied from Hempson – both bass and treble’ Bunting 1840 index: ‘Hempson, harper, Magilligan, 1792’ Referenced on MS 4.29, 60, an <i>Eibhlín a rún</i> transcription page
MS 4.29, 172	Madam Keil	MS 4.29, 179: ‘Mrs Kiel Magilligan’ MS 4.33.2, 63: ‘From Dennis a Hempson, Magilligan’ Referenced on MS 4.29, 61, an <i>Eibhlín a rún</i> transcription page

For the purposes of this study, only field transcriptions notated live from O’Hampsay’s playing have been taken into consideration, as the most reliable source of performance-practice evidence. In addition, the following pieces are also excluded because they lack either

³³⁵ ‘Maudhin vog even’ [*maidin bhog aoibhinn*] is one of three titles to appear on this page, in a superscript, beneath ‘ORourke’s Noble Feast’ and ‘Scarron na Gompanagh’. This melody is clearly not one of the first two possibilities, but is also not related to the ‘Madin bheg áoibhin’ [‘soft, mild morning’] attributed to O’Hampsay in MS 4.33.2, 16, which is itself related to ‘Soft Mild Morning’ in Bunting 1840. Other melodies of the same name appear on MS 4.29, 134 and 199.

³³⁶ This is a nickname Bunting gave to O’Hampsay.

- notated music
- lower-hand indications
- sufficient lower-hand indications to provide evidence additional to the chosen repertory, or
- a dependable enough connection to O’Hampsay as the source.

Table 3. O’Hampsay-Attributed Repertory Not Reconstructed in This Dissertation

Name	Attribution	Commentary
Hob nob [<i>A Sheamuis Brún</i>]	MS 4.26, 2: ‘Dennis Hampson’	No extant music notation
Molly Stuart	‘From Dennis Hampson / a harper of Magillagan / aged 100 years’ ³³⁷	No extant music notation
Elen a roon [<i>Eibhlín a rún</i>]	See Table 1 above	No extant field transcription
Brithcit na bpeurlaidh [<i>Brid na bpéarlai</i>] or Bridget Cruise MS 4.33.2, 10	MS 4.33.2, 10: ‘From Dennis a Hampson’	No extant field transcription
Plangsty Connor Composer: Turlough Carolan (1670–1738) MS 4.33.2, 50	MS 4.33.2, 50: ‘From Dennis Hampson Magilligan’	No extant field transcription
Mairgireud Ban [<i>Peigí bán</i>] MS 4.33.4, 29	BL 1809, 56: ‘Harp Hampson’	No extant field transcription
The Darling [<i>An mhúirnín</i>] Bunting 1840, 77	Bunting 1840 index: ‘Hampson, Magilligan, 1796’	No extant field transcription
The Foxes Sleep [<i>Codladh an tsionnaigh</i>] MS 4.29, 14–17	BL 1797, 1: ‘Harp Hampson’	Drafts cannot dependably be said to be connected to O’Hampsay No lower-register evidence
Coocce en Devenish ³³⁸ MS 4.12.2, 29	See <i>Lady Letty Burke</i> in Table 1, above.	Possible field transcription cannot be connected to O’Hampsay

³³⁷ Catalogued in Moloney 2000, 305.

Name	Attribution	Commentary
Ballyhaunis [Purt clarseach] [<i>Port cláirseach</i>] MS 4.33.1, 26-7	BL 1809, 63: ‘Harp Hempson’	Transcription cannot dependably be connected to O’Hampsay; more likely to have come from harper Patrick Quin No lower-register evidence
Bruagh ne Shannon [<i>Bruach na Sionnaine</i>] MS 4.29, 104	See Table 1 above	Transcription cannot dependably be connected to O’Hampsay No lower-register evidence
The young man’s dream [<i>Codladh an óigfhir</i>] MS 4.29, 49	See Table 2 above	No lower-register evidence
Go Deashin denteashin nogh vallin shin Do [<i>Cad é sin don té sin nach mbainneann é sin dó</i>] MS 4.29, 51	See Table 1 above	No lower-register evidence
Rosey Black or Rosh veg Doogh [<i>Róisín Dubh</i>] MS 4.29, 62	See Table 1 above	No lower-register evidence
Molly George [<i>Molly San Seoirse</i>] Composer: William Connellon (c. 1645–c. 1700) MS 4.29, 161	See Table 2 above	No lower-register evidence
Sheen Sheessigus Swoslim [<i>Síon síos agus suas liom</i>] MS 4.29, 163	See Table 2 above	No lower-register evidence in this setting [or in the settings on MS 4.29, 104-5 and 205]
Jigg to the Jointure MS 4.29, 163	See Table 2 above	No lower-register evidence
Caussein Tughan me [<i>Casadh an tsugáin</i>] MS 4.29, 170	See Table 2 above	No lower-register evidence
Taun Sowre Taght [<i>Tá an samhradh ag teacht</i>] MS 4.29, 190	MS 4.29, 190: ‘Not very Ancient so says Hempson’ BL 1797, 4: ‘Harp Hempson’	No lower-register evidence

³³⁸ Seán Donnelly has suggested to me that the original Irish-language title was possibly *Cumha na Daimhinse* [‘the lament of Devinish’], a monastic island in Lough Erne. Email communication, October 2017.

Name	Attribution	Commentary
Ouly gan do wo [<i>Uilleagán dubh ó</i>] MS 4.29, 44	See Table 1 above	‘bass first’ annotation but no lower-register evidence
The showers of rain... [<i>Is galar cráite an ghrá</i>] MS 4.29, 160	See Table 2 above	One ‘B’-annotated notes only
Scarroom na Gompanagh [<i>Scarúint na gcompánach</i>] MS 4.29, 167	See Table 2 above	Two ‘B’-annotated notes only
Dawn of Day [<i>Eirghe an lae</i>] MS 4.29, 168-9 Composer: Thomas Connellon	See Table 2 above	Two lower-register notes only
Cathleen Treall [<i>Caitlín Triall</i>] MS 4.29, 47	See Table 1 above	Three B’-annotated notes only
The Jointure Composer: ?Thomas Connellon (c. 1639–ante 1700) MS 4.29, 53	See Table 1 above	Two lower-register quaver couplets only in this 20-bar composition
The Friar & Nun MS 4.29, 48	See Table 1 above	‘B 8ths’ annotations in two places only
Bob Jordan Composer: ?Turlough Carolan MS 4.29, 162	See Table 2 above	Lower-register evidence in the penultimate three bars of this 32-bar composition only
Madam Keil Composer: Turlough Carolan MS 4.29, 172	See Table 2 above	Seven ‘B’-annotated lower-register octave echoes; one other ‘B’-annotated note only

Table 4. O’Hampsay Repertory Reconstructed in Part 2

Name	Attribution	Commentary
Burns’s march MS 4.29, 30-31 ³³⁹	MS 4.33.3, 19: ‘From Dennis Hempson of Magilligan’ BL 1809, music-page 6: ‘From Hempson’	<i>Cad é sin don té sin nach mbaineann sin dó</i> on MS 4.29, 51 has the attribution – in MS 4.33.2, 55 – ‘From Dennis a Hempson of Magilligan’. The lyrics on the same page are related to <i>Burns’s march</i> , perhaps providing a further – if tenuous – link to O’Hampsay.
Lady Letty Burke Composer: Turlough Carolan MS 4.29, 45	See Table 1 above	
<i>A chailíní, a’ bhfaca sibh Seoirse?</i> With variations by Cornelius Lyons (c. 1680–post 1750) MS 4.29, 46–50	See Table 1 above	.
Lady of the desert With variations by Cornelius Lyons MS 4.29, 52	See Table 1 above	
<i>A féachain gléis</i> MS 4.29, 54-57	See Table 1 above	
<i>Cumha caoine an Albanaigh</i> Composer: John Scott (c. 1570–c. 1650) MS 4.29, 158–9	See Table 2 above	
<i>Seón Jones</i> Composer: Turlough Carolan	See Table 2 above	

³³⁹ A question mark must remain over this attribution as the composition has a final of A, implying three sharps. Bunting noted material from harpers Patrick Quin and Hugh Higgins in this implausible early-Irish-harp tonality. It may be that each tuned their instruments higher than other harpers, and that Bunting, perhaps having perfect pitch, understood them to be playing in A with three sharps rather than the much more likely G with one sharp. O’Hampsay repertory is otherwise not transcribed in such an unusual range.

Name	Attribution	Commentary
MS 4.29, 163–4		
<i>Tá mé i mo chodladh ‘s ná dúisigh mé</i>	See Table 2 above	
MS 4.29, 171		

3.4.2 My Editorial Methodology

Here I will outline how I use my understanding of Bunting’s methodology to try to unearth historical harp-performance practice from his transcriptions as a basis for the recorded reconstructions presented in Part 2, and for my performing editions in Part 3.³⁴⁰

As I outlined earlier in this chapter, my reconstructions of O’Hampsay’s repertory lie within Practice-Research parameters. Specifically, they are based only on information contained in Bunting’s field transcriptions, eschewing any piano-arrangement sources. They are the manifestation of my analyses of the former, relating particularly to the functions and practices of O’Hampsay’s lower hand. Further, the overall playing techniques and aesthetic they display are a result of expert-practitioner work over decades, and what a replica instrument with O’Hampsay’s stringing regime and string pitches has taught me. My reconstructions also come from expert-practitioner positions in both vernacular-Irish music and period-European art music. I claim then a position of plausibility for my reconstructions, if no more than that.

³⁴⁰ I would like to acknowledge collaborative work, over eighteen years, at The Historical Harp Society of Ireland, to develop a methodology around Bunting’s field transcriptions and subsequent drafts. This has included my colleagues Ann Heymann, Sylvia Crawford, and Simon Chadwick. I am also grateful to my students for their questions, and their own insights in this regard, including Alessia Bianchi, Maura Uí Chróinín, Eibhlís Ní Ríordáin and James Ruff.

With regard to the notation of my reconstructions in written editions, Kuijken points out that '[a] well edited and clearly printed modern edition looks dangerously definitive and trustworthy; it seems to leave no room for doubt.'³⁴¹ He adds further that '[w]e should use...editions more as the beginning of our investigations into a piece than as the version that we strictly have to adhere to.'³⁴² I suggest therefore that ideally, a responsible user of my supplemental editions will also study the preceding MS source pages I attach, in order to come to a wider and more complete view of the compositions in question, and to come to their own conclusions, and to develop their own preferences. The editions given in this dissertation are no more than my own interpretations.

Sources and chronology

I first gathered the available Bunting sources for each composition, involving my own research, *Journal of the Irish Folk Song Society* (O'Sullivan 1927–39), its completion, *Bunting's Ancient Music of Ireland* (O'Sullivan and Ó Súilleabháin 1983), and/or *The Irish Music Manuscripts of Edward Bunting 1773-1843: An Introduction and Catalogue* (Moloney 2000). MS 4.29 is digitised online but Special Collections at Queen's University Belfast makes available a higher-resolution copy, and high-resolution images for pages of other relevant MSS, on request.³⁴³ I attempted to establish the nature of each source – field transcription vs subsequent draft vs piano arrangement, if all are extant – and a chronology. The field transcriptions, being the first drafts, are the least legible but correspondingly the least edited. Transcriptions may be partial, with only

³⁴¹ Kuijken 2013, 93

³⁴² Ibid., 94

³⁴³ 'Queen's University Belfast Digital Special Collections & Archives'. n.d. Accessed 26 April 2020. <http://digital-library.qub.ac.uk/digital/collection/p15979coll9/search>.

melodic note heads, or may be more data-rich displaying up to, and including, rhythms, bar lines, and lower-register notes. Second, and subsequent, drafts are neater and more legible but occasionally what was begun as a second draft becomes another attempt at transcription. This can be seen, for example, in the case of the second draft of *Cumha caoine an Albanaigh*.

Evaluating performance-practice-transmission reliability in drafts

My evaluation of levels of plausibility of historical performance-practice-transmission (or otherwise) in drafts, and within individual page palimpsests, is a critical part of my work to come to conclusions that inform my reconstructions of harp music made from Bunting sources. As an example, let us examine *Burn's march*. Nearly all editions and performances of the first, second and fourth episodes follow the MS 4.33.3 piano arrangement, which displays six treble gestures in each:



Figure 87. MS 4.33.3, 18, 19 *Burns's march*, extracts

But the field transcription consistently shows only four:³⁴⁴

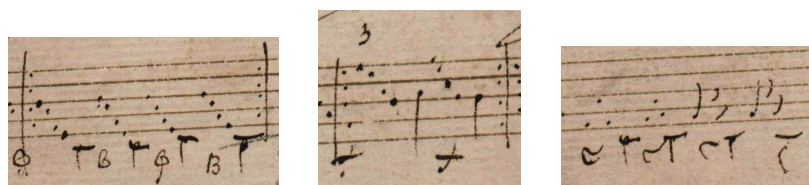


Figure 88. MS 4.29, 30 Burns's march, first, second and fourth episodes

The second MS draft, below, is consistent with this, for the first and second episodes:³⁴⁵



Figure 89. MS 4.29, 31 Burns's march, first and second episodes

Though the fourth episode is problematic in the second draft, showing a confused texture with five treble gestures in total, and an unusual inconsistency in the otherwise oscillating, lower-register octaves:



Figure 90. MS 4.29, 31 Burns's march, fourth episode

³⁴⁴ The '3', above the staff in episode 2, most likely indicates the number of repetitions of the first group of six notes in that episode, giving four gestures in total.

³⁴⁵ I contend that the missing group in the second episode is due only to lack of available space at the end of the staff.

But in the other episodes there is consistency between the first transcription and the second draft, which is not shared by the later, MS 4.33.3 piano arrangement. The balance of plausibility, therefore, would appear to lie not with the latter but with the more dependable initial transcription.

Seón Jones provides an example of a second draft's inconsistency with a previous note-head transcription. Once again, the balance of plausibility lies with the note-head transcription because the phrase in question is notated twice in the transcription, sharing internal consistency not emulated in the second draft:

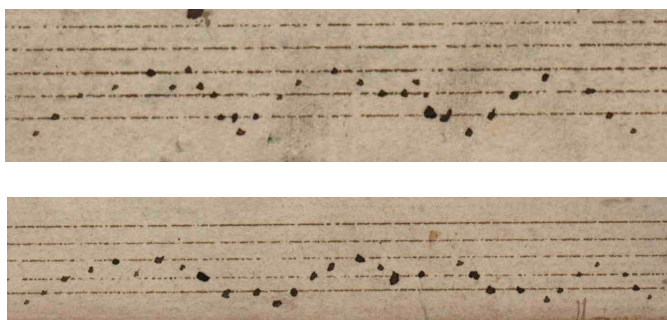


Figure 91. MS 4.29, 164 *Seón Jones*, extracts

Analysing a palimpsest

I attempt to understand the order in which Bunting made successive changes to a transcription page, and to gain an understanding of why he did so, evaluating whether these are indicative of his attempts to achieve notational accuracy or whether they reflect rather the effects of his training, and are therefore more likely to have been attempts to bend compositions to the orthodoxy of 'correct' European art-music norms. In his later drafts and piano arrangements – with publication in mind – Bunting altered the modality, metre and pulse of the music in order to make it more familiar and accessible to a keyboard-playing, and English-language-singing, public who would undoubtedly have been much less attracted by more *echt* versions of the music. But

earlier in the process, on live transcription pages, Bunting's layers of emendations can be for either of the reasons above.

With regard to establishing, and evaluating, the layers within a palimpsest, differences in writing media – ink vs pencil, for example, are useful markers in establishing a chronology. Different ink intensities may also suggest different rounds of attention. A lighter intensity, with thinner strokes, sometimes indicates the more speedy nature of an initial transcription. Inked strokes that are darker than the rest of the texture sometimes indicate amendments added in a second round. Whether these are *bone fide* attempts to improve notational accuracy or they represent the first layer of alteration may only be determined in context, if at all.

In the example beneath, some beams appear to be later additions whose function is to pacify the rhythm, in conjunction with revised bar lines and bar numbers in dark ink; these steps I consider editorial intervention:

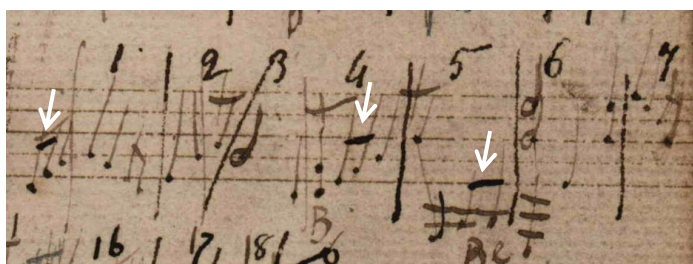


Figure 92. MS 4.29, 159 *Cumha caoine an Albanaigh*, extract

Pencil markings represent a later layer of attention to a transcription. Given that pencil is not permanent, it is possible that such additions were experimental; that their addition was a looking ahead to idiomatically European-art-music piano arrangements – Bunting sometimes used pencil to add snippets (or more) of European-art-music ‘bass’ notes, as can be seen in the following example:

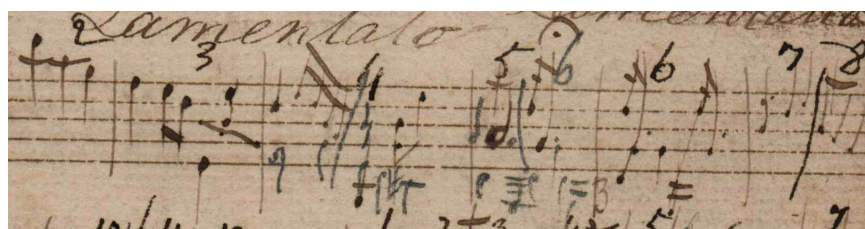


Figure 93. MS 4.29, 159 *Cumha caoine an Albanaigh*, extract

These harmonic – or even polyphonic – additions would suggest that they are unlikely to express original harp lower-hand texture; and so I generally discount them. An exception would be the following example, where the lower-register voice-leading just before the pencilled *g* at the end – *b* to *a* – lends credence to this added note. Further confidence is inspired by the *g'* to *g* octave between treble and the added lower note at the end: it mirrors the *a'* to *a* inked octave implied just before, and is, further, the most common idiomatic feature of early Irish harp texture:

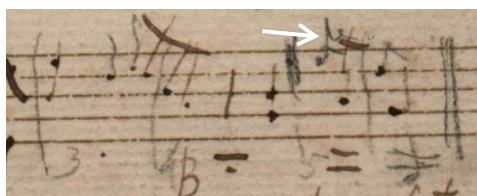


Figure 94. MS 4.29, 158 *Cumha caoine an Albanaigh*, extract

The above example, however, also shows an opposite case. The pencilled semiquaver *e''* initially seems plausible: rather than being completely novel, it changes only the positioning of – and adds rhythm to – the crossed-out note head of the same pitch directly before. It is also melodically consistent with the *d''* – *g'* fifth, following. But the second transcription attempt, below, indicates a longer *e''*, consistent with the crossed-out *e''* in the initial transcription. This encourages me further to discredit the pencilled version.

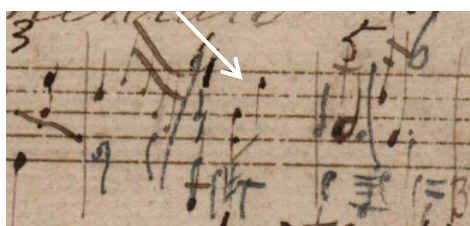


Figure 95. MS 4.29, 159 *Cumha caoine an Albanaigh*, extract

Metre and rhythm

Where the metre of a passage is problematic, I firstly discount pencilled bar lines, bar numbers and rhythmic suggestions. If it is still problematic, I discount darker – possibly earlier – inked bar lines, bar numbers and rhythmic amendments. But this method is not fool-proof: ink can further postdate pencil, as may be seen in the following example, making the secondary inked layer of addition perhaps less trustworthy than the pencilled layer. A pencilled bar line, between the digits 10 and 11, was crossed out in dark ink so the order here is likely to have been light ink – pencil – dark ink.

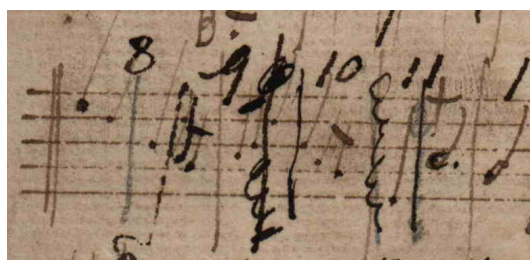


Figure 96. MS 4.29, 159 *Cumha caoine an Albanaigh*, extract

Bunting can often be seen to have pacified the rhythm in order to standardise it. This is the case in *Cumha caoine an Albanaigh*, where both notations involved subsequent alteration of rhythms and barring to give them a consistent triple metre despite O'Hampsay's advice to consider a duple possibility.

Clues from parallel passages may also help to fill in gaps in notational clarity. Textual clues, where present, can also assist: Bunting's 'don't forget common time / ay 1234 is the cut...' annotation on the first transcription of *Cumha caoine an Albanaigh* was very helpful to me in deciding not to give credence to Bunting's barring of the piece in a triple metre. The distance between note-head settings may perhaps also hint at note lengths but this is naturally rather tenuous.

Where pitches, rhythms or note underlay are unclear, ambiguous or unavailable in a field transcription, I have little choice but to consult the next draft in the chronology to see if that can throw any light on the issue or supply missing information. Also, in cases where more than one transcription survives these sometimes offer contradicting information, or a note-head transcription may differ from a subsequent, more data-rich transcription. But one must bear in mind that different versions may be equally valid: O'Hampsay may have played a passage one way one time, and slightly differently another, with regard to rhythm, ornamentation, and even pitches performed. Or the performance may have been ambiguous enough that Bunting notated it one way and then another.

3.5 Notation Paradigms

The supplementary editions in Chapter 8 are intended to be a conservative, 'light-touch' mediation of Bunting's field transcriptions with minimal additions to the textures but with copious technical information. These are didactic performing editions to educate the reader about the application of the techniques, and aesthetic, I use in my own praxis, arising from my Practice-Research approach to early Irish harp repertory of O'Hampsay's period. They use a new editorial notation system for early Irish harp that builds on, and advances, existing notation.

Over nearly a millennium, early Irish harpers – along with other Irish, European and indeed, Indo-European performers of instrumental music, epics and poetry³⁴⁶ – practised their traditions within a framework of orality and inherited tradition. Music in these living traditions did not need to be captured in written form.³⁴⁷ Modern didactic editions of reconstructed repertory for early Irish harp, however, may require editors to find ways to indicate

- the pre-placing of fingers on individual strings
- the simultaneous placing, or replacing, of fingers on individual strings while other strings are sounded and
- the damping of individual strings after they have been sounded

These techniques, used by the old harpers, were written about by Bunting and some were partially reproduced in individual fingerings in his ‘Graces’ and lower-register-practices charts.³⁴⁸ They were also remarked upon by him when describing

O’Hampsay’s playing: ‘His fingers lay over the strings in such a manner, that when he struck them with one finger, the other was instantly ready to stop the vibration...’³⁴⁹

³⁴⁶ For more on orality in Indo-European culture, and the study of oral traditions, see Lord, Albert B., and David F. Elmer. 2017. *The Singer of Tales*. Third edition. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.

³⁴⁷ Unless one wanted to play a prank on a fellow harper: one anecdote references the unusual twin attributes of sightedness and musical literacy in eighteenth-century harper, Cornelius Lyons, that he used to his advantage to play an amusing trick on his blind colleague, Turlough Carolan. See Milligan Fox 1911b, 161–62.

³⁴⁸ Bunting 1840, 24–27 See facsimiles of these in Chapter 1.7, 65–68.

³⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 73

3.5.1 Twentieth-Century String-Damping Notation

In this section I will describe previous attempts to codify, indicate and explain possibilities to indicate the damping of strings together with my own reactions to these, and my own solutions.

Carlos Salzedo

The pedal-harpist, composer, and influential teacher, Carlos Salzedo's seminal *L'Etude Moderne de la Harpe* appeared in 1921, outlining existing and new pedal-harp techniques, and Salzedo's newly developed notations to express the latter.³⁵⁰ In his string-damping section, he depicted and described the now ubiquitous, pedal-harp damping symbol, which he invented:

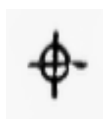


Figure 97. Salzedo 1921, 19

*To muffle the vibrations of the strings...the muffling is obtained by putting firmly the flat of the hand upon the strings...*³⁵¹

The old Irish harpers' damping technique was much more sophisticated, and specific, so this would not form a particularly useful part of an early-Irish-harp notation system.

For damping individual notes, Salzedo invented the following symbols – crotchets with a damping symbol attached, as an elongation of the note stem:

³⁵⁰ Salzedo, Carlos. 1921. *L'Etude Moderne de La Harpe (Modern Study of the Harp)*. New York: G. Schirmer, 19–20. http://v.mirror.imslp.org/files/imglnks/usimg/0/08/IMSLP166593-PMLP296867-SALZEDO_L%C3%A9tude_moderne_de_la_harpe.pdf My thanks to Dr Maria Cleary for bringing Salzedo's work in the area to my attention.

³⁵¹ Ibid., 19

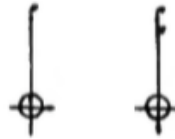


Figure 98. Salzedo 1921, 20

*To eliminate certain sounds when these sounds would conflict with other harmonies. These sounds must be muffled (with the fingers) instantaneously after having played the chord after which they are written.*³⁵²

Interestingly, he was open to the idea of specific – and different – fingers being used to damp strings previously played by others, in a manner reminiscent of Bunting’s description of O’Hampsay:



Figure 99. Salzedo 1921, 20

However, Salzedo wrote these symbols *after* the next notes to be played, and intended the damping of the previous notes to happen *after* the sounding of subsequent notes.

This diminishes the aural clarity the performer can achieve as they play, and is confusing. Elaine Gould’s authoritative 2016 guide to music notation did not advance matters but rather followed Salzedo exactly.³⁵³ Early-Irish-harping notation requires so

³⁵² Ibid., 20

³⁵³ Gould, Elaine. 2016. *Behind Bars: The Definitive Guide To Music Notation*. London: Faber Music Limited.

many damping indications that the use of a general damping symbol attached to each note to be damped would clutter the texture, and vastly inhibit legibility so Salzedo's is an undesirable option. The use of black note heads for damping indications would further reduce legibility. My transparent note heads are less easily mistaken for sounded pitches, and my system indicates, and executes, dampings *before* or simultaneously with subsequent notes. This makes for both a crisper aural texture, and less difficulty in understanding the system as one plays.

But I was intrigued to find that Salzedo also devised a system of showing specific fingers damping individual notes, while other fingers strike following notes. This is not unlike that used by editors of music for harps with wire strings, over the last thirty years:



Figure 100. Salzedo 1921, 19

However, I find his system confusing and difficult to process because of the lack of any visual connection between damping fingerings and the strings to which they refer, allied to the fact that each is displayed under the *following* sounded note. In addition, the sounded-notes fingerings are somewhat obscured by being placed on the stave itself. My new notation system depicts the damping fingerings displayed in close proximity to my transparent note heads, and on a separate side of the stave to the prepared- and

sounded-note fingerings. Both my sets of fingerings are displayed clearly, neither of them placed on the stave.

Salzedo depicted a more specific damping indication for a group of notes:



Figure 101. Salzedo 1921, 20

With the flat of the hand, muffle simultaneously the given notes and all those in between.³⁵⁴

This notation is more appropriate to larger, less specific groups of pitches than the idiomatic groups that need damping in early-Irish-harp performance practice. Placing or damping more specific groups – often four neighbouring notes – I find integral to my early-Irish-harp technique. While my groups of four might conceivably be depicted in this Salzadian manner, I prefer to indicate each exact pitch with the associated fingering, so that it is clear to the performer what is required of them.

Salzedo additionally suggested arrows to point to individual notes needing damping but this option quickly clutters an edition and may tire the performer's eye:



Figure 102. Salzedo 1921, 20, extracts

³⁵⁴ Ibid., 20

My editions attempt to indicate precise time-frames for damping, indicating specifically when notes are damped, whether exactly as following notes are struck, or earlier. The latter I indicate by situating the damping indication in the texture at precisely the moment I consider that it could be damped. I also show this by indicating a rest (where appropriate) in the texture, with damping indications marked in the score near the rest sign.

Ann Heymann

Ann Heymann pioneered notation for early Irish harp in the first didactic publication for early Irish harp, published in 1989.³⁵⁵ Her ‘vertical’ system was designed to show what fingers were placed or striking strings or damping at any particular moment.



Figure 103. *Heymann 1989, 68, extract*
Image Courtesy of Ann Heymann

Heymann used transparent, red note heads for pre-placed, and damped, pitches, and situated the fingering indications above, and beneath, the relevant notes, using a stacked

³⁵⁵ Heymann 1989

system to show which fingers were pre-placed, striking, damping or remaining in position, at any given moment. This ground-breaking system had a lot to recommend it, being precise and clear if the music was not too dense. Its limitations become clearer in a richer texture, where the verticality of the small note clusters made for a crowded texture, less easy to decipher at speed:³⁵⁶



Figure 104. Heymann 1989, 114, extract
Image Courtesy of Ann Heymann

In her 1998 slimmed-down replacement for this publication, Heymann abandoned her two-colour system in a variant of what she used in the original:³⁵⁷

³⁵⁶ Heymann has always emphasised that her systems are not intended for sight-reading: ‘...there is too much information to take in at one time.’ Heymann 1989, 6

³⁵⁷ Due to publishing expense. Personal communication c. 2005. Heymann 1998



Figure 105. Heymann 1998, 25
Image Courtesy of Ann Heymann

3.5.2 More Recent Notation Paradigms

A new system was presented, at the turn of the century, by Cynthia Cathcart, Bill

Taylor, and later, others, which can be seen in Cynthia Cathcart's 2001 publication.³⁵⁸

³⁵⁸ Cathcart, Cynthia. 2001. *From My Music Stand: Arrangements for the Wire-Strung Harp*. Maryland: Highland Circle Publishing.



Figure 106. *Cathcart 2001, 17*
Image Courtesy of Cynthia Cathcart

The strings to be damped are indicated by an *X* symbol on the relevant pitch on the staff. Damping fingerings appeared in parentheses alongside main note fingerings, in the same line. A weakness of this new style was that it gave no indication of which groups of fingers, if any, were to be simultaneously placed on – or kept on – strings. A further problem is that it is not always instantly apparent which pitch is indicated by an *X* since the symbol lacks body and solidity. Cathcart's system can also be seen not yet to have been mature at this point: some damping symbols lay vertically aligned with the next note to be struck, some before, and some after. This also affected the relative positioning of the fingerings in parentheses. Ten years later, it was the standard notation used by many in the field who produced printed or hand-written didactic materials and

editions, including me,³⁵⁹ and was chosen by Barnaby Brown and Bill Taylor for their 2012 publication.³⁶⁰

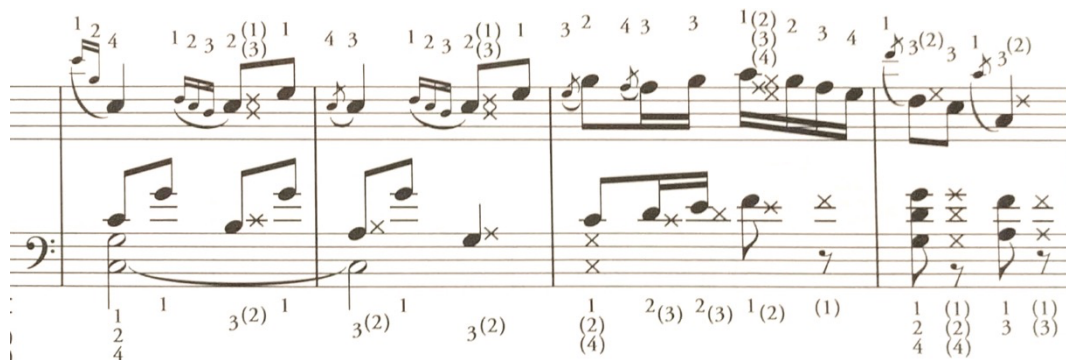


Figure 107. *Brown and Taylor, 2012, 17*
Image Courtesy of Barnaby Brown

By 2007, Cathcart was also using occasional, pre-placed-finger guides in her editions, using diamond-head notes. On single-stave pieces, stems are added to indicate the hand to be used. These are less problematic in the following example, at the start of the piece – particularly with the addition of the ‘placement guide’ annotation – but they could be somewhat confusing by having such similarity to notes to be performed.³⁶¹

³⁵⁹ Others included Bill Taylor, in Scotland, and Javier Sáinz in Spain.

³⁶⁰ Brown, Barnaby, and William Taylor, eds. 2012. *An Introduction to Playing the Wire Strung Harp—a DVD & Music Book of Lessons with Ann Heymann, Javier Sáinz & Bill Taylor*. Glasgow: Siubhal.

³⁶¹ Cathcart, Cynthia. 2007. ‘Ringing Strings’. *The Folk Harp Journal*, Ringing Strings, 135 (2): 38.

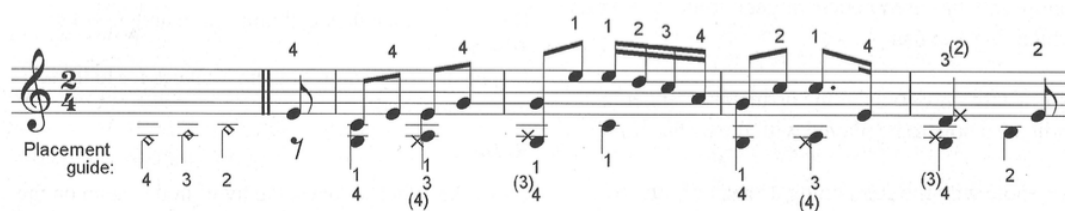


Figure 108. *Cathcart 2007, 38*
Image Courtesy of Cynthia Cathcart

Cathcart also borrows symbols from the Welsh Robert ap Huw MS to indicate specific fingering patterns, and uses an X symbol to denote the crossing over of fingers:³⁶²



Figure 109. *Cathcart fingering-symbol examples*
Images Courtesy of Cynthia Cathcart

The use of symbols can certainly cut down on complexity in editions (as do trills, mordents etc. in European art music) but they require familiarity with the relevant rubrics. I would also hesitate to use Robert ap Huw symbols in my editions of Gaelic harp music since the Welsh fingerings they signify are from another harp tradition, and do not readily correspond to the Irish fingerings contained in Bunting's 'Graces' charts.

Simon Chadwick's 2011 publication still used a variant of Heymann's 1998 system³⁶³ and – on the companion web pages to his 2017 publication – Heymann's coloured system to show complex finger-striking, damping, and rest strokes. This resulted in the

³⁶² ap Huw Early 17th century

³⁶³ Chadwick 2011a

same weakness that Heymann's system had earlier displayed, when the complexity of what was required rose too high: a somewhat crowded, claustrophobic texture:

Quin's Burns's March

based on the draft notation (ms 3 (1) p. 61-3) written c. 1800 by Edward Bunting from the playing of County Armagh harper, Patrick Quin. Transcribed, transposed down one note and marked up with fingerings by Simon Chadwick May 2017

The image shows a handwritten musical score for 'Quin's Burns's March'. The score is written on a five-line staff with a treble clef. The music consists of a series of eighth and sixteenth notes, some beamed together. Above the staff, there are numerous red markings, including numbers in parentheses (e.g., (1), (2), (3), (4)) and numbers without parentheses (e.g., 2, 3, 4), which appear to be fingerings or performance instructions. Below the staff, there are also red markings, including numbers in parentheses and numbers without parentheses, some of which are grouped together. The overall appearance is that of a working draft or a score with extensive performance annotations.

Figure 110. Chadwick 2017, Burns's march
Image Courtesy of Simon Chadwick

3.5.3 My New Notation to Express Performance Practice

This dissertation proposes, and uses, a new editorial notation system for early Irish harp.³⁶⁴ It builds on, and advances, existing notation. It borrows an aspect of notation originally devised for European pedal-harp music, and already in use for modern Irish harp editions for over thirty years: square brackets to indicate simultaneous placing of groups of notes. It incorporates new features I have created to help present, in the clearest way possible, the many complexities and subtleties of simultaneous finger placing, string sounding and/or string damping. The development of my new system is also informed by my formative years' training in modern-Irish harp and pedal harp, and

³⁶⁴ Since 2016, I have been experimenting, testing my new notation system with those I coach, and refining it to that presented in this work. It may be further refined in the future, but it has now remained stable for several years.

my knowledge and experience of players' editions of the last twenty-five years for harps with wire strings.

This new system comes out of the authenticity of my embodied knowledge, after several decades of reconstructing Irish harp repertory and playing techniques within a Practice-Research framework. My aim with the new system is to find a balance between the articulation of a large amount of complex information without discouraging the reader by offering a texture that is off-puttingly cluttered.

The development of such a system is critical to perceiving, thinking about, and performing the music in new ways; my development of it has speeded up the ability of new players I coach to understand and utilise subtle techniques necessary to perform the historical repertory of the early Irish harp.

Transparent Note Heads

I found the *X* symbols previously used to indicate specific, pre-placed or damped pitches too undefined and unclear, particularly when read at speed. I went back to Ann Heymann's transparent note heads from her 1989 publication but without using her original two-colour system.

Lateral positioning of groups of note heads

Where I indicate simultaneously pre-placed fingers – or several strings to be damped simultaneously – I spread the neighbouring transparent note heads horizontally, which I find greatly aids clarity and legibility.³⁶⁵ These groups may be indicated before or after struck notes, or placed to either side of them, depending on the context. In all these

³⁶⁵ The exception is where I indicate two or more, non-neighbouring notes to be damped simultaneously at a point where no pitches are sounded. In this case, I consider it unconfusing to the reader to see them stacked.

cases, the horizontality of the groups is novel and – I would suggest – an improvement on previous systems.³⁶⁶

Repositioning of note heads

For several years, I indicated damped notes *after* the following note, in the manner of Barnaby Brown's 2012 publication, and reminiscent of Salzedo. But I realised that it was much quicker for the reader to process them if they were placed *before* the next note, as they most often simply replicated the preceding sounded pitch. It was only when undertaking a literature review for this chapter that I saw that harpist, Cynthia Cathcart, had occasionally used such a system in her 2001 publication as had Ann Heymann in 1998.³⁶⁷

Fingering Indications

I wanted to declutter fingering indications, which have been so problematic in all previous systems. Having both the striking and damping fingerings presented together above the treble – and beneath the bass – staves is highly undesirable as it presents a cluttered, difficult-to-process texture. I solved this by separating the two. I indicate pre-placed fingers alongside the main fingering above the treble stave or beneath the bass stave, as appropriate. I separate out the damping fingerings, moving these to beneath the treble stave or above the bass stave, as appropriate. This vastly reduces the difficulty of recognising, and reacting appropriately to, the different functionality of indicated fingerings. It also allows attention to be allocated to the fingerings for sounded strings

³⁶⁶ Practice Research is currently being carried out by Sylvia Crawford on plausible historical fingering, placing, and damping for early Irish harping, based on the surviving three of the first four historical didactic pieces. My understanding of her preliminary results is that 'anchor' positions, with four fingers placed simultaneously, may have been ubiquitous. This concurs with my own position.

³⁶⁷ My exception is where there is not enough room to indicate the damping of a note directly before the next sounded note: between a grace note and a main note, for example.

first, with additional attention given to damping as time and attentive ability permit.

This innovation also allows for a much better positioning of damping fingerings: in close proximity to the relevant pitches.

Such a clarification of the texture also led to an unexpected advantage: it makes early-Irish-harp editions notated in this way more accessible to performers on other (gut- and nylon-strung) harps. If such performers feel they have no need to damp as much as an early Irish harpist, they can now more easily ignore that level of information.

Fingering typefaces

To help clarify the different purposes of finger placings, I depict the fingerings for sounded notes in bigger, bold typeface and use smaller, unbold italics for all others.

Rest strokes

I indicate rest strokes with a **1** – *I* indication. The thumb sounds the relevant string, playing ‘through’ it and coming to rest on – and damping – the lower, neighbouring string.

Substitutionary fingers

In 2019, Sylvia Crawford first presented her new methodology of using substitutionary fingers on early Irish harp as a means of finding one’s way around the instrument without visual orientation, since many vernacular Irish harpers were blind.³⁶⁸ This involves one finger replacing another on the same string, to assist a non-visual transition

³⁶⁸ ‘Approaches to early Irish harp fingering’, a workshop given at Scoil na gCláirseach–Festival of Early Irish Harp, 15 August 2019.

to a new hand position. Cynthia Cathcart had previously begun to explore related ideas in a 2013 article.³⁶⁹



Example 6: The 2nd finger is our first anchor. The thumb reaches a fifth from the anchor (as we practiced it in example two above). The star symbol marks where the thumb has become a new anchor. The thumb maintains that anchor as the 2nd finger re-locates next to it, with a contraction of the hand.

Figure 111. Cathcart 2013, 38
Image Courtesy of Cynthia Cathcart

In European keyboard contexts, there is ample historical precedent for substitutionary fingers: Francois Couperin mentioned finger substitutions in 1716, and C.P.E Bach in 1753 stated that for his father the thumb was the ‘chief finger’ and advocated using the thumb to orientate hand position shifts.³⁷⁰ In my editions presented here, I follow what I currently understand of Crawford’s ideas, primarily for the lower-register hand.

Placing Brackets

I have introduced the square placing-bracket of European pedal-harp notation (and now, modern-Irish-harp notation) into early-Irish-harp notation as an alternate system to my transparent note heads for indicating pre-placed fingers. Depending on the context, one system is usually clearer than the other though sometimes the use of one over the other is merely preference, where either would function well.

³⁶⁹ Cathcart 2013

³⁷⁰ Couperin, François. 1716. *L’Art de Toucher Le Clavecin*. Paris: Francois Couperin, and Bach, C.P.E. 1753–1762. *Versuch Über Die Wahre Art Das Clavier Zu Spielen Mit Exempeln Und Achtzehn Probe-Stücken in Sechs Sonaten*. Berlin. Quoted in Lawson and Stowell 2018, 230.

Commas

Another innovation I have introduced – which feedback from users of my editions would suggest is inversely useful to its size on the page – is that of placing commas above the treble (or beneath the bass) stave to indicate when all fingers leave all strings in order for a new position to be adopted. Even more importantly, commas help the performer to understand that finger positions remain broadly unchanged *until* the appearance of a new comma. This is significant because it removes uncertainty in an area difficult to depict on an early Irish harp score: how long the anchoring, pre-placed fingers – or those used to damp in any given passage – stay in position before being released again. Heymann’s system made a highly innovative effort to show this by use of red dots, and later, asterisks. No other system, subsequently, has tried to do so, as the subtleties of indicating this are probably beyond reasonably legible notation. Informal feedback suggests that there is also a useful psychological advantage lent by my use of commas: a performer can ‘relax’ into a position somewhat until the next comma indicates a change of hand position.

Comhluighe-String Delineation

Given that there is a choice to be made which of the unison *comhluighe* *g* strings is to be placed or struck in any given passage that contains a *g*, I have introduced the novelty of stipulating which one I intend to be struck, using the abbreviations *LC* [‘lower *comhluighe*’] for the longer of the two strings and *UC* [‘upper *comhluighe*’] for the shorter.

Bar Lines

Though many of Bunting’s field transcriptions lack some or all bar lines, six of the eight pieces in my microstudy fit well within a barred structure with defined metre; two do not. Bunting exceptionally produced a MS piano arrangement of the *féachain gléis*

without recourse to bar lines, representing the less metrical nature of the composition. The other piece that I found did not lend itself well to a defined metre and barred structure was *Tá mé i mo chodladh 's ná dúisigh mé*. Though clearly in a triple metre, some of the longer, more melismatic phrases benefit from an absence of bar lines, the latter inevitably implying, to some degree, agogic accents on the first beat of each proposed bar. My eschewing a defined time signature, and my use of an irregular bar structure in my edition, is designed to encourage the subtlety of phrasing that one hears in stylish playing of vernacular Irish slow airs.

Voice-leading Indications

So far, I have mentioned the deliberate, selective damping of the early Irish harp's resonance. But choices may also be made in the opposite direction: allowing strings to ring in order to create consonance or dissonance with other sounding pitches. Whilst it is impossible to indicate all resonance resulting from damping / non-damping decisions, my editions go some way toward that aim by indicating different voice-leading created by the particularly resonant lower-register pitches that are not damped.

Towards a Methodology of Early-Irish-Harp Fingering

I will comment briefly here on my editions' fingerings to explain the background to my methodology, and my rationale.

The only concrete evidence that exists about early-Irish-harp fingering comes from Bunting's 'Graces' tables, which indicate the use of thumb and three fingers on either hand. An important performance-practice question that arises in this context is which fingers in early Irish harping were considered strong, and which weak, or whether the complexities of damping meant that fingerings tended to be more practical than ideological. Bunting's 'Graces' chart is unclear on the matter though some of the examples for the fingerings of each ornament that he depicts may suggest that the

second and fourth fingers followed older, continental convention wherein ~~that~~ the index and fourth finger were ‘strong’, and the third and thumb ‘weak’. The example, underneath, shows a 4–3–2 fingering ascending for triplets that arguably have the accent on the first note of each: ³⁷¹

GRACES PERFORMED BY THE TREBLE OR LEFT HAND.—Continued.

NAMES IN IRISH CHARACTERS.	NAMES IN ENGLISH CHARACTERS.	TRANSLATION.	MUSICAL EXAMPLES.
BUALLADH SUAS NO SUASERIGH, ^a . . . }	Bualladh suas no suaserigh, . }	Succession of trip- lets,	

Figure 112. Bunting 1840, 25, extract

The next example, beneath, depicts a 3–2–4–2 fingering for an ornament that arguably has an accented final note:

BARLUITH BEAL AN- AIRDE, ^c }	Barluith-beal-an- airdhe, . . .	{ Activity of finger ends, striking up- wards, . . .	
--	------------------------------------	--	--

Figure 113. Bunting 1840, 25, extract

It may also be useful here to discuss the wider European context. The earliest European keyboard fingerings can be seen in the German composer, Hans Buchner’s *Fundamentum* (1551 but probably written in the 1520s). Lawson and Stowell suggest that it is Buchner who outlined for the first time the concept of index and fourth fingers

³⁷¹ Bunting’s fingering system uses a cross for the thumb, with ‘1’, ‘2’ and ‘3’ referring to the index, middle, and ring fingers respectively. Modern convention for harp music is to use 1 to 4 for thumb to ring finger, respectively.

being ‘good’, i.e. strong fingers used on strong beats.³⁷² An organ treatise by Girolamo Diruta indicated that, in sixteenth-century Italy, index and fourth fingers were still ‘good’ but his disapproval of the newer idea of the middle finger taking over the role of ‘good’ finger indicates that fingering concepts were in flux.³⁷³ According to Lawson and Stowell, in the later seventeenth century the ‘good’ index and fourth fingers had given way to the ‘good’ middle finger, especially in the treble hand.

The only harp fingerings surviving from European sources are those from seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Spain and Portugal. These indicate that the thumb and middle finger were the strong fingers, at that point, in the Iberian peninsula.³⁷⁴

I am currently working with the older European orientation of index and fourth being the strong fingers used on strong notes³⁷⁵ unless the complexities of pre-placing and damping require me to find more immediately practical solutions.

Ornament fingerings

My ornament fingerings are mainly modelled on fingerings suggested in Bunting’s ‘Graces’ tables and – where gaps in information occur in this – also on one or two of those contained in the Welsh *Robert ap Huw* harp manuscript, which has some related formulae.³⁷⁶ At other times, my fingering is less theoretical than practical, fitting in as ergonomically as possible with the finger placements on notes which precede or follow

³⁷² Lawson and Stowell 2018, 228

³⁷³ Ibid. Diruta, Girolamo. 1597. *Il Transilvano: Dialogo Sopra Il Vero Modo Di Sonar Organi, et Istromenti Da Penna...Opera Nuovament Ritrovata*. Venice: Alessandro Vincenti.

³⁷⁴ See Ribayaz, Lucas Ruiz de. 1677. *Luz y Norte Para Caminar Por Las Cifras de La Guitarra Espanola, y Arpa, Taner, y Cantar a Compas Por Canto de Organo...* Madrid, and Huete, Diego Fernandez de. 1702. *Compendio Numeroso de Zifras Armonicas, Con Theorica, y Practica, Para Harpa de Una Orden, de Dos Ordenes, y de Organo...* Madrid.

³⁷⁵ This approach was first suggested at what was then called Scoil na gCláirseach–Summer School of Early Irish Harp by Andrew Lawrence-King and, more recently, by Sylvia Crawford.

³⁷⁶ ap Huw Early 17th century

the ornament, within a Practice-Research framework. Since Bunting's three ornament signs (+, *t* and *tr*) are ambiguous – as these common ornament signs ubiquitously are, over centuries, and in different geographical areas – my performance-practice suggestions are also accompanied by the original symbols in parentheses for the reader to ponder themselves with a view to substituting their own preferences.

3.6 Mini-Conclusion / Reflection

My research is not just a goal in itself but, since a knowledge of early-Irish-harp performance practice is still largely in its infancy, it aims further: to suggest methods of study, analysis and creative production to lead towards greater understanding and enhanced Practice Research in the field of historical Irish harping.

My research cannot, however, be definitive or complete. Since it involves praxis, it is inevitably creative, with a filling in of gaps using embodied performance-practice knowledge of the kind outlined earlier in this chapter. As an artist, I do not stand outside my research topic and my work cannot be entirely objective. Michael Polanyi contended that, even in the exact sciences, complete objectivity is 'a delusion and is in fact a false ideal.' Rather, he suggested insightfully that '[i]nto every act of knowing there enters a passionate contribution of the person knowing what is being known and that this coefficient is no mere imperfection but a vital component of his knowledge.'³⁷⁷

However, as an expert-practitioner on many historical harps with a grounding in vernacular Irish language and music, playing a copy of O'Hampsay's own instrument, the cognitive and creative decision-making processes I use in working with repertory

³⁷⁷ Quoted in Grant, K. A. 2007. 'Tacit Knowledge Revisited – We Can Still Learn from Polanyi'. *The Electronic Journal of Knowledge Management* 5 (2): 175.

from IRLN-Bu Special Collections MS 4.29 situate me in a more secure and informed position with regard to discussion, and reconstruction, of this repertory than other non-practising researchers in the field to date. My expert ‘signature practices’³⁷⁸ processes involve ‘expert intuition’ hand-in-hand with a deliberative process of reasoning and reflection ‘on the basis of an expert understanding of the codes and production values specific to the...genre in general and to [my] own work and unique signature...’³⁷⁹ My embodied expertise makes my work singular-but my Practice Research is also informed by interaction with – and feedback from – my peer group, and would not be possible without the current, and previous, work of those who have researched and performed in this area before me, or who do so now, in parallel with me.

My informed interaction with field transcriptions taken from an historical Irish harper, leading to reconstruction and performance of chosen repertory on a replica of an appropriate instrument, using historical playing techniques together with the embodied performance knowledge of the experienced practice-based researcher – all these contribute to create Bangert et al’s (2014) ‘spiral model’ of intuitive and deliberate processes, leading to new and ‘rich’ knowledge in the field. This in turn, enables an increasingly visible cultural lacuna to be partially refilled.

I suggest new ways, new language and new notation to accommodate, and encourage, improved reconstruction of early Irish harp performance practice. The new knowledge I can bring to the fore is threefold:

³⁷⁸ Bangert, Schubert, and Fabian 2014 quoted in Melrose and Sachsenmeier 2019.

³⁷⁹ Melrose and Sachsenmeier 2019, 14

- a new recognition, and systematic categorisation, of the roles of what I no longer call the ‘bass’ hand but rather the ‘lower’ or ‘reinforcing’ hand;
- use of that evidence in the reconstruction of repertory notated directly from the most significant Irish harper still alive in the 1790s, played on a replica of his harp;
- a refined notation system for early Irish harp, drawing on Ann Heymann’s earlier work, combined with additional and novel features, which expresses many of the subtleties of my expert technique after twenty-five years of Practice Research.

Phillip Auslander posed an important question that is of relevance here: ‘it is worth considering whether performance recreations based on documentation actually recreate the underlying performances or perform the documentation.’³⁸⁰ I suggest that the activity of embodying the research through practical application encourages a more plausible, and complete re-imagining, of a defunct tradition, with the possibility that some of it may actually be recreating – or at least approaching – historical performance practice: working from ambiguous, incomplete, historical transcriptions up to reconstructed performance that is also supplementally articulated in performing editions, which define, and articulate, as much praxis information as might reasonably be taken on board by an informed reader. Elizabeth Kenny encapsulates the wider concept in her reference to playing reconstructions of old instruments: it ‘does not guarantee the truth of our imagining of a lost world, but it does stimulate imaginative possibilities that lie beyond our own habits.’³⁸¹

³⁸⁰ Auslander, Philip. 2006. ‘The Performativity of Performance Documentation’. *PAJ: A Journal of Performance and Art* 28 (3): 2.

³⁸¹ Kenny, Elizabeth. 2019. *Ars Longa: Old and New Music for Theorbo*. Linn Records CKD603, 13.

Chapter 4

Dennis O’Hampsay’s Lower-Hand Practices and Functions: Analysis and Classification

4.1 Introduction

This chapter first touches on bass idioms to be found in modern Irish harp arrangements of historical Irish harp repertory, and their antecedents in eighteenth-century-European pedal-harp and keyboard practices, and addresses how language can adversely shape perceptions of historical practices that differ from these. Here I suggest new nomenclature I find more appropriate. This is followed by a presentation of the evidence of a distinct, vernacular Irish idiom, unrelated to modern-Irish-harp / historical European-art-music practices, in the form of an analysis, and categorisation, of the practices and functions of Dennis O’Hampsay’s lower or reinforcing hand. Importantly, this is based only on field transcriptions rather than on any later drafts or piano arrangements.

The evidence will show that the main role of O’Hampsay’s lower hand was to reinforce, and shadow, the treble hand. The hands also occasionally reversed roles, the lower hand taking over the performance of melody from the treble hand, which, at those points, assumed a more subservient, decorative role. Richer textures are sometimes seen in O’Hampsay’s lower-register practices, but what is distinctly absent is a European-art-music idiom with its concomitant independent, continuous bass lines moving contrapuntally with the melody. Nor does O’Hampsay’s idiom display any evidence of more vertical functional harmony or the metrically-arpeggiated bass-hand chords of late

eighteenth-century European pedal-harp music. Rather, it is clear that O’Hampsay’s lower hand generally moved in parallel with the treble hand.

4.2 Modern-Irish-Harp Bass Idioms

The continuous bass lines of modern-Irish-harp accompaniments for historical Irish harp repertory follow European-art-music practice. Such basses are readily apparent in surviving continental harp music from the late-sixteenth- and early seventeenth centuries.³⁸² Since Bunting was transcribing music from eighteenth-century harpers in northern Europe, one might imagine – in the absence of any evidence to the contrary – that these Irish harpers also played independent, continuous bass lines, using functional harmony. A well-informed reader might go further, imagining, more specifically, a keyboard or pedal-harp bass of the eighteenth century (and later), involving the idiomatic, rhythmic arpeggiation seen in the following example:

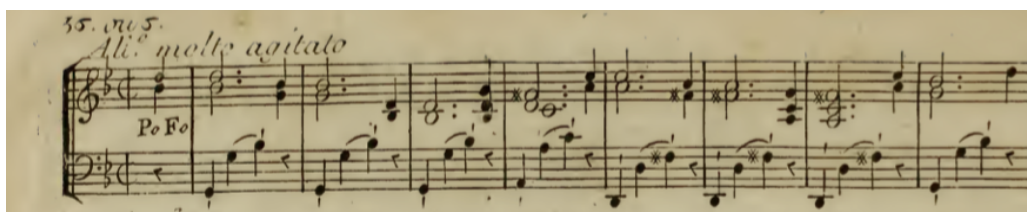


Figure 114. *J. B. Krumpholtz c. 1788, 36, extract*

This idiom is still found in twenty-first-century arrangements of historical Irish harp music as is the universal use of continuous bass lines based on functional harmony. The following extract displays such a chordal accompaniment idiom:

³⁸² See, for example, de Cabeçon and de Cabeçon 1578, and other repertory from Spain, where the harp was one of the three most important instruments – alongside keyboards and vihuela – from the sixteenth- to the eighteenth century.



Figure 115. Hambly 2003, 2:37 *Carolan's Kitty Magennis*, extract
Image Courtesy of Gráinne Hambly

Some arrangers, however, use a more contrapuntal texture:



Figure 116. Loughnane 2009, 31 *Éirighe an Lae*, extract
Image Courtesy of Kathleen Loughnane

A similar approach is evident in Bunting's earliest publication of Irish harp music in 1797, and in his MSS 4.33.3 & 4.33.2 settings, completed by 1798. As I have pointed out in Chapter 2, previous researchers have mistakenly believed these piano arrangements to be examples of *echt* historical harp-performance practice. The idiom of the mid-eighteenth-century publication of Turlough Carolan arrangements associated with his son may also be situated alongside these.³⁸³

³⁸³ Carolan, Turlough. post 1742. *IRL-Dn LO 1635 Compositions of Carolan*. National Library of Ireland. See Chapter 5.4.1, 294 to view a page-extract image.

4.3 Vernacular Irish-Harp Lower Register

A vernacular Irish harper used both hands, performing mainly melodic material in the treble register with his or her left hand, the harp resting on their left shoulder, with their right hand evidently playing in a lower register. This is clear from the many surviving early Irish harps that show wear marks in distinct registers for each hand: higher up for the treble hand and lower down for the other.³⁸⁴ Bunting's 1840 'Graces' tables indicated three- and four-note shapes that the lower hand played, of a kind also found in the *féachain gléis*.³⁸⁵ There is even an instance of an Irish harper referencing his harp 'bases'. In a letter of 1791, the harper, Echlin Ó Catháin, is reported to have remarked of someone who copied his performance on the piano that "she had just produced his own Bases, just as they were handed down by the famous Caroline – the Correllie of the Irish Harpers."³⁸⁶ I would argue that our understanding of historical performance practice is obscured by the harper's own use of the term 'bases'. The idiom of one of the eighteenth century's most European-influenced harpers, Turlough Carolan, as I will show in Chapter 5, would appear not to have had a bass in the manner that European art musicians would understand it. And Bunting's end-of-century field transcriptions from O'Hampsay show that the role of his lower hand was not that of playing continuous, harmonic bass lines. O'Hampsay's lower-register idiom is not analogous to that of an eighteenth-century European pedal-harpist or keyboard player. I suggest that Ó Catháin's 'basses' are also not likely to be comparable with those of eighteenth-century

³⁸⁴ See Loomis 2010b. Edward Bunting did refer to a technique whereby the lower hand occasionally crossed over the treble hand to play some notes in that register – *malairt phonc* (Bunting 1840, 27) – but I have not found examples of this in the field transcriptions.

³⁸⁵ Bunting 1840, 26–27

³⁸⁶ From a letter between Lachlan MacTavish of Dunardry and Sir James Campbell of Inverneil, surviving in Argyle County Archive. See Sanger, Keith. 2014. 'Echlin O'Cathain, Clarsair'. WireStrungHarp.Com.

– and later – European art music, and that it is unsafe to make that assumption, his own nomenclature notwithstanding. Edward Bunting, situated as he was within European art music, also made reference to ‘harp basses’, and annotated lower-register notes with the letter ‘B’ for ‘bass’. Nevertheless, any mention of ‘bass’ risks the reader imagining a European-art-music bass or indeed a bass line familiar from any number of musical genres, i.e. independent of the melody, and separate in function, providing an underlying support structure and harmonic basis; omnipresent, horizontal and linear. The evidence I outline in this dissertation does not support the existence of such a texture in vernacular Irish harping.

4.4 The Effect of Nomenclature On Perception And Action

Nomenclature choices have profound implications on perception, understanding, expectation and action. How we refer to concepts determines how we can think about them; thinking, in turn, has a profound impact, for example, on contemporary reconstruction of lost practices, and their execution. A foundational aim of this dissertation is to change some of the language that is used to describe historical performance practice for the early Irish harp. Specifically, I now avoid using the terms ‘bass’, ‘bass hand’ and ‘bass register’ since I now consider these terms problematic and misleading. They hinder perception and understanding of the new knowledge that this dissertation brings to the fore. I recognise that it is not enough that I show that an independent, continuous, harmonic bass was not the reality in vernacular Irish harp music. It is insufficient that I suggest what actual forms historical practice took by categorizing and presenting historical performance-practice evidence. It is not enough to reconstruct the music, and to provide editions that are situated within this new understanding. An integral part of my work should also be that I enable my contribution to knowledge to be better understood, and to take hold, and this I do by confronting the

language that has been used in the field so far in academic and didactic discourse. In doing so, I aim to have a proactive effect on knowledge consciousness: new nomenclature is needed to help deliver the practice that I describe and categorise. References to ‘bass’ help to perpetuate the misapprehension that Irish-harp lower-register textures mirror European art-music basses. In using such language, I would be offering my readers an impediment, encouraging misunderstanding by using unhelpfully loaded language that implies particular textures where, in my view, none existed. Within an area of early-music performance practice in the foothills of being reconstructed, this particularly affects new players: how efficiently they can receive this new information, understand it, and use it. My intention, therefore, is to have a proactive effect on knowledge consciousness in colleagues, students, and the wider community of early Irish harpists. Further, it is important that the new nomenclature expresses the historical reality on its own terms rather than using inappropriate language – ‘bass’ / ‘bass line’ / ‘bass hand’ – terms that not only fail to describe adequately most of vernacular practice but whose baggage actively blocks an understanding of the practices I will describe.

4.4.1 New Language To Enable A New Perspective

I write instead of the ‘lower register’, and of the harper’s right hand as their ‘lower’ or ‘reinforcing’ hand. I find it more appropriate to my purposes to introduce these two terms, one more neutral – ‘lower’ – and one more active – ‘reinforcing’ – to allow myself the necessary flexibility to outline the different functions of that hand. The treble hand usually has the more important role, being primarily responsible for melody. This

is not to say that the lower hand is never involved in melodic production³⁸⁷ but the evidence I will now present shows that its primary role was to bolster and to reinforce the intentions of the treble hand rather than providing an independent contrapuntal voice. So I offer the terms ‘lower hand’ and ‘reinforcing hand’ as language commensurate with the acts evidenced in the MS 4.29 field transcriptions, the first a more neutral term, and the second a more active one.

4.5 Dennis O’Hampsay’s Lower-Hand Practices And Functions: Analysis and Classification

I divide O’Hampsay’s lower-register texture into three main categories, with subdivisions. Firstly, I examine the most common lower-register textures of his to survive: those that occur during moments of treble inactivity. Secondly, I look at the lower hand’s role in melodic production. Finally, I address different kinds of melodic reinforcement that occur simultaneously with the treble register.

4.5.1 Lower-Hand Texture During Treble Inactivity

There are several different kinds of lower-hand texture to be found in moments of treble inactivity. I do not equate treble inactivity with silence as this is very often not the case; the lower-register often echoes treble texture which continues to sound.

a) Echoing of treble

Lower-octave echoing of treble pitches, performed directly after these, in moments of treble inactivity, are ubiquitous in O’Hampsay’s idiom.³⁸⁸ They occur on weak beats,

³⁸⁷ I will outline the ways in which it does so later in this chapter.

³⁸⁸ Including in pieces not addressed in this dissertation: *Madam Keil*, *Scarúint na gcompánach* and *Caitlín Triall*.

blending with the sonority of the previously-sounded, strong-beat treble notes.

Examples include:³⁸⁹



Figure 117. MS 4.29, 52 *Lady of the desert*, theme extract and transcription

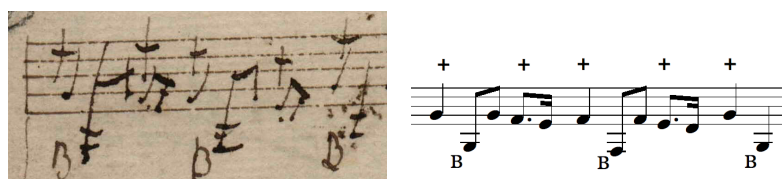


Figure 118. MS 4.29, 98 *Lady of the desert*, division extract and transcription

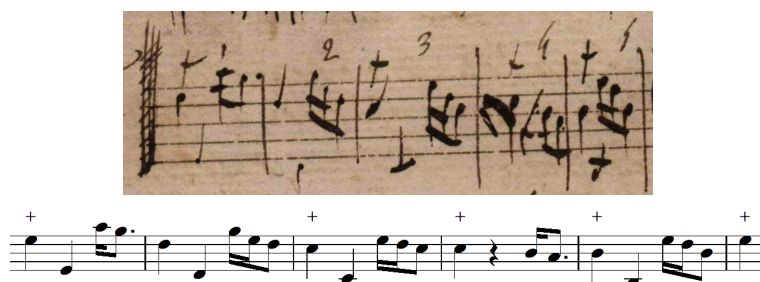


Figure 119. MS 4.29, 50 *A chailíní, a' bhfaca sibh Seoirse?*, division extract and transcription

b) Broken octaves

Bunting's 1840 tables include 'double notes for the right hand' [i.e. the lower hand].³⁹⁰

These include lower-hand octaves sounded simultaneously:

³⁸⁹ See Chapter 3.3.3, 198, 200 for examples in *Tá mé i mo chodladh 's ná dúisigh mé*.

³⁹⁰ Bunting 1840, 26

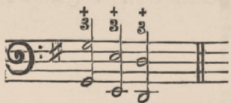
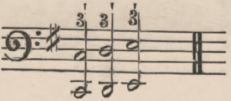
NAMES IN IRISH CHARACTERS.	NAMES IN ENGLISH CHARACTERS.	TRANSLATION.	MUSICAL EXAMPLES.
FOR THE RIGHT HAND.			
ḡḷḷḱḱḱ ^d	Glass,	A joining,	
ḷḷḷḱḱḱ ^e	Laghar,	Spread hand, . . .	

Figure 120. *Bunting 1840, 26, extract*

There is only one recorded instance in the field transcriptions of a simultaneous octave sounded by the lower hand³⁹¹ but evidence survives of broken octaves, as the following example shows, where each component occurs in moments of treble-hand inactivity:

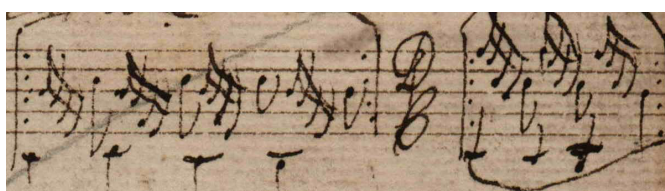


Figure 121. *MS 4.29, 31 Burns's march, extract*

I will discuss further the function of the lower hand in *Burns's march* in 4.5.3d.

c) Weak-beat couplets

Octave echoes, of the kind outlined in 4.5.1a above, are sometimes part of a bigger gesture: a melodic interval or couplet, performed on weak beats.

³⁹¹ See the lower-register texture in the *rondeau* refrain of *Burns's march* in the field transcription taken from the harper, Patrick Quin, in section 4.5.3d, 274.

Descending couplets

These generally outline intervals of fourths and fifths as this *Lady of the desert* example demonstrates:

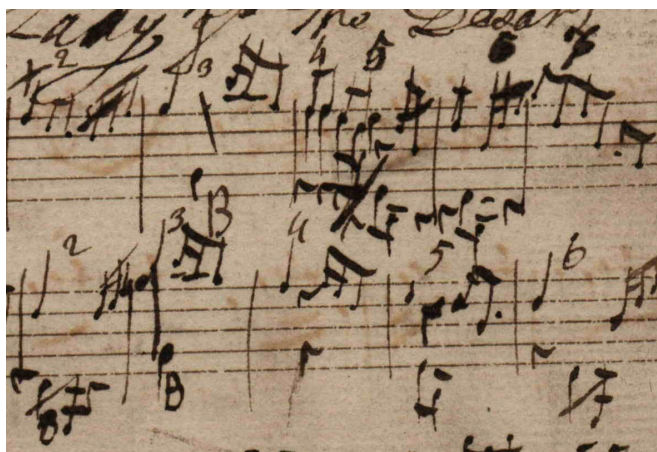


Figure 122. MS 4.29, 52 *Lady of the desert*, theme and transcription

It can be seen that all five couplets in the above example exhibit O'Hampsay's ubiquitous idiom: the first note in each is a lower-octave echo of the preceding melodic pitch, in the manner of the single-note interspersions in the same example.

Ascending couplets

Seón Jones provides a rare example of two ascending couplets echoing the preceding two melody notes exactly: $b' - e''$ echoed by $b - e'$, and $b' - d''$ echoed by $b - d'$:

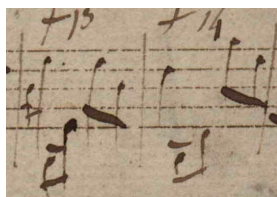


Figure 123. MS 4.29, 164 Seón Jones, extract

Couplets plus octaves

The opening of *Seón Jones* also contains examples of lower-register, weak-beat couplets leading to an octave-displaced reiteration of the second pitch in each. Also notable is a lower-register voice-leading to be heard, from the *E* to the *D*. The transition, from the second to third bar, shows a further example of melodic continuity between registers, displaced by two octaves: from the lower-hand *D* to the following treble *e'*.³⁹²

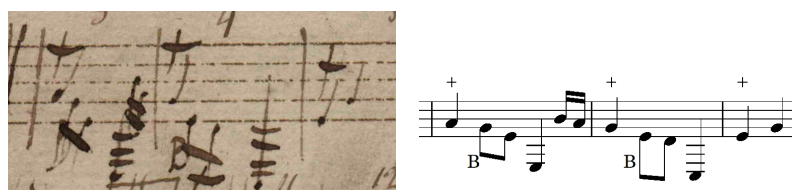


Figure 124. MS 4.29, 164 Seón Jones, extract and transcription

The first shape, above, is Bunting's *glasluth* in his 'Double Notes, Chords, Etc.' table in his 1840 volume, and is the second of four related lower-hand shapes outlined there:

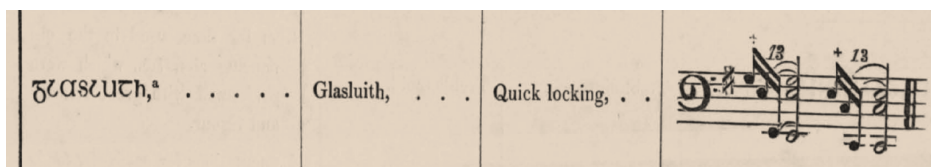


Figure 125. Bunting 1840, 27, extract

³⁹² As pointed out previously, the *C* in the second bar would appear to be a scribal error; that *D* is intended, to deliver a descending octave.

Only one of the others, *lanchrobh*, also appears in an O'Hampsay piece.³⁹³

d) Melodic thirds with passing notes

A close associate of the couplet is the couplet with an added passing note, creating short, linear figures. In the following example, each figure culminates on the same (octave-displaced) pitch as the preceding melody note – *c'''* and *b'''* respectively – in an echo effect:

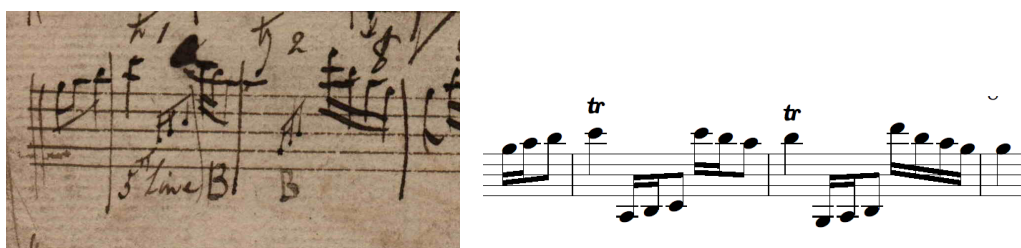


Figure 126. MS 4.29, 164 *A chailíní, a' bhfaca sibh Seoirse?*, extract and transcription

Cumha caoine an Albanaigh also displays three such ascending passages, with some similar relations to treble notes a third higher:



Figure 127. MS 4.29, 158 *Cumha caoine an Albanaigh*, extracts and transcriptions

An interesting, lower-register passage in *Lady of the desert* may also be appropriate to add to this group.

³⁹³ See section 4.5.3e, 278.



Figure 128. MS 4.29, 99 *Lady of the desert*, extract and edition

I suggest that the ambiguous horizontal markings across the stem of each *G*, in the example, signifies a figurate arpeggio, meaning that a passing note is added between the *G* and *A* each time.³⁹⁴ If so, then this lower-hand passage echoes the preceding treble melody in ubiquitous Irish fashion.

The *Bob Jordan* example, below, shows two examples of descending melodic intervals, with passing notes additions, that might first appear to possess some independence from the treble. But, again, each begins by echoing the preceding treble note – *b* echoing *b'*; *a* echoing *a'* – and each carries on the melodic contour of the treble. The final note of the second passage, *e*, is picked up in the next treble note, *e''*.



Figure 129. MS 4.29, 162 *Bob Jordan*, extract and transcription

³⁹⁴ For more on the figurate arpeggio, also known as a *coulé*, see Neumann 1978, 503.

e) Descending melodic triads

One variation in *Lady of the desert* makes use of melodic triads in a lower voice, either constructed in conjunction with the melody (second bar) or produced within the lower register itself (third and fourth bars):

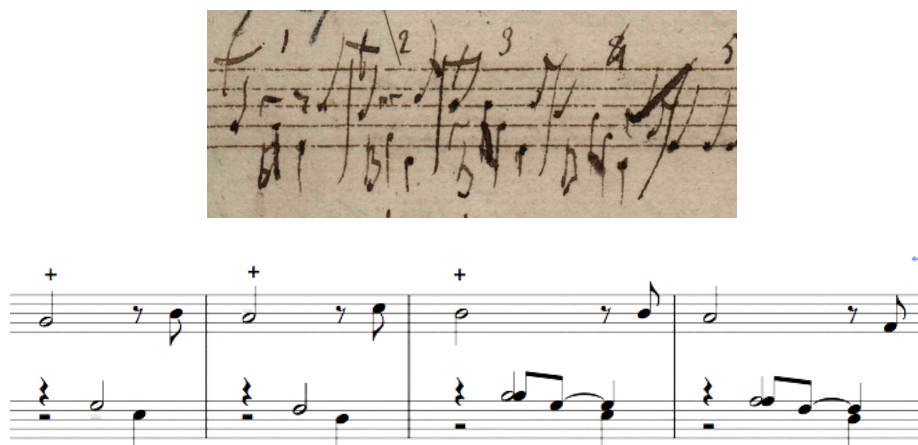


Figure 130. MS 4.29, 99 *Lady of the desert*, extract and edition

These, however, cannot be said to provide harmonic accompaniment to a treble line. Though undeniably harmonic in outline, they function melodically, arising from – and taking over from – the treble hand, with three of the four echoing the treble at the octave before adding the additional pitches. Nor is there evidence of significant harmonic progression here either; the lower-hand merely oscillates between two triads.

4.5.2 A Lower-Hand Role In Melodic Production

As we have seen so far, one ubiquitous function of the lower hand is to echo the melody, using single notes or melodic intervals, in a distinct, lower register. But O'Hampsay's lower hand sometimes assumed a more prominent role, involving itself in melodic production normally associated with the treble hand. This results in role reversal between the two, with the treble hand now assuming the more subservient role at these points.

a) Single notes

There is some evidence of single, lower-hand notes assuming a more important role, on strong beats, combined with short interspersions by the treble hand between these, in role reversal, on weak beats.

The following excerpt from *Lady Letty Burke*, for example, shows the lower-hand sounding an on-the-beat *A*, carrying on, in an octave displacement, from the preceding treble *c – d – c – b*. An unusual, lower-register voice-leading then occurs with an on-the-beat *G* following on the next beat. At the same time, the first treble interspersion echoes the lower-register, in a role reversal from O'Hampsay's usual practice.



Figure 131. MS 4.29, 45 *Lady Letty Burke*, extract and edition

The final cadence of *Eirghe an lae*, beneath, provides another example of reversed roles between the hands: the melody, at this point, is carried on the strong beats *b* and *a* in the lower hand, presumably finding resolution on an un-notated *g*. The treble functions only ornamentally, in a shadowing role.

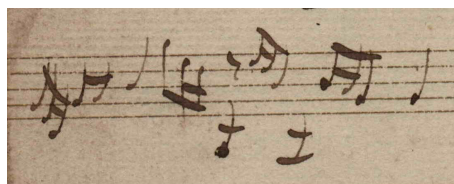


Figure 132. MS 4.29, 168 *Eirghe an lae*, extract

It is notable that both these examples above show consecutive lower-register pitches, involving a handing over of the melodic voice-leading to the lower hand, with the treble correspondingly abandoning any melodic function at these points.

Cumha caoine an Albanaigh provides further examples of a similar role reversal; $d - d' / e - e' / B - b$.³⁹⁵

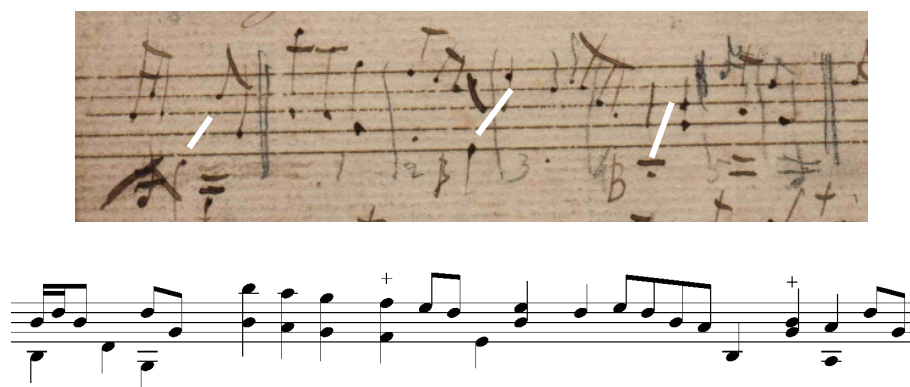


Figure 133. MS 4.29, 158 *Cumha caoine an Albanaigh*, extract and transcription

b) Drone-like single notes

Burns's march displays a continuous lower-hand texture that marks each beat of the composition in broken octaves, generally where the treble hand is silent.³⁹⁶ But, despite the continuity, this is neither a consistent drone nor a true bass; providing no counterpoint or functional harmony. Rather, its purpose in this study seems to be to provide a rhythmic, lower-hand framework to allow the treble hand to practice

³⁹⁵ I suggest that Bunting mis-barred this piece and that the lower-hand notes fall on strong beats in common time.

³⁹⁶ *Burns's march* is a unique survivor of a seminal didactic genre: a study designed to allow the treble hand to practice idiomatic passages and melodic ornaments. This might explain why the lower hand's role was to mark the main beats: perhaps in order to provide context and pulse in this unusual composition.

technique. It also offers the only melodic aspect of the composition, with a voice-leading of *B (b) – A (a) – G* (the latter arrived at in the recurring *rondeau* refrain):



Figure 134. *Burns's march, edition, extract*

Lady Letty Burke, Eirghe an lae, and *Burns's march* are likely to be some of the textures that Bunting had in mind when he wrote:

*...[t]he Irish played the Treble with the left hand for this reason that the major parts of the tune were given by the right hand playing the Bass which in general being more strong than the left to strike the strings which from it being on the loudest and most sonorous strings was more likely to be taken notice of than the Treble which played the Symphonal parts...*³⁹⁷

c) Prominent couplets

Another passage that comes to mind, when considering Bunting's statement above, are the lower-register couplets on strong beats, which function melodically in this field transcription of a Carolan composition:³⁹⁸

³⁹⁷ MS 4.6, 151. I will also come back to this quote in 4.5.2e, 270, below.

³⁹⁸ Not claimed to be taken from the playing of O'Hampsay.

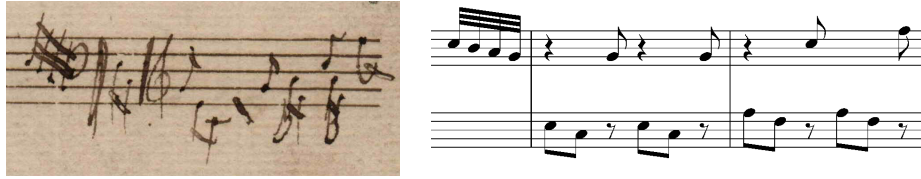


Figure 135. MS 4.29, 89 *Miss Dillon jig*, extract and edition³⁹⁹

The example above shows an octave-displaced g' – a voice-leading, between treble and lower register, across the edition's second bar line. The next example, below, also displays octave-displaced melodic continuity between the registers, d' – e in the first bar, and a' – b in the following one.

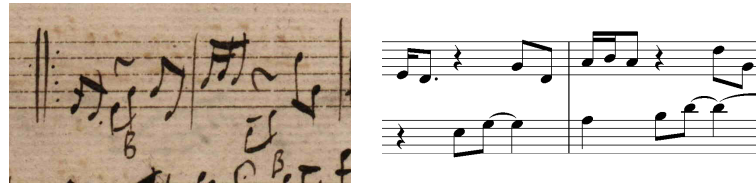


Figure 136. MS 4.29, 53 *The Jointure*, extract and edition

In a role reversal, the weaker-beat treble couplets at the end of each bar, above, provide commentary on the more prominent lower-register couplets on the second beats, the former functioning as opposite-register examples to the melodic fourths and fifths in the *Lady of the desert* example in 4.5.1c. The first note of each treble couplet here echoes the previous note in the other register, in the same way as the opposite-register couplets are seen to do in *Lady of the desert*.

³⁹⁹ I suggest that the second, third, and fourth couplets in this example were sounded an octave lower than notated.

d) Antiphony

MS 4.29 contains copious examples of antiphony in the compositions of Turlough Carolan: short, consecutive treble and lower-register phrases echoing or answering each other in succession.⁴⁰⁰ Within an O'Hampsay context, *Lady Letty Burke* of Carolan, displays an antiphonal lower-register response to the preceding treble passage:



Figure 137. MS 4.29, 45 *Lady Letty Burke*, extract and edition⁴⁰¹

For once, this might be situated within European parameters as a cadential motif familiar from European music of the period.

This piece also provides the clearest example of O'Hampsay's performance of an extended lower-register antiphonal response to the previous treble phrase:

⁴⁰⁰ See, for example, Carolan's *Miss Dillon* on MS 4.29, 88–89. Harp-composer Cornelius Lyons's *Sliabh Gallan*, on MS 4.29, 81 also exhibits antiphony in places.

⁴⁰¹ The annotation under the staff reads '3rd line B', referring to the *d'* at the beginning of the third bar, which was to be sounded as *d* – on the third line of the bass staff.

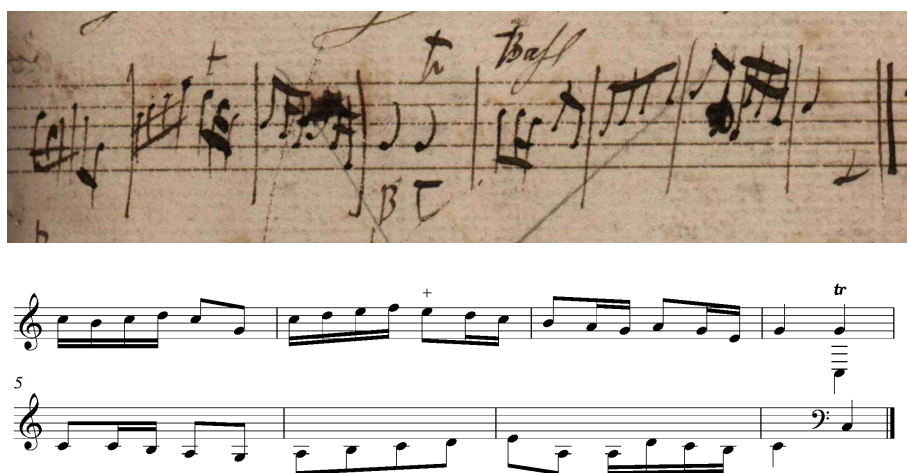


Figure 138. MS 4.29, 45 *Lady Letty Burke*, extract and edition

Whether or not this lower-register phrase was performed by the lower hand is not clear, however. The ‘Bass’ annotation, in this instance, may refer only to the register or to both the register and the performing hand.

The phrase that follows threads its way an octave and a sixth into the lower register with, I contend, all pitches sounding an octave lower than written:

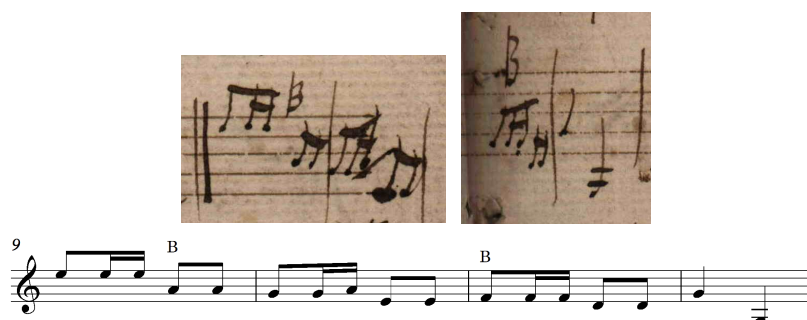


Figure 139. MS 4.29, 45 *Lady Letty Burke*, extracts and transcription

The question of what, if any, division of labour might take place between the hands, is not clear. The phrase may be sounded mainly by the lower hand, or the treble hand may also have a role. Micro-antiphony between the hands is also possible at this point, as can be seen in bars 9–12 of my edition. This solution was suggested by my lower-hand’s

positioning on the instrument, at this point, in order to execute surviving lower-register texture in previous, and following sections.

e) Extended melodic voice-leading

One extended passage would appear to follow Bunting's description, quoted in 4.5.2b above, very closely: the beginning of *Cumha caoine an Albanaigh*.

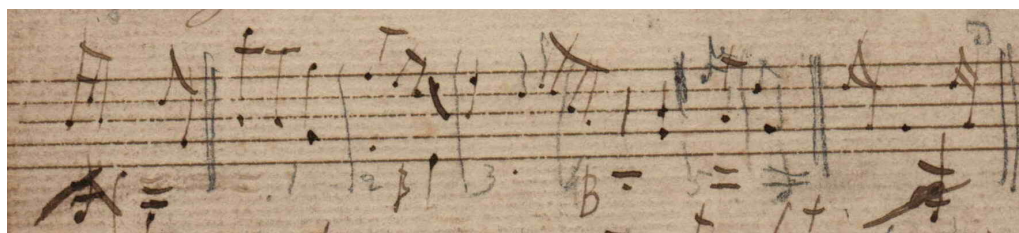


Figure 140. MS 4.29, 158 *Cumha caoine an Albanaigh*, extract and edition

Initially, the continuous, linear nature of the lower voice, from bar 2, is seductive. Might this, finally, be a 'proper' bass? Closer examination, however, shows that it provides neither counterpoint nor a harmonic underpinning to a melody but runs, rather, in parallel with the treble. It is indeed a continuous lower part but one that has voice-leading, taking over the melodic role from the treble, rather than adding a complementary accompaniment. The lower hand here plays the accented notes:

Bunting's 'major parts of the tune'.⁴⁰² The latter considered such lower-register passages in this piece to be melodic in nature, writing that

*[t]his extremely [sic] curious & extraordinary Composition gave me the greatest difficulty in Setting it to Sound like the melody as played by Hempson...the Air in the treble so mixed with the Bass that had I not been determined to get it it would have been lost for ever...*⁴⁰³

The two registers either sound in unison or the treble provides only ornamental commentary on weak beats: Bunting's 'symphonical parts' perhaps? This therefore, is not an example of a bass but an instance of the hands reversing roles.

So, what did Bunting mean by his 'major parts of the tune were given by the right hand' statement quoted previously? Are we to imagine that the lower hand alone generally played significant melodic pitches an octave lower than the rest of the melody and that such a technique was simply not accurately represented in the field transcriptions? I do not believe that this is the case. The examples I have given here are the only ones I have found in the field transcriptions. Their existence shows that Bunting had no difficulty notating lower-register notes on accented beats, when he wished to do so. That he generally did *not* do so suggests that he did not often hear such textures.

I find it of further interest that the intermittent treble-hand passages in each example are so short – in *Letty Burke* and the *Miss Dillon jig* only one note long – or, in the case of *Eirghe an Lae* and *Burns's march*, that they are only decorative in nature rather than functionally melodic. None of these examples show melodies divided between the hands such that all the strong beats are in the lower hand with the remainder in the

⁴⁰² This is more evident in my duple-time reconstruction – following O'Hampsay's 'don't forget common time' instruction – than in Bunting's triple-time setting.

⁴⁰³ MS 4.27, 28, left margin.

treble.⁴⁰⁴ I contend, therefore, that Bunting's statement is not universally applicable if we interpret it to mean that the melodic notes were sounded only by the lower hand. Instead, I suggest that Bunting's statement also allows for the possibility that he was more generally referring to simultaneous reinforcement of significant treble pitches by the lower hand, an O'Hampsay idiom that we shall now examine.

4.5.3 Simultaneous Melodic Reinforcement

The lower-hand can sometimes act as a reinforcing hand to the treble, sounding simultaneously with it. This section outlines surviving examples of treble and lower textures sounding together.

a) Parallel octaves

The beginning and end of *Cumha caoine an Albanaigh* provide the clearest examples of O'Hampsay's lower hand acting as a reinforcing hand to the treble hand, producing parallel movement at the octave, struck simultaneously, in scalar passages:

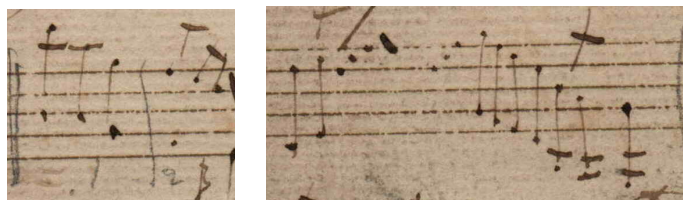


Figure 141. MS 4.29, 158 *Cumha caoine an Albanaigh*, extracts

Further examples are to be found in *The friar and nun* where consecutive octaves are indicated by the 'B 8ths' annotations under two *c'' – b' – a' – g'* melodic passages:

⁴⁰⁴ As hypothesised by Ann Heymann, and the basis of her 'Coupled Hands' method.

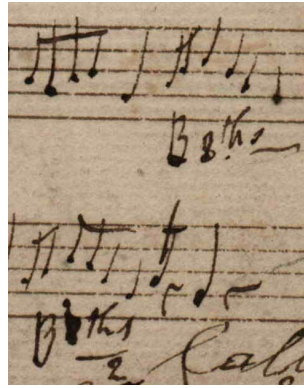


Figure 142. MS 4.29, 48 *The friar and nun*, extract

The extract beneath, is ambiguous, but may also show simultaneous treble/lower-hand octaves on the $e'' - d'' - b' - a' - g'$ in the second bar. The ascending stems, added in a subsequent round of attention, may have been inserted by Bunting to remind himself that the $g - g'$ octave at the end of the previous bar finds a corollary in the next:

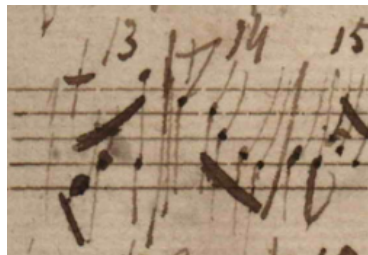


Figure 143. MS 4.29, 171 *Tá mé i mo chodladh*, extract

b) Broken octaves

Cumha caoine an Albanaigh displays the only reinforcing broken octave I have found in an O'Hampsay field transcription: $e - e'$, the first note of which is sounded together with the treble:



Figure 144. MS 4.29, 159 *Cumha caoine an Albanaigh*, extract

c) Broken octaves plus a falling fourth

One of the three variation sets transcribed from O'Hampsay, composed by Cornelius Lyons, displays a continuous, lower-register sequential pattern: an ascending broken octave plus a subsequent falling fourth, each note occurring on the triple-metre beats. Bunting notated two consecutive examples, in a gap left by a crossed-out melodic error. The presumption must be that the pattern continues throughout.



Figure 145. MS 4.29, 49 *A chailíní, a' bhfaca sibh Seoirse?*, second variation, extract and edition

On the surface, this $e - e' - b / d - d' - a$ (sounding pitch) lower-register sequence initially looks promising as a 'proper' bass, having continuity, linearity, and implied harmonic. But, on examination, it can be seen to show no independence from the treble: it simply replicates the significant treble pitch in each phrase, reproducing it in lower octaves, adding the interval of a fourth under the final iteration of the significant

treble pitch, on a weak beat. What looks initially like a continuous ‘bass’ in fact offers no European, harmonic underpinning; it is, rather, a treble-dependent shadowing.⁴⁰⁵

d) Consecutive dyads?

Only the melody of the *rondeau* refrain, which recurs between each episode of *Burns’s march*, survives. I offer a tentative possibility for reconstructing O’Hampsay’s lower-hand practice by extrapolating from the parallel passage in a setting collected from a contemporaneous harper.⁴⁰⁶ I offer no proof that O’Hampsay emulated this but it is not implausible: this composition is one of three surviving, seminal, didactic pieces within a conservative tradition, and Patrick Quin’s first episode displays the same lower-hand broken octaves seen in O’Hampsay’s:

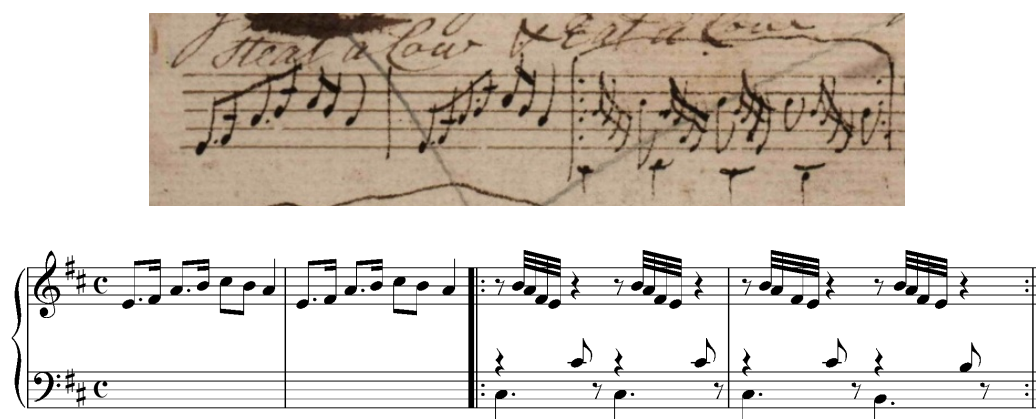


Figure 146. MS 4.29, 31 *Burns’s march*, second draft, extract; edition of first draft, extract (O’Hampsay setting)

⁴⁰⁵ The lower-octave repetition of this variation that follows, together with two running-quaver divisions in Lyons’s *Lady of the desert* variations, may have been similarly accompanied but there is no longer any direct evidence to confirm this.

⁴⁰⁶ Patrick Quin (1745/6–post 1811)

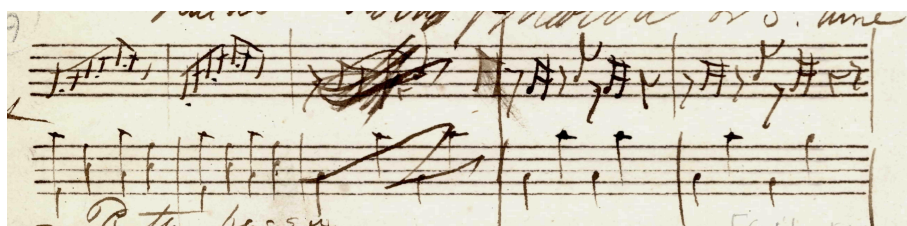


Figure 147. MS 4.33.1, 72 *Burns's march*, extract and transcription (Quin setting)

If indeed O'Hampsay's lower hand emulated Quin's, the repeated series of four dyads in the *rondeau* refrain does look somewhat akin to an independent, 'real' bass: it is continuous, harmonic, and provides a vertical accompaniment to the treble. But I would argue that these dyads are harmonically static: they outline only the tonic; the third of each four is in unison with the treble; the second and fourth outline only the harmonic-interval equivalent of the melodic fourths to be found elsewhere. It is only the first of each four that outlines a triadic harmony with the treble.

The broken octaves that follow, in the respective first episode of each setting, can be heard not to provide a bass accompaniment for a treble line, but rather they take over from the treble, which functions ornamentally rather than substantively. So no claims can be made for an independent bass line in this part of the composition either.

e) Three- and four-note lower-register shapes

One composition in O'Hampsay's repertory shows unique evidence of richer lower-hand textures than the categories so far would suggest. His *féachain gléis* is a unique survivor of a genre: Irish harp preludes. Seán Donnelly has suggested that the title is

related to chirographic terms surviving from the early fifteenth century and that it means ‘tuning trial’.⁴⁰⁷ This may explain why the lower hand has such an unusually prominent role in the composition: possibly to ensure that the maximum number of consonant strings are sounded together in order to test their relative tuning.

Apart from the tonic G in a G–A–B–D–E pentatonic scale, the lower hand moves to just two other tonal areas in the composition: up to A and down to E. Interestingly, it never outlines the D-dominant harmony so fundamental to European art music from the sixteenth century onwards.⁴⁰⁸

The ending eschews a possible D–G dominant–tonic progression. Instead, the lower hand outlines an A–G, supertonic–tonic progression, parallel to the melodic *a’ – g’* melodic skeleton in this section:



Figure 148. MS 4.29, 55 *a féachain gléis*, extract and transcription

⁴⁰⁷ Donnelly 1984b, 5 One of Bunting’s given titles for the piece, in Bunting 1840, 82 is ‘Try if it be in tune’.

⁴⁰⁸ Only one F pitch occurs in the piece, in the third opening group, ascending. Otherwise, the treble component of each group uses the same pitches ascending and descending, in a mirror-image pattern. But the stem of the *f* in question does not reach as far as the note head, coming to end on the *g’* line, possibly continued to the note head with an additional pen stroke. This adds further uncertainty to the status of this anomalous pitch, which might be a scribal error. The tuning of F strings is what differentiates the two traditional tunings Bunting noted, one with F \flat , and one with F \sharp . See MS 4.29, 156–7. Perhaps the *f* here was just lightly touched upon as a reminder of which tuning the harp was in?

Parallel movement of fifth-and-octave shapes define the lower-hand's idiom in the prelude (eight of eleven shapes).⁴⁰⁹ But some of these show clear signs of the upper two pitches having been added in a separate, additional round of attention, as evidenced by the non-linear nature of the stems. This is particularly evident in the second, third and fourth of these three examples:

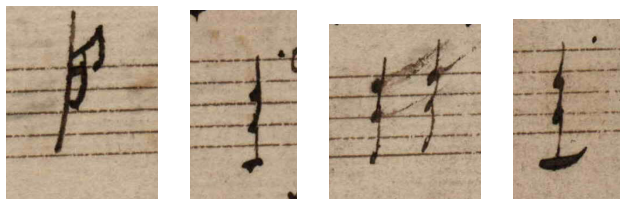


Figure 149. MS 4.29, 54 a féachain gléis, extracts

Though not implausible, their addition to the transcription, at some indeterminate point after the lowest pitch in each shape, raises questions around their plausibility as original textural features.

The parallel movement of these is in contrast to the following unique example of contrary motion between hands in the field transcriptions, of a kind familiar from European art music:⁴¹⁰

⁴⁰⁹ Recognisable as vertical iterations of the broken-octaves-plus-a-fourth seen in the *A chailíní, a' bhfaca sibh Seoirse?* example in 4.5.3c, 273, above.

⁴¹⁰ In a composition in which the hands do not often strike simultaneously.

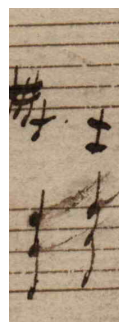


Figure 150. *MS 4.29, 54 a féachain gléis, extract*

But this is a problematic passage for two reasons. Firstly, in regard to the plausibility of the lower-hand shapes, since these were probably constructed in a second round of attention, built on top of the initially notated *G* and *A*. Secondly, the two-fold notation of *a*, on both staves. I suggest that it was first notated in the treble and that Bunting notated it again, inadvertently, in the second round when adding the lower-hand's *d*, *g* and *e*. Also of note is the somewhat 'non-European' absence of the interval of a third in the second shape, a *C* not being available in this pentatonic piece.

Of the other three lower-hand shapes, one appears at the beginning of the piece, with an additional fifth over the familiar, fifth-and-octave shape:

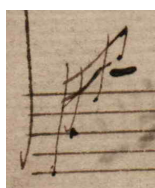


Figure 151. *MS 4.29, 54 a féachain gléis, extract*

Sylvia Crawford has suggested that the uppermost note may have been sounded by the treble hand in this, and the following, shape. This would certainly remove the novelty of the perhaps implausibly wide spread, returning it to a more usual fifth-and-octave.⁴¹¹

The prelude's final, lower-register shape is one of only two referenced in Bunting's table to be corroborated by field-transcription evidence: *lánchrobh*, a descending, four-note shape:⁴¹²



Figure 152. *MS 4.29, 55 a féachain gléis, extract and transcription; Bunting 1840, 27, extract.*

The fifth-and-octave shape exhibited throughout the prelude is not documented in Bunting's 1840 table. Neither is the second, lower-register shape of the prelude. Unique to Bunting's transcriptions, it is, to the European eye, a first-inversion chord:⁴¹³

⁴¹¹ Personal communication, August 2019. This is associated with Crawford's work-in-progress on finger-placing and fingering theories, based on finding one's way around the instrument in a non-visual manner. This is predicated on the fact that there was a high incidence of blindness in early Irish harping. See my edition of this prelude, which uses her idea to produce minimal, ergonomic, lower-hand movement between shapes in this opening, rather than the significant shifting of the lower hand required between groups if all four notes are to be sounded with that hand.

⁴¹² See 4.5.1c, 259, above, for the other: *glasluth*.

⁴¹³ This shape is unique in Bunting's field transcriptions. The only other instance of the interval of a sixth appearing above the lowest note in the lower hand occurs in the consecutive sixths between bass and treble in *...or The Banks of Claudy* in MS 4.29, 3, bars 9–10. But the latter is a problematic draft that I do not consider to be a field transcription so it can therefore provide no firm evidence of wider use of such textures in vernacular Irish harping.

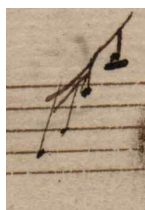


Figure 153. *MS 4.29, 54 a féachain gléis, extract*

But I would argue that this shape is the result of melodic intent and implication, together with the functional nature of the piece, rather than a result of a bass-centered approach giving rise to an inverted chord. A tuning-prelude context implies a functional necessity to sound many consonant pitches in quick succession; it need not imply that upwardly arpeggiated chords are otherwise particularly idiomatic. And indeed, idiomatic features of O’Hampsay’s much less European idiom are also to be found here.

What might appear, at first, to be an independent bass – even occupying its own stave – is actually intimately linked with the treble. The opening flourishes span four arcs in which the treble echoes the outline pitches of the lower hand. The rhythm and direction of each hand, and the reiterations of treble-hand pitches, outline and reinforce the connections between the lower and treble hand as follows:

first arc	lower-register: $G - d'$	treble: $g' - d''$
second arc	lower-register: $B - d'$	treble: $g' - d''$
third arc	lower-register: $A - a$	treble: $e' - a'$
fourth arc	lower-register: $G - g$	treble: $d' - g'^{414}$

⁴¹⁴ Debate about whether the lower-hand shapes should be sounded ascending – as written – or descending rest on Bunting’s much later assertion that an engraving error resulted in their inaccurate presentation in his published setting (ascending), rather than following historical Irish harp practice, i.e. descending. (Bunting 1840, 83) I contend that the field transcription shows the true direction, and that my analysis supports this, outlining, as it does, the anticipation of the treble pitches by the lower hand, when sounded as notated. In addition, it is first in a MS 4.12 piano arrangement that Bunting presents the lower-hand shapes descending; in his much earlier MS 4.33.2 piano arrangement, they still ascend, as they do in this transcription, and in the following draft on MS 4.29, 56-7.

These four arcs are as melodic as they are harmonic. Also, the white lines on the MS extract below indicate the melodic connections from the end of each group to the beginning of the next, of the kind already seen in examples above; the lower hand picks up the melody from the end of each treble group, returning to the penultimate treble pitch of each one, as follows:

b' – a' – B

a' – g' – A

g' – e' – G

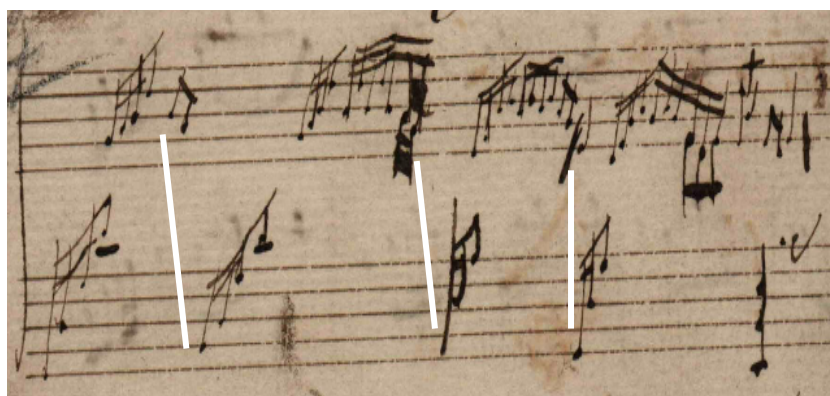


Figure 154. MS 4.29, 54 *a féachain gléis*, extract

Additional echoing effects between the hands occur later in the composition, revolving around the pitches D and E but also around A and B in the final moments:⁴¹⁵

⁴¹⁵ As pointed out previously, the semiquaver passage on the lower staff of the first example is not lower-hand material but rather a second attempt at rewriting the crossed-out treble passage situated directly above it.

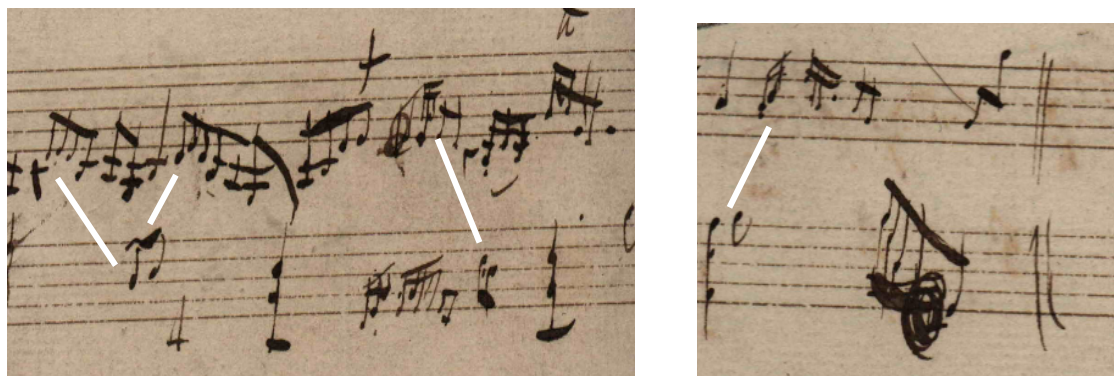


Figure 155. MS 4.29, 54, 55 *a féachain gléis*, extracts

All these features, together, suggest that we may not so easily situate the lower-hand texture in this composition in the realm of true ‘bass’.

This prelude also offers rare evidence of lower-hand shapes sounded simultaneously with the melody. All examples here display a conservative approach to use of the lower hand:

- none use pitches outside the pentatonic scale of the composition
- lower-hand pitches and shapes are all derived from their treble contexts
- they add no harmony beyond the most conservative solution implied by the treble’s melodic outline

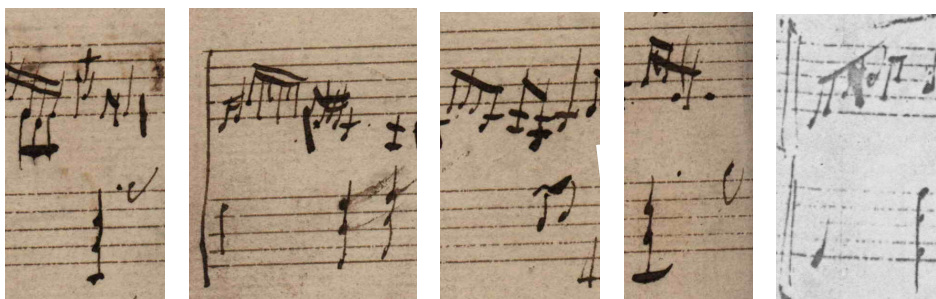


Figure 156. MS 4.29, 54, 55 *A féachain gléis*, extracts. Examples 1 to 5

Examples 1 & 4: the lower-hand $E - B - e$ shape is related to the treble's $e' - g'$ melodic-third outline.

Examples 2 & 5: the lower-hand g (and subsequent $G - d - g$ shape in ex. 2) follows from the treble's previous $d' - g'$ melodic outline; the $A - e - a$ shape adds only a fifth to its unison with the treble each occurrence.

Example 3: the putative E that may have sounded with the treble b is merely an octave echo of the preceding, lower hand e .⁴¹⁶

f) Two-handed note cluster

The first variation of *A chailíní, a bhfaca sibh Seoirse?* displays a unique, vertical note cluster: $g'' - e'' - d'' - c'' - g - e - c$ shared between the hands:

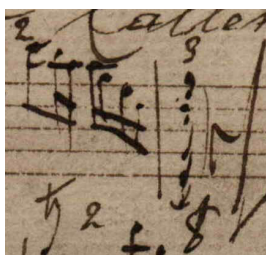


Figure 157. MS 4.29, 48 *A chailíní, 'a bhfaca sibh Seoirse?*, extract

The addition of the d'' to this C triad adds melodic intent, with the first three notes of the cluster echoing the previous three notes of the melody.⁴¹⁷

⁴¹⁶ The E beneath the lower stave has an artefact arising from the left part of the ledger line, making it look like the digit '4'.

⁴¹⁷ For more on the likely descending direction of performance see footnote 414, above. The '8' under the stave suggests that the lowest three notes were pitched an octave lower than notated.

4.5.4 Summary

I have uncovered, analysed, and categorised the surviving evidence of Dennis O'Hampsay's lower-hand performative idiom. As source material I used only transcriptions made in the field by Edward Bunting, while he was listening to live performance. I have deliberately eschewed all later Bunting MS piano arrangements and his three published piano / piano and voice collections. My chosen methodology is the only dependable way to establish O'Hampsay's lower- or reinforcing-hand practices with any hope of success. My conclusions on the nature of these are as follows.

I found no evidence of the continuous, independent, contrapuntal bass lines of European art music, which would provide linear counterpoint or chordal practice supportive of the melody. There was generally little or no functional harmony or harmonic intent in O'Hampsay's lower-hand practices, not even in the works he played by two of the most European-influenced Irish harp composers of the eighteenth century: Turlough Carolan and Cornelius Lyons. Nor did I find any evidence of the rhythmic, arpeggiated chords common to European harp and keyboard music of the eighteenth century. Though the lower hand did play two-, three- and four-note shapes, these are far removed in style and function from the metrical, arpeggio style of harmonic accompaniment to be found in European pedal-harp performance practice since the eighteenth century, and in modern Irish-harp practice, of a kind which can also be found in Edward Bunting's piano arrangements of O'Hampsay's – and other harpers' – repertory.

O'Hampsay's vernacular, lower-register idiom was sparser, and more sporadic, relying on the long resonance and selective damping of the brass-wire strings of the early Irish harp to create harmony indirectly, if at all. Specifically, his idiom involved the following:

Lower-Register Texture During Treble Inactivity

- Lower-octave echoing of treble pitches, performed directly after these, on weak beats, in moments of treble inactivity.
- Broken octaves, either at moments of treble inactivity or finishing at moments of treble inactivity. In one case, such octaves fulfilled a drone-like function.
- Melodic couplets (intervals of fourths and fifths but also thirds), both descending and ascending, on unaccented beats, one or both notes of which echo previous – and anticipate subsequent – treble notes.
- Weak-beat couplets are sometimes extended with the addition of a lower-octave-displaced reiteration of the second pitch in the couplet: Bunting's *glasluth* shape presented in the 'Double Notes, Chords, Etc.' table in his 1840 volume.
- Couplets outlining a melodic third sometimes contain a passing note, creating short, linear figures. These are sounded either in moments of treble inactivity on unaccented beats, or the first note of the figure sounds simultaneously with treble notes, often at an interval of a third above.
- Other three-note figures outline descending melodic triads, which reiterate a strong-beat, treble note as the start of a weak-beat figure an octave lower, in moments of treble inactivity. Though undeniably harmonic in outline, these function melodically, arising from – and taking over from – the treble hand

A Lower-Hand Role In Melodic Production

O'Hampsay's lower hand sometimes assumed a more prominent role, involving itself in melodic production more usually associated with the treble hand. This resulted in role reversal between the two, with the treble hand assuming the more subservient role at these points. Specifically, this manifested itself in the following:

- Single, lower-register melodic notes, on accented beats, with corresponding, single-note interspersions by the treble hand or with short, subsidiary, treble interspersions functioning only ornamentally.
- Couplets on strong beats, functioning melodically, sometimes exhibiting octave-displaced melodic continuity with the treble register. Subsequent, weaker-beat, treble couplets – in a role reversal – provide commentary on the more prominent lower-register couplets.
- O’Hampsay’s treble and lower hands sometimes operated antiphonally, with a lower-hand phrase answering a preceding treble phrase.
- Extended, lower-register, melodic voice-leading, with the lower hand taking all melodic intent away from the treble. In such cases, the treble provided ornamental commentary only, on weak beats, between the strong beats of the lower hand. It is important to note here that the evidence shows that the lower-register melodic notes on strong beats created a voice-leading by moving stepwise in a linear fashion, while, in a reversal of roles, the treble hand abandoned any melodic function.

Simultaneous Melodic Reinforcement

- O’Hampsay provided simultaneous reinforcement of treble pitches, with his reinforcing hand moving in parallel with the treble, at the octave, in scalar passages.
- He reinforced the treble with broken octaves, the first note of which was sounded together with the treble.
- He also sometimes reinforced melodies using a continuous lower-register pattern consisting of an ascending broken octave plus a subsequent falling fourth, struck on each beat. It is important to note here that this was not an independent bass but that the broken octave simply replicated the significant treble pitch in each phrase in a shadowing of the treble.

- O'Hampsay exceptionally played three- and four-note lower-register shapes (most often root, fifth and octave) in the tuning prelude that Bunting recorded. These shapes were generally sounded simultaneously or in rapid succession from bottom to top. The last of these, at the piece's conclusion, matched Bunting's *lánchrobh* in his 1840 table, and was sounded from top to bottom.
- There is one instance of a vertical, seven-note note-cluster in O'Hampsay's notated performance, which both his hands would have collaborated on playing, from top to bottom, I suggest.
- A rare instance of complete lower-register cadential texture, at the end of the *féachain gléis* demonstrates an absence of European dominant-tonic harmony. Instead, O'Hampsay's lower hand outlined a supertonic-tonic progression, parallel to the melodic outline. This may be a rare piece of concrete cadential evidence to support my argument that European harmony is not relevant or applicable within the broader context of early Irish harping i.e. from an unspecified, difficult-to-determine earlier period up to the end of the tradition c. 1800, even including the music of the harp composers most heavily influenced by European aesthetics: Cornelius Lyons and Turlough Carolan.

Chapter 5

Discussion

5.1 Introduction

Bunting's field transcriptions show, very clearly, that Dennis O'Hampsay's lower-register idiom is not analogous to that of an eighteenth-century pedal-harpist or keyboard player. This raises further issues. Was his idiom antique and unique to him because he – and a significant part of his output – was quite old, or was it common practice amongst other eighteenth-century Irish harpers? How did his contemporaries' praxis compare with his? And what of the clearly Italianate-influenced, Irish harp composers of the first half of the eighteenth-century such as Turlough Carolan and Cornelius Lyons? Layers of colonial cultural influence can be detected in their respective idioms leading to the most European flavours to be found in Irish harping since the royal Irish harper, Cormack MacDermott, composed pavans and galliards in late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century England.⁴¹⁸ Might their respective lower-hand idioms have contradicted O'Hampsay's, and been closer to European norms, or was there idiomatic consensus in Irish harping of the period? And if O'Hampsay's idiom was not exceptional, how widespread was it? And how far back in time might it be traced? What wider geographical spread of his type of performance practice might be deduced, and how?

⁴¹⁸ See Chapter 1.6.2, 56-57.

To answer these questions, I first list, and refer to, the wider group of MS 4.29 compositions showing lower-register praxis evidence, within which the O’Hampsay field transcriptions are situated, to discover commonality of practice throughout this source; evidence that O’Hampsay’s praxis was not exceptional. I look at evidence in the music of Turlough Carolan and Cornelius Lyons captured in field transcriptions in MS 4.29, to see what that can teach us about their idiom, and whether their output does or doesn’t diverge in lower-register idiom from earlier repertory. Finally, I take a brief look at compositions considered to be harp repertory that survive in three Scottish lute, and mandour, MSS of the early- to mid-seventeenth century, observing, in this insular material, clear commonality of lower-register idiom between that and eighteenth-century Irish harping, in contrast to the European music in these Scottish sources.

5.2 Wider Lower-Register Evidence in MS 4.29

Depending on the criteria used, there are some 29 compositions in MS 4.29 that contain indications of lower-register pitches:

Table 5. MS 4.29 Harp Compositions Displaying Lower-Register Texture

Page no.	Title	Form
MS 4.29, 3	...or The Banks of Claudy or Plan of Boccorough	Second draft
MS 4.29, 30	Burns’s March	Transcription
MS 4.29, 31	Burns’s March	Second draft
MS 4.29, 45	Lady Letty Burke	Transcription
MS 4.29, 46	Callena Vacca Sheo Shurse [<i>A chailíni, a’ bhfaca sibh Seoirse?</i>]	Transcription
MS 4.29, 47	Cathleen Treeall [<i>Caitlín Triall</i>]	Transcription
MS 4.29, 48-50	The Friar & Nun , Callena Vacca (continued)	Transcription
MS 4.29, 49–50	Callena Vacca (continued)	Transcription

Page no.	Title	Form
MS 4.29, 52	Lady of the Desert	Transcription
MS 4.29, 53	The Jointure	Transcription
MS 4.29, 54–55	Veaaghan Gleash [a <i>féachain gléis</i>]	Transcription
MS 4.29, 56–57	Veaaghan Gleash	Second draft
MS 4.29, 58	Kooach [<i>Cumha caoine an Albanaigh</i>]	Transcription fragment
MS 4.29, 60–61	Elen a Roon [<i>Eibhlín a rún</i>]	Second draft?
MS 4.29, 78	Mable Kelly	Transcription
MS 4.29, 80–81	Slieve Gallen [<i>Sliabh Gallan</i> (sp?)]	Transcription
MS 4.29, 82	Campany Ara [<i>Cupán Uí Eaghra</i>]	Transcription
MS 4.29, 83	Campany Ara	Second draft (partial)
MS 4.29, 88–89	Miss Dillon and Jig	Transcription
MS 4.29, 90–91	Doctor Hart	Transcription
MS 4.29, 98–99	Variations Coolin [<i>Lady of the desert</i> continued]	Transcription
MS 4.29, 102	Maxwell	Transcription
MS 4.29, 108	Betty O Brian	Transcription
MS 4.29, 146	Division fragment related to 147–148	Transcription
MS 4.29, 147–148	Molly Veag O [<i>Mallaí bheag ó</i>]	Transcription
MS 4.29, 149	Madam Cole	Transcription
MS 4.29, 158	John Scott's Lamentation [<i>Cumha caoine an Albanaigh</i>]	Transcription
MS 4.29, 159	John Scott's Lamentation	Second transcription
MS 4.29, 160	The Showers of Rain [<i>Is galar cráite an ghrá</i>]	Transcription
MS 4.29, 161	Molly George [<i>Molly San Seoirse</i>]	Transcription
MS 4.29, 162	Bob Jordan	Transcription
MS 4.29, 164–165	John Jones [<i>Seón Jones</i>]	Transcription
MS 4.29, 167	Scarroon na Gompanagh [<i>Scarlúint na gcompánach</i>]	Transcription
MS 4.29, 168	Dawn of Day [<i>Eirghe an lae</i>]	Transcription
MS 4.29, 169	Dawn of Day	Second draft
MS 4.29, 171	Tame Ma Colead Na Duiss [<i>Tá mé i mo chodladh 's ná dúisigh mé</i>]	Transcription
MS 4.29, 172	Madam Keil	Transcription
MS 4.29, 234	Madge Malone	Transcription
MS 4.29, 235	Madge Malone	Second transcription?

5.3 A Shared Idiom

Though more work needs to be done on the totality of the MS 4.29 field transcriptions, my examinations of these indicate that the lower-register textures captured from harpers other than O'Hampsay indicate a shared idiom. There is a similarly narrow range of practices exhibited in these. The reinforcing hand very often strikes a lower octave simultaneously or in a moment of melodic inactivity.⁴¹⁹ None of the other compositions show evidence of deviating from O'Hampsay's idiom in any substantive way, nor do they approach an eighteenth-century European art-music idiom.⁴²⁰ O'Hampsay's performance practice then can be seen not to be exceptional but indicative of wider common practice.

5.4 Carolan and Lyons: Baroque Composers?

Then we come to the question of the two most European of Irish-harper composers, Turlough Carolan (1670–1738) and Cornelius Lyons (c. 1680–post 1750), whose compositions are represented in MS 4.29. Both were active in the first half of the eighteenth century, so if any vernacular-Irish harper were to make use of a European-art-music bass, it would most likely be one or both of these. Both moved in aristocratic colonial circles, Carolan travelling as far as Dublin, and Lyons as far as London with his successive employers, the fourth and fifth earls of Antrim. Both were completely familiar with the European music performed in the Great Houses of Ireland, and more widely in the two foremost cities of the British Isles: London and Dublin. In light of the

⁴¹⁹ Two compositions, *Sliabh Gallan* and *Molly bheag ó*, exceptionally contain lower-hand melodic divisions.

⁴²⁰ The single exception is *...or The Banks of Claudy* in MS 4.29, 3, which displays three bars of continuous bass line, moving contrapuntally in thirds and sixths with the treble, and several triads in the lower-hand melodic accompaniment. But since this single MS appearance is not a field transcription the questionable veracity of the lower-register idiom it shows cannot be verified.

obvious influence of European melodic idiom, and compositional forms, on their output – divisions, minuets etc. – these two were surely the most likely to have played continuous, independent basses of the kind that would have completed the idiom within whose parameters they can sometimes be seen to be attempting to work. Lyons went as far as delivering Italianate divisions on Irish airs within his variation sets, and there is a possibility that Carolan composed his grandiosely titled *Concerto* in a musical duel with a famous, but nameless, European-art-music virtuoso.⁴²¹ So might the idiom of their lower-hand practices have been under as much European influence as those of their treble hands?

Surviving evidence from Lyons's output, together with a newly-discovered quote about Carolan's 'basses' suggests otherwise, further supporting my thesis that vernacular Irish harping was idiomatically distinct from European art-music practice; that in contrast to the independent, structurally fundamental bass lines of wider European Renaissance- and baroque music, that Irish-harp lower-hand textures were 'thin': primarily shadowing and echoing the melody.

5.4.1 Turlough Carolan's 'Base'

With regard to Carolan's lower-register idiom, the question is whether his lower-register idiom may have leaned towards eighteenth-century, European-art-music basses but that these have not been recorded. After all, Bunting 1840 contains the unsourced claim that '[m]ovements with wildly luxuriant basses were those to which his genius

⁴²¹ This is likely to have been either the virtuoso violinist and composer, Matthew Dubourg, Master of the King's Music in Ireland – a close friend, and colleague, of Handel – or it may have been Dubourg's prodigious violin student, Jackie Clegg. See Talbot, Michael. 2010. 'The Golden Pippin and the Extraordinary Adventures in Britain and Ireland of Vivaldi's Concerto RV 519'. *Studi Vivaldiani* 10: 87–111.

chiefly inclined...'⁴²² But in a letter written in 1791, the year before Bunting first heard O'Hampsay, Charles Burney, the English musician, composer and music historian attempted to link the Irish harp with the lyres of antiquity. The former instrument was, he wrote, : '...of small compass as to admit no bass, being confined to mere melody. Carolan, the celebrated modern Irish bard, **played only the treble part of tunes...**[my emphasis]'⁴²³ Many strands of evidence contradict Burney's theory, however.

Medieval Irish harps already had in excess of a four-octave gamut and, by the eighteenth century, five octaves or more, so there was no lack of lower register available to Carolan, as Burney claimed.⁴²⁴ As I have previously pointed out, wear marks on surviving historic instruments attest to the use of two hands, in separate registers, from the Middle Ages to the end of the tradition c. 1800, and Irish harp music that predates Carolan shows significant evidence of lower-register texture.⁴²⁵ In addition, as previously mentioned, phrases which answer each other between treble and lower registers are a particular hallmark of Carolan's idiom, as are his occasional, lower-register melodic interludes.

Burney's contribution to an early nineteenth-century encyclopedia article on harps, discovered by Simon Chadwick in 2019, gave a different explanation for the absence of bass in Carolan's music, as Burney understood it:⁴²⁶

⁴²² Bunting 1840, 9

⁴²³ See further information on early Irish harps that Burney was sent two years later by the earl of Mornington. See Mornington, Earl of. 1773. 'Letter to Charles Burney about Irish Music History', 30 December 1773. US-NHub Osborn MS 3, Box 13, Folder 955.

⁴²⁴ A surviving harp possibly connected to Carolan has 36 string pins and string shoes. See Chadwick 2020, 108.

⁴²⁵ Including *Burns's march*, *Cumha caoine an Albanaigh* and the *féachain gléis* prelude.

⁴²⁶ Burney was paid to contribute music articles to *The Cyclopedia* and was a neighbor and friend of Keane Fitzgerald so it is most likely that he wrote the harp article from which this quote is taken. See

*Carolan's tunes had no base to them originally, as we have been informed by the late Keane Fitzgerald, a native of Ireland, and a good judge of music, who had often seen and heard old Carolan perform. It was only after his decease, in 1738, that his tunes were collected and set for the harpsichord, violin, and German flute, with a base, Dublin, folio, by his son, who published them in London by subscription, in 1747.*⁴²⁷

This reference is of enormous significance because it reports testimony from a personal friend of Burney's, the former a highly cultured Irish man with an inquiring and critical frame of mind who had actually heard Carolan play.⁴²⁸ It further commands attention because of its precise references and points of comparison. Fitzgerald was apparently in a position to compare Carolan's performance practice with what would appear to be IRL-Dn LO 1635 (after 1742), the fragmentary publication of Carolan compositions that now survives in a single, fragmentary copy in The National Library of Ireland.

The following extract from this collection, *Mr. James Betagh*, shows the bass idiom in this publication: one that broadly lies within the conventions of a European-art-music, *continuo* bass line of the period, but which is rather angular, and flouts that convention's harmonic rubric.

Scholes, P. A. 1948. *The Great Dr. Burney: His Life, His Travels, His Works, His Family and His Friends*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 184–201.

⁴²⁷ Rees, Abraham. 1819. *The Cyclopaedia; or, Universal Dictionary of Arts, Sciences and Literature*. Vol. 17. London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme & Brown. Quoted in Chadwick, Simon. 2019c. 'Carolan's Original Harp Bass'. *Simonchadwick.Net* (blog). 25 July 2019. www.simonchadwick.net/2019/07/carolans-original-harp-bass.html.

⁴²⁸ Fitzgerald was a scientist and Fellow of the Royal Society, owned Old Masters paintings, and frequented the opera. See Pope, Ed. 2012. 'Keane Fitzgerald'. www.edpopehistory.co.uk 18 July 2012. He is also mentioned in the diaries of Burney's daughter, Susan; see Olleson, Philip. 2012. *The Journals and Letters of Susan Burney: Music and Society in Late Eighteenth-Century England*. Farnham, Surrey; Burlington, VT: Routledge, 123, 222 and 240. My thanks to Seán Donnelly for this information.



Figure 158. IRL-Dn LO 1635, 1 Mr James Betagh, extract
Image Courtesy of The National Library of Ireland

It displays the parallel movement between treble and bass that caught Gráinne Yeat's eye in 1992.⁴²⁹ See, for example, system 1, bars 2–3, and system 2, bars 3–7. But this melodic accompaniment is still not idiomatic enough for Keane Fitzgerald to have considered it to be representative of *echt* Carolan.

Burney's professional estimation of Fitzgerald as 'a good judge of music' would appear to be borne out by the latter's ability to commentate qualitatively on how Carolan's live performance compared with later, published settings. What then are we to make of his assertion that 'Carolan...played only the treble part of tunes...' and that 'Carolan's tunes had no bass to them'?

I interpret both these comments as confirmation of what can readily be seen in the MS 4.29 field transcriptions, the specifics of which I have set out in Chapter 4. In surviving

⁴²⁹ See Chapter 2.2.2, 120.

evidence of early-Irish-harp performance practice, there is an absence of the kind of independent bass lines seen in IRL-Dn LO 1635. Fitzgerald was clearly both musically literate and musically astute. I contend that his comments indicate his recognition of Carolan's music as melody-orientated, with no 'proper' bass, as someone versed in European art music might characterize it. It would appear that he could hear that the lower parts of Carolan's textures could not be separated functionally from the treble i.e. that they were without linearity or continuity, and had neither contrapuntal independence nor any foundational function of providing harmony for the melody above. In short, Fitzgerald heard no recognizable European-art-music bass that he could characterize as such. We cannot take it that this means that there were no lower-register notes, motifs or passages in Carolan's music but only that these do not fall readily into easily categorised 'bass' to someone versed in eighteenth-century, European art music. This fits with the evidence I have presented of O'Hampsay's performative idiom, displayed in his older repertory but also in that of his Carolan performances – *Lady Letty Burke* and *Seón Jones* – and more widely. The above quote further situates Carolan's idiom as not exceptional in any way, but one which sits comfortably within the lower-register parameters I have outlined in eighteenth-century Irish harping, as displayed not only by Bunting's O'Hampsay transcriptions but also in the wider context of the other harp transcriptions in MS 4.29, and therefore, I would suggest, within the overall vernacular harping idiom of eighteenth-century Ireland.

5.4.2 Cornelius Lyons's Variation Sets

While Cornelius Lyons's variation sets on the airs *Lady of the desert* and *A chailíní, a' bhfaca sibh Seoirse?* display rare examples of a contemporaneous, Italianate idiom in eighteenth-century-Irish composition, i.e. divisions,⁴³⁰ their surviving lower-register textures do not follow European practice. Rather, they display a non-harmonic, vernacular idiom. See, again, the examples from his compositions, listed in Chapter 4.5 which contain the following:

- lower-octave echoing of treble pitches⁴³¹
- descending-couplet interspersions on weak beats⁴³²
- melodic thirds with passing notes⁴³³
- descending melodic triads⁴³⁴
- broken-octave-plus-a-falling-fourth sequences⁴³⁵

Only one instance in Lyons's lower-register idiom might more easily be situated within a European idiom: an example of a lower-register European-art-music division. The longest, continuous, lower-hand passage to have survived in early Irish harping, in *Sliabh Gallan* – the divisions of which were said by Bunting to have been composed by Lyons⁴³⁶ – is one of only two extant lower-register divisions in Irish harping.⁴³⁷ Here

⁴³⁰ Or 'variations', as they came to be called in the eighteenth century.

⁴³¹ Chapter 4.5.1a, 255–56

⁴³² Chapter 4.5.1c, 258

⁴³³ Chapter 4.5.1d, 260–61

⁴³⁴ Chapter 4.5.1e, 262

⁴³⁵ Chapter 4.5.3c, 272–73

⁴³⁶ MS 4.29, 80

⁴³⁷ The other is in Molly Veag O [*Mallai bheag ó*] in MS 4.29, 147–8.

the lower hand takes over the melodic role completely, rather than functioning as any kind of a bass supportive of a treble line.

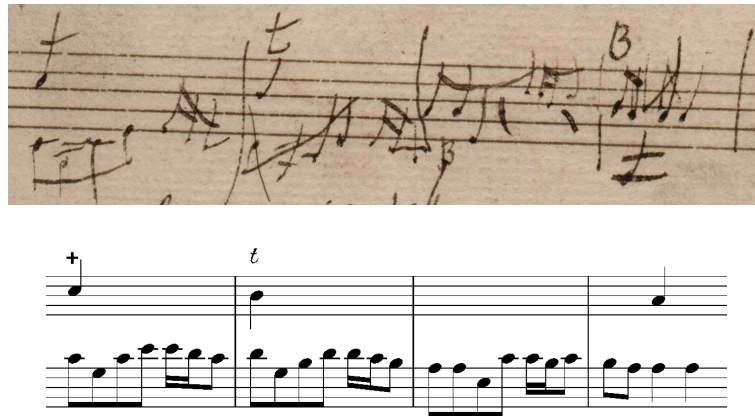


Figure 159. MS 4.29, 81 *Sliabh Gallan*, extract and edition

I will now return to a Lyons example presented already in Chapter 4 to point out its further significance in terms of Lyons's clear lack of a European lower-register sensibility.



Figure 160. MS 4.29, 49 *A chailíní, a' bhfaca sibh Seoirse?*, second division, extract and edition

The treble, in this example, emulates European division-writing of the sixteenth- to eighteenth centuries, where melodic variation was created over a fixed bass pattern / vertical, functional-harmonic structure that remained constant beneath different

divisions. The lower-register texture seen above offers no such European scaffolding. Rather, it lays out very clearly the idiomatic difference between Cornelius Lyons's lower-voice textures and those of his European contemporaries. As we have already seen, the lower-register sequences in the above example show no independence from the treble but are, rather, a completely treble-dependent ~~octave~~-shadowing. An idiomatic European accompaniment of the time would most likely harmonize the outlining *e''*, *d''* and *c''* of the first three bars of the melody with a root-position I–V–I (or vi) harmony: C–G–C (A). Or the bass might move harmonically in thirds with the *e''*, *d''* and *c''* melodic skeleton of the first three bars: C – B₆ – A. That Lyons's lower-register texture had no such harmonic intent to support the most European of treble lines is highly significant, indicating that such an idiom was alien to him, lying outside his compositional parameters. Though this treble is rooted firmly in a European idiom, the lower register is rooted just as firmly in a vernacular Irish tradition. This is a wonderful visual example of the meeting of two distinct cultures.

I acknowledge that the textures I have discussed here are not derived from any putative Lyons primary source so they cannot be presented as definitive evidence for his compositional idiom. But O'Hampsay was a virtuoso: there was no practical impediment to his playing fuller textures had Lyons composed these. And working within a conservative tradition, O'Hampsay was probably not given to re-arranging compositions to fit a more personal idiom. According to Bunting, '[w]hen asked the reason of his playing certain parts of the tune or lesson in that style, his reply was, "That

is the way I learned it,” or “I cannot play it in any other.”⁴³⁸ His transmission of Lyons’s lower-register practices, therefore, is not implausible.

Irish-harper performance of European music

Evidence shows that even the eighteenth-century harpers who were particularly well known for playing European repertory i.e. Echlin Ó Catháin (Lyons’s student), Dominic Mungan and ‘Mr. Murphy’, may have been careful to avoid complicated, baroque basses.⁴³⁹ Though Ó Catháin was reported to have played ‘the first treble and bass parts of many of Corelli’s concertos, in concert with the other instruments’,⁴⁴⁰ Mungan was careful to play slow movements – ‘select adagios’ – of Handel, Corelli, and Geminiani. His party piece, the air ‘Let me wander not unseen’ from Handel’s *L’Allegro, il Penseroso ed il Moderato*,⁴⁴¹ has a diatonic bass – if indeed Mungan replicated the bass – which moves sedately by step as the composition progresses; this would more easily lend itself to performance on an early Irish harp. It is clear, therefore, that there is no evidence for florid or speedy Italianate basses in the outputs of any of these harpers.

5.4.3 An ‘Irish Baroque’ Harp Performance-Practice Idiom

We might characterize Lyons’s and Carolan’s idiom as ‘Irish baroque’: they each emulated European baroque melodic shapes and compositional idioms in their output but such works cannot be situated squarely within European practice because they do not display the all-important, bass-centered structure of that music. An Italianate-

⁴³⁸ Bunting 1840, 73

⁴³⁹ For more on Echlin Ó Catháin, see Sanger 2014. For more on Dominic Mungan see Bunting 1840, 78. For more on ‘Mr. Murphy’ see Donnelly, Seán. 2004. ‘The Famousest Man in the World for the Irish Harp’. *Dublin Historical Record* 57 (1): 40–41.

⁴⁴⁰ Gunn 1807, 60

⁴⁴¹ Bunting 1840, 78

baroque melodic idiom could be emulated on an early Irish harp without difficulty but a contrapuntal, continuous European baroque bass was undesirable and inappropriate for several reasons:

- Irish harpers still thought in an older ‘top-down’ way i.e. the melody was the most important feature of the composition; a harmonic bass was alien and superfluous to the vernacular harping idiom;
- an active, independent bass line is impractical on such a highly resonant instrument, creating difficulties for adequate damping, leading quickly to a congested texture, if employed;
- because of the long resonance of the strings, particularly those of the lower-register, the sparse, lower-hand idiom seen in the Bunting field transcriptions provides a much fuller texture in performance on an early Irish harp than a visual inspection of the sources would suggest. A European bass was simply unnecessary for the production of a satisfactorily complete aural texture.

5.5 A More Widespread Practice?

How widespread then could this vernacular idiom I have described be, geographically and temporally? The early Irish harp’s other homeland was in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland, a sibling culture that formed the other part of the insular Gaelic world. Whereas pre-1700 source material is singularly lacking in Ireland, Scotland provides some material for evaluation. As mentioned previously, the genre connected with harping known as the *port*, has left surviving examples in three early- to mid-

seventeenth-century Scottish mandour and lute manuscripts.⁴⁴² These are interesting not only because they are often the earliest – and sometimes sole – sources of such repertory but also because the European tablature used for their notation delivers complete textures allowing inspection of the lower-register texture in each.

What can be seen is that the *port* examples in these sources offer a textural contrast in idiom to the surrounding sixteenth- and seventeenth-century French, and English, repertory. Though more comparison work is needed in this area to tease out the similarities and differences between the two, some clear differences might be outlined initially, as follows. The vernacular material

- is in diatonic, modal scales and does not modulate in a conventional sense
- exhibits a melodic emphasis: the textures are thinner than the English and continental pieces
- shows an absence of a continuous, independent bass line
- contains lower-register notes that are not prominent, and are often sporadic, functioning only to reinforce the more important melody notes or to provide occasional harmonic interest at cadences
- displays frequent parallel octaves between the melody and the lower-register pitches. This is interesting because by the time these manuscripts were being compiled, parallel-octave movement was a grammatical *faux pas* in European art music.
- What can be discerned here then may well be vestigial evidence of practices common to harping across the wider Gaelic world. Clearly, these features have

⁴⁴² Graham 1847, Skene Early- to mid-17th century, and Wemyss 1643–1644.

everything in common with those I have outlined in Chapter 4. And here they are again, documented some 170 years earlier than in Ireland, suggesting the possibility that lutenists may have been emulating vernacular harp performance practice in their settings. This plausibly pushes the existence of such an idiom back to the beginning of the seventeenth century, at least, and suggests a pan-Gaelic distribution throughout Ireland and the Scottish Highlands and Islands.

The possible antiquity of some of O'Hampsay's repertory, including *Cumha caoine an Albanaigh*'s possible origins c. 1600, may further allow for the inclusion of the later sixteenth century as a temporal parameter but this is conservative. I would argue that an idiom which lacks independent bass, and European functional harmony may well be indicative of its greater antiquity but it is difficult to know how far back it might go. Bunting connected *Burns's march* to the 'Burns's who were Lords of the marshes...near Newry in the 13th century'⁴⁴³ and, as I pointed out previously, O'Hampsay's *féachain gléis* has been shown by Ann Heymann to have similarities to fifteenth-century German organ preludes. So I find it not inconceivable that the eighteenth-century Irish harp idiom I have recognised, and outlined, in this dissertation may have threads leading back to the late Middle Ages.

5.6 Summary

Evidence of lower-register textures notated from O'Hampsay's younger contemporaries, in the last decade of the eighteenth century, would suggest that his performative idiom, including that of his lower or reinforcing hand, exemplifies a more

⁴⁴³ Bunting annotation on his published setting of the piece in Bunting 1809b. My thanks to Karen Loomis for sharing her information on this annotated source with me, which she re-discovered in 2010.

common practice in Irish harping. Even the most European-influenced of Irish harper composers, Turlough Carolan and Cornelius Lyons, are unlikely to have deviated in idiom. Examples of similar practice can be found in repertory thought to be Gaelic harp music surviving in Scottish lute MSS of the first half of the seventeenth century. This expands the geographic spread of such practices, and also increases its temporal span, pushing the idiom back plausibly by at least 170 years in the wider Gaelic world. The possible antiquity of some of O'Hampsay's repertory may also add to the plausibility of an even earlier provenance for this performative idiom.

Chapter 6

Conclusion

I have been looking at a lost musical world through the lens of a European-art-music practitioner who was grappling with what he heard live. No-one can now experience it except through his writing, his transcriptions, and the work of Practice-Research harpists who attempt to reconstruct the music based on his work. This dissertation has given me the opportunity to put into words some of what I have learned over many years' experience of studying and performing music from MS 4.29. I have interacted with, and been influenced by, other conscientious practitioners, each of whom has had their own rationale for how they play; in the process of working on this dissertation I have been able to refine mine. In going back to the original field transcriptions and examining them closely, while deliberately eschewing later drafts and piano arrangements, I have discovered features that have answered conundrums I was faced with before. I have discovered solutions which are different to others who research, and play, this music. Information has been missed by previous commentators, editors and performers, some of whom, nonetheless, perceived that there was something different to European practice to acknowledge, even if they couldn't quite see what it was or articulate it adequately.

I have shown that there is a lack of knowledge of the early Irish harp and its performance traditions in contemporary Ireland, leading to national failures and false narratives. A lack of awareness and research in the field has led to substantial gaps in knowledge. Three Irish cultural institutions have, for example, been co-opted to

participate in the airbrushing over of the performance idioms and practices of the early Irish harp in misguided national projects. This sheds light on the danger that knowledge of the-historical, vernacular tradition is in. Performance of historical Irish harp repertory is more often than not insensitive to its original practices, and situated far from its original aesthetic and timbre. In light of this, my work to fill gaps in knowledge by unearthing, and disseminating, new knowledge of old and practices, on the kind of harp that was played by the early Irish harpers, is vital. It provides new perspectives, enabling a shift in understanding for those seeking to reconstruct, perform and disseminate early Irish harp repertory. I have produced new empirical research but this has also led me to develop a new paradigm which affects the performer, and the interpretation of the music, during that performance. So it is not only the analysis of historical practice but also the performative element in presenting this, which is a significant shift offered by this dissertation.

On examination, I found that much musicological work in the area of lower-register performance practice relied on faulty foundations and leaps of argument, was largely inaccurate and misleading, and that existing transcriptions and editions were inadequate at best and erroneous at worst. The all-important, unique, late eighteenth-century field transcriptions made by Edward Bunting – the most reliable source of information – had been ignored or side-lined. In response, the core-basis of my dissertation has been an examination of Bunting's field transcriptions only, to the exclusion of all later drafts and publications, as the best method of isolating historical performance-practice information, particularly in regard to my primary research question: the functions and practices of the lower-register hand of the harper. In doing so, I have identified and outlined some of Bunting's working methods, as a necessary precursor to the

development of my own methodology for the production of accurate transcriptions, and more plausible reconstructions than before of the music he collected.

This is the first dissertation to analyse, and categorise, the evidence for early Irish harp, lower-register practice. The results of my analyses are demonstrated in my editions and recordings; these are the manifestation of that research. This work has enabled me to identify a more historically plausible lower-register idiom than heretofore, and to reproduce it in performed reconstructions and printed editions of relevant repertory. In the written dissertation I make a verbal argument but in my recorded performances there should be a similarly convincing argument so that the listener can compare the source material with my recorded performance, and can identify in that performance the plausibility of the sound world I have detected and attempted to reconstruct, that others have not managed to do, to this degree, before me.

My thesis is that a vernacular Irish-harp performance idiom, evidence of which was captured in the late eighteenth century, but which included repertory of much earlier provenance, did not make use of the continuous, independent bass lines of European art music or its concomitant functional harmony. An Irish harper did not aim to provide constant melodic accompaniment with his or her lower hand. There is no evidence of such a bass providing linear counterpoint or chordal practice supportive of the melody, and there was generally little or no evidence of functional harmony or harmonic intent in the lower-hand's practices, not even in the work of the two most Italianate of Irish harp composers, Turlough Carolan and Cornelius Lyons. Though an Irish harper's lower hand did occasionally play intervals, these are far removed in style and function from the arpeggio style of harmonic accompaniment found in European harp performance practice since the eighteenth century. A vernacular lower-register was thinner and more sporadic, relying on the selective damping of the long-resonating

brass-wire strings of the instrument to create harmony indirectly, if at all. With mainly parallel movement between the hands, the harpers' lower hand most often functioned as an 'echoing' or 'reinforcing' hand, supplementing the melody at the octave simultaneously, or in moments of treble inactivity. Occasionally the hands reversed roles with the lower hand taking over a melodic function, or both hands played melodic material antiphonally.

Since the bulk of the available data came from the most significant end-of-tradition harper, Dennis O'Hampsay, I was able, for the first time, to identify the lower-hand functions and performance-practice of a specific Irish harper and, as such, this dissertation lays the groundwork, and provides a model, for other Practice-Research harpists researching other harpers and their repertory. I focused on a microstudy of eight of O'Hampsay's most significant compositions, which has macroscopic implications for a new understanding of wider early-Irish-harp performance practice.

My editions of these compositions are now the first performing editions of Dennis O'Hampsay's repertory for early Irish harp. They take into consideration my rejection of European art-music 'bass' and eighteenth-century functional harmony, and also take into account what decades of playing copies of early Irish harps has taught me, and specifically what I have learned more recently, working with a replica of Dennis O'Hampsay's harp. While they are progressive, the apparent simplicity of my reconstructions, and editions, perhaps does not readily indicate the quantum leap that my new approach suggests: a new way of thinking about, speaking about, hearing and approaching the repertory.

The minutiae of the performance techniques presented in my supplementary editions further represents what I have learned as a Practice-Research expert practitioner over decades. The methodology of the representation of this has been honed by my didactic

work to arrive at a new notation system to express subtle and highly specific performance practice particular to this instrument. My new system allows optimal representation of practice with the minimum of visual complexity. Building on existing notation, and incorporating aspects of European pedal-harp (now also modern-Irish-harp) notation for the first time, my system also incorporates novel features to help present, in the clearest way possible, the many complexities and subtleties of simultaneous finger placing, string-sounding and/or string-damping.

In this dissertation I have proposed a new language to express vernacular Irish harping practices clearly and unambiguously – ‘lower register’, ‘lower hand’, ‘echoing hand’, ‘reinforcing hand’, and ‘lower-register shapes’ – as replacements for the misleading terms ‘bass’, ‘bass line’, ‘bass hand’ and ‘chords’. I offer this to allow the expression of historical reality on its own terms rather than through the anachronistic language of European art music, and in order to have a proactive positive effect on knowledge consciousness and future discourse in the field.

Dennis O’Hampsay’s performative idiom is not contradicted by evidence captured from contemporaneous harpers elsewhere in MS 4.29. My microstudy therefore has macroscopic implications for a new understanding of wider, early-Irish-harp performance practice, indicating that a vernacular Irish, lower-register was distinct from art-music practices of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Europe. An examination of seventeenth-century Scottish lute and mandour MSS also suggests that the practices I describe had a greater geographical spread than the island of Ireland, and a wider temporal span than the eighteenth century.

Weaknesses in my work might include the fact that absence of evidence is not evidence of absence: further MSS may come to light in the future that show additional or different performance practices of which I currently have no evidence. Nor is this a

definitive survey and edition of all of O'Hampsay's output, however that might be recognised. In my desire to explore the oldest available, consistent strand of Irish harp performance practice, I included only compositions that were clearly played by him or that I have deduced to have been played by him, containing significant evidence of lower-register texture. It must also be acknowledged that it is also often not clear who played what to Bunting. Though I triangulated to the best of my ability, with the available evidence, I attribute some compositions to O'Hampsay's performance by their position in gatherings rather than to more definitive indications, which are not available to me. The question must remain, then, whether all of these did, definitively, come from his playing. Further, my hypothesis that corroborating evidence from other harpers in the MS shows that O'Hampsay's idiom was not exceptional contains an inherent weakness: more of the other compositions may have also been played by him, which would weaken that argument.

More work needs to be done on MS 4.29 itself including all possible clarification of its organization, Bunting's collecting rationale, his working methods and the further identification of which harpers contributed what repertory. A full study of early-Irish-harp melodic ornamentation, evidenced in MS 4.29, would add greatly to the field. More collaborative work with singers needs to take place to return the harp songs of O'Hampsay, and other harpers, back to their original voice-plus-harp textures. A comparative study of Bunting's various drafts, manuscript piano arrangements and published piano arrangements and songs would be an interesting study in its own right, in order to identify better his intentions and working methods to those ends. The compositions of Turlough Carolan in the MS deserve a study of their own. It would also be worth exploring if the practices I have identified have parallels in related traditions in Scotland or in other European music cultures. If this could be shown to be true then the

evidence presented here might be the first indication of wider practice sidelined by the dominance of European art music over the centuries.

I hope that this work will assist Practice-Research performers in the field of early Irish harping. I see no reason why it may not also be of use to players of modern Irish harps, or pedal harps. I would be delighted if this dissertation were to inspire harpists of all kinds – and other musicians – who are interested in old Irish harp repertory, to feel confident to approach the music through the earliest Bunting drafts; to recognise in these a much richer, more authentic, source of material than twentieth-century published editions of vernacular Irish harp repertory.

This dissertation is not intended to be – nor can it be – definitive or complete. It provides, rather, a new, overdue understanding of historical performance practice and repertory, undertaken by a Practice-Research harpist with expertise in vernacular Irish, and historical European, music, and the Irish language. I acknowledge that further study on my own part, or on the part of others, is likely to give rise to increased knowledge, which will, in turn, lead me to revise my thesis in future.

Ideally, I aim to be in dialogue with an active-practitioner reader who can react to my thesis, putting this new evidence into practice in the reconstruction of further historical Irish harp repertory. I hope that it provides a benchmark for early Irish harp performance-practice studies; that it will stimulate researchers and performers to engage and experiment with the evidence presented, and that it will encourage further exploration in the area leading to dissemination of new knowledge and refined Practice Research in the area of early Irish harp studies.

PART 2

Chapter 7

A Microstudy: Recorded Performances of Eight Pieces from Dennis O’Hampsay’s Repertory

7.1 Introduction

The recorded performances of eight pieces from Dennis O’Hampsay’s repertory, submitted with this dissertation, are the main praxis output. They are based on my analyses of the field transcriptions for each, reproduced here in facsimile, and subsequent Practice-Research time using a copy of O’Hampsay’s harp. In this chapter I also outline the performing, recording and editing processes, together with some praxis insights gained during the microstudy, which influenced the reconstructions of the compositions, prior to the recording of the performances.

7.2 The Recording Process

7.2.1 Venue and date

The compositions were recorded, and edited, on 10–11 August 2020 at Sonic Studios in Dublin by sound engineer, and recording editor, Brendan Jenkinson.⁴⁴⁴

⁴⁴⁴ The recording took place in an acoustically dry studio in Dublin as a result of a COVID-19 national lockdown; I have made historical-music recordings otherwise only in a live acoustic.

7.2.2 Equipment and Positioning

The recording was made using three mics situated to the right-hand side of the harp, in the mid-string range, and one at the lower end of the instrument. The recording sessions combined two techniques. The first was a spaced-pair stereo technique at either end of the instrument with two large diaphragm AKG C414eb microphones in omni, one at the base of the instrument near the sounding board and the bass strings; the other adjacent to the right shoulder near the treble strings. This gave a detailed and literal impression of the instrument, and when panned left and right, the microphones revealed a very wide image ranging from the lower notes in the left to the higher notes in the right ear. The second technique was an attempt to contrast the detailed, literal image of the instrument captured by the 414s with a softer, warmer and more life-like impression. A pair of Coles 4038 ribbon mics was placed as a Blumlien pair equidistant from the 414s in a ‘sweet’ spot. This technique added richness, realism, and a low end extension to the detailed sound of the 414s. The technique was augmented by placing a CMV563 with M7 capsule in the centre of the Blumlien pair when looked at from a vertical angle. This gave more definition, and a centre to the sound of the second technique. For the second technique the mics were placed about 3–4 feet back from the instrument.⁴⁴⁵

⁴⁴⁵ My thanks to Brendan Jenkinson for a synopsis of the equipment used, its function, and its placement at the recording sessions.



Figure 161. *Microphone and lighting stand positions*

I sat on an adjustable piano stool with the harp raised on a small stool to bring it to a comfortable playing height.⁴⁴⁶

7.2.3 Recording technique

The process involved both the recording and editing of the music in the same time frame. Each piece was recorded in turn, over the course of 1.5 days, in several takes. A first edit was assembled from these, at the end of the recording of each, with final editing taking place on the second day.

I played some pieces using my editions as an *aide-memoire*, and others from memory (the *féachain gléis*; *Cumha caoine an Albanaigh*; *Burns's march*). Playing from memory led to occasional divergence from my editions, e.g. in *Burns's March*, where I played dotted rhythms in the treble, throughout the refrain, in the manner of the Patrick

⁴⁴⁶ I normally sit on a low stool to play this instrument, with the harp resting on the floor. Due to an oversight, I didn't have my preferred seating with me for the recording sessions, necessitating this alternative arrangement.

Quin field transcription⁴⁴⁷ whereas Bunting's notated rhythm, on the third beat of each four-beat refrain section, in his second draft, is not dotted.

I produced the recording, making all editorial decisions, and directed the mastering process.

7.2.4 The instrument

I performed on a copy of Dennis O'Hampsay's Downhill harp, commissioned from the Minnesota-based luthier, David Kortier. The original was built in 1702; my copy was completed, and delivered to me, in 2020, made from white willow (*salix alba*), a wood traditionally used in the building of historic early Irish harps.⁴⁴⁸ I strung it in yellow, and red, brass wire produced by the English harpsichord brass-wire manufacturer, Malcolm Rose.

7.3 Practice-based insights gained

Though it is not possible, within the confines of this dissertation, to articulate the enormous number of subtle deliberative, and expert-intuitive, decisions made in the context of reconstructing each composition here presented, I will allude to some of the overall issues I addressed.

Primarily, my decision to reconstruct O'Hampsay's music on an early Irish harp – with its highly resonant brass-wire strings – enabled insights into a plausible performance

⁴⁴⁷ The facsimile of this setting is reproduced in section 7.4.3, 332.

⁴⁴⁸ The original was built from European alder (*alnus glutinosa*). See Billinge, Michael. 2010. 'Building a Reproduction of the Downhill Harp (the Harp of Denis Hempson) for the Irish Television Documentary Banríon an Cheoil.' *Bulletin of the Historical Harp Society* 20: 10.

practice for his repertory that would be unobtainable on a modern instrument, with much less resonant gut, or nylon, strings.

7.3.1 String-resonance implications

The long resonance of an eighteenth-century, Irish harp's brass-wire strings has profound implications for several aspects of praxis. The nature of the string resonance of early Irish harps more generally – and my Downhill harp copy in particular – continues to teach me how my understanding of a vernacular Irish lower-register functions in practice, without sounding unsatisfactorily sparse or 'thin' to ears more attuned to conventional, continuous, 'European' bass lines.

I added additional, lower-register in my reconstructions beyond those pitches to be found in my source material but lengthy lower-register string resonance clearly makes a busy lower register both unnecessary and undesirable. *Lady of the desert* provides several examples of lower-register resonance of one pitch supporting the treble over several bars' length. See, for example, bars 6–8 in my edition: the surviving lower-register *d'*–*g* in 6 is quite adequate to support the cadential figure in the treble into bar 8 (and in parallel passages throughout the composition). The same is true of the *g* in bars 57–59, and the parallel passage in bars 89–91. An interesting corollary of this effect is the realisation that European-art-music perfect cadences are not always necessary to satisfactorily underpin cadential points in this repertory; the reality may have been simpler.

The experience of my Downhill harp's historical-brass strings' resonance has also educated me about the nature, and level, of string-damping required in each register to lend aural clarity and harmonicity: two mutually dependent features. I could only ascertain where, when and how much to damp, using practical experiment.

Likewise, my experience of the possibility of selective string-damping on an instrument appropriate for this repertory taught me that the absence of functional European harmony in the source material does not result in an absence of audible harmonicity in performance. This is particularly evident, for example, in the *féachain gléis*, where a harmonically rich texture arises when the lower-register pitches at the start of each phrase continue to sound through the performance of the following upper-register pitches. It is also clear, for example, in the final variation of *Lady of the desert*, where a judicious damping / lack of damping the lower-register notes in each bar results in harmonicity. Listen, in this regard, to the lower-register figures in bars 84–87, and the figurate arpeggio in bars 92–93 of my edition.

This is also true of the treble register, where clarity of texture, and audible harmonicity, can be achieved by damping only dissonant pitches in a passage. I use the inherent melodic harmonicity I identify in order to inform my damping technique, bringing this feature to the fore. Listen, for example, to bar 2 of my edition of *Tá mé i mo chodladh 's ná dúisigh mé* where the damping of the passing *a'* allows the *g'* to *b'* third to ring together, or throughout the registers in the music represented in the first half of the fourth line of the *féachain gléis*, where the *a* and *d'* are damped to facilitate the *E-B-e-b-e'-g'* pitches to resonate together in that passage.

I use such selective damping techniques ubiquitously throughout my performance: damping some pitches for clarity but often also in order to highlight inherent harmonicity. Equally, the resonance of series of adjacent consonant pitches will create harmonicity if simply allowed to ring out; listen, for example to beats 3–5 in bar 3 of my edition of *Tá mé i mo chodladh 's ná dúisigh mé*.

An experience of when the resonance of a given pitch decreases to inaudibility informs my decisions about when to restrike lower-register pitches or to introduce others. An

example here would be *Lady Letty Burke*, in which the lower-register *c*' I added underneath the first melodic pitch resonated sufficiently to sustain the melody until the melodic contour indicated that different lower pitches would be more appropriate, from bar 3. Similarly, the lower-register *c* at the end of bar 4, in the same piece, resonates sufficiently to suggest that, in a conservative reconstruction, no further pitches are needed until a change of pitch would appear to be indicated by the melodic shape in bar 7.

String resonance also has a bearing on the pacing of a performance: not only within melodic phrases but also between them. The minimum breathing spaces between phrases, and composition sections, are influenced by the remaining resonance hanging over from the end of a previous phrase. In that regard, the pacing of my recorded performances is substantially influenced by the instrument on which I am playing.

7.3.2 Tessitura choice for added lower-register pitches

In the absence of surviving lower register in any given passage, there are choices to be made about the tessitura of added lower-register pitches; often there is a choice of at least two plausible octaves in which to situate these. Working outward from the existing lower-register in the source material – and within the additional context of string-damping necessity – can help answer questions about where plausibly to situate additional pitches. *Seón Jones* provides a good example of what I learned in this regard.

The lower-register in bars 3 and 4 of my edition led me to use *g* and *G* as the added pitches in bars 1 and 2 as this kept the hand in the same tessitura for all four bars. Similarly, my choice of *E* in bar 5, and *G* in bar 6 keeps the hand in a position which allows for efficient damping of the *D* in bar 4. Thereafter, I raised the lower-register

range gradually, in parallel with the treble. This was also influenced, however, by the tessitura of the surviving lower-register in bars 13 and 14, from which I worked back.

7.3.3 *Comhluighe* stringing implications

The string spacing on any harp informs the practicalities of what pitches may be pre-placed or sounded simultaneously, and what fingers to use. This is further true on an early Irish harp when the *comhluighe* [unison *g* strings] are taken into account. Hand shapes and fingerings must account for the extra span that the unison strings imply, and choices of damping fingers are also impacted by the double pitch. For example, in the final four bars of *Seón Jones*, the treble hand, unusually, straddles the *comhluighe* strings, focussing one's choices about a) which *comhluighe* string is optimal to prepare, and strike and b) what fingering and damping fingers are possible to use in the context of the melody in these bars. With regard to the choice of which of the two *comhluighe* strings to strike, it became clear that context decides the choice, with proximity to preceding and following pitches being determining factors, alongside practicalities of related dampings.

7.3.4 Repeat schemes

Where the repeat schemes in the recordings differ from information in the MS source, this was usually a spontaneous artistic decision informed by a desire to achieve a satisfactory performance length using material that is often not lengthy in nature. The repeat schemes were generally not decided upon in advance but rather during performance and / or after listening back to initial takes. At just 24 2/4 bars, *Lady Letty Burke*, for example, is not untypical in length for a piece of vernacular Irish music. Indeed it is longer than many Irish melodies, which are 16 bars in length, but it would be untypical to have just one iteration. It is common practice in vernacular Irish music

to repeat each part of a composition, and to repeat the entire composition several times, incorporating this practice. *Seón Jones*, as a strophic song, also lends itself naturally to repetition.

7.3.5 Unknowns remaining

Unknowns inevitably remain: it is possible that significant amounts of O'Hampsay's lower-register performance practice were not notated, and that their absence makes for an unsatisfactory reconstruction on my part; that I cannot adequately reproduce his lower-register idiom. But I am more confident about my reconstructions since constructing them on a copy of his instrument: the sparse texture in the field transcriptions translates very well to the ear on an early Irish harp, requiring minimal addition to arrive at a conservatively satisfactory texture.

Another unknown is how the subtleties of my performance might have differed were I to have played using O'Hampsay's orientation, with the harp on my left shoulder. Perhaps the balance between the melody and lower-register might have been affected, given that I – like most people – am right-handed. The lower-register may have sounded more 'weighty' in the opposite orientation?

It is not known exactly what pitch and temperament was used by the harpers. Though the former may not generally have been very different to the pitch that Bunting was used to as a church organist in Belfast in the late eighteenth century. Evidence for this may be deduced from Bunting's having transcribed several pieces with three sharps and a final of A, rather than his more usual one / no sharp with a final of G. This may indicate that a) Bunting had perfect pitch and b) that Patrick Quin, and one or two others tuned their harps a tone higher than the other harpers.

Appropriate temperaments for eighteenth-century Irish-harp repertory are still the subject of debate. A Pythagorean temperament – with perfect fifths and much wider than pure thirds – is clearly inappropriate, given the triadic nature of much Irish harp music of the eighteenth century. But equally, later temperaments suitable for chromatic European instruments are not necessary on a diatonic instrument. For my recordings I tuned my harp in just intonation, which is my current best guess as to an appropriate Irish-harp temperament in the eighteenth century. But I have little hard evidence to show that my choice is the most appropriate temperament.

7.4 MS Facsimilies

7.4.1 A *Féachain Gléis*

Féachain gléis [‘a preliminary test or tuning trial’]



Figure 162. MS 4.29, 54 a féachain gléis

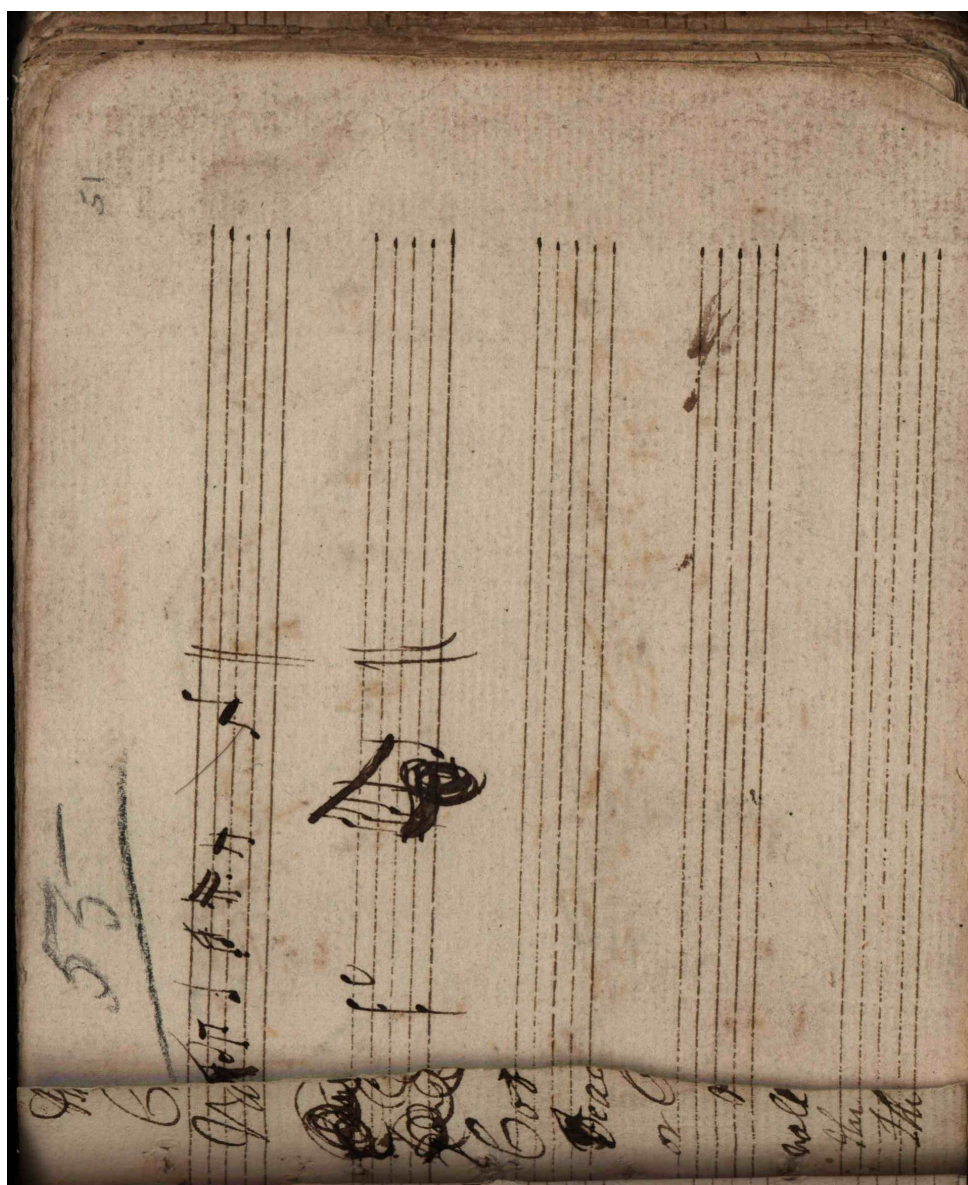


Figure 163. MS 4.29, 55 *a féachain gléis*, including image of concealed texture

7.4.2 *Cumha Caoine an Albanaigh*

Cumha caoine an Albanaigh [‘The mournful lamentation of the Scott’]



Figure 164. MS 4.29, 158 Cumha caoine an Albanaigh

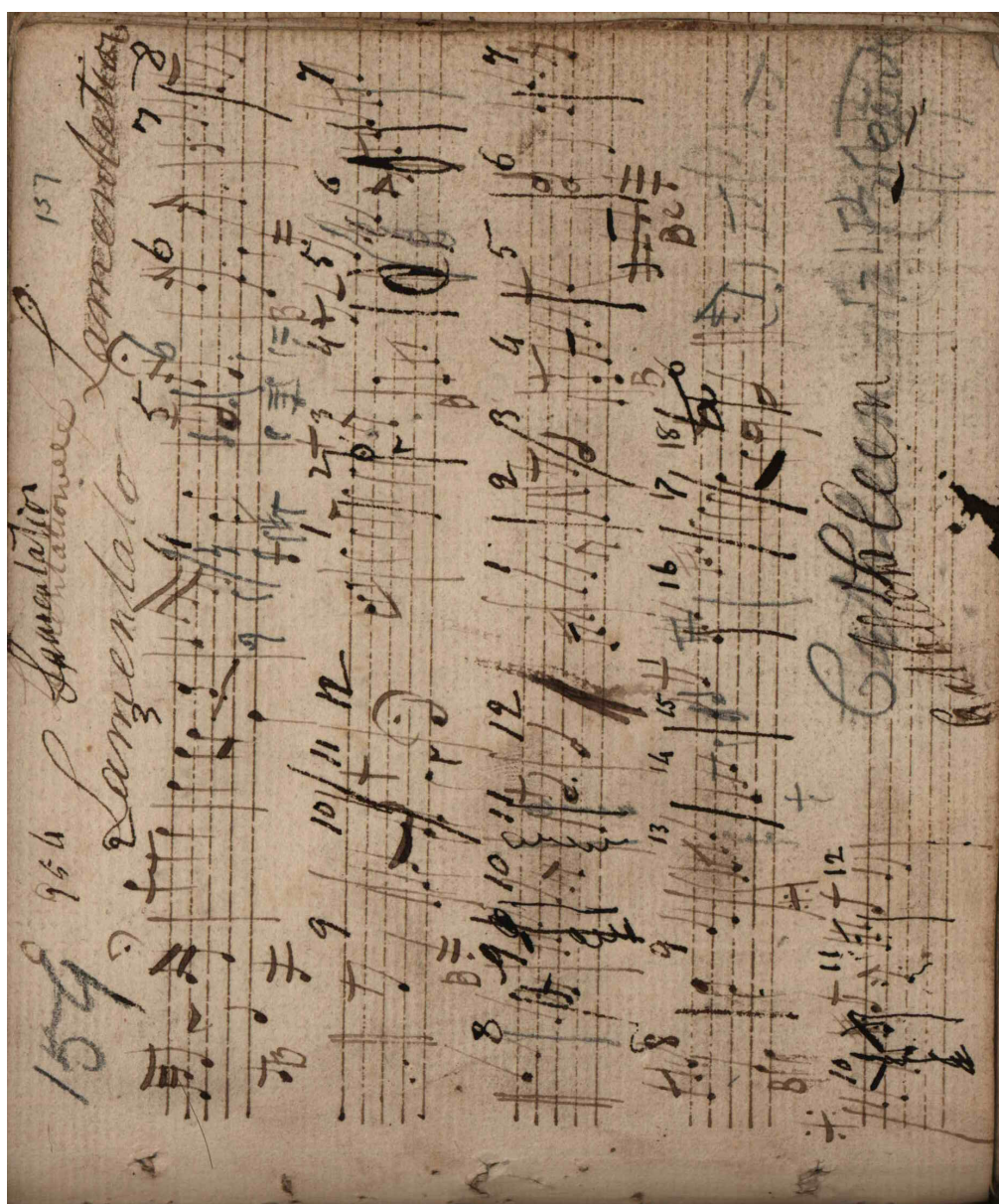


Figure 165. MS 4.29, 159 Cumha caoine an Albanaigh

7.4.3 Burns's March

Chugat do ghadaí fríd an mónaidh ['beware of the thief, [coming] through the bog']

Aim bó agus ith an bó ['find a cow and eat a cow']⁴⁴⁹

⁴⁴⁹ Page-annotation translations: 'take care of the rogue coming thro[ugh] the marsh' and 'steal a cow and eat a cow'.



Figure 166. MS 4.29, 30 Burns's march

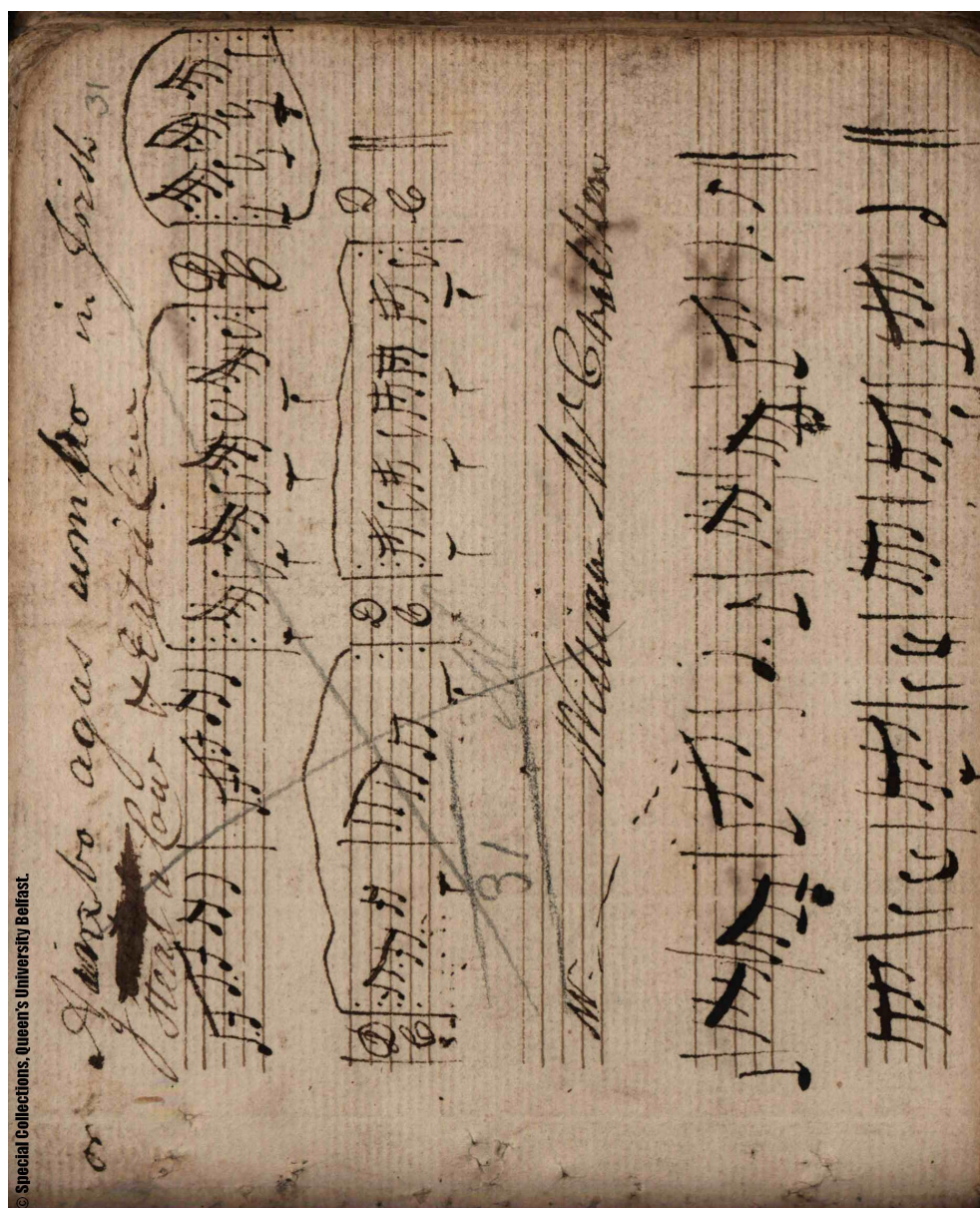


Figure 167. MS 4.29, 31 Burns's march



Figure 168. MS 4.33.1, 72 Burns's march, Patrick Quin setting, p.1

7.4.4 *A Chailíní, A' Bhfaca Sibh Seoirse?*

A chailíní, a' bhfaca sibh Seoirse? ['girls, have you seen George?']

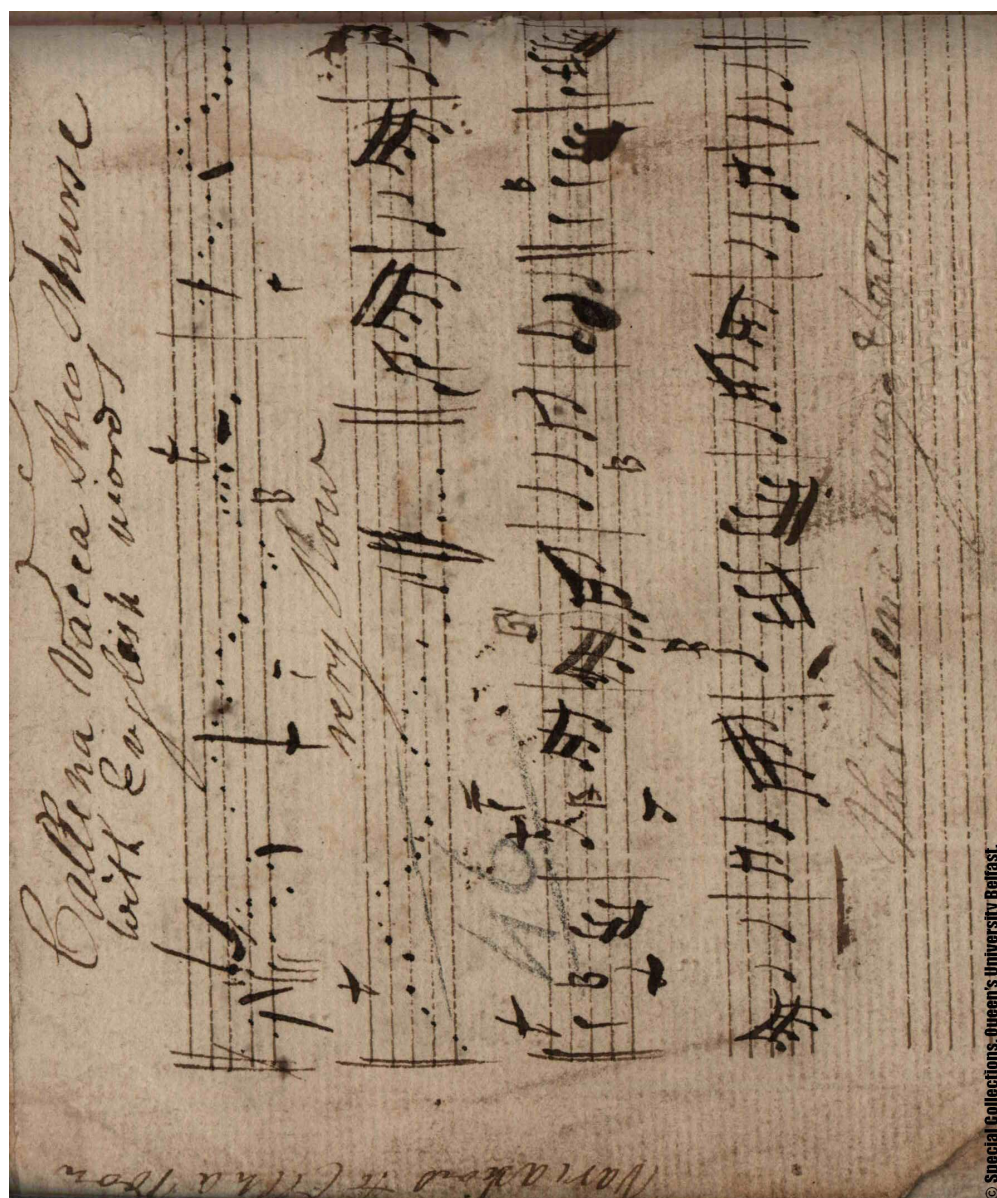


Figure 169. MS 4.29, 46 A *chailíní, a' bhfaca sibh Seirse?*, theme

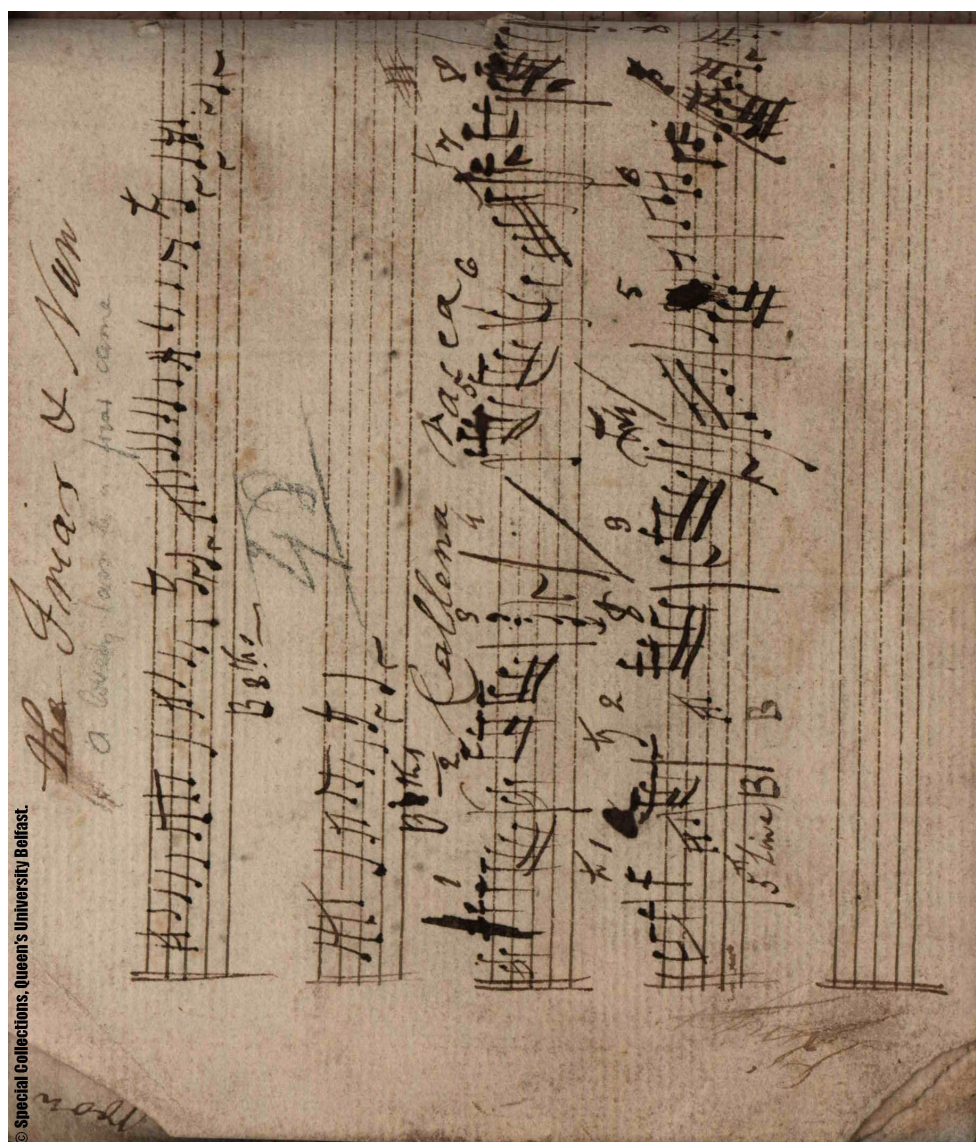


Figure 170. MS 4.29, 48 *A chailíní, a' bhfaca sibh Seoirse?*, variation

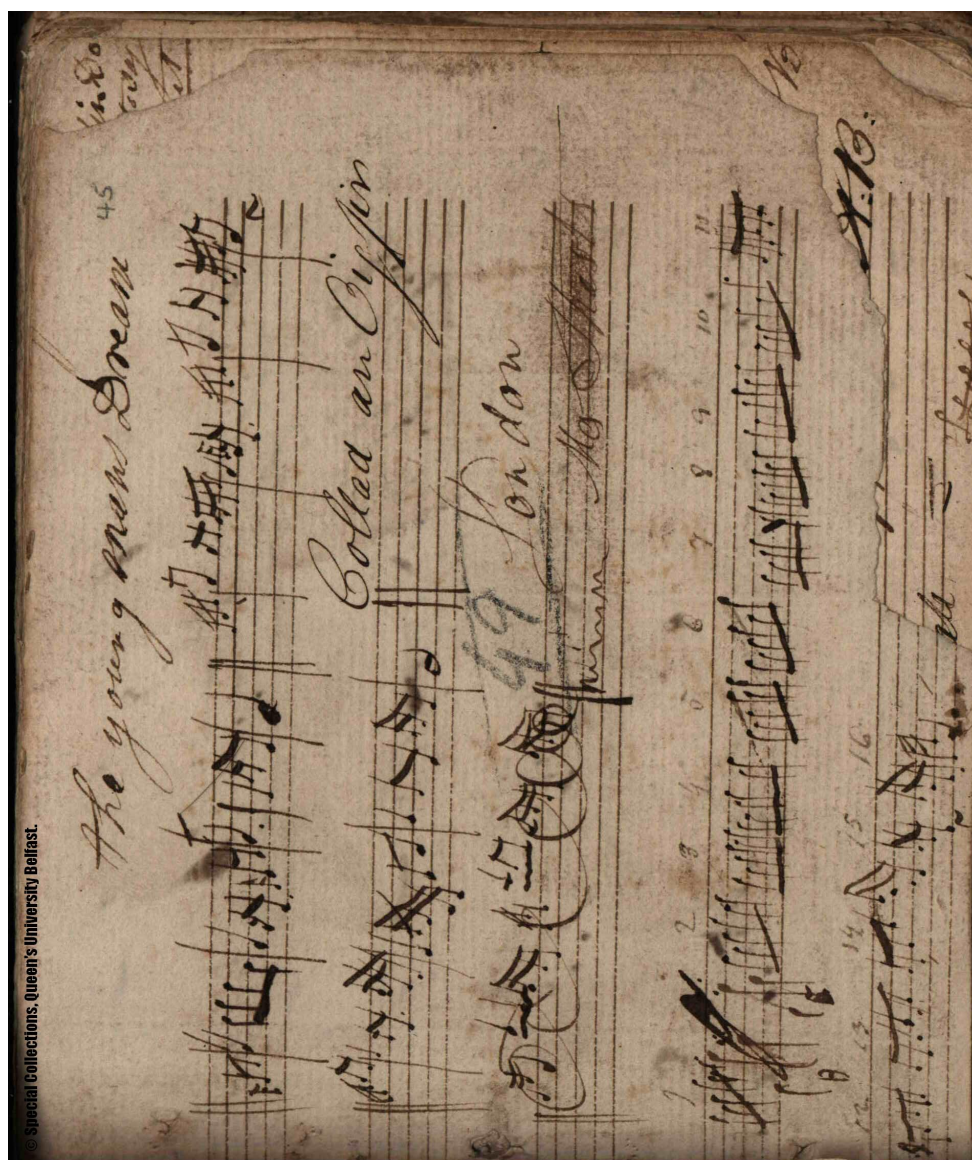


Figure 171. MS 4.29, 49 *A chailíní, a' bhfaca sibh Seoirse?*, division



Figure 172. MS 4.29, 50 *A chailíní, a' bhfaca sibh Seoirse?*, division and variation

7.4.5 *Seón Jones*

Seón Jones ['John Jones']

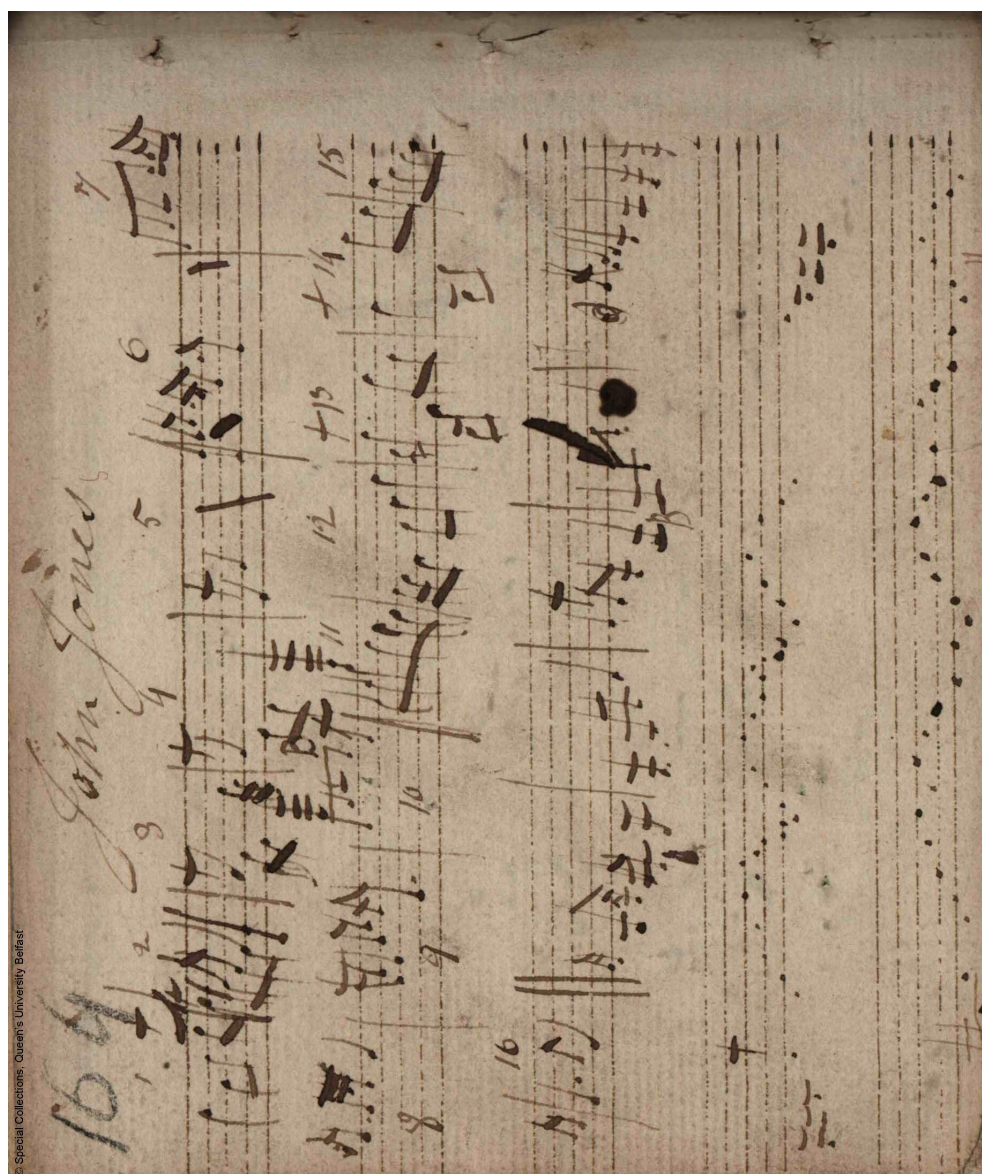


Figure 173. MS 4.29, 164 Seón Jones

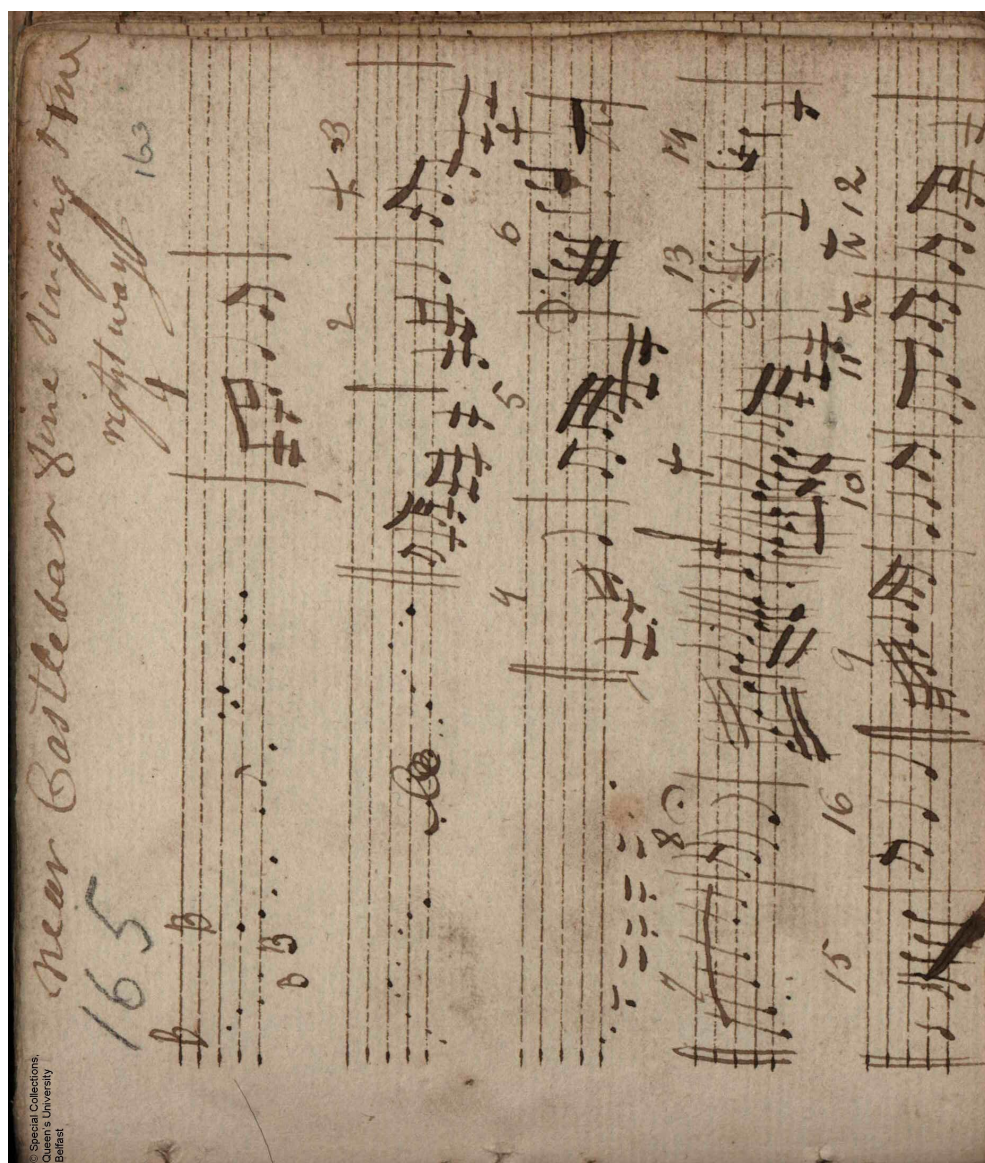


Figure 174. MS 4.29, 165 Seón Jones

7.4.6 Lady Letty Burke

7.4.7 Lady of the Desert

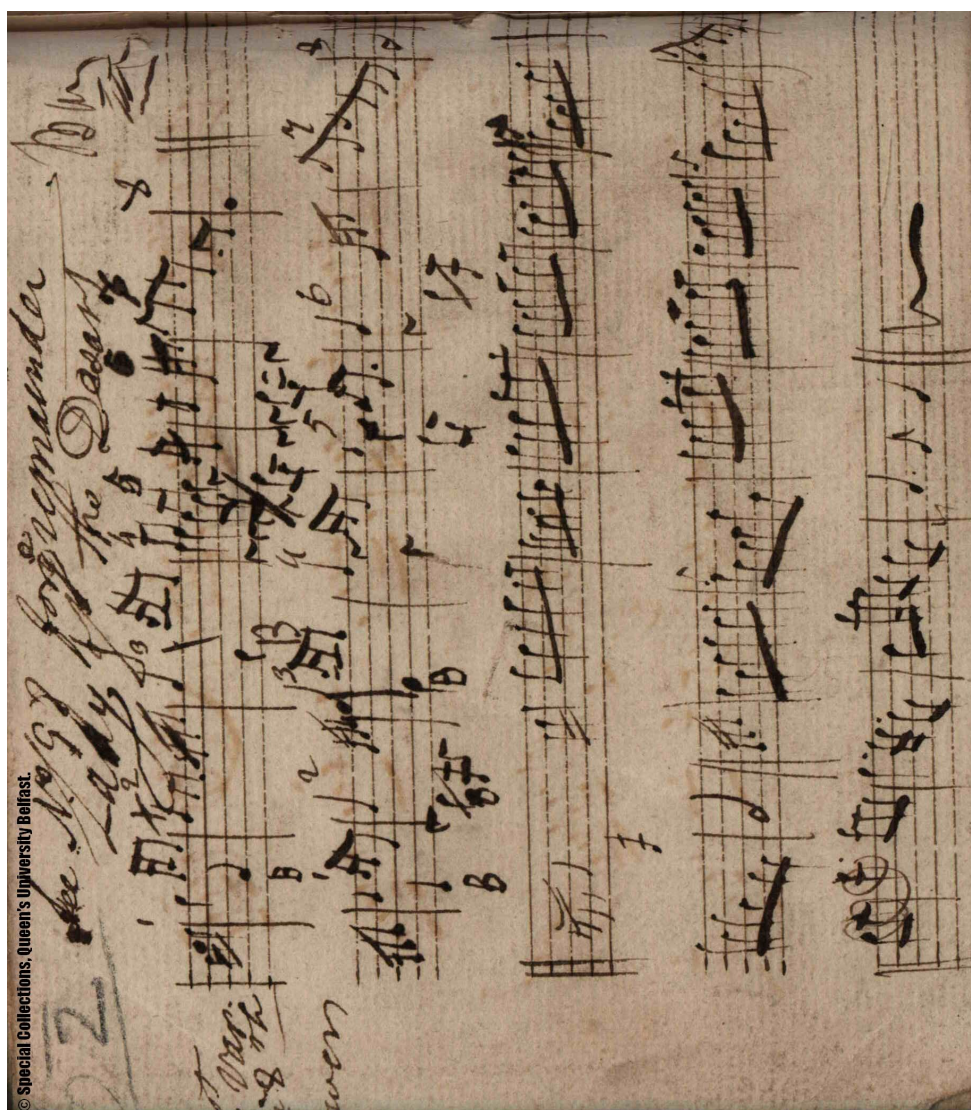


Figure 176. MS 4.29, 52 *Lady of the desert, theme and divison*

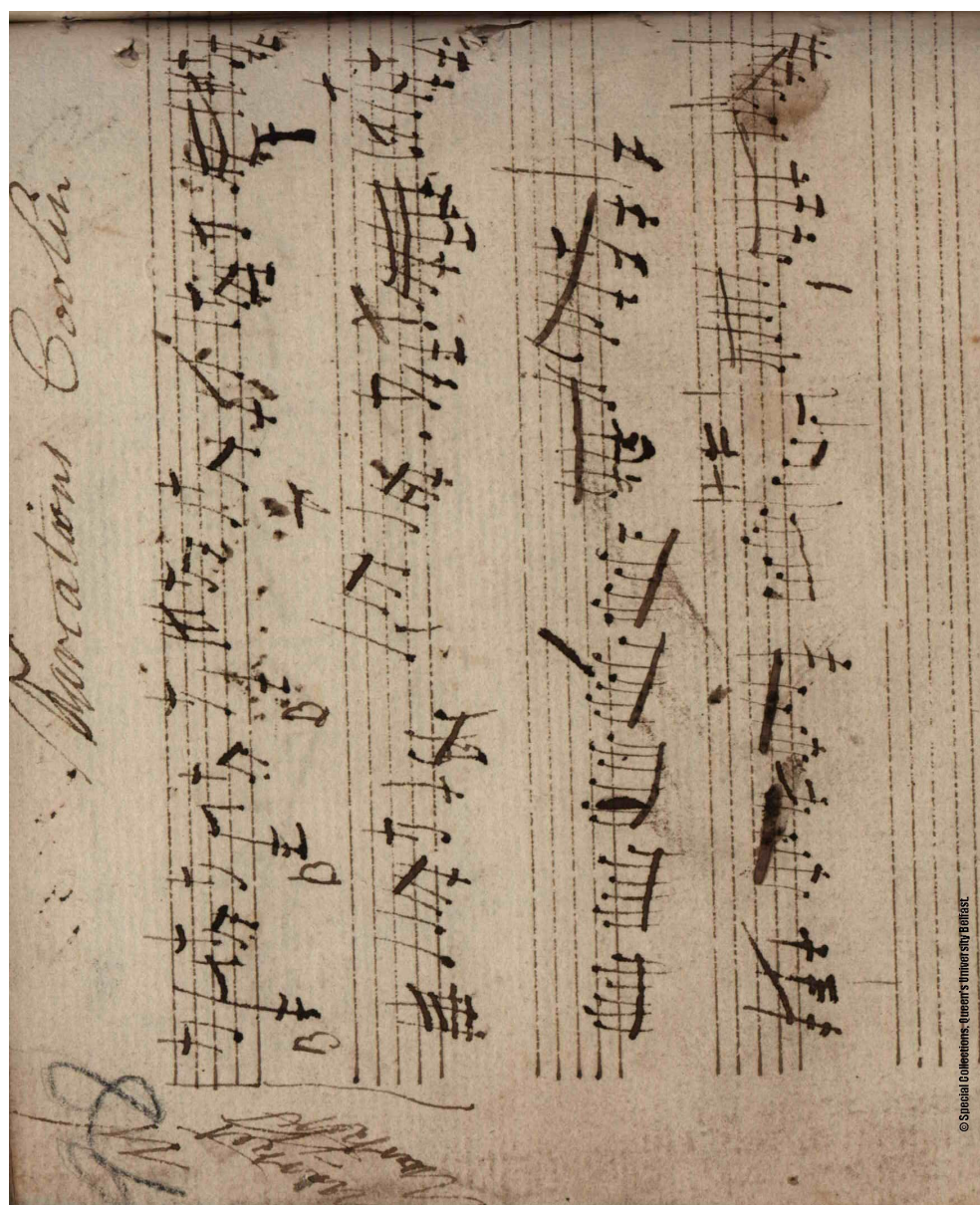


Figure 177. MS 4.29, 98 *Lady of the desert*, variation and division

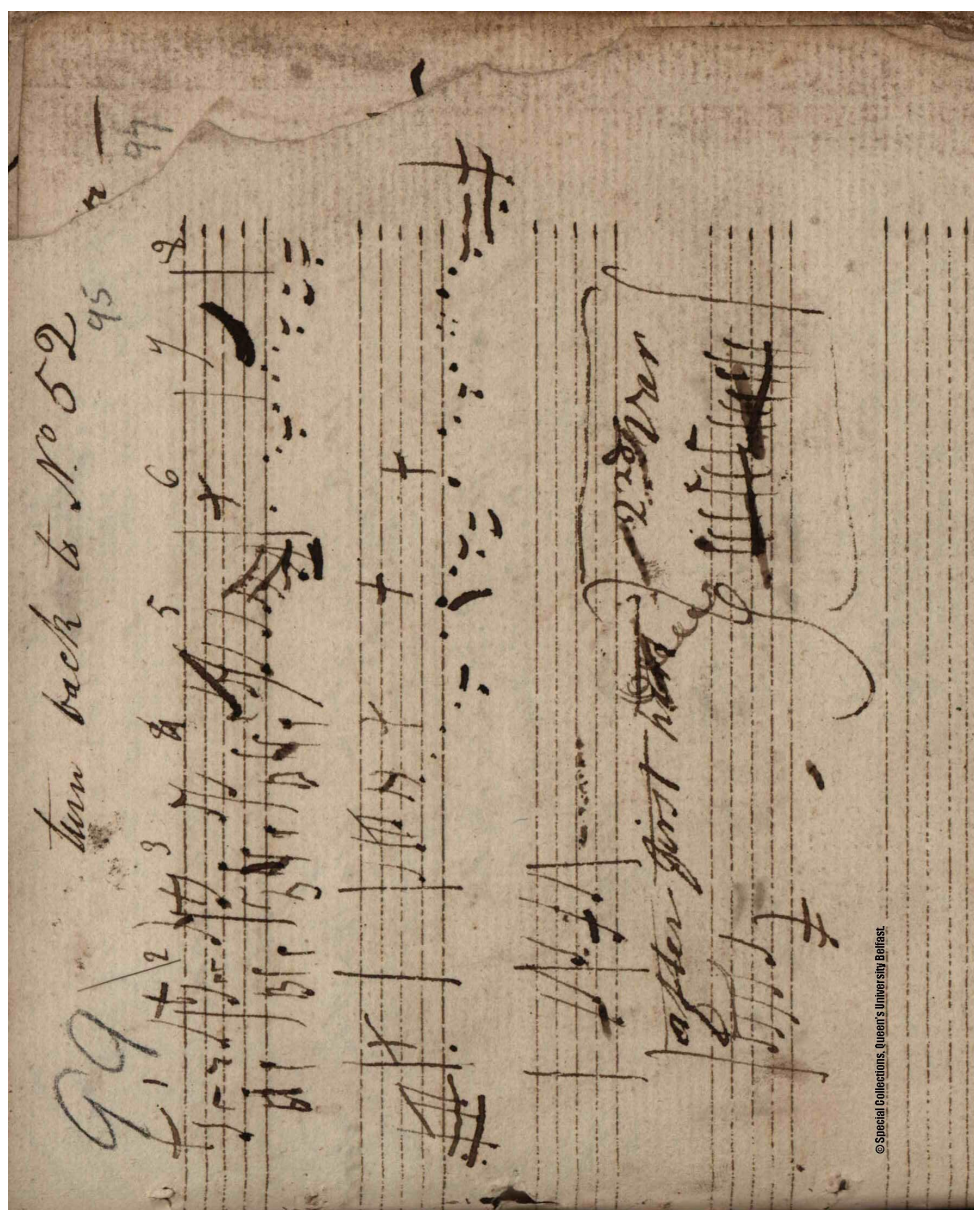


Figure 178. MS 4.29, 99 Lady of the desert, variation

7.4.8 *Tá Mé i Mo Chodladh ‘s Ná Dúisigh Mé*

Tá mé i mo chodladh ‘s ná dúisigh mé [‘I am asleep and do not wake me’]

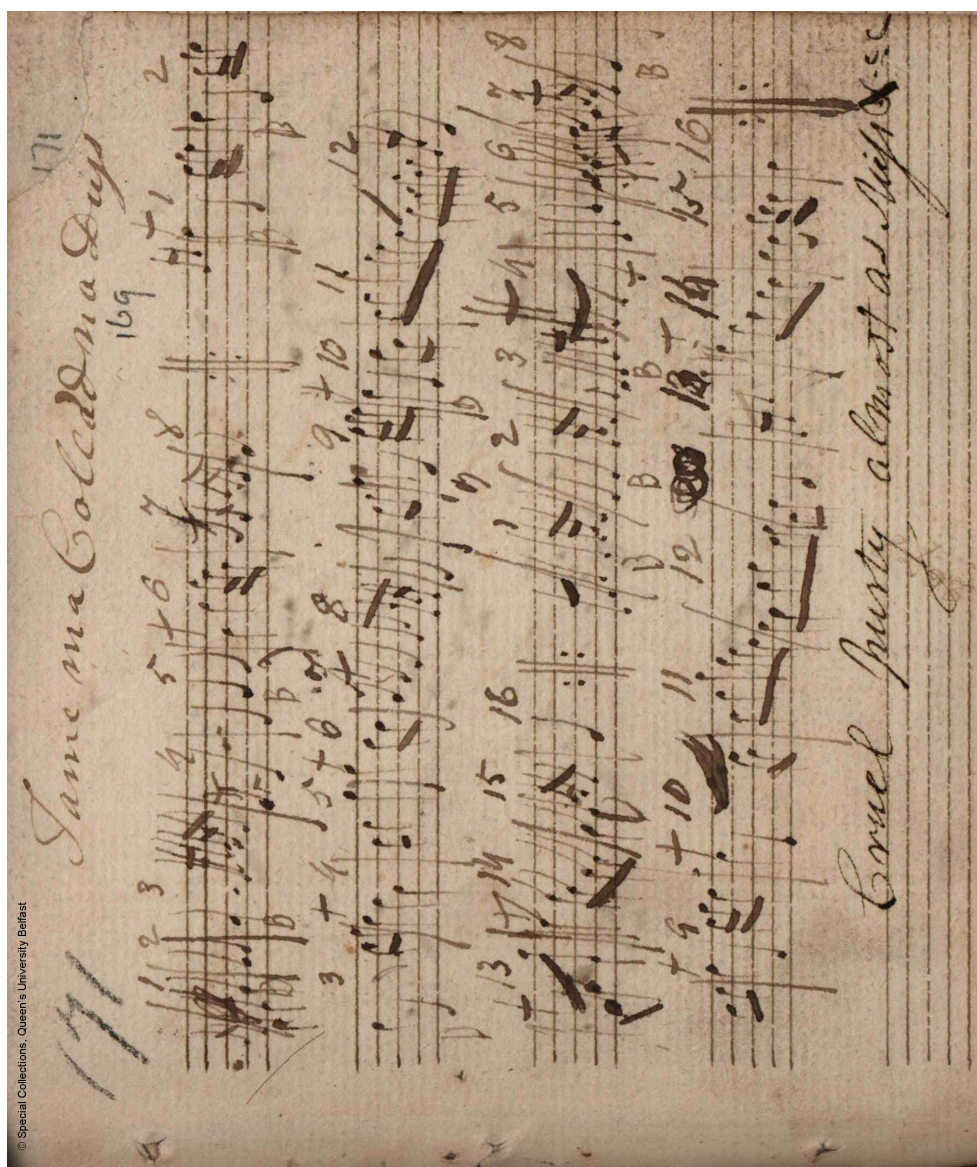


Figure 179. MS 4.29, 171, Tá mé i mo chodladh 's ná dúisigh mé

7.5 Sound Recordings

Eight sound files are attached to this dissertation as follows:

1. *A féachain gléis*
2. *Cumha caoine an Albanaigh*
3. Burns's march
4. *A chailíní, a' bhfaca sibh Seoirse?*
5. *Seón Jones*
6. Lady Letty Burke
7. Lady of the desert
8. *Tá mé i mo chodladh 's ná dúisigh mé*

Chapter 8

Supplementary Didactic Performing Editions

8.1 Introduction

The performing editions which follow are supplementary to the recorded performances – the main praxis output – and are another manifestation of the research presented in Part 1. They incorporate, in visual form, the results of many years of working only with the earliest, and best, sources of the relevant repertory: field transcriptions made from the playing of harper, Dennis O’Hampsey, in the 1790s. The textures presented in these editions arise out of my close analysis of the lower-register textures I have identified in these surviving, secondary sources. The minutiae of the performance techniques articulated in my editions further represents what I have learned as a Practice-Research expert practitioner over decades, and places demands on the reader.

The new notation system I have developed for use in my editions is designed to bring visibility to my Practice-Research approach. It has been honed by my didactic work over the last number of years, testing solutions with those I coach in order to arrive at an appropriate system to express adequately intricate performance practices specific to early Irish harp. My new system aims to balance optimal representation of those practices with minimal visual complexity.

Building on existing notation, and incorporating aspects of European pedal-harp notation for the first time, this system also incorporates novel features to help present, in the clearest way possible, the many complexities and subtleties of simultaneous finger placing, string-sounding and/or string-damping. It is already being used by early-Irish-

harp tutors in Europe and the USA, and may hold the possibility of a common, international notational language for teachers and students of early Irish harp. I do not claim that I always reproduce precisely the fingerings and dampings depicted in each edition. For example, in *Burns's march*, I sometimes play thumb rest strokes on the lower-hand *b* and *a* in the episodes.⁴⁵⁰ But, much more often than not, I articulate the fingerings and dampings exactly as reproduced in the editions.

These performing editions are didactic, to educate the reader / performer about the techniques, and aesthetic, I use in my own praxis, which arise in turn from my Practice-Research approach to historical Irish harp repertory. The apparent simplicity of my reconstructions does not readily indicate the quantum leap that my new approach suggests. I am proposing a new way of thinking about, approaching, reconstructing and hearing early Irish harp repertory.

These editions add repertory to the canon and provide an accessible entry point for those who have not yet had the chance or confidence to engage with the source material. ¶ They may also be helpful for those who have some familiarity with early-Irish-harp repertory but who have not yet had the opportunity to engage with surviving, lower-register evidence. However, I present these visual representations of my repertory reconstructions as plausible rather than definitive in any way. Caution needs to be taken when viewing any editions of old repertory: I strongly recommend the reader to consult the source material themselves to come to their own conclusions.

The musicologist, Dennis Libby, wrote of the role of the performer in music pre 1800:


⁴⁵⁰ See my edition in section 8.3.4, [352](#).

*The performer's contribution to a piece of music in performance was not regarded as post-compositional but as the final stage in the act of composition itself. It...was the performed music that embodied the finished work of art, one that was both fluid—varying with each realisation—and ephemeral, not directly recoverable. The concept of performance as work of art can be seen as the central principle of this musical practice.*⁴⁵¹




In this spirit, I further recommend that the reader think of the dissertation's recorded performances as primary, offering content that the written editions cannot contain.

8.2 Notation Rubric

Table 6. Notation Rubric

Notation	Meaning
Transparent note head	This has a double function, indicating
	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. a string on which to pre-place a finger/fingers at the beginning of a newly-placed group of notes. These may be sounded at some point or they may function solely as anchor fingers to fix the hand in a set position. <p>Place the indicated finger on the string indicated by the transparent note head not later than the performance of any related, sounded notes. If more than one pre-placing finger is indicated, place all simultaneously.</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 2. a string to damp after being sounded. <p>Damp the string, indicated by the transparent note head, with the indicated finger. If more than one damping finger is indicated, place all simultaneously.</p> <p>N.B. In both cases, the fingers are likely to remain in place until it is necessary to move them again or until the next comma sign (see below).</p>

⁴⁵¹ Quoted in Haynes 2007, 208

Fingering indication	
1	thumb
2	forefinger
3	middle finger
4	fourth finger
1	Fingering for pre-placed notes is indicated in italics on the <i>same</i> side of the stave as fingerings for sounded notes.
2	
3	
4	Fingering for notes to be damped is indicated in italics on the <i>opposite</i> side of the stave.
Rest stroke	
1–/	Play ‘through’ the sounded string, coming to rest on – and damping – the lower, neighbouring string.
Substitutionary finger	
	This indicates that a finger is replaced by another on the same string, to assist a non-visual transition to a new hand position.
	The related boxed fingering shows which finger is replaced by another. The previously placed finger is to the left of the arrow and the newly substituted finger is to the right.
Placing bracket	
	Place <i>all</i> the fingers in the group contained by the bracket before playing the first note. If a bracket intersects with another bracket, place all the fingers contained by the next bracket <i>before</i> playing the final finger in the previous bracket.
Comma	
,	At a comma indication, take all fingers off the strings, and replace some or all in the next indicated position. N.B. Fingers are likely to remain in position between comma signs.
<i>Na comhluighe g</i> delineation ⁴⁵²	
	Delineates which of the twin <i>na comhluighe g</i> strings is to be placed or sounded.
UC	Upper <i>comhluighe</i> string
LC	Lower <i>comhluighe</i> string

⁴⁵² *Na comhluighe* are the two unison *g* strings that lie a fourth below *c'* on an early Irish harp; the upper one is the shorter string.

8.3 Supplementary Performing Editions

8.3.1 A Féachain Gléis

This setting: Siobhán Armstrong © 2020

'Quick and spirited' [Bunting, 1840]

The musical score for 'The Rose Tree' is written in G major (one sharp) and 4/4 time. It consists of two staves: a treble staff and a bass staff. The treble staff contains the melody, which is a simple, repetitive tune. The bass staff provides a harmonic accompaniment, primarily using a bass line that follows the melody's contour. Fingerings are indicated by numbers 1-4 above or below notes. A guitar-style tablature is provided below the bass staff, showing fret numbers (1-4) and techniques like 'l' (left hand) and 'UC' (up-bow or up-bow). The score includes a key signature change to G major (one sharp) and a time signature change to 4/4. The piece concludes with a final chord and a double bar line.

[illegible]

The musical score for 'The Rose Tree' is presented in two systems. The first system consists of a treble and bass staff. The treble staff contains a melody with various rhythmic values and fingerings (e.g., 4, 2, 4, 5, 1, 3, 4). The bass staff provides a harmonic accompaniment with sustained notes and some movement. The second system continues the melody in the treble staff, featuring a trill (tr) and further rhythmic patterns. The bass staff continues with sustained accompaniment. Fingerings and articulation marks are clearly indicated throughout the score.

The musical score for 'The Rose Tree' is presented in two systems. The first system consists of a treble and bass staff. The treble staff contains a melody with various rhythmic values and fingerings (4, 4, 2, 1, 3, 2, 3, 2, 2). The bass staff provides a harmonic accompaniment with chords and single notes, including fingerings like 1-1, 2, 3, and 4. The second system continues the melody in the treble staff and includes a 'LC' (Left Hand) part in the bass staff with a sequence of notes and fingerings (1, 1, 2, 3, 4). The score is written in G major (one sharp) and 4/4 time.

8.3.2 *Cumha Caoine an Albanaigh*

John Scott (c. 1570–c. 1650)

Speculative common-time reconstruction

This setting: Siobhán Armstrong © 2020

The musical score is written for piano in 4/4 time, featuring a treble and bass staff. The key signature is one sharp (F#). The score is divided into three systems, each with a treble and bass staff. Fingerings are indicated by numbers 1-4. Ornaments are marked with a bracket and a plus sign [+].

System 1: Treble staff starts with a quarter note G4, followed by a quarter note A4, a quarter note B4, and a quarter note C5. Bass staff starts with a quarter note F#3, followed by a quarter note G3, a quarter note A3, and a quarter note B3. Fingerings: Treble (2, 3, 1, 2), Bass (3, 2, 1, 2). Ornaments: Treble (4 2 3), Bass (4 3 2 1).

System 2: Treble staff starts with a quarter note D5, followed by a quarter note E5, a quarter note F#5, and a quarter note G5. Bass staff starts with a quarter note C4, followed by a quarter note D4, a quarter note E4, and a quarter note F#4. Fingerings: Treble (1, 2, 3, 1), Bass (1, 2, 3, 4). Ornaments: Treble (1 2 3 4), Bass (4 3 2 1).

System 3: Treble staff starts with a quarter note A5, followed by a quarter note B5, a quarter note C6, and a quarter note D6. Bass staff starts with a quarter note G4, followed by a quarter note A4, a quarter note B4, and a quarter note C5. Fingerings: Treble (2, 3, 1, 2), Bass (1, 2, 3, 4). Ornaments: Treble (1 2 3 4), Bass (4 3 2 1).

12 $\overbrace{1}^{[+]}$, $\overbrace{4\ 3\ 2}^{[+]}$ 2 3 4 , $\overbrace{2\ 3}^{[+]}$, $\overbrace{2\ 3\ 4}^{[+]}$ 2 , $\overbrace{4\ 3\ 2}^{[+]}$ $\overbrace{1\ 2}^{[+]}$ 3 4 ,

15 $\overbrace{1\ 2\ 3\ 4}^{[+]}$ 3 2 1 , $\overbrace{4\ 3\ 2}^{[+]}$ 3 4 , $\overbrace{2\ 3\ 4}^{[+]}$ 3 2 $\overbrace{1\ 2}^{[+]}$,

18 $\overbrace{2\ 3\ 4}^{[+]}$ $\overbrace{1\ 2}^{[+]}$ 3 , $\overbrace{4\ 3\ 2}^{[+]}$ 1 $\overbrace{1\ 2}^{[+]}$ $\overbrace{3\ 4}^{[+]}$ 3 , $\overbrace{4\ 3\ 2\ 1}^{[+]}$ 1 2

21 3 , $\overbrace{4\ 3\ 2\ 1}^{[+]}$ $\overbrace{1\ 2}^{[+]}$, $\overbrace{4\ 3\ 2\ 1}^{[+]}$ 1 2 ,

24

[+]

2/4 2/4 1 1 2 2 3 4 3 2 1 2/4 1 2 3 4 3

4 2 1 4 3 2 1 2

4 3 2 1-1 1 2 3 4 1 2

1 2

1 2

1 2

27

[+]

2 3 4 3 3 2 1 1 2 3 4 3 2 1 1 2 3 4

2 4 3 2 1 2 3 2 1 3

3 2 3 2 2 3 2

3 2 3 2

29

[+]

4 3 2 1 3 2 1 4 3 2 3 2 1 1 2 3 2 1 4 3 2

3 2 3 3 2 3 2 3

2 3 2 1 2 1

3 4 3 2 1 2 1

32

[+]

1 2 3 4 2 3 2 3 3

4 3 2 1 2 3 1 2 3

1 2 3 1 2 3

1 2 3 4 2 3 4

8.3.3 Burns's March

This setting: Siobhán Armstrong © 2020

Refrain

3

4

Refrain

5

Refrain

7

Refrain

9

3 2 4

3 2 4

3 2 4

3 2 4

Refrain

[Bars 1 and 2 lower-register taken from Patrick Quin field transcription]

8.3.4 A Chailíní, A' Bhfaca Sibh Seoirse?

Oral tradition with vars. by
Cornelius Lyons (c. 1680–post 1750)
 This setting: Siobhán Armstrong © 2020

MS 29/46: 'Very slow'

The musical score is written in 3/4 time and consists of four systems of music. Each system includes a piano (p) part and an organ (o) part. The piano part is characterized by flowing sixteenth-note patterns, often with triplets and slurs. The organ part provides a harmonic accompaniment with sustained notes and occasional ornaments. Fingerings are indicated by numbers 1-4, and ornaments are marked with [t] for trills and [LC] for lilt ornaments. The score includes measure numbers 4, 9, and 13.

System 1 (Measures 1-4): The piano part begins with a triplet of eighth notes (4 3 2 1) followed by a triplet of eighth notes (3 2 1). The organ part has a triplet of eighth notes (3 2 1) and a lilt ornament (LC) under the first measure.

System 2 (Measures 5-8): The piano part features a triplet of eighth notes (3 2 1) and a lilt ornament (LC) under the first measure. The organ part has a triplet of eighth notes (3 2 1) and a lilt ornament (LC) under the first measure.

System 3 (Measures 9-12): The piano part has a triplet of eighth notes (3 2 1) and a lilt ornament (LC) under the first measure. The organ part has a triplet of eighth notes (3 2 1) and a lilt ornament (LC) under the first measure.

System 4 (Measures 13-16): The piano part has a triplet of eighth notes (3 2 1) and a lilt ornament (LC) under the first measure. The organ part has a triplet of eighth notes (3 2 1) and a lilt ornament (LC) under the first measure.

17

3 2 1 4, 1 2, 1 2 3 4, 3 1 2, 1 2 3, 1 2 3 4, 1 2 3 4

1 3 4 1 3

2 2

1 LC
2
4

3 2

sliss.

21

2-2, 1 2 3 4, 1 2 3 4, 1 2 3, 4 3 2, 3 2, 1 2, 3 1 2 3 4, 3 4, 4 3 2,

3 2 3 1 2 3 3 3

1-1 LC, 1 → 4 UC, 4 3 2 UC, 3, 4

25

[t] 2 1 2, 2 3 4 2 3, 1 2 3 4, 4, 1 2 3 4, 3 2 4, 4 3 2 1 3

1 3 2 3 1

4 2 1 3 4 → 1 LC, 1 2 3 4 LC

3 2 1 UC, 4 3 2 UC, 4 UC

29

2 2 3 4 2 1, 3 2 1 3 1 2 3, 2 3, 4 1 2 3, 2 3 4, 1 2 3 4, 3 1 2 2

3 3 1 2 3 3 3 4

1-1 LC, 4 3 2 1, 4 3 2 1

33

2 3 2 1 2 1 2 3 2 1 2 1 2 3 2 1 2 1 2 3 2 1 2 1

4 3 2 1 1 , 4 3 2 1 1 , 4 3 2 1 1 UC 4 3 2 1 1 ,

37

2 3 2 1 2 1 2 3 2 1 2 1 2 3 2 1 2 1 2 3 2 1 3 2

4 3 2 1 1 UC 4 3 2 1 1 , 4 3 2 1 1 4 3 2 1 1 ,

41

1 3 2 1 2 1 2 3 2 1 2 1 2 3 2 1 2 1 2 3 2 1 2 1

4 3 2 1 1 UC , 4 3 2 1 1 UC , 4 3 2 1 1 , 4 3 2 1 UC 1 ,

45

2 3 2 1 2 1 3 4 3 2 1 2 3 4 1 2 3 1 2 3 4 3 1 2 3

4 3 2 1 1 , 4 3 2 1 1 , 4 3 2 1 1-1

49

1 2 3 4 3 2 1, 1 2 3 4 3 2 1, 1 2 3 4 3 2 1, 1 2 3 4 3 2 1,

4 3 2 1 1, 4 3 2 1 1, 4 3 2 1 1, 4 1 1,

53

1 2 3 4 3 2 1, 1 2 3 4 3 2 1, 2 3 3 4 3 2 1, 2 3 3 4 3 2 3

4 3 2 1 1 UC, 4 1 1, 4 3 2 1 1, 4 1 1,

57

2 3 2 4 2 3 3 4 3 2 4 2 3 3 4 3 2 4 2 3 3 4 3 2 4

4 3 2 1 1 UC, 4 3 2 1 1 LC, 4 3 2 1 1

61

2 3 3 4 3 2 1 2 3 3 4 3 2 1 2 3 4 1 3

4 3 2 1 1 LC, 4 1 1, 4 3 2 1 1-1

1 -> 2

65

1 2 3 4 3 2 1, 1 2 3 4 3 2 1, 1 2 3 4 3 2 1, 1 2 3 4 3 2 1,

1 2 3 4

1 2 3 3

69

1 2 3 4 3 2 1, 1 2 3 4 3 2 1, 2 3 3 4 3 2 1, 2 3 3 4 3 2 1,

UC UC UC UC UC UC

3 4 1 4

4 3 2 1

73

2 3 2 4 2 3 3 4 3 2 4 2 3 3 4 3 2 4 2 3 3 4 3 2 4

UC UC UC UC LC

3 3 1 3 1 1 3

2 1

77

2 3 3 4 3 2 1 2 3 3 4 3 2 1 2 3 3

UC UC UC UC

4 3 1 4

4 3 2 1

81 $\overbrace{3\ 2\ 1}^{[t]}$, $\overbrace{1\ 2\ 3}$ 4 , $\overbrace{1\ 2\ 3}^{[t]}$ $\overbrace{4\ 2\ 3}$ $\overbrace{1\ 2\ 3}$ $\overbrace{2\ 3}^{[t]}$, $\overbrace{2\ 3}$

1 2 3 4 2 3

85 $\overbrace{3\ 2\ 1}^{[t]}$ 2 , $\overbrace{1\ 2\ 3}^{[t]}$ $\overbrace{2\ 1}$, $\overbrace{3\ 2\ 1}^{[t]}$ $\overbrace{1\ 2\ 3}$ 4 , $\overbrace{2\ 3\ 1}^{[t]}$ 3 2 , $\overbrace{4\ 3\ 2}$

4 4 3 2 1

89 $\overbrace{1}^{[t]}$, $\overbrace{1\ 2\ 3\ 4}$, $\overbrace{3\ 2\ 1}^{[t]}$ 4 , $\overbrace{1\ 2}$, $\overbrace{1\ 2\ 2\ 3\ 4}$, $\overbrace{1\ 2\ 3\ 4}$ 3 , $\overbrace{4\ 3\ 2\ 1}$ 3

1 2 3 4 2 3 4 4 3 2 1

UC UC LC LC

93 $\overbrace{2}$, $\overbrace{3\ 2\ 1}$ 1 2 $\overbrace{2\ 3}$ 4 , $\overbrace{2\ 1}$ $\overbrace{2\ 3}$ 4 , $\overbrace{3\ 2}$ $\overbrace{3\ 1}$ 4 3

4 1 2 3 4

LC

8.3.5 Seón Jones

Turlough Carolan (1670–1738)

This setting: Siobhán Armstrong © 2020

The image displays a page of musical notation for a piano piece, consisting of three systems of staves. Each system includes a treble staff and a bass staff. The notation is written in a 3/4 time signature. The first system (measures 1-4) features a treble staff with a melodic line and a bass staff with a supporting line. The second system (measures 5-8) continues the melodic development in the treble and includes a long, sustained note in the bass. The third system (measures 9-12) shows further melodic progression and includes a long, sustained note in the bass. The notation includes various musical symbols such as notes, rests, and fingerings, along with technical markings like 'LC' and 'UC'.

17

1 2 3 4, 1 2 3 4, 4 3 2 1, 1 2 1 2 3 4, 3 2 1

1 3 3 3 4 3 2

1 4 3

21

1 2 1 2 3 4, 4 4 3 2, 2 3, 4 3 2, 3 2 3 2 3, 1 2 3 4, 2 3

1 2 3 3 1 3 3 2 1

1 3 1

1 4 3 2 1, 1

25

4 3 2 1 3 3 4, 2 1 2 3 4, 3 4, 3 2 1 2, 3 4, 1 2 3 4 UC

1 3 3 3 4 1 3 3 2 1

2 3 4 2 3 4

29

LC 1 2 3 4 1 LC 2 4, 1 2 3 4 2 3 4 3 3 4, 1 2 1 2 3 2 3

1 2 2 3 4 4 3 4 3 4 2 1

1 2 3 4 3 4 2 1

Lady Letty Burke

Turlough Carolan (1670–1738)

This setting: Siobhán Armstrong © 2020

The musical score is written for piano in 2/4 time. It consists of four systems of music, each with a treble and bass staff. The score includes various fingerings (1-4), articulations (accents, slurs), and specific performance instructions like 'UC' (Up-bow/Crescendo) and 'LC' (Low-bow/Decrescendo). The piece is marked with measure numbers 1, 5, 9, and 13.

System 1 (Measures 1-4): The treble staff begins with a series of eighth notes, followed by a triplet of eighth notes. The bass staff has a long note with a slur. Fingerings include 2 3 2 1 2 3 4, 4 3 2 1 2 1 2, 2 3 4 2 3 2, 2 3 4, 2 4 2 3, and 2 4 2 3. Articulations include [t] and [tr]. Performance instructions include UC and LC.

System 2 (Measures 5-8): The treble staff continues with eighth notes and a triplet. The bass staff has a long note with a slur. Fingerings include 1 1 2 3 4, 3 2 1, 2 1 4 3 2 1, 4 3 2, 4 1, 2, 3, and 2. Articulations include slurs. Performance instructions include UC and LC.

System 3 (Measures 9-12): The treble staff has a long note with a slur. The bass staff has a long note with a slur. Fingerings include 1 1 1 2 3 4, 4, 4 3 2 1, 2, 1, 4, 4, 4, and 2. Articulations include slurs. Performance instructions include UC and LC.

System 4 (Measures 13-16): The treble staff has a long note with a slur. The bass staff has a long note with a slur. Fingerings include 2 1 2, 3 4 3 1, 4, 2 3 2, 1, 4 3 2 1, 1 2 3 4, 1 2 3 4, and 4. Articulations include slurs. Performance instructions include UC and LC.

17 $\overbrace{2\ 3\ 2\ 1}^{\boxed{+}}$ 2 $\overbrace{3\ 4\ 3\ 2}^{\boxed{+}}$ 1 2 $\overbrace{3\ 2\ 4}^{\boxed{[tr]}}$ $\boxed{4 \rightarrow 1}$

21 $\overbrace{1\ 2\ 3}^{\boxed{[t]}}$ $\overbrace{2\ 3}^{\boxed{[t]}}$ $\overbrace{2\ 3}^{\boxed{[t]}}$ 2 $\overbrace{4\ 3\ 2\ 1}^{\boxed{[t]}}$ 4 1 2 1 2 3 $\overbrace{2\ 3}^{\boxed{[t]}}$

8.3.6 Lady of the Desert

Oral tradition with vars. by
Cornelius Lyons (c.1680–post 1750)
 This setting: Siobhán Armstrong © 2020

The musical score is written for piano in 3/4 time, featuring a treble and bass staff. The key signature has one sharp (F#). The score is divided into four systems, each containing five measures. The first system begins with a repeat sign and a bracketed plus sign [+]. Fingerings are indicated by numbers 1-4 above or below notes. Articulations include slurs and accents. The second system includes a measure marked with a '5' above the treble staff. The third system includes a measure marked with a '9' above the treble staff. The fourth system includes a measure marked with a '13' above the treble staff. The score concludes with a double bar line. The bass staff includes a 'UC' marking under a measure in the second system.

17 [+]

4 3 2 1 2 1 2 2 1 2 3 4 4 3 2 1 1 2 3 4 4 1 2 3

4 3 2 1 4 3 2 1 2 3 4 3 2 1 2 3

1 2 3 4 LC 2 LC 2

22 2 1 2 3 4 4 2 4 3 2 1 3 2 4 3 4 4 4 3 2

4 3 2 1 3 2 4 3 4 4 4 3 2

1 2 3 4 1 2 3 4 4

26 1 1 2 3 2 4 3 2 1 1 2 3

3 4 3 2 1 4 3 2 1

1 1 4 1

29 4 1 2 3 2 1 2 3 4 2 4 3 2

1 2 3 4 3 1 1 4 3 2 1

2 1 2 3 4 1 2 3 4

32 1 3 2 4 3 4 4 1 2 3 2 1

3 3 2 1 2 4 3 2 1 UC UC

35

LC

40

LC

44

LC

48

LC

52 [+] , [+] [+] [+] , [+] , [+] , [+]

3 2 4 , 1 1 2 3 1 2 2 3 2 3 3 4 1 2 3 2 1 1 2 3 3 4 1 2 2 3

1 1 3 1 4 1 3 2

LC 3 4

4 3 2 , 4 3 2 3 LC 4 ,

56 [+] [+] [+] [+]

4 2 2 , 1 2 3 4 3 2 4 2 3 4 3 3 2 1 1 2 3 3 2 4 3 4 3 2

3 1 3 3 1 1 2 1 2 3 3

4 1 UC 1 2 3 4 4

60 [+] , , , ,

1 2 1 1 2 3 1 2 3 4 3 2 3 4 4 2 3 4 2

3 2 1 3 3 2 3 1 3 4

LC 1 2 3 4 1 1 4 1 LC 2 3

64 [+] [+] [+] [+]

1 2 3 4 2 3 1 2 3 4 3 2 1 2 3 1 2 1 2 3 2 4 3

1 2 3 1 1 2 1 2 3 1 2 2

LC 1 2 3 4 4 4

68

4 3 2 1 LC

4 1

3 1 LC

4 1

72

4 3 2 1 LC

2 LC

3 → 1

1 2 3 4

4

76

4 1 LC

1

4 1 LC

1

1 2 3 4 LC

2

80

2

3

1 LC

3

1 2 3 4

4

84

[+] , [+] , [+] ,

1 2 3 4 1 2 2 3 2 4 1 2 3

1 1 2 1 2 1 2 1 2 1 2 3

LC LC

88

[+] , , [+] , [+] ,

4 3 1 2 3 4 2 1 2 1 2 3 2 2 1 2 1 1 2 2 3 4 4 3 2

3 1 2 1 2 2 1 2 2 3 4 3 3

4 3 2 1 1 UC 1 2 3 4 4

LC

92

[+] , , , , [+] ,

4 3 2 4 3 2 3 2 1 2 3 4 2 3 3 4

3 2 1 2 3 1 2 3 1 2 3 4

4 3 2 1 4 3 2 1 2 3 4 2

LC

96

[+] , , [+] ,

2 1 2 2 3 4 3 2 4 1 2 3 2 3 2 4 2 1 2 3 2 3 3

1 1 2 3 3 1 3 3 3 2 3 1 4

3 1 LC 1 2 3 4 1 4

8.3.7 Tá Mé i Mo Chodladh ‘s Ná Dúisigh Mé

This setting: Siobhán Armstrong © 2020

The musical score is written for piano and consists of four systems of music. Each system includes a treble and bass staff with various fingerings and articulations.

System 1: Treble staff starts with a triplet of eighth notes (1 2 3 4), followed by a quarter note (3), a half note (2), and a quarter note (2). The bass staff has a whole note (2), a half note (3), and a quarter note (4). Fingerings include 1, 2, 3, 4, 3, 2, 1, 3, 2, 1, 1, 2, 3, 4, 2, 3, 4, 3, 2, 1. Articulations include UC (Up-bow/Cup) and LC (Lift/Cup).

System 2: Treble staff starts with a triplet of eighth notes (3 4 3), followed by a quarter note (1), a half note (2), and a quarter note (1). The bass staff has a whole note (2), a half note (1), and a quarter note (LC). Fingerings include 3, 4, 3, 1, 2, 1, 2, 3, 4, 2, 3, 1, 2, 3, 4, 3, 2, 1, 2, 3, 4, 3, 2. Articulations include UC and LC.

System 3: Treble staff starts with a triplet of eighth notes (3 1 2), followed by a quarter note (1), a half note (2), and a quarter note (1). The bass staff has a whole note (2), a half note (1), and a quarter note (LC). Fingerings include 3, 1, 2, 1, 2, 3, 4, 3, 2, 1, 2, 3, 4, 3, 2, 1, 2, 3, 4, 3, 2, 1. Articulations include UC and LC.

System 4: Treble staff starts with a triplet of eighth notes (2 1 2), followed by a quarter note (1), a half note (2), and a quarter note (1). The bass staff has a whole note (2), a half note (1), and a quarter note (LC). Fingerings include 2, 1, 2, 3, 4, 3, 2, 1, 2, 3, 4, 3, 2, 1, 2, 3, 4, 3, 2, 1. Articulations include UC and LC.

8 $[+]$,

2 2 1 2 3 2 3 1 2 3 2 2 3 2 3 2 1 2 1 3 2 4

3 1 3 1 1 2 2 3

1 4 1 1 1 LC

10 $[+]$, $[+]$,

4 3 2 1 2 3 1 2 3 2 3 1 2 3 3 4 3 2

4 3 3 2 3 2 2 3 4 UC

1 \rightarrow 4 3 2 1 1 3 4 \rightarrow 1 LC

12 $[+]$

2 2 1 2 3 3 2 3 3 4 3 2 2 3 3 4 3 2 1

3 2 3 3 4 1 LC

14 $[+]$ 1 \rightarrow 4

1 2 3 2 1 1 2 3 2 1 2 3 4 4 3

3 2 2 2 3 1 3

1 LC 3

[illegible]

17

1 2 2 3 2 3 2 1 2 1 3 2 4

1 1 2 2 3

1
LC

18 4 3 2, 1 2 3 1 2 3 1 2 3 2 3 1 2 3 3

3 2 2 3

1 → 4 UC 4 3 2 1 UC 3 4 UC

Bibliography

- Apel, Willi, ed. 1963. *Keyboard Music of the Fourteenth & Fifteenth Centuries*. Corpus of Early Keyboard Music 1. American Institute of Musicology.
- ap Huw, Robert Early 17th century. 'GB-Lbl Add. MS 14905 Robert Ap Huw MS'.
- Armstrong, Robert Bruce. 1904. *The Irish and Highland Harps*. Edinburgh: David Douglas.
- Armstrong, Siobhán. 2004. *Cláirseach Na hÉireann: The Harp of Ireland*. CD. Vol. MCD0401. Carlow, Co. Carlow: Maya Recordings.
- . 2015a. 'Biographies'. Siobhán Armstrong — Music from Early Ireland and Europe. www.siobhanarmstrong.com/biographies.
- . 2015b. 'Exploring Irish Harp Traditions'. *The Journal of Music*. www.journalofmusic.com/focus/exploring-irish-harp-traditions
- Armstrong, Siobhán, and The Irish Consort. 2018. *Music, Ireland and the Sixteenth Century*. CD. London: Destino Classics.
- Auslander, Philip. 2006. 'The Performativity of Performance Documentation'. *PAJ: A Journal of Performance and Art* 28 (3): 1–10.
- Bach, C.P.E. 1753–1762. *Versuch Über Die Wahre Art Das Clavier Zu Spielen Mit Exempeln Und Achtzehn Probe-Stücken in Sechs Sonaten*. Berlin.
- Bangert, Daniel, Emery Schubert, and Dorottya Fabian. 2014. 'A Spiral Model of Musical Decision-Making'. *Frontiers in Psychology*.
- Barbour, J. Murray. 1951. *Tuning and Temperament: A Historical Survey*. East Lansing: Michigan State College Press.
- Bardon, Jonathan. 2015. *Hallelujah – The Story of a Musical Genius and the City That Brought His Masterpiece to Life: George Frideric Handel's Messiah in Dublin*. Gill & Macmillan Ltd.
- Bartlett, Thomas. 2011. *Ireland: A History*. Cambridge University Press.
- Battersby, Eileen. 2015. 'Charlotte Brooke: "A Glow of Cultivated Genius"'. *The Irish Times*. 3 July 2015. www.irishtimes.com/culture/books/charlotte-brooke-a-glow-of-cultivated-genius-1.2128889.
- Benedict, Jeffrey William. 2011. 'References to Pre-Modern Music and Performing Arts Culture in the Irish Annals: A Survey of Common Themes'. *Eolas: The Journal of the American Society of Irish Medieval Studies* 5: 90–129.
- Bergin, Osborn. 1912. 'Bardic Poetry. Lecture Delivered before the National Literary Society, Dublin. April 15th, 1912.' In *Reprints in Irish Studies*. 3. American Committee for Irish Studies.
- . 1970. *Irish Bardic Poetry*. Dublin: The Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies.
- Bieler, Ludwig. 1963. *Ireland, Harbinger of the Middle Ages*. First English edition. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

- Billinge, Michael. 2010. 'Building a Reproduction of the Downhill Harp (the Harp of Denis Hempson) for the Irish Television Documentary Banríon an Cheoil.' *Bulletin of the Historical Harp Society* 20: 10.
- . 2011. 'Building a Reproduction of the Downhill Harp (The Harp of Denis Hempson) for the Irish Television Documentary Banríon an Cheoil'. WireStrungHarp.Com.
https://www.wirestrungharp.com/harps/historic/downhill/downhill_harp/.
- Billinge, Michael, and Bonnie Shaljean. 1987. 'The Dalway or Fitzgerald Harp (1621)'. *Early Music* 15 (2): 175–87.
- Bottoms, Stephen, and Matthew Goulish, eds. 2007. *Small Acts of Repair: Performance, Ecology and Goat Island*. London; New York: Routledge.
- Boydell, Barra. 1995. 'The Female Harp: The Irish Harp in 18th- and Early-19th-Century Romantic Nationalism'. *Music in Art* 20 (1): 10.
- . 1996. 'The Iconography of the Irish Harp as a National Symbol'. *Irish Musical Studies* 5: 131–45.
- Boydell, Barra, and Kerry Houston, eds. 2009. *Irish Musical Studies X: Music, Ireland and the Seventeenth Century*. Blackrock, Co. Dublin: Four Courts Press Ltd.
- Boydell, Brian. 1988. *A Dublin Musical Calendar 1700-1760*. Blackrock, Co. Dublin: Irish Academic Press.
- Bradley, Harriet. 1999. 'The Seductions of the Archive: Voices Lost and Found'. *History of the Human Sciences* 12 (2): 107–22.
- Brady, Ciaran, and Raymond Gillespie, eds. 1986. *Natives and Newcomers: Making of Irish Colonial Society, 1534-1641*. Dublin: Irish Academic Press Ltd.
- Brannon, Patrick V. 2000. 'Medieval Ireland: Music in Cathedral, Church and Cloister'. *Early Music* 28 (2): 193–202.
- Breathnach, Breandán. 1963. *Ceol Rince Na hÉireann*. Dublin: Oifig an tSoláthair.
- . 1971a. 'An Italian Origin for the Irish Jig?' *Béalóideas / The Journal of the Folklore of Ireland Society* 39/41: 69–78.
- . 1971b. *Folk Music & Dances of Ireland*. Dublin: Talbot Press. Dublin: Mercier Press.
- . 1986. *The Use of Notation in the Transmission of Irish Folk Music*. Ó Riada Memorial Lecture I. The Irish Traditional Music Society, University College Cork.
- . 1989. *Ceol Agus Rince na hÉireann*. Dublin: An Gúm.
- Brochard, Thomas. 2013. 'Harpers in Scotland's Outlying Communities in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries'. WireStrungHarp.Com. Brochard, Thomas. 2013.
https://www.wirestrungharp.com/harps/harpers/scottish_harpers_brochard/.
- Brown, Barnaby, and William Taylor, eds. 2012. *An Introduction to Playing the Wire Strung Harp—a DVD & Music Book of Lessons with Ann Heymann, Javier Sáinz & Bill Taylor*. Glasgow: Siubhal.
- Buchner, Hans. 1551. *Fundamentbuch*. Constanz.

- Buckley, Ann. 2000. 'Music and Musicians in Medieval Irish Society'. *Early Music* 28 (2): 165–90.
- . 2005. 'Music in Ireland to c. 1500'. In *A New History of Ireland: Volume I: Prehistoric and Early Ireland*, 744–813. Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press.
- Bulley, James, and Özden Şahin. 2021. 'Practice Research - Report 1: What Is Practice Research? And Report 2: How Can Practice Research Be Shared?' London: PRAG-UK. <https://doi.org/10.23636/1347>.
- Bunting, Edward. 1792–1805. 'IRLN-Bu Special Collections MS 4.29'.
- . 1792–ante 1843. 'IRLN-Bu Special Collections MS 4, The Bunting Collection'. Queen's University Belfast Digital Special Collections & Archives. <https://digital-library.qub.ac.uk/digital/collection/p15979coll9/search>.
- . c. 1795. 'IRLN-Bu Special Collections MS 4.20'.
- . 1797a. *A General Collection of the Ancient Irish Music...* Dublin: W. Power & Co.
- . 1797b. *A General Collection of the Ancient Irish Music...* London: Preston and Son.
- . 1798a. 'IRLN-Bu Special Collections MS 4.33.2'. Belfast.
- . 1798b. 'IRLN-Bu Special Collections MS 4.33.3'. Belfast.
- . 1802–1803. 'IRLN-Bu Special Collections MS 4.33.1'.
- . post 1802–ante 1840. 'IRLN-Bu Special Collections MS 4.12'.
- . post 1809–ante 1833. 'IRLN-Bu Special Collections MS 4.33.5'.
- . 1809a. *A General Collection of the Ancient Music of Ireland...* London: Clementi & Co.
- . 1809b. 'GB-Lbl Add. MS 41508'. *A General Collection of the Ancient Music of Ireland...* London: Clementi & Co.
- . post 1825. 'IRLN-Bu Special Collections MS 4.13'.
- . post 1825. 'IRLN-Bu Special Collections MS 4.27'.
- . post 1832–ante 1843. 'IRLN-Bu Special Collections MS 4.30'.
- . 1840. *The Ancient Music of Ireland...* Dublin: Hodges and Smith. <https://archive.org/details/ancientmusicofir00bunt>.
- Bunting, Edward, and James Cody. 1805–1810. 'IRLN-Bu Special Collections MS 4.6'.
- Burney, Charles. 1785. *An Account of the Musical Performances in Westminster Abbey and the Pantheon, May...and June...1784*. In Commemoration of Handel. London: T. Payne & Son; G. Robinson.
- Butt, John. 2002. *Playing with History: The Historical Approach to Musical Performance*. Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Byers, David. 2018. 'Harpers' Assembly Committee, Premiums, Proposals, Etc.' Byersmusic.com. www.byersmusic.com/resources/Harpers%27%20Assembly%20Committee%20membership%20and%20proposals.pdf.

- . n.d. ‘Edward Bunting’. Accessed 6 August 2020.
www.byersmusic.com/edward-bunting.php.
- Cabeçon, Antonio de, and Hernando de Cabeçon. 1578. *Obras De Música Para Tecla, Arpa y Vihuela*. Madrid.
- Campbell, J.L. 1939. ‘An Account of Some Irish Harpers as given by Echlin O’Kean, Harper, Anno 1779’. *Éigse: Journal of Irish Studies* 1: 146–48.
- Canny, Nicholas. 2001. *Making Ireland British, 1580-1650*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Carolan, Nicholas. 2009. ‘The Music Manuscripts of Patrick O’Neill (1765-1832) – A Preliminary Note’. *An Píobaire* 5 (5): 18–22.
- Carolan, Turlough. post 1742. *IRL-Dn LO 1635 Compositions of Carolan*. National Library of Ireland.
- Cathcart, Cynthia. 2001. *From My Music Stand: Arrangements for the Wire-Strung Harp*. Maryland: Highland Circle Publishing.
- . 2007. ‘Ringling Strings’. *The Folk Harp Journal*, Ringling Strings, 135 (2): 36–38.
- . 2013. ‘Proprioception’. *The Folk Harp Journal*, Ringling Strings, 158 (1): 36–39.
- Chadwick, Simon. 2008a. *Clàrsach Na Bànrìghe: The Queen’s Harp*. CD. Fife: Simon Chadwick.
- . 2008b. ‘The Wartburg Harp’. Early Gaelic Harp Info.
www.earlygaelicharp.info/harps/wartburg.htm.
- . 2008c. ‘The Early Irish Harp’. *Early Music* 36 (4): 521–32.
- . 2009. *Progressive Lessons for Early Gaelic Harp*. Oxford: Early Gaelic Harp Info.
- . 2011a. *Gestures: Harp Technique from Old Irish, Welsh & Scottish Tradition*. St Andrews: Early Gaelic Harp Info.
- . 2011b. *Gestures: Examples: A Chailini, an Bhfaca Sibh Seoirse*. Video.
www.earlygaelicharp.info/gestures/examples3.htm.
- . 2014. ‘The Downhill Harp’. Early Gaelic Harp Info.
www.earlygaelicharp.info/harps/downhill.htm.
- . 2016a. ‘Orientation’. Early Gaelic Harp Info.
www.earlygaelicharp.info/orientation/.
- . 2016b. ‘Na Comhluighe’. Early Gaelic Harp Info.
www.earlygaelicharp.info/tradition/sisters.htm.
- . 2017a. *Progressive Lessons*. Third edition. St. Andrews: Early Gaelic Harp Info.
- . 2017b. ‘Progressive Lessons Companion Pages: Burns’s March’. Early Gaelic Harp Info. www.earlygaelicharp.info/lessons/burnss_march.htm.
- . 2018a. ‘The Queen Mary Harp’. Early Gaelic Harp Info.
www.earlygaelicharp.info/harps/QM.htm.

- . 2018b. ‘An Anthology of Source Texts’. Early Gaelic Harp Info. www.earlygaelicharp.info/texts/.
- . 2019a. ‘Transcription of Textual Content of Bunting Ms29’. simonchadwick.net. www.simonchadwick.net/oldirishharptranscriptiondownloads/ms29transcription_text.pdf.
- . 2019b. ‘Old Harps in Museums’. Early Gaelic Harp Info.
- . 2019c. ‘Carolan’s Original Harp Bass’. *Simonchadwick.Net* (blog). www.simonchadwick.net/2019/07/carolans-original-harp-bass.html.
- . 2020. ‘Provenance and Recording of an Eighteenth-Century Harp’. *The Galpin Society Journal*, no. 73 (March): 85–100, 199–201.
- . n.d. ‘Early Gaelic Harp Info’. Early Gaelic Harp Info. Accessed 17 April 2020a. www.earlygaelicharp.info.
- . n.d. ‘Old Irish Harp Transcriptions Project Tune List’. Accessed 12 February 2020b. http://docs.google.com/spreadsheets/d/1_03_MUNL3auJb6i_BQxSiQwLw_-XYFZqcXTDKVtqu3Q/edit#gid=1133064539.
- . n.d. ‘Simonchadwick.Net’. Simonchadwick.Net. Accessed 17 April 2020c. www.simonchadwick.net.
- Chambers, William, and Robert Chambers. 1840. *Chambers’ Edinburgh Journal*. Edinburgh & London: W. Chambers.
- Clanricarde, Marquis of. 1722. *Memoirs of the Right Honourable the Marquis of Clanricarde, Lord Deputy General of Ireland*. London: James Woodman.
- Codona, Alasdair. 2007. ‘Calumcille’. Web.Archive.Org. web.archive.org/web/20071013203059/http://www.calumcille.com/faoidheall/leirshealladh/1.html.
- . n.d. ‘Cumha Bharúin Loch Mór’. Web.Archive.Org. Accessed 14 April 2020a. web.archive.org/web/20071013203605/http://www.calumcille.com/faoidheall/cumhanbharuin/1.html.
- . n.d. ‘Gaelic Harmony’. Web.Archive.Org. Accessed 14 April 2020b. web.archive.org/web/20071013202657/http://www.calumcille.com/faoidheall/ro-radh.html.
- Cooper, David. 2005. *The Petrie Collection of the Ancient Music of Ireland*. Cork: Cork University Press.
- Cosgrove, Art, ed. 1993. *A New History of Ireland II: Medieval Ireland 1169-1534*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Couperin, François. 1716. *L’Art de Toucher Le Clavecin*. Paris: Francois Couperin.
- Crawford, Sylvia. 2019. ‘Towards the Potential Role of a Neglected Eighteenth-Century Harper in Cultural Tourism in the Oriel Region’. MA dissertation, Dundalk: Dundalk Institute of Technology.
- Cullen, Emily. 2008. ‘Meanings and Cultural Functions of the Irish Harp as Trope, Icon and Instrument: The Construction of an Irish Self-Image’. PhD dissertation, Galway: NUI Galway.

- Cunningham, John. 2007. 'A Tale of Two Harps: Issues Arising from Recordings of William Lawes's Harp Consorts.' *Early Music Performer*, no. 21.
- . 2008. "Some Consorts of Instruments Are Sweeter than Others": Further Light on the Harp of William Lawes's Harp Consorts'. *The Galpin Society Journal*, 147–76.
- Cunningham, John Patrick. 2010. *The Consort Music of William Lawes, 1602-1645*. Boydell & Brewer.
- Dart, Robert Thurston. 1963. *The Interpretation of Music*. 2nd ed. New York & Evanston: Harper & Row.
<https://archive.org/details/interpretationof00dart/page/n5/mode/2up?q=laboratory>.
- Dauney, William. 1838. *Ancient Scottish [sic] Melodies, from a Manuscript of the Reign of King James VI. With an Introductory Enquiry Illustrative of the History of the Music of Scotland*. Edinburgh: Bannatyne Club.
- Davis, Leith. 2006. *Music, Postcolonialism, and Gender: The Construction of Irish National Identity, 1725-1874*. Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press.
- Davison, Archibald Thompson, and Willi Apel. 1947. *Historical Anthology of Music*. USA: Oxford University Press.
- De Barra, Cormac. 2013. *Captain O'Kane*. CD track. BEO Records.
www.soundcloud.com/search?q=cormac%20de%20barra.
- Diruta, Girolamo. 1597. *Il Transilvano: Dialogo Sopra Il Vero Modo Di Sonar Organi, et Istromenti Da Penna...Opera Nuovament Ritrovata*. Venice: Alessandro Vincenti.
- Donnelly, Seán. 1984a. 'An Irish Harper in the Royal Musick'. *Ceol: A Journal of Irish Music* VI (2): 34–36.
- . 1984b. 'The Irish Harp in England 1590-1690'. *Ceol: A Journal of Irish Music* VII: 54–62.
- . 1984c. 'Feaghan Geleash'. *Ceol Tíre, Newsletter of the Folk Music Society of Ireland* 25 (February): 5–6, 11–12.
- . 1986. 'An Irish Harper and Composer: Cormac MacDermott (? - 1618)'. *Ceol: A Journal of Irish Music* VIII (1 & 2): 40–50.
- . 1993. 'An Eighteenth Century Harp Medley'. *Ceol Na Héireann* 1: 17–31.
- . 2000. 'A Cork Musician at the Early Stuart Court: Daniel Duff O'Cahill (c. 1580 – c.1660), "The Queen's Harper"'. *Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society* 105: 1–26.
- . 2003. 'The Captain and the Harper: Two Mayo Brothers of Elizabethan Times'. *Cathair Na Mart, Journal of the Westport Historical Society*, no. 23: 18–34.
- . 2004. 'The Famousest Man in the World for the Irish Harp'. *Dublin Historical Record* 57 (1): 38–49.
- . 2008. 'The "Whip of Dunboyne" and Other Irish Dance Tunes from Tudor and Stuart Leinster'. *Ossory, Laois and Leinster* 3: 127–67.

- Dooley, Paul. 2010. *The Harper's Fancy: A Collection of Jigs, Reels and Miscellaneous Traditional Tunes Old and New Played on the Irish Harp*. CD. PDCD003. Paul Dooley.
- . 2014. 'Reconstructing the Medieval Irish Harp'. *The Galpin Society Journal*, no. 67: 107–42.
- . 2016. 'The Harp in the Time of Giraldus'. In *Harp Studies: Perspectives on the Irish Harp*, 32–56. Dublin: Four Courts Press Ltd.
- . 2017. 'Harp Tuning Practice in Medieval Ireland and Wales'. PhD dissertation, University of Limerick.
- Dowling, Martin. 2014. *Traditional Music and Irish Society: Historical Perspectives*. Burlington, VT: Ashgate.
- Downey, Peter. 2017. *Edward Bunting and the Ancient Irish Music: The Publication History of A General Collection of the Ancient Irish Music... Adapted for the Piano-Forte (London: Preston & Son) by Peter Downey*. Lisburn: Peter Downey.
- Dreyfus, Laurence. 1983. 'Early Music Defended against Its Devotees: A Theory of Historical Performance in the Twentieth Century'. *The Musical Quarterly* 69 (3): 297–322.
- Dubourg, Matthew. n.d. 'GB-Lcm MS 860'
- Dwyer, Benjamin. 2014. *Different Voices: Irish Music and Music in Ireland*. Hofheim am Taunus: Wolke Verlagsges. MbH.
- Edwards, David. 2000. *The Ormond Lordship in County Kilkenny, 1515-1642: The Rise and Fall of the Butler Family*. Dublin: Four Courts Press Ltd.
- . 2012. "'Blind Cruise" the Elizabethan Harper'. *Ossory, Laois and Leinster* 5: 19–32.
- Esses, Maurice. 1992. *Dance and Instrumental Diferencias in Spain During the 17th and Early 18th Centuries: History and Background, Music and Dance*. Pendragon Press.
- Fleischmann, Aloys. 1947. 'References to Chant in Early Irish MSS'. In *Féilscribhinn Torna: Tráchtaí Léanta in Onóir Don Ollamh Tadhg Ua Donnchadha (i Torna)*, 43–49. Cork: Cló Ollscoile Chorcaí.
- , ed. 1952. *Music in Ireland: A Symposium*. Cork University Press.
- . 1998. *Sources of Irish Traditional Music c.1600–1855. An Annotated Catalogue of Prints and Manuscripts*. New York: Garland Publishing, Inc.
- Fletcher, Alan J. 2000. *Drama, Performance and Polity in Pre-Cromwellian Ireland*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- . 2001. *Drama and the Performing Arts in Pre-Cromwellian Ireland: A Repertory of Sources and Documents from the Earliest Times Until c.1642*. Cambridge: D.S. Brewer.
- Galilei, Vincentio. 1581. *Dialogo Di Vincentio Galilei Nobile Fiorentino Della Musica Antica, Et Della Moderna*. Florence: Giorgio Marescotti.

- Gelbart, Matthew. 2011. *The Invention of 'Folk Music' and 'Art Music': Emerging Categories from Ossian to Wagner*. Second edition. New Perspectives in Music History and Criticism. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Gerald of Wales. c. 1185. 'GB-Lbl MS Arundel 14 Topographia Hiberniae'.
- Goehr, Lydia. 2007. *The Imaginary Museum of Musical Works: An Essay in the Philosophy of Music*. Second. Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, U.S.A.
- Goldsmith, Oliver. 1760. 'The History of Carolan, the Last Irish Bard.' *The British Magazine* 29 (July): 418–19.
- Gould, Elaine. 2016. *Behind Bars: The Definitive Guide To Music Notation*. London: Faber Music Limited.
- Graham, George Farquhar. 1847. 'GB-En MS Adv. 5.2.18 Robert Gordon of Straloch Lute Book (1627-9) Transcription'.
- Grant, K. A. 2007. 'Tacit Knowledge Revisited – We Can Still Learn from Polanyi'. *The Electronic Journal of Knowledge Management* 5 (2): 173–80.
- Guard, Charles. 1978. *Avenging and Bright: Charles Guard Plays Celtic Harp Music*. LP. Dublin: Ceirníní Cladaigh.
- Gunn, John Charles. 1807. *An Historical Enquiry Respecting the Performance on the Harp in the Highlands of Scotland*. Edinburgh: A. Constable and Co.
- Hall, Patricia, and Friedemann Sallis, eds. 2004. *A Handbook to Twentieth-Century Musical Sketches*. Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Hambly, Gráinne. 2003. *Traditional Irish Music Arranged for Harp*. Vol. 2. Mayo Abbey Press.
- Handel, Georg Frideric. 1741. 'GB-Cfm MUMS 263 F211v'. Dublin.
- Harbison, Peter. 1999. *The Golden Age of Irish Art: The Medieval Achievement 600-1200*. Ireland: Thames & Hudson.
- Hardiman, James. 1831. *Irish Minstrelsy*. 2 vols. London: Robins.
- Harper, Sally. 2003. 'Music in the Welsh Household c.1580–1620'. *The Welsh History Review* 21 (4): 621–45.
- . 2007. *Music in Welsh Culture Before 1650: A Study of the Principal Sources*. Aldershot, Hampshire, England; Burlington, VT: Routledge.
- Harris, Jason. 2007. 'Ireland in Europe: Paolo Giovio's Descriptio (1548)'. *Irish Historical Studies* 35 (139): 265–88.
- Harteis, Christian, Tina Koch, and Barbara Morgenthaler. 2008. 'How Intuition Contributes to High Performance: An Educational Perspective', US-China Education Review'. *US-China Education Review* 5 (1): 68–80.
- Haynes, Bruce. 2007. *The End of Early Music: A Period Performer's History of Music for the Twenty-First Century*. Oxford University Press.
- Henestrosa, Luys Venegas de. 1557. *Libro de Cifra Nueva Para Tecla, Harpa y Vihuela*. Alcalá de Henares: Joan de Brocar.
- Heymann, Ann. 1981. *Ann's Harp*. LP. Winthrop, MN: Clairseach Records.

- . 1989. *Secrets of the Gaelic Harp*. Winthrop, MN: Clairseach Publications.
- . 1990. *Off the Record*. Winthrop, MN.: Clairseach Publications.
- . 1992. *Legacy of the 1792 Belfast Harp Festival*. Winthrop, MN.: Clairseach Publications.
- . 1994. *Queen of Harps*. CD. Temple, Midlothian: Temple Records COMD2057.
- . 1998. *A Gaelic Harper's First Tunes: A Primer for Clairseach Based on Remnants of Gaelic Oral Tradition Including the First Tunes Taught Student Harpers*. Winthrop, MN.: Clairseach Publications.
- . 2001. *Coupled Hands for Harpers*. Winthrop, MN.: Clairseach Publications.
- . 2016. 'Three Iconic Gaelic Harp Pieces'. In *Harp Studies: Perspectives on the Irish Harp*, 184–208. Dublin: Four Courts Press Ltd.
- . n.d. 'Biography'. Annheymann.Com. Accessed 5 May 2020.
www.annheymann.com/biography.htm.
- Heymann, Ann et al. 2006. *Cruit Go nÓr: Harp of Gold*. CD. Winthrop, MN: Clairseach Records.
- Heymann, Ann, and Charlie Heymann. 1979. *Let Erin Remember*. LP. Minnesota, USA: Clairseach Records.
- Hill, Juniper, and Caroline Bithell, eds. 2014. 'An Introduction to Music Revival as Concept, Cultural Process, and Medium of Change'. In *The Oxford Handbook of Musical Revival*, 3–42. Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press.
- Hime, Maurice. c. 1790– c. 1814. *A Favourite Collection of the Much Admired Old Irish Tunes The Original and Genuine Compositions of Carolan the Celebrated Irish Bard Set for the Harpsichord Piano Forte Violin and German Flute*. Dublin: Maurice Hime.
- Historical Harp Society of Ireland, The. 2017. *Ann Heymann in Conversation: My Part in the Early Irish Harp Revival*. Video. Scoil na gCláirseach–Festival of Early Irish Harp, Kilkenny. www.youtube.com/watch?v=XimXMj-w3LA.
- . 2020. 'The Historical Harp Society of Ireland'. Wwww.Irishharp.Org.
www.irishharp.org.
- Hobsbawm, Eric, and Terence Ranger, eds. 2015. *The Invention of Tradition*. Ninth edition. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Holden, Smollet. 1810. *A Collection of Favorite Irish Airs Arranged for the Harp or Piano Forte*. Dublin; London: Power.
- Holman, Peter. 1987. 'The Harp in Stuart England: New Light on William Lawes's Harp Consorts'. *Early Music* 15 (2): 188–203.
- Horncastle, Frederick William. 1844. *The Music of Ireland, as Performed in Mr. Horncastle's Irish Entertainments...* London.
- Huete, Diego Fernandez de. 1702. *Compendio Numeroso de Zifras Armonicas, Con Theorica, y Practica, Para Harpa de Una Orden, de Dos Ordenes, y de Organo...* Madrid.
- Hummel, Johan Nepomuk. 1830. *A Complete Theoretical & Practical Course of Instructions on the Art of Playing the Piano Forte*. London: Boosey.

- . 1975. *Complete Piano Sonatas*. Vol. 2. London: Musica Rara.
- Hurrell, Nancy. 2019. *Egan Irish Harps: Tradition, Patrons and Players*. Dublin: Four Courts Press Ltd.
- Impett, Jonathan. 2017. 'The Contemporary Musician and the Production of Knowledge: Practice, Research, and Responsibility'. In *Artistic Research in Music: Discipline and Resistance: Artists and Researchers at the Orpheus Institute*, 221–40. Orpheus Institute Series. Ghent: Orpheus Institute.
- Irish Traditional Music Archive. 2019a. 'The Bunting Harp Collection: A Digital Commission'. ITMA. www.itma.ie/latest/news/tenders-sought-for-the-bunting-com.
- . 2019b. *Connellan Air / Kathleen Loughnane, Harp*. Video. ITMA. www.itma.ie/digital-library/video/kathleen-loughnane.
- Johnston, Roy. 2003. *Bunting's Messiah*. Belfast: Ulster Historical Foundation.
- Johnston, Sheila Turner. 2009. *Alice: A Life of Alice Milligan*. Second edition. Newtownards: Colourpoint Books.
- Joyce, Sandra. 1996. 'An Introduction to O'Carolan's Music in Eighteenth-Century Printed Collections'. In *Irish Musical Studies IV: Maynooth International Musicological Conference: Selected Proceedings: Part One*, 206–309. Blackrock, Co. Dublin: Four Courts Press Ltd.
- . 2016. "'The Realization of a Long-Cherished Project": Donal O'Sullivan's Carolan'. In *Harp Studies: Perspectives on the Irish Harp*, 129–43. Dublin: Four Courts Press.
- Joyce, Sandra, and Helen Lawlor. 2016. *Harp Studies*. Dublin: Four Courts Press Ltd.
- Kelly, Mary, and Charles Doherty, eds. 2013. *Music and the Stars: Mathematics in Medieval Ireland*. Dublin: Four Courts Press Ltd.
- Kennedy, John J. 1991. 'The Arms of Ireland: Medieval and Modern'. *The Coat of Arms* 9 (No. 155): 91–109.
- Kenny, Elizabeth. 2019. *Ars Longa: Old and New Music for Theorbo*. CD. Linn Records CKD603.
- Kenyon, Nicholas, ed. 1988. *Authenticity and Early Music*. Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press.
- Kidson, Frank. c. 1900. *British Printers, Music Publishers and Engravers: London, Provincial, Scottish and Irish. From Queen Elizabeth's Reign to George the Fourth's*. London: W.E. Hill & Sons.
- Kinnaird, Alison, and Keith Sanger. 1992. *Tree of Strings: Crann Nan Teud: A History of the Harp in Scotland*. Temple: Kinmor Music.
- Kloss, Jürgen. 2014. "'Eileen Aroon" & "Robin Adair" A Chronological List: 1729 – ca.1900'. Just Another Tune: Songs & Their History. www.justanotherhertune.com/html/ea-list.html.
- Knott, Eleanor. 1934. *An Introduction to Irish Syllabic Poetry of the Period 1200-1600*. Second edition. Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies.

- Krumpholtz, Jean-Baptiste. c. 1788. *Collection De Pieces De Différens Genres Distribuée En Six Sonates d'une Difficulté Graduelle Pour La Harpe Et Praticables Sur Le Fortepiano*. Paris: H. Naderman.
http://v.mirror.imslp.org/files/imglnks/usimg/d/d3/IMSLP505237-PMLP202809-krumpholz-Les_deux_derni%C3%A8res_sonates_de_la_collection_de_pi%C3%A8ces_de_diff%C3%A9rents_genres.pdf.
- Kuijken, Barthold. 2013. *The Notation Is Not the Music: Reflections on Early Music Practice and Performance*. Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press.
- Kusser [Cousser], Johann Sigmund. 1690–1720. 'US-NHub Osborn Music MS 16'.
<http://brbl-dl.library.yale.edu/pdfgen/exportPDF.php?bibid=2019775&solrid=3438922>.
- La Camera Mariño, Vicente. 2014. *The Touching of the String: Scottish & Irish Music of the 1600s and 1700s for Renaissance Harp and Early Claireseach*. CD. La Palma: Vicente La Camera Mariño.
- Lanier, Sarah Craig. 1999. "'It Is New-strung and Shan't Be Heard': Nationalism and Memory in the Irish Harp Tradition'. *British Journal of Ethnomusicology* 8 (1): 1–26.
- Larchet Cuthbert, Sheila. 1975. *The Irish Harp Book: A Tutor and Companion*. Cork & Dublin: Mercier Press.
- Lawlor, Helen. 2012. *Irish Harping, 1900-2010: 'It Is New Strung'*. Dublin: Four Courts Press.
- Lawrence-King, Andrew, and The Harp Consort. 1996. *Carolan's Harp*. CD. BMG Music.
- Lawson, Colin, and Robin Stowell. 2012. *The Cambridge History of Musical Performance*. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press.
- , eds. 2018. *The Cambridge Encyclopedia of Historical Performance in Music*. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Lecky, William Edward Hartpole. 1972. *A History of Ireland in the Eighteenth Century*. Classics of British Historical Narrative. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Lee, Edmund. 1780. *A Collection of Irish Airs by the Celebrated Composers Carolan and Conolan*. Dublin: Edmund Lee.
- Lee, John. c. 1780. *A Favourite Collection of the so Much Admired Old Irish Tunes, the Original and Genuine Compositions of Carolan, the Celebrated Irish Bard. Set for the Harpsichord, Violin, and German-Flute*. Dublin: John Lee.
- Lindahl, Greg. n.d. 'Facsimile of the Robert Ap Huw Manuscript (B. M. Addl. MS 14905)'. Accessed 15 November 2018.
www.pbm.com/~lindahl/ap_huw/facsimile/.
- Livetrاد.com. 2012. *Michael Rooney 'Cailleach an Airgid' Set*. Video.
www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZZmFhsy8QSU.
- Loomis, Karen. 2010a. 'Edward Bunting's Annotated Volumes of Irish Music: An Overlooked Treasure at the British Library'.
http://academia.edu/6808341/Edward_Bunting_s_Annotated_Volumes_of_Irish_Music_An_Overlooked_Treasure_at_the_British_Library.

- . 2010b. ‘A Comparative Study of the Wear Marks on Gaelic Harps’. Unpublished paper.
- Loomis, Karen Ann. 2015. ‘The Organology of the Queen Mary and Lamont Harps.’ PhD dissertation, University of Edinburgh.
<http://era.ed.ac.uk/handle/1842/19551>.
- Lord, Albert B., and David F. Elmer. 2017. *The Singer of Tales*. Third edition. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.
- Loughnane, Kathleen. 2009a. *The Harpers’ Connellon*. CD. Kathleen Loughnane.
www.custysmusic.com/products/kathleen-loughnane.
- . 2009b. *The Harpers Connellon: Irish Music of the Late 17th Century. New Harp Arrangements by Kathleen Loughnane*. Galway: Reiskmore Music.
- MacDonald, James. 1808. *Reise Durch Schottland, Seine Insein, Danemark, Und Einen Theil von Deutschland; Aus Der Englischen Handschrift Ubersetzt von D. W. Soltau*. Vol. 3.
- Maclean-Clephane, Margaret, Anna Jane Maclean-Clephane, and Wilmina Maclean-Clephane. Early 19th century. ‘GB-En MS 14949B [IRL-Dt MS 10615] Maclean-Clephane MSS’.
- Maillard, Jean. 1959. ‘Coutumes Musicals Au Moyen Âge d’après Le “Tristan” En Prose’. In *Cahiers De Civilisation Médiévale*, 7:341–53. 2. Poitiers: Université de Poitiers, Centre d’études supérieures de civilisation médiévale.
- Manwaring, William. 1746. *Select Minuets Collected from the Castle Balls, and the Publick Assemblies in Dublin Composed by the Best Masters for the Harpsichord, Violin or German Flute. to Which Is Added Eleen a Roon by Mr. Dubourgh, Set to the Harpsichord with His Variations*. Dublin: William Manwaring.
- McAnally, Chad. 2020. *Ó Cearbhalláin–Rí Na nDall: O’Carolan–King of the Blind*. Minnesota, USA: Chad McAnally.
- McAnally et al., Chad. 2019. *Ó Cearbhalláin–Rí Na nDall: O’Carolan–King of the Blind*. CD. Chad McAnally.
- McAulay, Karen E. 2009. ‘Our Ancient National Airs: Scottish Song Collecting c.1760–1888’. <http://theses.gla.ac.uk/1242/1/2009mcaulay1phd.pdf>.
- . 2013. ‘The Accomplished Ladies of Torloisk’. *International Review of the Aesthetics and Sociology of Music* 44 (1): 57–78.
- McGrath, Cuthbert. 1953–1955. ‘Two Skilful Musicians’. *Éigse: Journal of Irish Studies* 7: 84–94.
- McGrath S.J., Fergal. 1979. *Education in Ancient and Medieval Ireland*. Dublin: Studies Special Publications.
- Melrose, Susan. 2017. ‘Expert-Intuitive and Deliberative Processes: Struggles in (the Wording of) Creative Decision-Making in “Dance”’. In *Contemporary Choreography: A Critical Reader*. Abingdon, Oxfordshire: Routledge.
- Melrose, Susan, and Stefanie Sachsenmeier. 2019. ‘Writing “Practice” /Practising/ “Writing” (in the Doctoral Research Context)’. *NIVEL: Artistic Research in the Performing Arts*. www.nivel.teak.fi/adie/writing-practice-practising-writing/.

- Midgelow, Vida. 2015. 'Concepts of (Performance) Documentation'. Presentation. Faculty of Arts and Creative Industries, Middlesex University, London., February 16.
- Milligan Fox, Charlotte. 1911a. *Annals of the Irish Harpers*. London: John Murray.
- . 1911b. *Annals of the Irish Harpers*. London Smith, Elder & Co. www.archive.org/details/annalsofirishhar00foxcuoft.
- . 2013. *Annals of the Irish Harpers*. Edited by Sara Craig Lanier. Second revised edition. Ardrigh Books.
- Mitchell, Pat., and Jackie. Small. 1986. *The Piping of Patsy Touhey*. Dublin: Na Piobairí Uilleann.
- Moloney, Colette. 1996. 'Style and Repertoire in the Gaelic Harp Tradition: Evidence from the Bunting Manuscripts and Prints'. In *Irish Musical Studies IV: Maynooth International Musicological Conference: Selected Proceedings: Part One.*, 310–34. Blackrock, Co. Dublin: Four Courts Press Ltd.
- . 2000. *The Irish Music Manuscripts of Edward Bunting 1773-1843: An Introduction and Catalogue*. Dublin: Irish Traditional Music Archive.
- . 2016. 'Edward Bunting as a Collector of Irish Music and Song'. In *Harp Studies*, 57–74. Dublin: Four Courts Press Ltd.
- Montagu, Jeremy. 1987. 'Instruments'. *Early Music* 15 (2): 247–49.
- . 2007. 'Musical Instruments in Hans Memling's Paintings'. *Early Music* 35 (4): 505–24.
- Monteverdi, Claudio. 1609. *L'Orfeo: Favola in Musica*. Venice: Ricciardo Amadino.
- Moody, T. W., F. X. Martin, and F. J. Byrne. 1991. *A New History of Ireland: Volume III: Early Modern Ireland 1534-1691*. Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press.
- Moody, T. W., and W. E. Vaughan. 2009. *A New History of Ireland, Volume IV: Eighteenth Century Ireland 1691-1800*. Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press.
- Moore, Thomas. 1808. *A Selection of Irish Melodies, with symphonies and accompaniments by Sir John Stevenson Mus.Doc. and characteristic words by Thomas Moore Esqr.* London.
- Moran, Padraic, and Immo Warntjes, eds. 2015. *Early Medieval Ireland and Europe: Chronology, Contacts, Scholarship: Festschrift for Dáibhi Ó Croinín*. Turnhout: Brepols.
- Morgan, Hiram, ed. 1999. *Political Ideology in Ireland, 1541-1641*. Dublin: Four Courts Press Ltd.
- Morgan, Hiram, and John Barry, eds. 2014. *Great Deeds in Ireland: Richard Stanihurst's De Rebus in Hibernia Gestis*. Cork: Cork University Press.
- Mornington, Earl of. 1773. 'Letter to Charles Burney about Irish Music History', 30 December 1773. US-NHUB Osborn MS 3, Box 13, Folder 955.
- Moses, A. Dirk. 2008. *Empire, Colony, Genocide: Conquest, Occupation, and Subaltern Resistance in World History*. Oxford, New York: Berghahn Books.

- Moylan, Terry. 2014. 'Representing Traditional Music' www.irishtimes.com/opinion/letters/representing-traditional-music-1.1872299.
- Mulcahy, Michelle. 2016. *Suaimehneas*. Video. www.youtube.com/watch?v=jIKt1GFggoE.
- Mulholland, John. 1810. *A Collection of Ancient Irish Airs, Adapted for the Harp, Violin, Flute, & Pipes; in Two Volumes*. Belfast: Simms and M'Intyre.
- Murphy, Gerard. 1940. 'The Earliest Version of Eibhlín a Rúin'. *Éigse: Journal of Irish Studies* 2 (3): 208–12.
- Neal, John, and William Neal. 1724. *A Colection [sic] of the Most Celebrated Irish Tunes: Proper for the Violin German Flute or Hautboy*. Dublin: John & William Neal.
- Neal, William, and John Neal. 2010. *A Collection of the Most Celebrated Irish Tunes: Proper for the Violin, German Flute or Hautboy*. Edited by Nicholas Carolan. Dublin: Irish Traditional Music Archive.
- Nelson, Robin. 2013. *Practice as Research in the Arts: Principles, Protocols, Pedagogies, Resistances*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Neumann, Frederick. 1978. *Ornamentation in Baroque and Post-Baroque Music, with Special Emphasis on J.S. Bach*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- . 1993. *Performance Practices of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*. New York: Schirmer Books.
- . 2011. 'Interpretation Problems of Ornament Symbols and Two Recent Case Histories: Hans Klotz on Bach, Faye Ferguson on Mozart'. *Performance Practice Review* 1 (1).
- Ní Chathasaigh, Máire, and Chris Newman. 1994. *The Carolan Albums*. CD. Ilkley: Old Bridge Music.
- Ní Uallacháin, Pádraigín. 2003. *A Hidden Ulster: People, Songs & Traditions of Oriel*. Dublin; Portland, OR: Four Courts Press Ltd.
- . 2018. 'Patrick Byrne'. Oriel Arts. 2018. www.orielarts.com/harp/patrick-byrne/.
- Nicolson, Adam. 2015. *The Mighty Dead: Why Homer Matters*. London: William Collins.
- Ó Baoill, Colm. 1972. 'Some Irish Harpers in Scotland'. In *Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness 1971-72*, 47:143–71.
- Ó Brógáin, Séamus. 1998. *The Irish Harp Emblem*. Dublin: Wolfhound Press.
- Ó Catháin, Mícheál. 2018. Mícheál Ó Catháin | Interview with Ann Heymann. www.michealocathain.com/interviews/ann-heyman-1
www.michealocathain.com/interviews/ann-heyman-2
- Ó Corragáin, Fiachra. 2020. 'Bunting Archive: A Digital Archive of Edward Bunting's Collected Music'. Bunting Archive. www.buntingarchive.ie.
- Ó Corráin, Donnchadh. 2011. 'What Happened Ireland's Medieval Manuscripts?' *Peritia* 22–23 (January): 191–223. www.brepolsonline.net/doi/10.1484/J.PERIT.1.103287

- Ó Cróinín, Dáibhí. 2003. *Early Irish History and Chronology*. Dublin: Four Courts Press Ltd.
- , ed. 2005. *A New History of Ireland: Volume I: Prehistoric and Early Ireland*. Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press.
- O Daly, Máirín. 1962. 'Mesce Chúanach'. *Ériu* 19: 75–80.
- Ó Donnchadha an Ghleanna, Séafraidh. 1902. 'Is Brónach Mo Thocht'. In *Dánta Shéafraidh Uí Dhonnchadha an Ghleanna*, 20–25. Dublin: Conradh na Gaeilge. www.corpas.ria.ie.
- Ó Fiannachta, Pádraig. 1976. 'An Ceol i Litrocht na Gaeilge'. In *Léachtaí Cholm Cille*, 7:5–20. Maynooth: St. Patrick's College Maynooth.
- Ó Laoire, Lillis. 2008. 'Territories of Desire: Words and Music in the Irish Language'. In *A New View of the Irish Language*. Dublin: Cois Life.
- Ó Lochlainn, Colm. 1959. 'Review. Carolan: The Life, Times and Music of an Irish Harper by Donal O'Sullivan'. *Studies: An Irish Quarterly Review* 48 (190): 218–22.
- Ó Máille, Tomás. 1916. *Amhráin Chearrbhalláin: The Poems of Carolan Together with N. Connacht & S. Ulster Lyrics*. Vol. 17. London: Irish Texts Society.
- O Riordan, Michelle. 2007. *Irish Bardic Poetry and Rhetorical Reality*. Cork University Press.
- Ó Tuama, Seán. 1960. *An Grá in Amhráin na nDaoine*. Dublin: An Clochomhar Tta.
- O'Connor, Charles. 1796. *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of the Late Charles O'Connor, of Belanagare. By ... Charles O'Connor, D.D.* Dublin: J. Mehain.
- O'Curry, Eugene. 1873a. *On the Manners and Customs of the Ancient Irish: A Series of Lectures*. Vol. 1. 3 vols. London, Dublin, Edinburgh, New York: Williams and Norgate.
- . 1873b. *On the Manners and Customs of the Ancient Irish: A Series of Lectures*. Vol. 2. 3 vols. London, Dublin, Edinburgh, New York: Williams and Norgate.
- . 1873c. *On the Manners and Customs of the Ancient Irish: A Series of Lectures*. Vol. 3. 3 vols. London, Dublin, Edinburgh, New York: Williams and Norgate.
- O'Donnell, Mary Louise. 2010. 'A Driving Image of Revolution: The Irish Harp and Its Utopian Space in the Eighteenth Century'. *Utopian Studies* 21 (2): 252–73.
- . 2012. 'Death of an Icon: Deconstructing the Irish Harp Emblem in the Celtic Tiger Years'. *Journal of the Society for Musicology in Ireland*, 21–39.
- . 2014. *Ireland's Harp: The Shaping of Irish Identity c.1770 to 1880*. Dublin: University College Dublin Press.
- O'Farrell. 1804. *O'Farrell's Pocket Companion for the Irish or Union Pipes Being a Grand Selection of Favorite Tunes Both Scotch and Irish : Adapted for the Pipes, Flute, Flageolet and Violin : Some of Which Was Never before Publish'd : With Some Favorite Duets for the above Instruments*. London: Goulding, D'Almaine & Potter.
- O'Farrell, Anne-Marie. 2013. *Carolan's Farewell to Music*. Audio recording. www.soundcloud.com/anne-marie-ofarrell.

- . n.d. ‘Anne-Marie O’Farrell Harpist and Composer’. Accessed 4 January 2021. Accessed 4 January 2021. www.annemarieofarrell.com
- O’Farrell, Anne-Marie, and Cormac De Barra. 2005. *Double Strung*. CD. Dublin: Anne-Marie O’Farrell and Cormac de Barra.
- Ó Háinle, Cathal. 1976. ‘An Ceol San Fhilíocht Chlasaiceach’. In *An Ceol i Litríocht Na Gaelige ‘Music in Irish Literature’*, VII:30–57. Léachtaí Cholm Cille. Maynooth: St. Patrick’s College Maynooth.
- Ohlmeyer, Jane. 2012. *Making Ireland English: The Irish Aristocracy in the Seventeenth Century*. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press.
- Olleson, Philip. 2012. *The Journals and Letters of Susan Burney: Music and Society in Late Eighteenth-Century England*. Farnham, Surrey; Burlington, VT: Routledge.
- O’Neill, Capt. Francis. 1987. *Irish Minstrels and Musicians (1913)*. Cork and Dublin: The Mercier Press.
- O’Neill, Francis. 1903. *O’Neill’s Music of Ireland: Eighteen Hundred and Fifty Melodies: Airs, Jigs, Reels, Hornpipes, Long Dances, Marches, Etc... Edited by James O’Neill*. Chicago: Lyon & Healy.
- O’Rahilly, Thomas Francis. 1927. *Measgra Dánta: Miscellaneous Irish Poems*. Vol. Part 1. Dublin and Cork: Cork University Press.
- O’Sullivan, Donal., ed. 1927–1939. *Journal of the Irish Folk Song Society*. 6 vols. 22–29. London: The Irish Folk Song Society.
- O’Sullivan, Donal. 1949. ‘Some Aspects of Irish Music and Poetry’. *The Journal of the Royal Society of the Antiquaries of Ireland* 79: 91–99.
- . 1958. *Carolan: The Life, Times and Music of an Irish Harper. In Two Volumes. Volume I: The Life and Times and The Music / Volume II: The Notes to the Tunes and The Memoirs of Arthur O’Neill*. 2 vols. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- O’Sullivan, Donal, and Mícheál Ó Súilleabháin. 1983. *Bunting’s Ancient Music of Ireland*. Cork, Ireland: Cork University Press.
- Owens, Samantha. 2017. *The Well-Travelled Musician: John Sigismond Cousser and Musical Exchange in Baroque Europe*. Martlesham: The Boydell Press.
- Owenson, Sydney. 1807. *The Wild Irish Girl; A National Tale by Miss Owenson*. New York: Alsop, Brannon and Alsop et al.
- Page, Christopher. 1987. *Voices and Instruments of the Middle Ages*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Palisca, Claude V. 2003. *Dialogue on Ancient and Modern Music*. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press.
- Palmer, Patricia. 2009. *Language and Conquest in Early Modern Ireland: English Renaissance Literature and Elizabethan Imperial Expansion*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- . 2015. *The Severed Head and the Grafted Tongue*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Petrie, George. 1847. 'Edward Bunting'. *The Dublin University Magazine* 29 (169): 64–73.
- . 1902. *The Complete Collection of Irish Music as Noted by G. Petrie ... Edited, from the Original Manuscripts, by C. V. Stanford*. London: Boosey & Co., for the Irish Literary Society.
- Phelan, Peggy. 1993. *Unmarked: The Politics of Performance*. London; New York: Routledge.
- Phillips, Robert, ed. 1995. *Music for the Lute in Scotland: 20 Pieces in Tablature and Transcription for All Instruments*. Vol. 1. Temple, Midlothian, Scotland: Kinmor Music.
- Playford, John. 1651. *The Dancing Master*. London: Thomas Harper.
- Pope, Ed. 2012. 'Keane Fitzgerald'. Edpopehistory.Co.Uk.
<http://edpopehistory.co.uk/entries/fitzgerald-keane/1000-01-01-000000>.
- 'PRAG-UK'. n.d. Praguk.Wordpress.Com. Accessed 6 September 2021.
<https://praguk.wordpress.com/>.
- 'Queen's University Belfast Digital Special Collections & Archives'. n.d. Accessed 26 April 2020. <http://digital-library.qub.ac.uk/digital/collection/p15979coll9/search>.
- Reason, Matthew. 2006. *Documentation, Disappearance and the Representation of Live Performance*. Basingstoke; New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Reeder, Laura. 2012. 'Hyphenated Artists: A Body of Potential'. *The Journal of Social Theory in Art Education*, no. 32: 160–75.
- Rees, Abraham. 1819. *The Cyclopedia; or, Universal Dictionary of Arts, Sciences and Literature*. Vol. 17. London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme & Brown.
- Ribayaz, Lucas Ruiz de. 1677. *Luz y Norte Para Caminar Por Las Cifras de La Guitarra Espanola, y Arpa, Taner, y Cantar a Compas Por Canto de Organo; y Breve Explicacion Del Arte, Co Preceptos Faciles, Indubitables, y Explicados Coc Claras Reglas Por Teorica, y Practica*. Madrid.
- Rimmer, Joan. 1969. *The Irish Harp*. Cork: The Mercier Press.
- . 1987. 'Patronage, Style and Structure in the Music Attributed to Turlough Carolan'. *Early Music* 15 (2): 164–74.
- . 1994. 'Harp Repertoire in Eighteenth-Century Ireland: Perceptions, Misconceptions and Reworkings'. In *Proceedings of the International Historical Harp Symposium Utrecht 1992*, 73–85. Utrecht: STIMU.
- Robson, Tristram Newton Fatkin. 1997. 'The Irish Harp in Art Music C1550 - C1650'. PhD dissertation, Durham University. <http://etheses.dur.ac.uk/9354/>.
- Rohead & Son. c. 1810. *The Lady of the Desert, A Favourite Irish Air Arranged with Variations for the Pianoforte*. Edinburgh: Rohead & Son.
- Ronström, Owe. 2014. 'Traditional Music, Heritage Music'. In *The Oxford Handbook of Music Revival*, 43–59. Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press.
- Rowland, Mary. 1960. *Songs with Minstrel Harp and Solo Instrumentals*. Folktrax 150 / RPL LP 25995 / BBC.

- Rowson, Caitríona. 2012. *The Complete Carolan Songs & Airs: Arranged for the Irish Harp*. Dublin: Waltons Irish Music.
- Ruff, James. 2018. *The Gaels' Honour: Early Music for Harp & Voice from Gaelic Scotland and Ireland*. Stone Ridge, NY: James Ruff.
- Sadie, Stanley, and John Tyrell. 2001. *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*. New York: Grove.
- Said, Edward W. 1994. *Culture And Imperialism*. Second edition. London: Vintage.
- . 2003. *Orientalism*. Fifth edition. London: Penguin Books.
- Sáinz, Javier. 2008. *Silva Caledonia: Scottish Harp Music of the 17th Century*. CD. Siubhal.
- Salzedo, Carlos. 1921. *L'Etude Moderne de La Harpe (Modern Study of the Harp)*. New York: G. Schirmer.
http://v.mirror.imslp.org/files/imglnks/usimg/0/08/IMSLP166593-PMLP296867-SALZEDO_L%C3%A9tude_moderne_de_la_harpe.pdf.
- Sancta Maria, Padre Fray Thomas de. 1565. *Libro Llamado Arte de Tañer Fantasia*. Valladolid.
- Sanger, Keith. 2007. 'A Harper, Some Young Ladies and The Minister'. In . Kilkenny: Academia.edu. Accessed 18 October 2016.
www.academia.edu/12830969/A_Harper_Some_Young_Ladies_and_The_Minister.
- . 2014. 'Echlin O'Cathain, Clarsair'. WireStrungHarp.Com.
www.wirestrungharp.com/harps/harpers/o-cathain-echlin.html.
- Scahill, Adrian. 2009. 'Irish Traditional Music and the Seventeenth Century'. In *Music, Ireland and the Seventeenth Century*. Irish Musical Studies 10. Dublin: Four Courts Press Ltd.
- Schaik, Martin van. 1994. *Aspects of the Historical Harp: Proceedings of the International Historical Harp Symposium Utrecht 1992*. Utrecht: STIMU Foundation for Historical Performance Practice.
- Scholes, P. A. 1948. *The Great Dr. Burney: His Life, His Travels, His Works, His Family and His Friends*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Skene, John. Early- to mid-17th century. 'GB-En Ms.Adv. 5.2.15 Skene Mandour Book'.
- Smith, Hazel. 2009. *Practice-Led Research, Research-Led Practice in the Creative Arts*. Edited by Roger T. Dean. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Spring, Matthew. 2006. *The Lute in Britain: A History of the Instrument and Its Music*. Oxford etc.: Oxford University Press.
- Talbot, Michael. 2010. 'The Golden Pippin and the Extraordinary Adventures in Britain and Ireland of Vivaldi's Concerto RV 519'. *Studi Vivaldiani* 10: 87–111.
- Taruskin, Richard. 1995. *Text and Act: Essays on Music and Performance*. Oxford etc.: Oxford University Press.
- Taylor, Bill, ed. 2003. *Sources for Fingernail Harp Technique from Wales & Ireland*. Edinburgh: Wire Branch of the Clarsach Society.

- Taylor, William. 1999. 'Robert Ap Huw's Harp Technique'. In *Hanes Cerddoriaeth Cymru: Welsh Music History*. Vol. 3. Cardiff: University of Wales Press.
- TG4. 2003. *Máire Ní Chathasaigh, Chris Newman: Eleanor Plunkett*. Video. Geantraí. [youtube.com/watch?v=m4tleA1z4c8](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=m4tleA1z4c8).
- Thompson, S.A., and P. Thompson. c. 1786. *The Hibernian Muse: A Collection of Irish Airs: Including the Most Favorite Compositions of Carolan, the Celebrated Irish Bard, to Which Is Prefixed an Essay On Irish Music; With Memoirs of Carolan*. London: S.A. & P. Thompson.
- Touhey, Patsy. 1904. *Brian the Brave and The Gardeners' Daughter (Air and Reel)*. The Francis O'Neill Cylinders. USA. Ward Irish Music Archives. <https://archives.irishfest.com/dunn-family-collection/Music.htm>.
- Townsend, Horatio. 1852. *An Account of the Visit of Handel to Dublin*. Dublin.
- Triplett Harps. 2014. 'Triplett Luna 35 String Wire Harp'. Triplett Harps. 2014. <https://triplett Harps.com/luna-35-string.php>.
- Turk, Daniel Gottlob. 1804. *A Treatise on the Art of Teaching and Practising the Piano Forte...Translated from the German & Abridged by C. G. Naumburger*. London: Preston.
- University College Cork. n.d. 'CELT: Corpus of Electronic Texts'. Accessed 9 July 2019. celt.ucc.ie/index.html.
- Vallely, Fintan. 1999. *The Companion to Irish Traditional Music*. Cork: Cork University Press.
- Walker, Joseph Cooper. 1786. *Historical Memoirs of the Irish Bards*. London: T. Payne and Son.
- Walkington, L.A., and Francis J. Bigger. 1906. 'Irish Harpers'. *Ulster Journal of Archaeology* 12 (3).
- Walsh, T. J. 1973. *Opera in Dublin, 1705-97: The Social Scene*. Dublin: Allen Figgis & Co. Ltd.
- Ware, William. 1803. *Easy Instructions for the Piano Forte*. Dublin: F. Rhames.
- Wemyss, Lady Margaret. 1643–1644. 'GB-En Dep. 314 No. 23 Wemyss Lute Book'. Fife.
- White, Harry, and Barra Boydell. 2013. *The Encyclopaedia of Music in Ireland*. Vol. 1. 2 vols. Dublin: University College Dublin Press.
- Yeats, Gráinne. 1980a. *Féile na gCruitirí Béal Feirste 1792: Belfast Harpers Festival 1792*. LP x 2. Dublin: Gael-Linn.
- . 1980b. *Féile na gCruitirí Béal Feirste 1792: Belfast Harpers Festival 1792*. Dublin: Gael Linn.
- . 1984. 'Lost Chords'. In *Ceol*. 7:14–19. Dublin: Na Píobairí Uilleann.
- . 1992a. *The Belfast Harp Festival: Féile Cruitirí Bhéal Feirste 1792*. CD. Vol. CEFCD 156. Dublin: Gael-Linn.
- . 1992b. *The Harp of Ireland: The Belfast Harpers' Festival, 1792, and the Saving of Ireland's Harp Music by Edward Bunting*. Belfast: Belfast Harpers' Bicentenary Ltd.

APPENDIX

Dissemination of knowledge: activities and performances

2020

17 October

Historical Harp Society of Ireland, Early Irish Harp Discovery Day on National Harp Day, Dublin, IRL

Concert: *Old Irish Harp Songs* (with singer, Róisín Elsafty)

17 August (COVID-19 cancellation)

Scoil na gCláirseach—Festival of Early Irish Harp, Kilkenny, IRL

Lecture: *Old Irish Harp Music: research-led practice meets practice-led research. What? How? Why?*

15 August (COVID-19 cancellation)

Scoil na gCláirseach—Festival of Early Irish Harp, Kilkenny, IRL

Concert: *Master Soloists of Irish Music* (with two other soloists)

23 May (COVID-19 cancellation)

Galway Early Music Festival, IRL

Concert: *The Kingdom of Ireland: Music of an English Colony, from Dowland to Carolan* (with The Irish Consort, dir. S. Armstrong)

15 May (COVID-19 cancellation)

Royal Academy of Music, London, UK

Paper: *Reconstructing early Irish harp repertoire: research-led practice meets practice-based research*

Workshop: *Repertory, and performance practice, of an Irish harper – Dennis O’Hampsey (1697–1809)*

9 May (COVID-19 cancellation)

Chapter Arts Centre, Cardiff, WALES

Premiere: Benjamin Dwyer’s *SacrumProfanum* (2020) (with viola, flutes, prepared guitar, tape & film)

5 May (COVID-19 cancellation)

The Séamus Ennis Arts Centre, Dublin, IRL

Concert: *Elsafty, Armstrong & Browne* (voice, early Irish harp and pipes)

23 April (COVID-19 cancellation)

Kilkenny College, Kilkenny, IRL

Interactive talk x 2: *The old Irish harpers and their harp*

Concert: *Old Irish Harp Songs* (with singer, Róisín Elsafty)

19 April (COVID-19 cancellation)

Coppercoast Music Festival, Waterford, IRL

Illustrated lecture: *The early Irish harp*

4 April (COVID-19 cancellation)

Historical Harp Society of Ireland Discovery Day at Patrick Byrne Festival, Monaghan,

IRL

Concert: *Old Irish Harp Songs* (with singer, Róisín Elsafty)

21 March (COVID-19 cancellation)

European Early Music Day 2020 event, Galway Early Music Festival, IRL

Concert: (with other soloists)

22 February

Historical Harp Society of Ireland Discovery Day at The Remembering Bunting Festival, Belfast, north of IRL

Concert: *Old Irish Harp Songs* (with singer, Róisín Elsafty)

9 February

Harp Ireland's 'Harp Day North', Portadown, north of IRL

Harp workshop: *The music of a northern harper* [Dennis O'Hampsey]

Concert: (with other solo harpists)

7 February

RTE TV news (Irish national broadcaster)

Performance

Interview:

As founding-director of The Historical Harp Society of Ireland, about the HHSI's new scientific survey, at The National Museum of Ireland, of an eighteenth-century Irish harp.

2019

13 December

RTE TV news (national broadcaster)

Performance

Interview on the occasion of Irish harping being inscribed on the UNESCO list of Intangible Cultural Heritage

RTE Radio 1

Performance

Interview on the occasion of Irish harping being inscribed on the UNESCO list of Intangible Cultural Heritage

30 November

Harp Ireland's Annual Gala Harp Concert, Dublin Castle, Dublin, IRL

Concert: (with other solo harpists, and ensembles)

24 October

Irish Heritage UK, at The British Academy, London, GB

Concert: *Harps of Ireland* (with Clare McCague, pedal harp)

18 October

Centre Culturel Irlandais, Paris, FRANCE

Concert: (with other harp soloists)

17 October

Irish government event to support Ireland's bid for UNESCO Intangible Cultural

Heritage status for Irish harping, at the Irish Embassy, Paris, FRANCE

Concert: *An Evening of Celebration of Irish Harping*

27 September

Fredericksburg Barok Festival at Fredericksburg Castle, Copenhagen, DENMARK

Concert: *Music for King Christian IV* (with lutes, viols, recorder, flute)

19 August

Scoil na gCláirseach—Festival of Early Irish Harp, Kilkenny, IRL

Interactive talk: *Do we want to try to sound like old Irish harpers? Leaning into idiomatic historical Irish harping*

18 August

Scoil na gCláirseach—Festival of Early Irish Harp, Kilkenny, IRL

Workshop: *An introduction to eighteenth-century Irish harp manuscripts*

16 August

Scoil na gCláirseach—Festival of Early Irish Harp, Kilkenny, IRL

Concert: *Love songs, Laments and Lullabies* with Elsafty, Armstrong & Browne (voice, early Irish harp and pipes)

15 August

Scoil na gCláirseach—Festival of Early Irish Harp, Kilkenny, IRL

Public lecture: *Music, Kilkenny & The Sixteenth Century*

25 July

Musikdorf Ernen Festival, SWITZERLAND

Concert: (with lute, viol and recorder, and other performers in other repertory)

1 July

Cairde na Cruite International Harp Festival, Termonfeekin, IRL

Concert: *Elsafty, Armstrong & Browne* (voice, early Irish harp and pipes)

5 June

Farmleigh House Concert Series, Dublin, IRL

Concert: *Elsafty, Armstrong & Browne – Sounds of Early Ireland* (voice, early Irish harp and pipes)

2 June

Blackwater Valley Opera Festival, Co. Waterford, IRL

Concert: *The Harps of Ireland* (with Clare McCague, pedal harp)

26 May

Historical Harp Society of Ireland Discovery Day at Galway Early Music Festival, Galway, IRL.

Concert: *Old Irish Harp Songs* (with singer, Róisín Elsafty)

12 May

Harp Ireland's 'Harps in May' concert, St. Iberius's Church, Wexford, IRL

Concert: (with singer, Eibhlís Ní Ríordáin and other soloists and groups)

2 April

Kilkenny Liberal Studies Group, Kilkenny, IRL

Lecture: *Music, Ireland and the Sixteenth Century*

12 March

Kilkenny Liberal Studies Group, Kilkenny, IRL

Lecture: *The Early Irish Harp*

9 February

The Remembering Bunting Festival, Belfast, north of IRL

Concert: (with other soloists and groups)

8 February

Historical Harp Society of Ireland Discovery Day at The Remembering Bunting Festival, Belfast, north of IRL

Concert: *Songs of the Harpers* (with singer, Eibhlís Ní Ríordáin)

2018

20 October

Harp Ireland, National Harp Day event, Irish traditional Music Archive, Dublin, IRL

Concert: (with other solo harpists)

The Historical Harp Society of Ireland, Early Irish Harp Discovery Day on National Harp Day, Dublin, IRL

Concert: *Songs of the Harpers* (with Eibhlís Ní Ríordáin, voice)

13 October

The Historical Harp Society of Ireland, Early Irish Harp Discovery Day at Duncairn Arts Centre, Belfast, north of IRL

Concert: *Songs of the Harpers* (with Eibhlís Ní Ríordáin)

21 September

Culture Night 2018, Áras an Uachtaráin, Dublin, IRL

Concert: for the President of Ireland, Michael D. Higgins. (with singer, Eibhlís Ní Ríordáin)

31 August

Das Mendelssohn Haus, Berlin, GERMANY

Concert: *My Small Dark Rose* (with Áine Ní Dhroighneáin, voice)

19 August

Scoil na gCláirseach—Festival of Early Irish Harp, Kilkenny, IRL

Illustrated Lecture: *Music, Ireland & the Sixteenth Century*

Workshop: *An introduction to eighteenth-century harp manuscripts: Edward Bunting's drafts and fair copies*

17 August

Scoil na gCláirseach—Festival of Early Irish Harp, Kilkenny, IRL

Concert: *The Dawn of Day: Songs of the Harpers* (with Eibhlís Ní Ríordáin, voice)

16 August

Scoil na gCláirseach—Festival of Early Irish Harp, Kilkenny, IRL

Workshop: *Lyons, O’Kane, O’Hampsey and the Master of the King’s Music: the transmission of Eibhlín a Rún variation sets in the eighteenth century*

26 May

World Harp Traditions Conference, University of Limerick, IRL

Paper: *What did the bass hand play? Towards a reconstruction of historical performance practice for Ireland’s ancient harp*

13 May

Fondazione Benetton’s Musica Antica in Casa Cozzi festival, Treviso, ITALY

Concert: *Elsafy, Armstrong & Browne* (with Róisín Elsafty, voice, and Ronan Browne, pipes)

10 March

Historical Harp Society of Ireland Discovery Day, Town Hall Theatre, Galway, IRL.

Concert: *Songs of the Harpers* (with singer, Eibhlís Ní Ríordáin)

24 February

The Séamus Heaney Centre, Magherafelt, north of IRL

Concert: *Elsafy, Armstrong & Browne* (with Róisín Elsafty, voice, and Ronan Browne, pipes)

2017

17 November

Centre for Antique, Medieval & Pre-modern Studies, The National University of Ireland at Galway, IRL

Paper: *Music, Ireland and the Sixteenth Century*

15 November

Arts in Action, The National University of Ireland at Galway, Galway, IRL

Concert: *Elsafy, Armstrong & Browne* (with Róisín Elsafty, voice, and Ronan Browne, pipes)

5 October

The National Concert Hall, Dublin, IRL

An Comhairle Ealaíon’s [The Arts Council] *Tradition Now* Festival

Concert: *Of Love and Lamentation* (with singer, Róisín Elsafty)

1 September

Mendelssohn Remise, Berlin, GERMANY

Concert: *Of Love and Lamentation: Musik von Irland 1500–1800*

21 August

Scoil na gCláirseach—Festival of Early Irish Harp, Kilkenny, IRL

Workshop: *A harper’s piece, collected – words and music – by the ‘Master of the Musick, attending His Majesty’s State in Ireland’: Johann Sigismond Kusser*

19 August

Scoil na gCláirseach—Festival of Early Irish Harp, Kilkenny, IRL

Concert: *Sín síos agus suas liom: Songs of the Harpers* (with Éamon Ó Bróithe, voice)

17 August

Scoil na gCláirseach—Festival of Early Irish Harp, Kilkenny, IRL

Lecture: *Bass-hand, performance-practice timeline: 16th–19th century*

Workshop: *How to be HIP: What defines an historical approach to playing early Irish harp music?*

10 July

Virtual Harp Summit 3, San Francisco, USA

Online presentation: *Arranging old Irish harp music*

Online concert

29 June

Cairde na Cruite International Harp Festival, Termonfeckin, IRL

Concert: (with Róisín Elsafty, voice)

Workshop: *Tá mé i mo chodladh of Dennis O'Hampsey*

25 June

Giornate di Cultura Scozzese e Irlandese at the Tagliavini Keyboard Museum, Bologna, ITALY

Lecture: *The Early Irish Harp*

Concert: *The Kingdom of Ireland: 16th-century Gaelic and English Music*

Concert: *Love and Lamentation* (with singer, Róisín Elsafty)

17 June

Annual Plenary Conference of the Society for Musicology in Ireland, The Queen's University, Belfast, north of IRL

Paper: *Early Irish harp performance practice evidence in QUB Special Collections MS 4.29, the 1792 field notebook of Edward Bunting*

1-2 April

Salvi Harps Showroom, Milan, ITALY

Workshop: *Al core del'arpa Irlandese*

26–28 March

Conservatorio E. F. Dall'Abaco, Verona, ITALY

Workshop: *Masterclass dell'arpa irlandese antiche*

Concert: *Al core del'arpa Irlandese* (with solo conservatory harpists)

23 January

BBC 2 TV

Great British Railway Journeys with Michael Portillo (Dublin)

Performance

Interview: about the iconic medieval harp at Trinity College Dublin

No date

Early Irish Harp: The State of the Art

Online interview series with currently significant early Irish harp performers
www.michealocathain.com/interviews/siobhan-armstrong/

2016

29 November

Music Staff Colloquium, School of Media and Performing Arts, Middlesex University

Paper: *Reconstructing and disseminating 16th- to 18th-century Irish harp music: Progressions and Pitfalls*

16 September

Culture Night 2016, Áras an Uachtaráin, Dublin, IRL

Concert: for the President of Ireland, Michael D. Higgins. (Elsafty, Armstrong & Browne)

26 August

The Historical Harp Society of Ireland Summer Concert Series, St. Audoen's Church, Dublin, IRL

Concert: *Music and memoirs of an Irish harper* (with Éamon Ó Bróithe, voice, and other soloists)

25 August

The Historical Harp Society of Ireland Summer Concert Series, Nun's Island Theatre, Galway

Concert: *Music and memoirs of an Irish harper* (with Éamon Ó Bróithe, voice, and other soloists)

21 August

Scoil na gCláirseach—Festival of Early Irish Harp, Kilkenny, IRL

Concert: (with Róisín Elsafty, voice)

19 August

The Historical Harp Society of Ireland Summer Concert Series, The Chapter House, St Mary's Cathedral, Kilkenny, IRL

Concert: *Music & Memoirs of an Irish Harper* (with Éamon Ó Bróithe, voice, and other soloists)

19 August

Scoil na gCláirseach—Festival of Early Irish Harp, Kilkenny, IRL

Workshop: *What's an historical Irish harpist? Why would I want to become one? And how?!*

18 August

Scoil na gCláirseach—Festival of Early Irish Harp, Kilkenny, IRL

Workshop: *Reconstructing Irish harp music: What evidence for historically appropriate accompaniment is to be found in Bunting MS 4.29?*

20 July

Musikdorf Ernen Festival, SWITZERLAND

Concert: (with other performers in seventeenth-century European repertory)

15 July

Festival Baroque du Pays du Mont Blanc, Chamonix, FRANCE

Concert: Les Witches Lord Gallaway's Delight: 17th-century music from Great Britain and Ireland

2 July

Arthur Ó Néill Symposium, Benburb, co. Tyrone, north of IRL

Lecture: *The early Irish harp: the instrument of Arthur Ó Néill*

Concert: 'Táim i mo chodladh 's ná duisigh mé' [*I am asleep and don't awaken me*] (with Éamon Ó Bróithe, voice and uilleann pipes)

30 June

Postgraduate Summer Conference, Middlesex University, London, GB

Paper: 'Enabling a new and hitherto silenced subject to speak': *Reconstructing 16th- to 18th-century Irish harp music*

[This won the overall conference prize for best presentation]

29 June

Cairde na Cruite Harp International Harp Festival, Termonfeckin, IRL

Concert: (with other soloists and groups)

17 June

Gregynog Festival, Gregynog Hall, Gregynog, Powys, WALES

Concert: *The Kingdom of Ireland 1500–1800* (The Irish Consort, dir. Siobhán Armstrong)

2 February

'Concerts & Colloquia', School of Media and Performing Arts, Middlesex University, London, GB

Paper and recital: *Can we revisit the past? An approach to reconstructing 16th- to 18th- century Irish harp music*

15 January

Postgraduate Conference of the Society for Musicology in Ireland, Trinity College Dublin, Dublin, IRL

Paper: *The early Irish harp: reconstructing its repertoire within an Historically Informed Performance framework*

2015

15 December

Postgraduate Work-in-Progress Conference, School of Media and Performing Arts, Middlesex University, London, GB

Pecha Kucha Presentation: *Reconstructing historical performance practice for early Irish harp*

22 November

'Music and Tyranny' Conference, Middle State Tennessee University, USA.

Paper: *'A Land of Peace and Concord': Ireland, the early Irish harp and cultural genocide.*

21, 27, 28 & 29 August

Historical Harp Society of Ireland Summer Concert Series: Kilkenny, Galway, Belfast & Dublin, IRL

Concert: *Songs of the Irish Harpers: The Legacy of Edward Bunting*

23 August

Scoil na gCláirseach—Festival of Early Irish Harp, Kilkenny, IRL

Workshop: *Reconstructing early Irish harpers' songs*

21 August

Scoil na gCláirseach—Festival of Early Irish Harp, Kilkenny, IRL

Concert: *Songs of the Irish Harpers: The Legacy of Edward Bunting* (with Róisín Elsafty, voice, and other soloists)

Workshop: *Historical style: How does it differ from modern approaches?*

18 August

Scoil na gCláirseach—Festival of Early Irish Harp, Kilkenny, IRL

Workshop: *What do I do with my bass hand? Melodic accompaniment evidence in 17th- and 18th-century manuscripts*

7 July

Cobblestone Sessions, Na Píobairí Uilleann, Dublin, IRL

Concert: (with other soloists)

4 July

Dungarvan Medieval Festival, co. Waterford, IRL

Lecture-recital: *The Early Irish Harp*

17-18 June

Research Student Summer Conference, Middlesex University, London, GB.

Poster & paper: *Reconstructing historical performance practice for early Irish harp*

26 April

Kilkenny Medieval Week, Kilkenny Castle, Kilkenny, Ireland

Lecture-recital: *The Early Irish Harp*

12 April

Edinburgh International Harp Festival, Edinburgh, SCOTLAND

Lecture: *Towards an understanding of historical Gaelic music*

11 April

Edinburgh International Harp Festival, Edinburgh, SCOTLAND

Concert: (with Róisín Elsafty, voice, and other soloists)

11-15 April

Edinburgh International Harp Festival, Edinburgh, SCOTLAND

Five-day early Irish harp course: *The Heart of the Tradition*

23 March

Journal of Music, IRL

Book review: Mary Louise O'Donnell's *Ireland's Harp: The Shaping of Irish Identity c. 1770-1880* (UCD Press, 2014).

2014

9 December

Postgraduate Research Conference, School of Media and Performing Arts, Middlesex University, London, UK

Paper: *Exploring a historical performance style for early Irish harp*

My artistic work, and my work to disseminate knowledge of early Irish harp performance practice, in a personal capacity, or as founding director of The Historical Harp Society of Ireland, is referenced in the following works:

- Crawford, Sylvia. 2019. "Towards the Potential Role of a Neglected Eighteenth-Century Harp in Cultural Tourism in the Oriel Region." Masters Thesis, Dundalk: Dundalk Institute of Technology, 7, 18.
- S. Joyce and H. Lawlor. 2016. *Harp Studies*. Dublin: Four Courts Press Ltd, 23.
- White, Harry, and Barra. Boydell. 2013. *The Encyclopaedia of Music in Ireland*. 2 vols. Dublin: University College Dublin Press. Entries for 'Siobhán Armstrong' and 'Historical Harp Society of Ireland'.
- Lawlor, Helen. 2012. *Irish Harping, 1900-2010: "It Is New Strung."* Four Courts Press, 109-121.
- Ó Laoire, Lillis. 2008. "Territories of Desire: Words and Music in the Irish Language." In *A New View of the Irish Language*. Dublin: Cois Life, 5-6.
- Vallely, Fintan. 1999. *The Companion to Irish Traditional Music*. Cork: Cork University Press, 175.