

New contexts for céilí bands in Ireland

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Though Irish traditional music is often referred to as a solo tradition, throughout the twentieth century various forms of ensemble playing emerged and developed. Affected by changing social contexts, audience preferences and even government legislation, the céilí band has become one of the most recognisable ensemble styles in Irish traditional music. Usually comprising of various melodic permutations of accordion, fiddle, flute, uilleann pipes, concertina and banjo, the sound is defined by the performance of these in unison with rhythmic and harmonic accompaniment on piano and drums.

Since its development in the twentieth century, the form and sound of the céilí band has arguably altered little but the contexts for performance, attitudes to and perceptions of céilí bands have changed greatly. An important factor in the study of céilí bands today is the development of an understanding as to how and why céilí bands are formed and how this has changed over time, giving particular consideration in this paper to the role of competition. The study of céilí bands may be related to other aspects of the study of Irish traditional music including changes in the processes of transmission, the connection to place and perceived revivals in Irish traditional music.

In developing studies of céilí bands I returned to a critique of céilí bands by Seán Ó Riada, one of the most influential figures in Irish traditional music, whose words inspire the title of this paper.¹ Ó Riada's critique is countered by Barry Taylor's work on the history of céilí bands in Ireland and abroad, though with a particular focus on County Clare.² I also returned to many of the articles published following the Crossroads Conference in 1996³ where, despite the breadth of papers covered, none focused on céilí bands. The 2011 television series *Stair na mBannaí Céilí* did examine both historical and contemporary contexts but in a manner and structure of a television documentary, highlighting the need for further examination.⁴ Aspects of the development of Irish traditional music explored by Sommers-Smith are also useful paradigms for this study.⁵

This paper considers céilí bands in the present, specifically those which have won the All Ireland céilí band competition held at Fleadh Cheoil na hÉireann (referred to widely as 'the Fleadh') in the years: 2007 (the Allow Céilí Band, County Cork); 2008 (the Innisfree, County Sligo); 2009 (the Dartry, County Sligo); 2010 (the Teampall An Ghleanntáin, County Limerick); 2011 (the, Shannonvale, County Kerry). It is important to state that these

competitions do not provide space for dancers and the bands instead perform for a listening audience.

Spaces and contexts

Contexts and spaces for performance are central to understanding the emergence and development of céilí bands. Associated with the development of dance halls and the need to create a bigger sound for larger spaces and audiences, the popularity of the performance style was arguably affected by the developing popularity of the pub 'session' (performers playing together, casually, primarily for their own satisfaction) in the middle of the twentieth century. In the same period that sessions became the main performance occasion for Irish traditional music, competitions administered by Comhaltas Ceoltóirí Éireann (CCÉ) stimulated a new band-performance context which also did not have to be associated with dancing. Céilí bands are considered by some as the epitome of the connection between Irish traditional music and dance, yet many céilí bands do not perform for dancing but rather are formed and exist solely for the purposes of competition. Competitions create standards, boundaries and limitations on the sound, structure and presentation of a band that can further remove it from the dance orientated context in which the genre developed. Many of the bands which provide music for the céilí dance scene are not well known outside of that scene and do not take part in competition.⁶

The set dance revival also provided opportunities for céilí bands to perform, particularly at large céilís at festivals including The Gathering and Scoil Samhradh Willie Clancy⁷ (SSWC). The revival of interest in set dancing may also be linked to competition, specifically the Gaelic Athletic Association's (GAA)⁸ Scór competition from 1971 on, and CCÉ dance competitions introduced in 1978.⁹ According to Meehan:

The criteria for competition dancing also has an effect on set dancing practice. The smooth relaxed country dancers could not compete with the precision of the competition style. In order to compete, dancers often changed the way they danced and in some instances, they changed their set.¹⁰

Meehan also notes the initiation of set dancing classes by Joe O'Donovan at SSWC in 1982 and the subsequent role of set dance collectors who bring rural traditions to the cities.¹¹ Changes in dance are reflected in the changes in the music. As well as changes in sound (or not, as the case may be), the relationship of a band to a local place, region, community or CCÉ branch has also changed, based on networks of mobility and changing contexts for session playing, moulded in part by economic motivation. Irish traditional musicians are more likely now to play with musicians beyond their locality, yet the bands discussed in this paper indicate a close network of musicians, including a number of siblings, many of whom have learned together growing up not only in a local context but at various summer schools including SSWC and Scoil Éigse.

The decision to select groups based on success at the Fleadh for the purposes of this paper does not seek to exclude the various other céilí bands which perform for dancing. Rather, I focus on the Fleadh as a forum for assessing standards and merit, as it constructs a

narrow set of parameters that impact more widely upon attitudes, aesthetics and opportunities in Irish traditional music. It also focuses specifically on the non-dancing aspect céilí bands.

Competition and selection

Since attitudes to competitions and CCE vary widely, consideration is required of the role of the Fleadh in Irish traditional music and the impact of competition on the aesthetics of Irish traditional music performance. Fleadh Cheoil na hÉireann is the single biggest event organised by CCE, and is the pinnacle of its annual network of forty-five smaller, regional fleadhhs (*fleadhanna cheoil*) organised in Ireland, Britain, USA, Canada, and Australia. A festival of music, it is a competitive forum for young musicians involving 'up to 7,000 qualifiers who have emerged from over 25,000 competitors at County and Provincial level'.¹² The early fleadhanna were, in the minds of some, critical to the survival of Irish traditional music, but the introduction of a competitive element to traditional music by CCE was not without debate; this element places certain pressures of requirement and conformity upon competitors, who are required to present a particular set of tunes in a manner that conforms to the (prescribed) expectation of the adjudicators, reflected in the papers in this volume by Goertzen, who examines the impact of competitions on American fiddle playing,¹³ and by Nixon, who also notes the effect of the *fèis* movement on fiddle styles in Scotland.¹⁴ In relation to céilí bands, competitions also led to the development of new céilí bands that challenged the pre-eminence of bands such as the Kilfenora and Tulla, while simultaneously adding to the reputations of those bands. The importance of place in Irish traditional music is, in my opinion, an important aspect of the discourse on the tradition. Taylor notes how the *fleadhanna cheoil* instilled a sense of pride and created:

A feeling of camaraderie among musicians who met to compete at these gatherings throughout the country. They met and competed not only as individuals, but céilí bands sprang up throughout the country to cater for the reawakening demand for the music. These new groups challenged established céilí bands ...¹⁵

The céilí band results from the Fleadh can indicate trends in the tastes of competitors, adjudicators and audiences (see the table in Figure 1). Particular tunes, styles and approaches to playing go through cycles of popularity and though the results may sometimes generate debate, it is interesting to consider the results of the past eight years of the céilí band competition. Many of the bands examined in this paper have a track record of competing and have been awarded third or second place before winning the ultimate prize.

The competition usually takes place on the final Sunday night as the Fleadh's concluding competition. It invariably takes place in the biggest available venue, often a temporary structure; demand for these is very high and the venue is invariably full to capacity. The bands must perform in a preselected order – there is a belief amongst many that performing towards the end of the competition holds an advantage.

According to *Fleadh Rules*, a Céilí Band shall consist of not less than five and not more than ten members. Senior bands are required to perform two reels in succession, two jigs in succession and a maximum of two tunes played in succession from each of two other

classes chosen from: air (slow or lively), reel, polka, hornpipe, march, jig (double, single, slip), slide, set dance, mazurka, planxty, fling, barn dance, schottische, and clan march. Despite this list, most bands perform a march and hornpipe in competition. Bands wear particular uniforms, typically a black trousers or skirt, shirt or blouse, waistcoat and necktie, cravat or scarf. A piano is provided, but each band uses its own drum-kit. Most bands sit in two rows with fiddles and flutes, and perhaps banjo, to the front, with reed instruments such as accordion, concertina or uilleann pipes behind; the drums are usually located at the back with the piano to one side. Drums and piano indicate the start and finish of sets of tunes, but otherwise the performance is unison. Tune choices are considered important, as are the variations that each band uses. A scoring system has been developed in recent years to create a sense of transparency about the adjudication system and limit the influence of individuals. Rule 34(i) states:

In Senior Céilí Band Competitions at Fleadh Cheoil na hÉireann a minimum of four adjudicators will officiate. Seated apart, they shall mark their adjudication sheet separately and the results will be calculated in the recognised points system: 11. 7. 5. 4. 3. 2. 1. These results will be displayed in the venue.¹⁶

By sitting separately, the adjudicators may not influence each other but they may be influenced by the nature of the audience responses. Anecdotal evidence suggests that audience reaction has become more pronounced in recent years and is viewed as viable in influencing the judging. Bands are expected to come from specific counties,¹⁷ and in relation to such 'residency', Rule 17 states:

Competitions shall be confined to: Residents of the County or Region in which the Fleadh is being held. In the case of Céilí Bands, Marching Bands and Grúpaí Ceoil, it is recommended as far as possible, that these also be residents of the County or Region. Competitors shall be deemed to be residents of the County or Region only if ordinarily resident in that County/Region for a period of not less than the previous six months prior to the date of the qualifying Fleadh.¹⁸

Thus, many of the musicians in the bands being studied do indeed tend to come from a relatively narrow geographical area, though this may not always be the case.

Céilí bands

1. *The Allow Céilí Band*

The County Cork *Allow Céilí Band* was the first from its county to win the Fleadh competition at Tullamore in 2007. The band, named after the Allow (pronounced 'ah-low') river which flows through Freemount in north Cork, was formed in 2003, but some of its members had played together earlier in Junior (up to age 18) groups. The Allow has a 'local' feel in that among its ten members in Tullamore were three sisters (Maeve, Eimear and Clodagh Buckley on fiddle, concertina and piano respectively). With them were Geraldine O'Callaghan and Áine O'Connell on fiddles, Adrian McAuliffe on banjo, John Carroll on the button accordion, Gerry Noonan, and William Pierce on flutes, and Pat Mulcahy on drums.

Table 1 Results of the Senior Céilí Band Competition at Fleadh Cheoil na hÉireann, 2004-2011

Year/Place	2004	2005	2006	2007
1 st	Naomh Padhraic CCÉ, Trim, Co. Meath	Naomh Pádraig, Co. Meath	Naomh Pádraig, Co. Meath	Allow Céilí Band, Co. Cork
2 nd	Turloughmore Céilí Band, Co. Clare	Turloughmore Céilí Band, Co. Clare	Allow Céilí Band, Co. Cork	Innisfree Céilí Band, Co. Sligo
3 rd	Innisfree Céilí Band, Co. Sligo	Allow Céilí Band, Co. Cork	Innisfree Céilí Band, Co. Sligo	The Tribes Céilí Band, Co. Galway
Year/Place	2008	2009	2010	2011
1 st	Innisfree Céilí Band, Co. Sligo	Dartry Céilí Band, Co. Sligo	Teampail an Ghleanntáin, Co. Limerick	Shannonvale Céilí Band, Co. Kerry
2 nd	Dartry Céilí Band, Co. Sligo	Shannon Vale Céilí Band, Co. Kerry	Ceoltóirí na Mainistreach, Co. Clare	Awbeg Céilí Band, Co. Cork
3 rd	Ceoltóirí na Mainistreach, Co. Clare	Triogue Céilí Band, Co. Laois	Triogue Céilí Band, Co. Laois	Triogue Céilí Band, Co. Laois

Most of the band learned their music in Freemount, notably from one man, Con Herbert, who was considered by all as the band leader. Part of the success of the Allow has been attributed to their willingness to play for céilís, which requires them to respond the needs of dancers. The different aesthetics required to play for active dancers as opposed to passive listeners, highlighted by changes in the 1960s associated primarily with Seán Ó Riada, shape the sound of the band. Another aspect of the Allow's sound is its inclusion of polkas, slides and repertoire from the Sliabh Luachra region. This emphasises the local spirit of the band, as they continued for a time to perform for céilís in North Cork.

2. The Innisfree Céilí Band

Winners in 2008, this band represented the Fred Finn branch of CCÉ in Sligo. They were the first band from North Connacht to win the Fleadh competition; their name evokes literary images of Sligo (from the poetry of William Butler Yeats). Band leader Oisín MacDiarmada is from the generation of the band's members and an integral performer. Their sound is shaped by the regional preference of North Connacht, a repertoire of mostly jigs and reels played on flutes and fiddles; the band also has piano, drums, and button accordion. The Innisfree has its own website and plays for both céilís and concerts; it released the album *Music of North Connacht* following the 2008 win.¹⁹ As with the Allow, kinship networks are important. Three are members of the MacDiarmada family: fiddle-players Cormac and Oisín and flute player Máire. The others are from Leitrim (Damian O'Brien, David Sheridan, and Oliver Loughlin), Roscommon (Finbar McGreevy), Sligo (Damien Stenson, Charles O'Connor, and Daragh Kelly) and Laois (accordion player Paul Finn); the latter, along with Stenson and Oisín MacDiarmada, is also a member of the group Téada. While the membership extends into surrounding counties, it nevertheless reflects the wider understanding of 'North Connacht' beyond the South Sligo heartland, which is typically associated with renowned early-1900s fiddler Michael Coleman.

3. The Dartry Céilí Band

Another Sligo ensemble, this band won in 2009. Formed in 2007, landscape inspires the name – the Dartry Mountains of North Sligo; members are also drawn from neighbouring counties Mayo and Roscommon, and family networks are important too: Noelle Carroll (flute), her brother Seán (accordion), Michael Rooney (harp, from County Monaghan originally), his wife June McCormack (flute, from Ballintogher, County Sligo), Sligo musicians Kevin Brehony (piano), Philip Duffy (fiddle), Declan Folan (drums), and Cian Kerins (flute); Mayo fiddle player John Kilkenny and Roscommon fiddle player Mossie Martin. Like the Innisfree, the Dartry followed their Fleadh success with the release of an album *The Killavil Post*.

4. The Templeglantine Céilí Band

This is based in the County Limerick Templeglantine branch of CCÉ which was founded in 1971. Led by flute player Siobhán Ní Chonaráin, it reflects the coming together of a rural community. Band members are Eibhlín Healy, Patricia Wright, and Brid Ní Mhurchú (fiddles), Siobhán Ní Chonaráin and Jackie Healy (flutes), Willie Larkin (accordion), John Larkin (banjo), Mairéad Corrigan (concertina), Aileen Dillane (piano), and Pat Buckley

(drums). There is a mix of generations, and the success of the band results from a high standard of teaching in the past fifteen years. The repertoire is distinctive for including slides, part of their West Limerick regional identity. Many of the band are involved in teaching music locally, as well as performing in local seasonal shows.²⁰ Piano player Aileen Dillane is a lecturer in Ethnomusicology at University of Limerick.

5. The Shannon Vale Céilí Band

This was started by Ballyduff, County Kerry accordion player Danny O'Mahony in 2009, its name taken from an earlier Shannon Vale band formed in the same area by fiddle-player Mick Sweeney in 1959. The band today has Sheila Garry, Colm Kissane, and Geraldine O'Callaghan (fiddles), Marianne Browne and Joe O'Sullivan (flutes), Alan Egan (concertina), Danny O'Mahony (accordion), Patsy Broderick (piano), and brothers Michael and John Collins (banjo and drums). Though a relatively new band, like the others there is a breadth and depth of experience: O'Mahony and Egan are former All-Ireland champions, O'Sullivan is from a well-known Sliabh Luachra music family in Gneeveguilla, and Broderick has played and recorded with a number of groups including Galway-based band Arcady. Garry previously played with the Kilfenora while O'Callaghan was a member of the winning 2007 Allow Céilí Band and played in nine consecutive All-Ireland competitions. Nominally from North Kerry, the band draws on its County Clare and Sliabh Luachra hinterlands.

Geographical contexts for céilí bands

The Fleadh is just one context for céilí bands, but other social, music, and geographical factors shape them too. Some of the bands highlighted here have members who grew up playing together; in some instances, this is very obvious, with members drawn from a small geographical area and of a similar age. But most bands also include musicians from farther away, this a result of friendship and even marriage. The inclusion of musicians from beyond the immediate geographical area with which the band is associated is neither remarkable nor new, for the best-known céilí bands of the twentieth century were similar. Bands such as the Tulla and Kilfenora helped develop the association of céilí bands and place – in their case County Clare. It is interesting to note that despite the strong sense of tradition associated with North Connacht and Sligo in particular, the Innisfree and Dartry were the first bands from North Connacht to win the All-Ireland title, possibly signifying a different sense of tradition associated with céilí bands. In Munster, the Allow were the first céilí band from County Cork, Templeglantine the first from County Limerick and the Shannon Vale only the second from County Kerry to win the title. All four of these bands have been associated to varying degrees with the regional traditions of Sliabh Luachra that is inextricably linked with set dancing. The recent success of these bands contrasts with the thirteen titles secured by Clare bands to date while lesser known regions such as County Louth can lay claim to eight titles secured by the Siamsa (1967–1969; 1989–1990) and Táin (1998–2000) Céilí Bands, both of whom recorded the prestigious honour of winning three titles in a row.

While céilí bands were developed to play all night for dancers in large halls, the competition at the Fleadh is different. But the bands may play a repertoire which has relevance to their locales. Such is the case with the Templeglantine which plays slides or polkas in

competition as a reflection of their regional repertoires and identities and the demands of dancers at local céilís. Amongst bands of previous generations, performances in England and America were not uncommon and are amongst the first examples of semi-professional touring by groups in Irish traditional music. Following success at the Fleadh, bands have gone on to perform, facilitate workshops, and adjudicate at Fleadhanna in America, elevating the status of the musicians who are part of the bands. Today opportunities for céilí bands to tour extend to more exotic locations also with events being held in places as diverse as Dubai and Ibiza, although the audiences remain primarily Irish.

Whereas many of the performance opportunities for céilí bands relate to events involving dancing, the genre has developed a strong appeal amongst listening audiences, epitomised by the non-dancing context of the Fleadh competitions. Many céilí bands have recorded, and it is quite common for bands which win the All-Ireland to record a follow-up CD – such as *The Bridge* in 1999, *The Táin* in 2000, and *The Ennis* in 2003. The range of céilí band CDs emphasises that there is a taste and a market for them as a listening genre.

Members profiles: attracting an audience

The profiles of many of the All Ireland-winning band members as recording artists and semi-professional musicians in their own right contrasts with the amateur community status normally associated with CCÉ and the Fleadh. The Allow's banjo player Adrian McAuliffe, for instance, has an album that also features Templeglantine pianist Aileen Dillane.²¹ A number of members of the Innisfree have successful recordings, notably Oisín MacDiarmada and other members of his professional band *Téada*²² – Damien Stenson and Paul Finn – and flute player Dave Sheridan.²³ Michael Rooney and June McCormack from the Dartry have successful profiles and albums,²⁴ the Shannon Vale's Danny O'Mahony has a solo album,²⁵ while the band's Patsy Broderick recorded with the Galway based group Arcady. The involvement of musicians such as these who have developed a professional profile as artists in céilí bands is a positive reflection on the bands and the competitions.

Conclusion

While the sound and styles of presentation created by the bands considered here differ, the contexts in which they developed are somewhat similar. Many successful bands, though judged in a context that does not allow for dancing, do also perform for céilís outside of competition, and so develop their sound, repertoire and style in conjunction with dance. Despite the apparent disconnect from place, there remains a celebration of local place – in that bands are named after towns, parishes, and landscape features; kinship and local networks – though notably wider than in previous generations – remain important. Figureheads or band leaders are integral to the development and profile of bands. While the Kilfenora honours past figures such as John Lynch and Kitty Linnane, and the Tulla remembers Paddy Canny and P. J. Hayes, today's bands look to new faces.

The continuing presence of céilí bands in the soundscape of Irish traditional music highlights the existence of an audience which wants to listen – as well as dance. The participation of high-profile musicians in such bands signifies a prestige attached to this

form of music-making. The continuing relevance of place and the concept of representing a parish or region adds to the layers of meanings that define these ensembles in contemporary society. The céilí band sound is still distinctive, and is still sought after, but there are multiple motives driving this collective-music-making today that go well beyond traditional ideas

Notes

¹ Seán Ó Riada presented a radio series entitled *Our Musical Heritage* on Irish National radio, Radio Éireann, 7th July to 13th October, 1962. This was published as a book in 1982. See Seán Ó Riada, *Our Musical Heritage*, ed. by Thomas Kinsella and Tomás Ó Canainn (Mountrath, Portlaoise, Ireland: The Dolmen Press, 1982).

² Barry Taylor, 'A Problem for the Public – Seán Ó Riada and Irish Traditional Music', in *Essays in Honour of Tom Munnely* (Miltown Malbay: The Old Kilfarboy Society, 2007), pp. 331–360.

³ A conference series begun in 1996 (discussing *Tradition and Innovation*), and continued in 2003 (*Traditional Music and Education*); both events have published papers; see Fintan Vallely, Hammy Hamilton, Eithne Vallely, Liz Doherty, eds, *Crosbhealach an Cheoil – The Crossroads Conference 1996* (Dublin: Whinstone, 1999); Fintan Vallely, Liz Doherty, Therese Smith, Paul McGettrick, Eithne Vallely, Desi Wilkinson, Colette Moloney, eds, *Crosbhealach an Cheoil – The Crossroads Conference 2003* (Dublin: Whinstone, 2012).

⁴ *Stair na mBannaí Céilí* tracked the fortunes of two bands in competition, Ceoltóirí na Mainstreach from Co. Clare and The Knockmore Céilí Band from Co. Fermanagh (Sonas Productions, 2011).

⁵ Sally K. Sommers Smith, 'Traditional Music / Ceol Traidisiúnta: Irish Traditional Music in a Modern World', *New Hibernia Review / Iris Éireannach Nua*, 5, no. 2. (2001), 111–125.

⁶ Bill Lynch, 'Set Dancing', *Dance Notes*, Issue 3 (2012) <http://www.danceresearchforumireland.org/Wordpress/publications/dance-notes/>, [accessed 20 June 2012], pp. 5–7.

⁷ The longest-running summer school of traditional music in Ireland, it is independent of CCÉ; see Muiris Ó Rócháin, 'Willie Clancy Summer School', in *Companion to Irish Traditional Music [CITM]*, 2nd edn, ed. by Fintan Vallely (Cork: Cork University Press, 2011), pp. 754–756.

⁸ The largest sporting organisation in Ireland, it runs Gaelic games (football, hurling and hand-ball) and many of its c. 2,500 clubs are involved also in set dancing; see CITM 2011, p. 291.

⁹ Larry Lynch, *Set Dancing in Ireland: History and Evolution* (Miltown Malbay, Co. Clare: Séadna Publications in association with *Dal gCais*, 1989), p. 3.

¹⁰ <http://www.odonovandance.com/history.htm> [accessed 20 June 2012].

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² Comhaltas Ceoltóirí Éireann [CCÉ], *An Ród Seo Romhainn / Development Programme for the Irish Traditional Arts* (2001) http://comhaltas.ie/images/press_room/DevelopmentProgramme_1.pdf, p. 11.

¹³ Chris Goertzen, 'Balancing Local and National Approaches at American Fiddle Contests', *American Music*, 14, no. 3 (1996), 352–381; Chris Goertzen, 'The Transformation of American Contest Fiddling', *Journal of Musicology*, 6, no. 1 (1988), 107–129.

¹⁴ Emma Nixon, 'The Transmission of Style in Scottish Fiddling', in *Routes and Roots: Fiddle and Dance Studies from around the North Atlantic 4*, ed. by Ian Russell and Chris Goertzen (Aberdeen: The Elphinstone Institute, 2012), pp. 112–120.

¹⁵ Taylor, p. 355.

¹⁶ CCÉ, 'Rialacha Fleadhanna Ceoil 2010' (2010), http://leinsterfleadh.ie/wp-content/uploads/2014/02/Rialacha_Fleadhanna_Ceoil_Web_2010.pdf [accessed June 2015].

KEARNEY *New contexts for céilí bands in Ireland*

- ¹⁷ Daithí Kearney, 'Changing Contexts for Céilí Bands in Ireland', unpublished paper presented at the British Forum for Ethnomusicology Annual Conference (Durham University, 30 March 2012).
- ¹⁸ CCÉ (2010), [accessed 20 June 2012].
- ¹⁹ Innisfree Céilí Band, *Music of North Connacht*, Claddagh Records, CPCD001, 2008.
- ²⁰ CCÉ (2001).
- ²¹ Adrian McAuliffe and Cathal Flood, *Between the Strings*, Own Label, AMCF01, 2011.
- ²² Téada, *Ceol & Cuimhne (Music & Memory)*, Gael Linn/Compass Records, CEFCD195, 2010.
- ²³ Dave Sheridan, *Sheridan's Guesthouse*, Own Label, SHERCD01, 2006.
- ²⁴ Michael Rooney and June McCormack, *Draóicht*, Own Label, Doorla003, 2006; *Land's End*, Own Label, DOORLA004, 2004.
- ²⁵ Danny O'Mahony, *In Retrospect*, Own Label, DOMCD001, 2011.