



Waiting 'For the City to Remember':
Archive and Repertoire in ANU Productions and
Cois Céim Dance Theatre's *These Rooms*

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An Invitation

Walking from North King Street in Dublin's inner city, we arrived on Upper Dorset Street at the performance venue, the historic birthplace of Irish playwright Seán O'Casey. We bumped into Louise Lowe and Owen Boss, artistic directors of ANU Productions who, in collaboration with artistic director of CoisCéim Dance Theatre, David Bolger, created *These Rooms*, the performance we had come to see.¹ As the production was about to start, we headed to the front door to collect our tickets.

Walking towards the building entrance, I saw dance artist Emma O'Kane and said hello. Emma was dressed in 1960s' attire, wearing black boots, a knee-length tweed coat, and a pale blue dress, her black hair back in a band. She held daffodils and a statue of the Virgin Mary in her arms. I thought she was on her way to a different part of the building, as audience members had already gathered in what I later experienced as a pub set in 1966, a moment referring to the traumatic legacies and forgetful public memory of the 1916 Easter Rising. With ticket in hand I was a bit anxious about 'missing' the performance – this was, after all, one of the most written about and anticipated shows for the 2016 Dublin Theatre Festival, and would later receive the 2016 Irish Theatre's 'Audience Choice' Award for Best Performance.

I didn't realize my performance had already begun.

With downcast and troubled eyes, Emma paused and then asked me if I would wait with her. Her question created a rift in the space-time of the Dublin street upon which we stood. I had to make a choice. I could either be in that moment with her, or I could give in to my desire and excitement to be with the others watching 'the' performance. To choose the latter would mean leaving Emma outside alone. I said, 'Yes'.

At the time, I didn't fully comprehend that Emma's question was an invitation to join her on a journey to bear secondary witness to a relatively unknown civilian history that took place just down the road from where we were standing. During the Easter Rising, on 28–29 April 1916, British soldiers from the 2/6th Battalion Territorial Force of the South Staffordshire Regiment murdered one sixteen-year-old boy and fourteen civilian men in houses on or near North King Street; another later died from his wounds. These men were neither armed nor part of the Irish Volunteers and some (as evidenced by later testimony) were British sympathizers. Despite local requests for justice, these civilian murders were covered up by a British military inquiry and the records sealed for one hundred years 'to avoid another Irish rebellion'.² A first inquest was conducted on 12 May 1916, after the bodies of Patrick Bealen and James Healy were discovered in the cellar of 177 North King Street. A British military inquiry opened in late May 1916. No individual soldier or officer was held responsible in that inquiry, despite calls for justice, including a petition to the British House of Commons from the Lord Mayor of Dublin.³ Two to three years after the Rising, a reorganized Sinn Féin published *A Fragment of 1916 History*, testimony collected from thirty-eight female civilian survivors, several of whom were related to or knew personally the people murdered in this district, along with a sketch map of the location of the murders.⁴ As the women were separated from the men and boys, they only imagined or heard what was happening to their family members and neighbours through the doors and walls of their building. *Fragment* would later be forgotten in the archives for decades. These testimonies – as well as the silences of official archives – inspired ANU and CoisCéim artists' interpretations of events in *These Rooms*.⁵

Standing outside in silence, I thought again about Emma's question, as local residents, moving along in their taken-for-granted routines, were clearly oblivious to this past and unfolding performance. I asked her: 'Who are you waiting for?' She replied: 'For the city to remember.' Then she began to dance.

Gendering the Nation: 1916/1966/2016

What would the impact of this [the Rising] be in your house, your home? . . . [S]uddenly the wars came through the walls to them.⁶

How does a capital city remember going to 'wars', one hundred years later? Certainly not usually from the perspective of the female body. Typically, state commemorations of war are performed through calendric rituals, sacred sites, monumental landscapes and male heroic bodies that personify

the nation.⁷ Such commemorative performances tend to distance the present-day from an idealized past to smooth out the complexities of war. In 2016 many of Ireland's official celebrations of the Rising were no different, with formal military parades along O'Connell Street, dramatic musicals at state-funded theatres, a new exhibition at the iconic General Post Office, and school projects in towns and cities across the Republic.⁸ In these nationalist productions, strong (hetero-sexed) men, often with women at their side, were romantically staged as visionaries fighting for an independent Ireland. Yet many Irish families mourn losses from more than one war and 'side'.⁹

The historical recollections of 2016 were more nuanced than the grandiose celebrations of 1966, or the fearful quietness of 1991. These (re)imaginings of Ireland's possible pasts and futures responded to the Good Friday Agreement of 1998 on the one hand, and on the other, to the contested commemoration of the Irish engagement in the First World War. By 2016, following eight years of austerity, activists and artists questioned the inheritance of the rebellion, including: the retrenchment of women's and immigrants' rights; the violence of neoliberalism (including the housing crisis); and the damage wrought by the Catholic Church's colonization of everyday life. Many of the *ART: 2016* projects funded by the Arts Council of Ireland, for example, critically interrogated claims to Irishness through mobile performances of objects and bodies. Rita Duffy's *The Souvenir Shop* sold 1916 products to be consumed and exported, in order to mock 'Brand Ireland'; Sarah Browne and Jesse Jones's *In the Shadow of the State* playfully documented Irish material cultures that disciplined the female body, while offering their own alternatives; Fearghus Ó Conchúir's *The Casement Project* brought queer, disabled, and 'other' Irish bodies not normally visible onto the national stage; and ANU and CoisCéim's *These Rooms* explored the memories of war and rebellion through the body memory of ordinary Dublin women set in multiple pasts and presents.¹⁰

Rather than equate the historical as 'traumatic' or use abject female bodies to depict violence, *These Rooms* called attention to the inability of a wounded city to mourn for its own inhabitants amidst the forgetful excesses of national commemoration and neoliberalism.¹¹ Below, I consider how the dance-performance-installation conveyed knowledge about the city at war through the embodied testimonies of ordinary women's experiences. I then describe how the artists created scenarios that moved between the material objectivity of the archive and the body memory of the repertoire, so as to invite audiences to bear witness to violence, grief and forgetting in a (post)colonial wounded city.¹²

The Archive: Situating Testimonies in a Wounded City

We four were in the back parlour behind the shop. . . . The officer shouted 'Hands up', and ordered the two men, Noonan and Ennis, upstairs. . . . [A]s poor Mrs Ennis saw her husband being led upstairs she clung to him and refused to be parted from him, and said, 'I must go up with my husband'. One of the soldiers pulled her off and put a bayonet to her ear and uttered the foulest language. She said, 'You would not kill a woman, would you?' He shouted, 'Keep quiet, you bloody bitch'. They then took the two men upstairs and locked us women in the shop parlour and told us not to move at the peril of our lives.¹³

Women's recollections in *Fragment*, such as that above by Anne Fennell, were 'discovered' by the artists, with the help of an archivist.¹⁴ The archive, as an unstable repository for traces of the past, is, according to Derrida, a 'feverish' site of knowledge production.¹⁵ Working closely with archivists and oral historians to find military inquests, census data and maps, the artists researched historical documents, walked the city and developed movement workshops to try to understand how the daily routines of North King Street residents were irrevocably damaged. Their collaborative, archival, embodied and iterative creative practice might be considered a form of what Hal Foster describes as contemporary 'archival art'.¹⁶ The artists critically interrogated the truth claims and silences of official institutions through creating more inclusive 'archives of public culture', whereby 'possible scenarios of alternative kinds of social relations' were made accessible to diverse audiences (Fig. 1).¹⁷

Louise Lowe recalled that her first response to *Fragment* was to ask 'What was the experience of female bodies in these spaces?'¹⁸ The women's descriptions of the material and emotional intrusions into their domestic realms demonstrate how a home is a particular type of place, a shared gathering of human activity, of matter, meaning and experience.¹⁹ As Edward Casey writes, inhabitants '*belong to places* and help constitute them. . . . [A]t the same time *places belong to lived bodies* and depend on them'.²⁰ For this reason, I understand place as a threshold through which the living can make contact with those who have gone before and those who have yet to come.²¹ This is because 'we are not only *in* places but *of* them. . . . we are placelings, and our very perceptual apparatus, our sensing body, reflects the kinds of places we inhabit'.²²

How did 'bodies and places . . . interanimate each other'²³ on 1916 North King Street? From archives and oral histories, the artists learned that this was a densely settled and poor part of Dublin.²⁴ Some houses in the area were semi-derelict; the 1911 Census Building Return listed several as

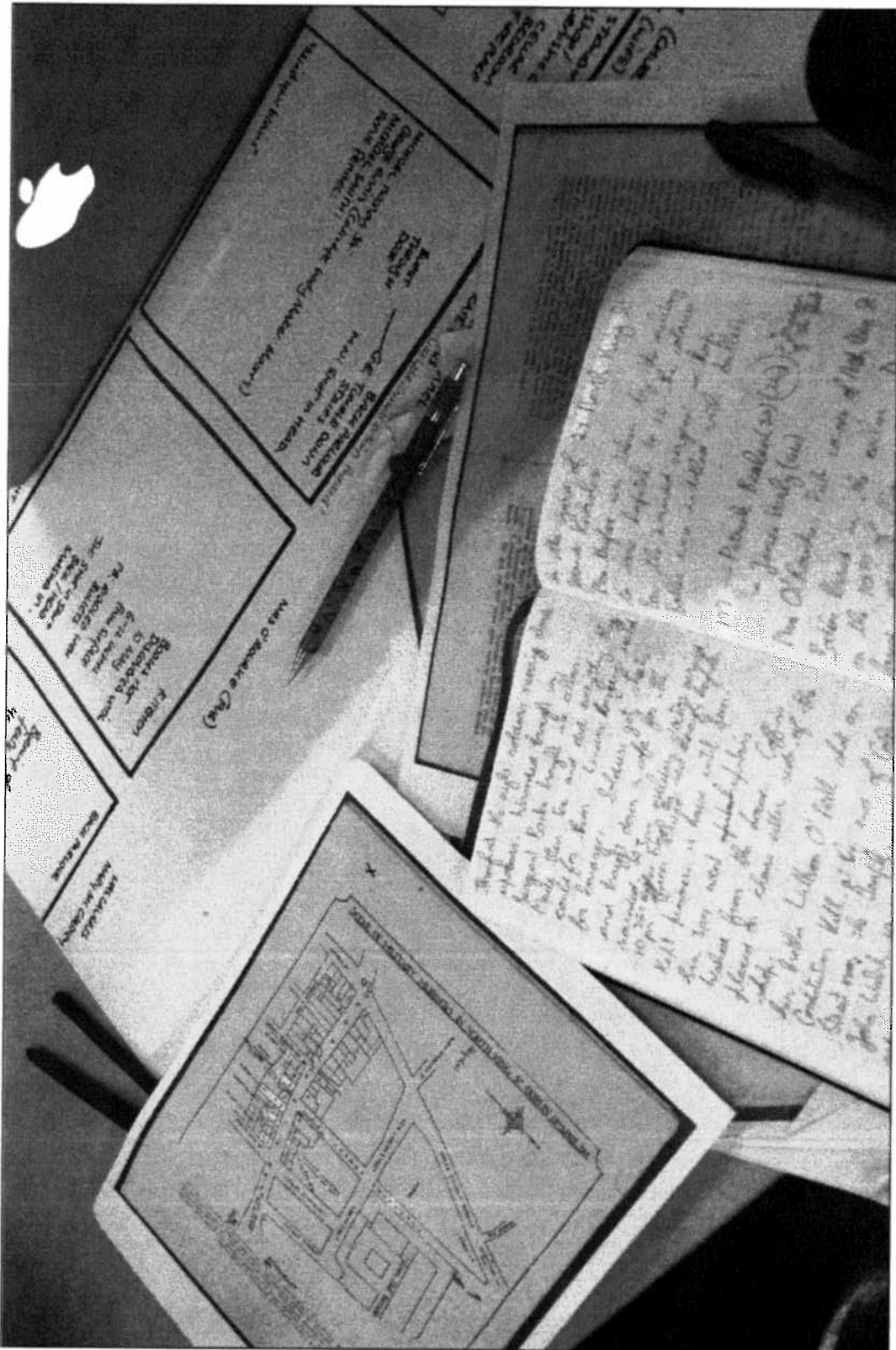


Figure 1. These Rooms development workshop, by ANU Productions/CoisCéim Dance Theatre, 2016
(Photograph courtesy of Owen Boss).

empty, including 170 King Street where British troops took Thomas Hickey, his sixteen-year-old son Christopher, and Peter Connolly to be shot.²⁵ Structures originally built as grand houses had been subdivided into tenements; a lodger or family lived in one or two rooms. For example, Kate Ennis (42), married to George (49), a coach-body maker (who was murdered), resided in the three-storeyed house on 174 North King Street, with three other families, including:

Michael Noonan, who kept a newsagent's and tobacconist's shop there, [and who] occupied the ground floor; two rooms on the second floor were occupied by Michael Smith; my husband and I occupied one room on the top floor, and a lady named Miss Anne Fennell occupied another room on the same floor. On the morning of the 29th April 1916, all the above persons, with the exception of Michael Smith, were in a parlour at the back of the shop on the ground floor.²⁶

The Noonan family included Elizabeth (64), a widow and shopkeeper, her son Michael (34), a Dublin Corporation messenger, and her daughter Catie (32), housekeeper (although only Michael was there on 29 April 1916), and the Smiths included Michael (61), an unmarried general labourer, and his widowed sister, Jane Byrne (65). Anne Fennell, who was 70, was a housekeeper. All in the house were Catholic, and all could read and write, except Michael Smith who could read only.²⁷

Buildings, according to David Seamon, are 'constellation[s] of actions, events, situations, and experiences' for those who live in, work or frequent them.²⁸ The multiple families that shared a building also shared common living spaces, such as a parlour, kitchen or outhouse. Both Fennell and Ennis mentioned being in the parlour behind the shop when the 'wars [came in] bursting through their doors'.²⁹ This detail about the spatial layout and use of the home provided artists with knowledge about the contexts of everyday experience and habit memory, which would be communicated through installations and movement sequences that I discuss in the next section.

When cities are 'wounded' through various forms of state-perpetrated violence, so too are the inhabitants of a city.³⁰ Damage to the material textures, embodied contexts and emotional attachments of particular places harms inhabitants' sense of personal and group stability, resulting in what Mindy Fullilove describes as 'root shock', a traumatic stress resulting from the loss of all or part of one's emotional ecosystems.³¹ Many of the women described how the soldiers brutally violated their homes as an intimate space: 'there were one or more officers in command and about 30 soldiers. They burst in like wild beasts and shouted harshly at us', 'thrusting their

bayonets through the beds'.³² This sense of embodied defilement was often communicated alongside feelings of dispossession and also dignity, as Anne Fennell described for the final moments of George Ennis:

After a long time, it must have been a couple of hours, we heard a noise at the parlour door, and to our horror poor Mr Ennis crawled in. I will never forget. He was dying, bleeding to death, and when the military left the house he had crept down the stairs, to see his wife for the last time. He was covered with blood and his eyes were rolling in his head . . . Poor Mr Ennis did not live more than twenty minutes after he came into us. He died about two and a half hours after being shot . . . The next day the soldiers wanted to take the bodies away, but Mrs Ennis or Mrs Byrne would not let them remove the remains, and we got them buried ourselves.³³

The testimonies describe the women's sense of loss but also their right to care for their kin, such as, when denied a request for a priest, they knelt beside George Ennis and administered 'the last prayers for the dying'.³⁴ The recollections of the women allowed the artists to consider the inhabitants of North King Street as 'people and not just victims of a crime', because, as O'Kane mentioned, 'without that human connection they just fade back into the past and we never get to hear their voices'.³⁵

The Repertoire: Scenarios of Emplaced Bodies, Memories and Encounters

The live performance THESE ROOMS investigated questions of dignity, belonging and dispossession in a fearless, intimate and embodied physical performance. Set in 1966, the 50th anniversary of the Rising, it also explored the female body as a post trauma political site.³⁶

Casey describes 'the body' as a 'specific medium for experiencing a place-world', arguing further that our sensing 'bodies not only perceive but *know* places'.³⁷ According to Diana Taylor, the knowing, emplaced body generates, records and transmits knowledge, creating a 'repertoire':

Embodied memory, because it is live, exceeds the archive's ability to capture it. But this does not mean that performance . . . disappears. . . . Multiple forms of embodied acts are always present, though in a constant state of againness. They reconstitute themselves, transmitting communal memories, histories, and values from one group/generation to the next. *Embodied and performed acts generate, record, and transmit knowledge.*³⁸

To generate, choreograph and perform movement sequences that ‘transmitted communal memories and histories’, Boss, Bolger and Lowe facilitated collaborative movement and mapping workshops, spanning roughly two years, that complemented their archival research.³⁹ Beginning initially with an actor and a dancer, the artists asked pairs to work together on specific tasks to elicit embodied responses to the women’s testimonies. The artists recorded the women’s stories through their bodies, and also articulated, danced, wrote or painted responses to parts of the testimonies that especially ‘spoke’ to them.

As Bolger, Boss and Lowe developed artists’ responses into more structured movement sequences, the performing/dance artists gained a body memory based upon those workshops. Performance theorist, Diana Taylor, suggests that performances ‘replicate themselves through their own structures and codes’.⁴⁰ Lowe confirms this argument by noting that there is ‘a “why” behind every moment, or time, or piece, or suggestion, or gesture’ in *These Rooms*, a why resulting from a ‘robust interrogation dramaturgically’ of the artists’ research and creative responses (the knowledge generated from both historical documents and movement workshops).⁴¹ Indeed, the final dance and performance movements were exquisitely choreographed, and the arrangements of bodies within the performance spaces were sequenced to the second.

ANU and CoisCéim, in seeking to depict the ‘trauma of the body, the place, the architecture, the space [of the city and nation]’, also considered the ongoing legacies of symbolic violence following state formation experienced by female bodies.⁴² An important process of the artists’ research is to move through the present-day city to consider the unfolding living relationship[s] between knowing bodies and the spatially connected ‘world of sidewalks, streets, and urban district’.⁴³ But what they found instead at North King Street was a neglected landscape: a large vacant space (buildings standing in 1916 had been demolished);⁴⁴ a different street layout; and no visible historical marker to act as a reminder of the atrocities (a commemorative plaque would later be unveiled on 30 April 2016 by the Stoneybatter and Smithfield People’s History Project).⁴⁵ Lowe noted that they had ‘to go back to old plans, relevant streets, and imagine’.⁴⁶ This discovery of forgetful landscapes may have inspired the artists to move between memories and experiences, as well as official commemorations, of 1916, 1966 and 2016 in *These Rooms*.

The final choreography and performance sequences were not intended to ‘recreate a historic event’ but to communicate viscerally the repertoire of knowledge and voices generated through their research.⁴⁷ Framed by installations of densely textured settings organized into five spatial arrangements across multiple floors in a single building, the performances of *These Rooms*

communicated an embodied sense of living in this part of the city while evoking the historical locations of ‘the five separate group killings’.⁴⁸ ‘[I]ntrigued by the architecture of existing environments and the contemporary way spaces are occupied by communities’, the installations provided a ‘structural, architectural resonance’ to North King Street by ‘embody[ing] a row of ten houses within the structure of one’ building.⁴⁹ In addition, the number of people admitted for each show was also intended to create for audiences a corporeal sense of the high density housing that was standard among the poor in the 1916 inner city.⁵⁰ Whereas the installation structure of *These Rooms* folded the spatialities of the city, street, neighbourhood and home through five sections of a single building, the *mise en scène* of each performance continuously shifted between past and present, ‘evocative’ of 1916 ‘through the refracted lens of a fifty-year commemoration’.⁵¹ As audiences explored the building, the experiential duration of the performances continuously oscillated between the present-day, the historic, the traumatic, the surreal, and the experientially perceived, yet ‘took place’ simultaneously.⁵²

The artists translated this sense of the colliding spaces (of home, building, street and city) and temporalities (now, then, dream-like, now as then, then as now) through what Taylor describes as scenarios of performance. Unlike a stage whereupon passive audiences view theatrical acts, the scenario is an event to which audiences address themselves. A scenario, like an artwork, *produces* its constituency; as a type of forum, scenarios gather, rather than assume, an audience.⁵³ Such scenarios disclose through knowing, perceiving, remembering and interacting body-selves (audience members and artists) that find themselves emplaced in similar environments. Together, the installations, spatial-temporal structures of the building, and performing bodies of *These Rooms* offered audiences multiple possible encounters with the female body as a post-trauma political site.

Audiences initially moved from the present-day city street, passing through the door of an historic building, and found themselves in an imagined 1966 Dublin pub with British Union Jack colours. A black and white television blared reports about celebratory nationalist commemorations of the Rising, which would have been insensitive to ‘the locals’ who threw darts, ordered drinks and joked about. This somewhat familiar pub scene shifted to a more unsettling situation as dance sequences, sometimes punctuated by verbal utterances or sound, communicated stories of disbelief, estrangement and unresolved loss. Some audience members were asked to escort women home (going outside of the pub), while most of the others remained to hear the story of the female bar owner who, after closing the door behind the couples that went outside, described a blatant miscarriage of justice. We moved back in time as she ‘recalled’ how, in 1916, she had



Figure 2. Matthew Williams in *These Rooms*, by ANU Productions/CoisCéim Dance Theatre, 2016
(Photograph courtesy of Pat Redmond).

been asked to identify, from a line-up of British soldiers that excluded the perpetrators, the murderers of her North King Street neighbours. Following this, audience members were then quietly led either up the stairs or down into the basement. They wandered into other parts of the building, directed by their own curiosity, sensitivity and desire, or invited by artists to traverse corridors, stairwells and landings, and thus explore the different rooms across three floors.

Audience members literally wandered into other scenarios, including a living room in which women were anxiously looking out of bullet-ridden windows, a parlour where there was a wake for two men, a corridor with a window leading to a rooftop, through which a man was trying to escape from a British soldier, or a bombed-out room in which a woman tried to find her son and husband. An audience member might bump into a confrontational soldier, who, while pointing a gun at a woman's head, might yell 'Stay put!'; later in the performance the same soldier might demand to be harshly slapped on his hand for his wrong-doings. Audiences could pick up a phone that incessantly rang at the end of a corridor, watch a man attempting to flutter out of the room like a trapped bird, or witness men falling down stairwells, injured or dying (Fig. 2).

Audience members also moved with the emotional atmospheres the artists projected. At times encouraging individuals to feel at home, artists offered tea and biscuits in the kitchen, walked arm in arm with audience members to a different part of the building, shared stories of childhood over a running bath, or asked someone to dance. These unique 'communions' between performer and audience member⁵⁴ meant that even choosing not to answer a question or take someone's hand or follow someone up a staircase resulted in a further action or response. Yet this feeling of security through intimate shared moments was always temporary, abruptly changing when the other realities became physically present in the rooms (including fear, anguish and loss), such as: when the men fought, ran, or collapsed across spaces; when body movements and utterances became shrill, loud and erratic or suddenly silent; or when questions were asked and remained unanswered. Such dramatic changes within scenarios, from familiar to unsettling affective environments, shifted the intrasubjective connections formerly made between artist and audience members, moving continuously between a sense of *existential insideness* to more uncomfortable moments of *incidental outsideness* (Fig. 3).⁵⁵

Each audience member experienced a different journey through a unique set of encounters, as framed by densely textured historical atmospheres evoking space-times beyond the physical walls of the building. We were asked to respond (or not) to the artists' invitations to bear witness to



Figure 3. Úna Kavanagh in *These Rooms*, by ANU Productions/CoisCéim Dance Theatre, 2016. (Photograph courtesy of Pat Redmond).

the living legacies of past colonial and national violence. The many 'nows' of the performance, as simultaneous happenings, along with the audience members' ability to move, meant that we were confronted with our own multiple subjectivities shifting across possible pasts and presents.

Bearing Witness

. . . I believe the role of the artist is to raise questions but not necessarily to answer them. Doing so robs the audience of their experience and the opportunity for them to formulate their own opinions.⁵⁶

Upstairs, Emma O'Kane silently takes the hand of an audience member and guides him from the (imagined) upstairs spaces of her home, of violence known but unseen, to return downstairs to more public settings. Three more of us (audience members) follow them down the stairs to a room off to the side of the main pub. We walk into an ordered bureaucratic landscape, a place of documents and organization that is at once an uncertain scenario. We might consider *this room* as a metonym for *These Rooms*.

As we enter this archive, an audience member looks at a file sitting on a large desk, where (reproduced) documents, forms and testimonies are collected as what appears to be a 'case'. I pick up another file, labelled Thomas Hickey. The monotone brown colours and shapes, the boxes I imagine to be filled with files, represent a surplus of information organized by bureaucratic institutions, which collides with my realization that there was a dearth of publicly accessible information about these lost civilian lives over the past hundred years. These also represent the files that were removed from public view.

Emma/Mrs Hickey sits quietly on the desk waiting. She rings the bell, waits for someone to appear, and when that doesn't happen, begins to move across the desk, a dance regularly punctuated by her pleading hand dropping down to ring the bell. After numerous movements across the desk and persistent rings, she abruptly stops. She drops her head. The silent emptiness of the room envelopes us. Mrs Hickey looks up and asks us if we think they'll ever respond to her request for information, to let her know what happened, to help her understand why her husband and son were taken away to be murdered. I shake my head; the others remain quiet. She vocalizes my gesture with her comment, 'No, probably not', and wanders out alone, back into the bar, leaving us on our own to contemplate her response. We know that she'll return again and again in a performance in which it is futile to attempt to find answers (Fig. 4).

My desire to shape meaning from this room disorients me, with its excess of indexical detail, the files, the bell, the desk: the archive. The dated and



Figure. 4. Emma O'Kane in *These Rooms*, by ANU Productions/CoisCéim Dance Theatre, 2016. (Photograph courtesy of Pat Redmond).

stamped documents and testimonies, collated into files, organized into boxes, stacked and stored behind the desk: the archive. Row upon row of filled boxes, presumably filled with the thousands of other cases sealed, unread and unknown, are stacked into columns and appear to be on the brink of falling onto us, threatening to tumble over and spill out the guilty weight of their contents onto us, the witnesses. Do the boxes of files attest to the documentation of lost lives? Under this weight, this abundance of citation, but also with our knowledge that this is an artistic installation of empty boxes, Emma performed a dance of waiting, of waiting for someone to appear, waiting for answers, waiting for our response, waiting for the city to remember. The sound of her insistent bell-ringing demanding information echoes in our ears. We are left instead with questions that become stacked as awkwardly as the boxes themselves. To what (or to whom) do these files bear witness? Do they stand in for loss of lives to the violence of colonialism, civil war and the nation-state? Do they represent the bodies politic of the Irish state? How are we implicated in these bureaucratic silences?

A City that Remembers?

As an artist responding to the testimonies one hundred years since the North King Street massacre, the single most important element of this creation for me is that the voices of the testimonies are heard and their stories are told. . . . In hearing their voices one hopes that history does not repeat itself.⁵⁷

Moving between the seemingly materialist impulses of the archive and embodied memories of the repertoire, the artists of *These Rooms* asked audience members to consider the past not as 'an acquisition, a possession that grows and solidifies', but instead as 'an unstable assemblage of faults, fissures, and heterogeneous layers that threaten the fragile inheritor from within or from underneath'.⁵⁸ At the start of my performance (and this essay), Emma asked me to wait with her, a request that also meant bearing witness to the painful stories of forgotten lives whose loss still haunts the space-times of the city. Loss becomes a condition and necessity for a certain sense of community, according to Judith Butler, where a community does not and *cannot* overcome the loss without losing the very sense of itself as a shared collectivity.⁵⁹ Might we consider *These Rooms* as creating a shared collectivity, responsible for bearing witness to Dublin as a wounded city? By creating scenarios to acknowledge the losses of others, in particular of the trauma experienced by female bodies, *These Rooms* invites us to remember alternative histories of, and possible futures for, the Irish nation state.

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Notes and References

- 1 *These Rooms* was funded by the Arts Council of Ireland and included: live performances, a CoisCéim Broadreach public dance production '38 Women', and a film series 'Standing out of Falling'. See ANU and CoisCéim, *These Rooms* webpage: www.theserooms.ie.
- 2 Louise Lowe, quoted in David Bolger, Owen Boss and Louise Lowe, in conversation with Karen E. Till (ed.), 'From Uninvited Rebellion to Collective Dreaming: ANU Productions and CoisCéim Dance Theatre discuss work in progress for THESE ROOMS' (10 February 2016): www.theserooms.ie/wp-content/uploads/2016/06/BolgerEtAl2016_THESEROOMSbooklet_EdTill_w.pdf
- 3 See [John J. Reynolds], *A Fragment of 1916 History* (Dublin: Sinn Féin, [1919]) p. 21; *Kerry Sentinel*, 'North King Street Shootings: Petition to Parliament', 19 August 1916, p. 3.
- 4 [Reynolds], *Fragment*.
- 5 Bolger et al., 'From Uninvited Rebellion'.
- 6 Lowe, quoted in Bolger et al., 'From Uninvited Rebellion'. Unless otherwise cited, material in this section comes from this conversation.
- 7 Paul Connerton, *How Societies Remember* (Cambridge: University of Cambridge Press, 1989); John Gillis (ed.), *Commemorations* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1994); Marina Warner, *Monuments and Maidens* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984).
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- 10 Compare with Fearghus Ó Conchúir and Gerry Kearns, this issue. See also Arts Council of Ireland, 'ART: 2016: An Open Call to the Irish Imagination': www.artscouncil.ie/Art-2016.
- 11 Hal Foster criticizes 'trauma art' for filtering experience through the language of trauma, which devolves the 'politics of alterity' into the 'apolitical realm of nihilism' (*The Return of the Real* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1996), p. 166).
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- 13 Anne Fennell, quoted in [Reynolds], *Fragment*, p. 7.
- 14 In 2014 archivist Lars Joyce from the National History Museum drew Lowe's attention to *Fragment* (Lowe, 'Uninvited Rebellion').

- 15 Jacques Derrida, *Archive Fever: A Freudian Impression* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998).
 - 16 Hal Foster, 'An Archival Impulse', *October* 110 (Fall 2004), 3–22.
 - 17 Foster, 'Archival Impulse', 7.
 - 18 Lowe, quoted in Bolger et al., 'From Uninvited Rebellion'. Much has been written about memory and the female body in ANU Productions. See Miriam Haughton, 'From Laundries to Labour Camps: Staging Ireland's "Rule of Silence" in Anu [sic] Productions' *Laundry*, *Modern Drama*, 57:1 (2014), 65–93; Emilie Pine, 'Theatre-as-Memory and as Witness: Active Spectatorship in *The Walrose Farce*, *The Blue Boy* and *Laundry*', *breac* (2014): <https://breac.nd.edu/articles/theatre-as-memory-and-as-witness-active-spectatorship-in-the-walworth-farce-the-blue-boy-and-laundry/>; Brian Singleton, *ANU Productions: The Monto Cycle* (London: Palgrave, 2016); and Karen E. Till and Gerry Kearns, 'Emplacing "who we are, what we are": The Embodied and Historical Geographies of ANU Productions' *Laundry*', in Tim Collins, Gesche Kindermann, Colin Newman and Nessa Cronin (eds), *Landscape Values: Place and Praxis* (Galway: UNISCAPE and Centre for Landscape Studies, NUI Galway, 2016), pp. 363–368.
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 - 20 Casey, 'From Space to Place', p. 34, italics in the original.
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 - 22 Casey, 'From Space to Place', p. 19, italics in the original.
 - 23 Casey, 'From Space to Place'.
 - 24 Gerry Kearns, 'Vacancy and Value in Dublin 1798–1911,' *Irish Geography* 48:1 (2015), 22–45.
 - 25 1911 Irish Census, unpublished house and building returns, available online at: <http://www.census.nationalarchives.ie/>. Details for 168–172 North King Street, Inn's Quay, available at: <http://www.census.nationalarchives.ie/reels/nai000079018/>. See also [Reynolds], *Fragment*, p. 10.
 - 26 Quoted in [Reynolds], *Fragment*, p. 8.
 - 27 I have listed ages as they would be in 1916 for consistency. 1911 Irish Census, unpublished household returns. 174 North King Street is in the DED of Inn's Quay Ward in North Dublin. For example, the Nunan (*sic*) household return is available at: <http://www.census.nationalarchives.ie/reels/nai000079026/>.
 - 28 David Seamon, 'Architecture, Place, and Phenomenology: Buildings as Lifeworlds, Atmospheres, and Environmental Wholes' in Janet Donohoe (ed.), *Place and Phenomenology* (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2017), p. 248.
 - 29 Lowe quoted in Bolger et Al., 'From Uninvited Rebellion'.
 - 30 See Till, 'Artistic and Activist Memory-Work' and 'Wounded Cities'.
 - 31 Mindy Fullilove, *Root Shock* (New York: One World, 2005).
 - 32 Anne Fennell and Kate Ennis quoted in [Reynolds], *Fragment*, pp. 7, 8.
 - 33 Fennell quoted in [Reynolds], *Fragment*, pp. 7–8.
 - 34 Fennell quoted in [Reynolds], *Fragment*, p. 8.
 - 35 Emma O'Kane, 'The Hickey Family', *These Rooms* webpage: <http://theserooms.ie/the-hickey-family/>.
- 50 TILL, 'Waiting "For the City to Remember"', *Irish Review* 54 (2017)

- 36 ANU and CoisCéim, <http://theserooms.ie/room03/>.
- 37 Casey, 'From Space to Place', p. 34, italics in the original.
- 38 Diana Taylor, *The Archive and the Repertoire* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press 2003), pp. 20–21, my emphasis.
- 39 Bolger et al., 'Uninvited Rebellion'.
- 40 Taylor, *Archive and Repertoire*.
- 41 Lowe quoted in Bolger et al., 'From Uninvited Rebellion'.
- 42 ANU Productions, 'Glorious Madness' (2015): <http://www.missionpr.ie/glorious-madness/>; Lowe quoted in Bolger et al., 'Uninvited Rebellion'.
- 43 Seamon, 'Architecture', p. 249.
- 44 Comparing the 1888–1913 25 inch map from the Ordnance Survey of Ireland (OSI) with aerial maps from 1995 and 2000, and with an aerial photo for the same area from Google Maps in 2016, the buildings at 170–174 North King Street were removed after 1995 and additional structures removed after 2000. OSI maps available at: <http://map.geohive.ie/mapviewer.html> (click 'Base Information and Mapping' under the drop down 'Data Catalogue' menu and click list of available maps).
- 45 Stoneybatter and Smithfield's People's History Project, '1916–2016 North King Street Massacre – A Community Remembers', Facebook events page: <https://www.facebook.com/events/691800420962581/>; The Cobblestone, '1916 Plaque Unveiling: Remembering the Victims of the North King St Massacre': <http://cobblestonepub.ie/events/1916-plaque-unveiling-remembering-the-victims-of-the-north-king-st-massacre> and Decade of Centenaries, '30 April 1916: Commemoration of North King Street Massacre, Dublin 7': <http://www.decadeofcentenaries.com/30-april-1916-commemoration-of-north-king-street-massacre-dublin-7/> (accessed 8 November 2017).
- 46 Lowe quoted in Bolger et al., 'From Uninvited Rebellion'.
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- 48 Owen Boss, 'Artistic Installation', *These Rooms* webpage, <http://theserooms.ie/room01/>.
- 49 Boss, 'Artistic Installation'.
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- 51 Boss, 'Artistic Installation'.
- 52 ANU, 'Now-Then-Now: Witnessing Future History', 7–8 October 2017: https://www.dublintheatrefestival.com/Online/NOW_THEN_NOW.
- 53 Diana Taylor, *Disappearing Acts* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1997).
- 54 Louise Lowe, quoted in 'The Works: John Kelly talks to Louise Lowe', RTÉ One (Season 2, Episode 5, broadcast on 10 March 2016).
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- 56 O'Kane, 'The Hickey Family'.
- 57 O'Kane, 'The Hickey Family'.
- 58 Claudette Lauzon, *The Unmaking of Home in Contemporary Art* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2017), p. 112.
- 59 Judith Butler, *Notes Towards a Performative Theory of Assembly* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2015).