

Minerva Access is the Institutional Repository of The University of Melbourne

Author/s:

Zunic, Elmedin

Title:

The Bosnian case: art, history and memory

Date:

2018

Persistent Link:

<https://hdl.handle.net/11343/221836>

Terms and Conditions:

Terms and Conditions: Copyright in works deposited in Minerva Access is retained by the copyright owner. The work may not be altered without permission from the copyright owner. Readers may only download, print and save electronic copies of whole works for their own personal non-commercial use. Any use that exceeds these limits requires permission from the copyright owner. Attribution is essential when quoting or paraphrasing from these works.

The Bosnian Case: Art, History and Memory

Elmedin Žunić

ORCID ID: 0000-0003-3694-7098

Submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements of the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

The University of Melbourne
Faculty of Fine Arts and Music
July 2018

Abstract

The Bosnian Case: Art, History and Memory concerns the representation of historic and traumatogenic events in art through the specific case of the war in Bosnia 1992-1995. The research investigates an aftermath articulated through the Freudian concept of *Nachträglichkeit*, rebounding on the nature of representation in the art as always in the space of an "afterness". The ability to represent an originary traumatic scenario has been questioned in the theoretics surrounding this concept. Through *The Bosnian Case* and its art historical precedents, the research challenges this line of thinking, identifying, including through fieldwork in Bosnia in 2016, the continuation of the war in a war of images.

Declaration

This is to certify that:

This dissertation comprises only my original work towards the PhD except where indicated.

Due acknowledgement has been made in the text to all other material used.

This dissertation is approximately 40,000 words in length, exclusive of figures, references and appendices.

Signature:

Elmedin Žunić, July 2018

Acknowledgements

First and foremost, my sincere thanks to my supervisors Dr Bernhard Sachs and Ms Lou Hubbard. I thank them for their guidance and immense patience over the past four years. I also extend my sincere gratitude to Professor Barbara Bolt for her insightful comments and trust. I thank my fellow candidates and staff at VCA for stimulating discussions and support.

My gratitude must also be given to Avdo Huseinović, Senada Softić-Telalović and Nermina Zildžo for their support and encouragement while on the research field trip in Bosnia.

My appreciation goes to Norway, a country that had offered a home to my family when we had none. A country that encouraged and provided me with an opportunity to seek and find knowledge and education.

The most significant gratitude goes to my family who has always provided unconditional support and been there for me.

Last but no means least, I would like to dedicate this research to all of those who have been affected by the war in Bosnia and those who carry the weight of trauma within their memories.

Contents

Abstract	iii
Declaration	iv
Acknowledgements	v
Contents.....	vii
List of Figures	9
Introduction	13
Notes on Methodology.....	17
Art as a method	17
Knowledge precision: Listening (in) the presence of art.....	18
Section I: Nachträglichkeit	20
The concept and the word.....	20
Between determinism and hermeneutics	24
A collective turn.....	25
Memory studies and Post-memory	26
Reading trauma.....	28
Section II: Precedence.....	33
The German Case: Decades of Intellectual and Moral Ambivalence	34
Historikerstreit.....	34
Wolf Vostell: Dé-collage Happenings (the 1950s and 60s).....	37
Joseph Beuys: Expose the Wound.....	40
Anselm Kiefer: Declaration of War	43
Claude Lanzmann: Speaking of <i>Shoah</i>	47
The Soviet Case: Alienated Reality	50
Moscow Conceptualism.....	51
Section III: The Bosnian Case	58
The Collapse of the Neighbour, Death of the Brother.....	58
Art	60
Šejla Kamerić	61
<i>Ab uno disce omnes</i>	61
<i>Bosnian Girl</i>	63
Marina Abramović.....	67

<i>Balkan Baroque</i>	67
Section IV: The Trials and the Media/Film	70
Film.....	72
Section V: Materiality	75
On Writing and Concrete	75
Part 1.....	75
Doris Salcedo	75
Rachel Whiteread	80
Part 2.....	84
Concrete	85
<i>Epicentre</i>	85
<i>(un)documenting</i>	88
Writing	90
<i>Typewriter</i>	91
Monuments	94
Memory as a distant domain	96
Geen Doorgang!	100
<i>Inverted Memoirs</i>	103
Conclusion	105
Representability: The Case for Art	105
Bibliography	109
Appendix No. I: The Bosnian Case: Art, History and Memory (Margaret Lawrence Gallery School of Art, University of Melbourne 29th June - 9th of July 2017)	123
Appendix No. II: Field Trip	143
Trnopolje - Prijedor	143
Potočari - Srebrenica.....	147
Appendix No. III: Slobodan Milošević's Speech (Complete)	159
Appendix No. IV: Interview transcripts	162
Transcript #1.....	162
Transcript #2.....	164
Transcript #3.....	165

List of Figures

- Figure 1. Vostell, Wolf. From the cycle *Schwarzes Zimmer* [The Black Room], 1958-59, Décollage, wood, barbed wire, tin, newspaper, bone, television with cover. Berlinische Galerie – Landesmuseum für Moderne Kunst, Fotografie und Architektur, Bonn. Accessed October 22, 2017. <https://www.pinterest.com.au/pin/343188434085308979/?lp=true> 40
- Figure 2. Beuys, Joseph. *Auschwitz Demonstration*, 1968, Vitrine with sculpture and found objects. Hessisches Landesmuseum, Darmstadt. Accessed October 22, 2017. <https://www.pinterest.com.au/pin/6051780726919598/?lp=true> 42
- Figure 3. Kiefer, Anselm. *Heroische Sinnbilder* [Heroic Symbols], 1969, Forty-six-page book with watercolour on paper, graphite, original and magazine photographs, postcards and linen strips mounted on cardboard (page 9). Würth Collection, Künzelsau. Accessed October 22, 2017. <https://www.tate.org.uk/research/publications/in-focus/heroic-symbols-anselm-kiefer/artist-book44>
- Figure 4. Kabakov, Ilya, *The Man Who Flew into Space from his Apartment*, 1988, installation view, Feldman Fine Arts, New York. Accessed November 22, 2017. <https://www.guggenheim.org/arts-curriculum/topic/opening-new-spaces>. 55
- Figure 5. St. Vitus Day speech in Gazimestan (Kosovo), 1989, Sarajevo: (newspaper) *Oslobođenje* June 29, 1989. 58
- Figure 6. Kamerić, Šejla. *Ab Uno Disce Omnes*, 2015, Installation view. Wellcome Collection, London. Accessed November 25, 2017. <http://londonartreviews.com/index.php/museums/209-sensational-exhibition-forensics-at-the-wellcome-collection-london>. 62
- Figure 7. Kamerić, Šejla. *Bosnian Girl*, 2003, Public project: posters, billboards, magazine ads, postcards, black-and-white photograph. Dimensions variable. Accessed June 17, 2015. <http://www.sarajevotimes.com/story-famous-bosnian-girl/>. 64
- Figure 8. Abramović, Marina. *Balkan Baroque*, 1997, Performance/installation at the Venice Biennale. Accessed May 2017. <https://www.pinterest.com.au/pin/356910339188890963/?lp=true>. 69
- Figure 9. Žunić, Elmedin. *The Sweeper*, 2016, Digital photograph, dimensions variable. Potočari near Srebrenica. 91
- Figure 10. Žunić, Elmedin. *Typewriter II*, 2017, Performance (duration: 2h), dimensions variable. Margaret Lawrence Gallery, Melbourne. 92
- Figure 11. Žunić, Elmedin. *Rising Eagle*, 2016, Digital photograph, dimensions variable. Trnopolje near Prijedor. 95
- Figure 12. Žunić, Elmedin. *UN monument/Monument of failure*, 2016, Digital photograph, dimensions variable. Potočari near Srebrenica. 99
- Figure 13. Žunić, Elmedin. *Battery factory*, 2016, Digital photograph, dimensions variable. Potočari near Srebrenica. 101
- Figure 14. Žunić, Elmedin. *Geen Doorgang*, 2016, Digital photograph, dimensions variable. Potočari near Srebrenica. 102
- Figure 15. Floor plan. Margaret Lawrence Gallery, Melbourne. 124
- Figure 16. Žunić, Elmedin. *Inverted Memoirs*, 2017, Installation view, dimensions variable, the wall arrangement (1285 x 480cm): cartridge ink on paper (individual sheet A3 size), the floor arrangement: Concrete, metal, plastic, timber, mesh, paper, photograph prints (20 x individual sheet A2 format) and audio recording (Balaban/Garibović interview) duration: 11min, 1 sec. Margaret Lawrence Gallery, Melbourne. 124
- Figure 17. Žunić, Elmedin. *Inverted Memoirs*, 2017, Installation view, dimensions variable, the wall arrangement (1285 x 480cm): cartridge ink on paper (individual sheet A3 size), the floor arrangement: Concrete, metal, plastic, timber, mesh, paper (combination of A3 and A4 sizes).

Margaret Lawrence Gallery, Melbourne.	125
Figure 18. Žunić, Elmedin. <i>Inverted Memoirs</i> , 2017, Installation view, dimensions variable, the wall arrangement (1285 x 480cm), cartridge ink on paper (individual sheet A3 size), the floor arrangement: Concrete, metal, plastic, timber, mesh, paper (combination of A3 and A4 sizes). Margaret Lawrence Gallery, Melbourne.	125
Figure 19. Žunić, Elmedin. <i>Inverted Memoirs</i> , 2017, detail: dimensions variable, concrete, metal and cartridge ink on paper (individual sheet A3 size). Margaret Lawrence Gallery, Melbourne.	126
Figure 20. Žunić, Elmedin. Installation view. detail: dimensions variable, concrete, metal and cartridge ink on paper (individual sheet A3 size). Margaret Lawrence Gallery, Melbourne.	127
Figure 21. Žunić, Elmedin. <i>Inverted Memoirs</i> , 2017, the wall arrangement (1285 x 480cm), cartridge ink on paper (individual sheet A3 size), the floor arrangement: Concrete, metal, plastic, timber, mesh, paper (combination of A3 and A4 sizes). Margaret Lawrence Gallery, Melbourne.	128
Figure 22. Žunić, Elmedin. <i>The Bosnian Case</i> , 2017, Installation view, the floor arrangement: Concrete, metal, plastic, timber, mesh, paper, photograph prints (20 x individual sheet A2 format) and audio recording (Balaban/Garibović interview) duration: 11min, 1 sec. Margaret Lawrence Gallery, Melbourne.	128
Figure 23. Žunić, Elmedin. <i>Inverted Memoirs</i> , 2017, Installation view, the wall arrangement (1285 x 480cm): cartridge ink on paper (individual sheet A3 size), the floor arrangement: Concrete, metal, plastic, timber, mesh, paper, photograph prints (20 x individual sheet A2 format) and audio recording (Balaban/Garibović interview) duration: 11min, 1 sec. Margaret Lawrence Gallery, Melbourne.	129
Figure 24. Žunić, Elmedin. <i>The Bosnian Case</i> , 2017, Installation view (detail), Concrete, metal, plastic, timber, mesh, paper. Margaret Lawrence Gallery, Melbourne.	129
Figure 25. Žunić, Elmedin. <i>The Bosnian Case</i> , 2017, Installation view (detail), Concrete, metal, plastic, timber, mesh, paper. Margaret Lawrence Gallery, Melbourne.	130
Figure 26. Žunić, Elmedin. <i>The Bosnian Case</i> , 2017, Installation view (detail), Concrete, metal, plastic, timber, mesh, paper. Margaret Lawrence Gallery, Melbourne.	130
Figure 27. Žunić, Elmedin. <i>The Bosnian Case</i> , 2017, Installation view (detail), Concrete, metal, plastic, timber, mesh, paper. Margaret Lawrence Gallery, Melbourne.	131
Figure 28. Žunić, Elmedin. <i>The Bosnian Case</i> , 2017, Installation view (detail), Concrete, metal, plastic, timber, mesh, paper. Margaret Lawrence Gallery, Melbourne.	132
Figure 29. Žunić, Elmedin. <i>The Bosnian Case</i> , 2017, Installation view (detail), Concrete, metal, plastic, timber, mesh, paper. Margaret Lawrence Gallery, Melbourne.	133
Figure 30. Žunić, Elmedin. <i>Inverted Memoirs</i> , 2017, Installation view, the wall arrangement (1285 x 480cm): cartridge ink on paper (individual sheet A3 size), the floor arrangement: Concrete, metal, plastic, timber, mesh, paper (combination of A3 and A4 sizes). Margaret Lawrence Gallery, Melbourne.	134
Figure 31. Žunić, Elmedin. <i>The Bosnian Case</i> , 2017, Installation view (detail): Photographic prints in A2 size, text and audio recording (Balaban/Garibović interview) duration: 11min, 1 sec. Margaret Lawrence Gallery, Melbourne.	134
Figure 32. Žunić, Elmedin. <i>Typewriters</i> , 2017, Installation view (gallery 2): Framed photographic prints, plastic sheet, video projection (duration 7min and 44 sec), concrete, paper, mesh and carbon paper. Margaret Lawrence Gallery, Melbourne.	135
Figure 33. Žunić, Elmedin. <i>Typewriters</i> , 2017, Installation view (gallery 2): Video projection (duration 7min and 44 sec), concrete, paper, mesh and carbon paper, Typewriters II, objet trouvé, paper and photographic print. Margaret Lawrence Gallery, Melbourne.	135
Figure 34. Žunić, Elmedin. <i>Typewriters</i> , 2017, Installation view (detail gallery 2), framed photographic prints, plastic sheet, video projection (duration 7min and 44 sec), concrete, paper, mesh and carbon paper and Typewriters II, objet trouvé, paper and photographic print. Margaret Lawrence Gallery,	

- Melbourne. 136
- Figure 35. Žunić, Elmedin. *Typewriters*, 2017, Installation view (detail gallery 2), framed photographic prints, plastic sheet, video projection (duration 7min and 44 sec), concrete, paper, mesh and carbon paper and *Typewriters II*, objet trouvé, paper and photographic print. Margaret Lawrence Gallery, Melbourne. 136
- Figure 36. Žunić, Elmedin. *Typewriters II*, 2017, Installation view (detail gallery 2): plastic sheet, objet trouvé, paper, carbon paper and photographic print. Margaret Lawrence Gallery, Melbourne. 137
- Figure 37. Žunić, Elmedin. *The Bosnian Case*, 2017, Installation view (detail): Photographic prints (A2 size), text and audio recording (Balaban/Garibović interview) duration: 11min, 1 sec. Margaret Lawrence Gallery, Melbourne. 138
- Figure 38. Žunić, Elmedin. *The Bosnian Case*, 2017, Installation view (detail): Photographic prints (A2 size), text and audio recording (Balaban/Garibović interview) duration: 11min, 1 sec. Margaret Lawrence Gallery, Melbourne. 139
- Figure 39. Žunić, Elmedin. *The Bosnian Case*, 2017, Installation view (detail): Dimensions variable, concrete, metal, plastic, timber, mesh and paper. Margaret Lawrence Gallery, Melbourne. 140
- Figure 40. Žunić, Elmedin. *The Bosnian Case*, 2017, Installation view (detail): Dimensions variable, concrete, metal, plastic, timber, mesh, paper. Margaret Lawrence Gallery, Melbourne. 141
- Figure 41. Žunić, Elmedin. *Typewriters*, 2017, Installation view (detail gallery 2), framed photographic prints, plastic sheet, video projection (duration 7min and 44 sec), concrete, paper, mesh and carbon paper and *Typewriters II*, objet trouvé, paper and photographic print. Margaret Lawrence Gallery, Melbourne. 142
- Figure 42. Žunić, Elmedin. *Typewriters II*, 2017, Performance (duration: 2h). Margaret Lawrence Gallery, Melbourne. 143
- Figure 43. Žunić, Elmedin. *Typewriter II*, 2017, Performance (duration: 30 min). Blindside, Melbourne. 143
- Figure 44. Marshall, Penny. The image depicts British journalist Penny Marshall shaking hand with Bosnian Muslim (Bosniak) prisoner Fikret Alić and witnessing how racial hatred was fuelling organised murder. Trnopolje concentration camp near Prijedor, Bosnia-Herzegovina. Source: ITN, August 6, 1992. Accessed February 14, 2016. <http://www.gamesmonitor.org.uk/node/1739>. 144
- Figure 45. Žunić, Elmedin. Outside Trnopolje concentration camp, 2016, Digital photograph. Prijedor. 144
- Figure 46. Žunić, Elmedin. Inside Trnopolje concentration camp, 2016, Digital photograph. Prijedor. 145
- Figure 47. Žunić, Elmedin. Inside Trnopolje concentration camp, 2016, Digital photograph. Prijedor. 145
- Figure 48. Žunić, Elmedin. Inside Trnopolje concentration camp, 2016, Digital photograph. Prijedor. 146
- Figure 49. Žunić, Elmedin. Inside Trnopolje concentration camp, 2016, Digital photograph. Prijedor. 146
- Figure 50. Žunić, Elmedin. Mass grave in Kevljani, 2016, Digital photograph. Prijedor. 147
- Figure 51. Žunić, Elmedin. Mass grave in Kevljani, 2016, Digital photograph. Prijedor. 147
- Figure 52. Unknown author. Untitled, 1995. Srebrenica. Muslim women and children were allowed to leave Srebrenica. Potočari near Srebrenica. Sarajevo: (newspaper) Oslobođenje June 29, 1989. 148
- Figure 53. Author unknown. Untitled, 1995. Srebrenica. Muslim women and children were allowed to leave Srebrenica. Potočari near Srebrenica. Sarajevo: (newspaper) Oslobođenje July 1995. 148
- Figure 54. Žunić, Elmedin. Untitled, 2016, Digital photograph. Memorial and cemetery for the victims of the 1995 genocide. Potočari near Srebrenica. 149
- Figure 55. Žunić, Elmedin. Untitled, 2016, Digital photograph. Memorial and cemetery for the victims of the 1995 genocide. Potočari near Srebrenica. 149
- Figure 56. Žunić, Elmedin. Untitled, 2016, Digital photograph. Memorial and cemetery for the victims of

the 1995 genocide. Potočari near Srebrenica.	150
Figure 57. Žunić, Elmedin. <i>The Sweeper</i> , 2016, Digital photograph. Memorial and cemetery for the victims of the 1995 genocide. Potočari near Srebrenica.	150
Figure 58. Žunić, Elmedin. Untitled, 2016, Digital photograph. Potočari near Srebrenica.	151
Figure 59. Žunić, Elmedin. Untitled, 2016, Digital photograph. Potočari near Srebrenica.	151
Figure 60. Žunić, Elmedin. Untitled, 2016, Digital photograph. Potočari near Srebrenica.	152
Figure 61. Žunić, Elmedin. <i>UN monument/Monument of failure</i> , 2016, Digital photography. Potočari near Srebrenica.	152
Figure 62. Žunić, Elmedin. Untitled, 2016, Digital photograph. Former battery factory check-point. Potočari near Srebrenica.	153
Figure 63. Žunić, Elmedin. Untitled, 2016, Digital photograph. Former battery factory check-point. Potočari near Srebrenica.	153
Figure 64. Žunić, Elmedin. Untitled, 2016, Digital photograph. On the way to the battery factory in Potočari.	154
Figure 65. Žunić, Elmedin. <i>The battery factory</i> , 2016, Digital photograph. Potočari near Srebrenica.	154
Figure 66. Žunić, Elmedin. <i>Geen Doorgang</i> , 2016, Digital photograph. Potočari near Srebrenica.	155
Figure 67. Žunić, Elmedin. Untitled, 2016, Digital photograph. A new list of the found victims whose remains were dispersed around in Bosnia and Serbia. Potočari near Srebrenica.	155
Figure 68. Žunić, Elmedin. Untitled, 2016, Digital photograph. A new list of the found victims whose remains were dispersed around in Bosnia and Serbia. Potočari near Srebrenica.	156
Figure 69. Žunić, Elmedin. Untitled, 2016, Digital photograph. Old police tape that was used to mark the crime scene. Potočari near Srebrenica.	156
Figure 70. Žunić, Elmedin. Untitled, 2016. Digital photograph. A new list of the found victims whose remains were dispersed around in Bosnia and Serbia. Potočari near Srebrenica.	157
Figure 71. Žunić, Elmedin. Inside the battery factory, 2016, Digital photograph. Potočari near Srebrenica.	158
Figure 72. Žunić, Elmedin. Inside the battery factory, 2016, Digital photograph. Potočari near Srebrenica.	158
Figure 73. Žunić, Elmedin. Inside the battery factory, 2016, Digital photograph. Potočari near Srebrenica.	159
Figure 74. Žunić, Elmedin. Inside the battery factory, 2016, Digital photograph. Potočari near Srebrenica.	159

Introduction

The Bosnian Case: Art, History and Memory examines the representation of historical traumatogenic events by considering the modes of representations and ways contemporary art negotiates history and memory.

The historical configuration of the disintegration of the Former Republic of Yugoslavia [FYR], generating what has been termed a landscape of *Post-communist trauma*¹, meets a psychoanalytic prism, the Freudian concept of *Nachträglichkeit*, a central aspect to a psychoanalytical understanding of trauma, usually translated as *deferred action* or *delayed effect*.² In *The Bosnian Case*, the trauma precipitated by the war of 1992-1995 returns the problem to a historical primal scene from its continuation into the present. The research applies *Nachträglichkeit* and its 'modes' as examples of *plasticity*, addressing post-Freudian literature discussing the alternative—the more active process that bridges the gap between the past and the cognitive present—clarifying dimensions, directions and the scope of memory.

A field trip to Bosnia in 2016 revisited significant locations from the war, drawing on Pierre Nora's *lieux de memoire* [sites of memory]. Formed in a three-volume publication titled *Les Lieux de Mémoire* which in part was published in English translation as *Realms of Memory*, the term refers to a place, building, object or idea as long as it has a historical significance in the standardised collective memory, such as a monument, a museum, an event or a symbol such as a flag. In Bosnia, the most extreme examples of *lieux de memoire* are concentration camps and locations where the worst atrocities happened during the war—places such as Potočari and Bratunac near Srebrenica, Prijedor, Kozarac and Trnopolje, but there are other significant articulations, particularly mass media.

Following the strategy proposed by Claude Lanzmann in *Shoah* (1985) and its account of

¹ *Post-communist trauma* is a term coined by the sociologist Piotr Sztompka and closely examined in his article 'The Trauma of Social Change: A Case of Postcommunist Societies', in *Cultural Trauma and Collective Identity*, 1st ed. (University of California Press, 2004), 171.

² Freudian notion *Nachträglichkeit*, *deferred action/delayed effect*, appears for the first time in the case [case V] of *Fräulein Elizabeth von R* which was published in his work *Studies on Hysteria* (1893-1896), later translated by James Strachey from German to English.

the Holocaust, the gathered material comprised entirely of the memories of actors³ in that situation and the landscapes as they now exist, i.e. exclusively from the perspective of the present. In his written memoirs, Lanzmann stated that the emergence of the film happened in a state of hopelessness marked by the disappearance of traces, the impossibility of speaking, and the failure to convey the story.⁴ The question the Lanzmann strategy raises is what does the indirectness the *nachträglich* aftermath emphasise or expose that the graphic representations, particularly in the mass media of the time and afterwards, does not.

I am personally connected as a Bosnian émigré to the fracturing of the Former Yugoslav Republic (FYR) into its constituent parts and the Bosnian war. As the conflict progressed, I was forced to flee the country, and subsequently witnessed most of these events indirectly via images broadcast by international media outlets, that is, through an intergenerational thread of memory. Although this concerns those who disappeared during the war, its primary focus is on the effect of these disappearances on those who survived and emerged after it.

The vast majority of the literature that this research concentrates on deals with the issues of the Holocaust. Significant similarities such as war iconography that relate to concentration camps i. e. 1992 image from Trnopolje detention centre (Fig. 44.), recorded by the ITN's Penny Marshall, resonated directly with the Auschwitz imagery known to the broader public.

It was predominantly the works by the post-war German, and Soviet dissident artists that echoed and have thus assisted in identifying the visual language which would frame and articulate the concerns around the post-war memory within this study.

Section I addresses the theoretical questions around *Nachträglichkeit* and the questions of representability that are argued in its literature. A significant line of thinking concerning the primal scene of trauma claims it is unable to be represented. *The Bosnian*

³ I.e. survivors and witnesses of the event.

⁴ Claude Lanzmann, *Shoah: An Oral Testimony of the Holocaust (The Complete Text of the Film)* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1985), 44.

Case argues ultimately against this view.

Section II looks at two precedents regarding the recall or retelling of historical scenarios in contemporary art, that of the Soviet Union and its dissidents; and the so-called *Historikerstreit* in postwar Germany.

The *Historikerstreit* addressed the seemingly repressed content of the Nazi Period, the Holocaust and the persistence of that legacy in the postwar "Economic Miracle". This section aims to identify the strategies for portraying and representing the undiscussable, and how this argument traversed the German political stage and its intersection with art. The other, the so-called dissident artists in the former Eastern Bloc at the fall of Communism, concentrate on the example of the so-called *Moscow Conceptualism*.

Activities within these art movements influenced and shaped the aesthetics and socio-political discourse in Germany and the Soviet Union from the mid-50s to mid-80s. Consequently, these rhetorics also forged the initial groundwork for a visual language of trauma.

Section III considers works by Marina Abramović and Šejla Kamerić by discussing how both artists have investigated the Bosnian cultural trauma more closely, examining the notion of belatedness in intergenerational memory, living in the presence of someone else's memory through photographs, objects, letters and anecdotes. Abramović prefers dealing with ideas that allow for the distance from the "specifics of her early life", but due to significant shifts that have taken place in the former Yugoslavia in the 90s, she chose to reconnect with her (suppressed) identity⁵. *Delusional* (1994), *Cleaning the Mirror I, II, and III* (1995), *Balkan Baroque* (1997), are some of Abramović's performances which resulted from her decision to address the conflicts in her native country. Kamerić, on the other hand, had lived in Sarajevo during the siege of the city, an experience that had contributed to the production of works such as *Bosnian Girl* (2003) and *Ab uno disce omnes* (2015).

⁵ Mary Richards, *Marina Abramović* (London & New York: Routledge (Taylor & Francis Group), 2010), 77.

Section IV looks at public and mass media accounts of the war and the subsequent Hague Trials.

Section V *Materiality: On Writing and Concrete* is divided into two parts:

Part 1 concerns material precedence in the work of Doris Salcedo and Rachel Whiteread leading to the materialisation of the research. These materialities go some way to addressing an initial paradox: indirect reference and how this reaches or fills in, an absence in the directness of the graphic mass media accounts of the day. Entangled in the process of representing the actuality of the traumatogenic field indirectly, or through its traces in the present, something new is generated from the representation of the past, articulating not its closure but its continuity. As Mieke Bal writes: “It is never a single moment in the present, there is always this baggage that brings it together.”⁶

Part 2 deals with the materialisations of the research. Its archive and the dialectic of concealment and exposure pervades the questions of representation embodied in the *Bosnian Case*.

Epicentre outlines the idea of the irrevocable and not necessarily unrepresentable. This work also discusses the ethical considerations and urges around extracting traumatic memory.

(un)documenting proposes the reverse into the birth of the event: uncovering and removing the layers of modernity saturated with a traumatic record. It investigates the notion of eradicating personal memoirs by enclosing them in concrete, thus making them inaccessible. The memoirs are laid to rest in rectangular concrete blocks in the way one subconsciously buries traumatic pasts.

Typewriter and Typewriter II. Kafkaesque, alienated and paranoid ambience, the typewriter works return to a time when the blueprint for the genocide had been laid. Bureaucrats facing each other and suspicious of one another, generate an ambience,

⁶ Mieke Bal, ‘Thinking in Film’ (Lisbon Summer School for the Study of Culture, 2015), <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=35pa7ixgXSU&t=2809s>.

abstract and seemingly irrational, operating under the instructions framed in a general, ambiguous language, delivering labour which only makes sense in a bureaucratic micro-cosmic territory. All the ingredients for murder were there, fear being their primary substance.

Monuments. A substantial section of the research addresses the language of monumentality in images and texts, some explicit and others buried in concrete blocks. The archive presented the compression of public and private relics and traces which form the outlines of intergenerational memory. Most of this material is either personal or gathered on the research trip to Bosnia in 2016.

Inverted Memoirs. A wall of the reverse side of writing on 540 sheets of carbon paper, personal observations, memoirs delivers an image of disorientation, legible but only after decoding, articulate a simultaneous revealing and distancing that are a shape of *Nachträglichkeit*.

The structure the research investigates is the progression of a narrative of trauma—that is part of the dialectic of *Nachträglichkeit* to do precisely this as a deferred (re)action indicated by reference rather than a mimetic representation with all the attendant ramifications of *Nachträglichkeit* thrown in, including the interpositioning of false memories. This is its *representability*.

Notes on Methodology

Art as a method

Art as a mode of inquiry. How does it differ from theoretical and more traditional approaches in research? How is art situated in the research topic? Finally, what is the relationship between art and knowledge and what makes the relationship between the two possible? The answers to these questions are manifested in the course of the research by framing and presenting knowledge through art processes.

Knowledge precision: Listening (in) the presence of art

Elliot Eisner draws the attention to what he terms as *warranted assertions*. He points at the pursuit of certainty as a continuing appetite in the traditional approaches and especially within the framework of science:

[W]arranted refers to the provision of evidence regarding the truth or falsity of the assertion, and the term assertion itself belongs to a universe of discourse in which language is its representational vehicle.⁷

Along the Truman Nelson's principles "the artist can go beyond facts and self-reflection to express conditions that are interchangeable with other people."⁸ The principles of knowledge that this research proposes and applies opens the door for multiple forms of knowing and simultaneously distances itself from the more conservative modes of framing knowledge and thus parting with a universe of discourse in which language is its primary vehicle of representational.⁹

Already during the fieldwork phase (2016), a convincing level of authenticity in the voices of the genocide witnesses was observed. Raw hesitations and stutter while communicating the painful memories sat firmly in their voices when standing before their trauma, all of which in the inscribed factual observations of the events would be lost.

The crucial factor for generating knowledge is also demonstrating content to an audience, a reader and a listener. Roland Barthes' 1967 *The Death of the Author* ultimately challenges the idea behind authorship. Who is the real author and who determines the meaning behind an artwork? By doing that Barthes opens up the *space of intersubjectivity* and thus expands the field of interpretation and the field of knowledge. The emergence of the *inter-subjective space* while in the act of listening:

[...]does not aim at – or await – certain determination, classified signs: not what is said or emitted, but who speaks, who emits: such listening is supposed

⁷ Elliot Eisner, 'Art and Knowledge', in *Handbook of the Arts in Qualitative Research: Perspectives, Methodologies, Examples and Issues* (SAGE Publications, 2008), 5.

⁸ Eisner, 38.

⁹ Ibid., 5.

to develop in an inter-subjective space where “I am listening” also means “listen to me”; what it seizes upon- in order to transform and restore to the endless interplay of transference-is a general “signifying” no longer conceivable without the determination of the unconscious.¹⁰

It is within this sphere that the research opens the field for art and knowledge to emerge
– a space where multiple senses act upon the curiosities that emerge in a spatial dynamic
– an interplay between form, sound, language and memory.

¹⁰ Roland Barthes, ‘Listening’, in *The Responsibility of Forms: Critical Essays on Music, Art, and Representation* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1985), 245-46.

Section I: Nachträglichkeit

Nachträglichkeit is employed as a lens to look through, magnify and thus clarify the events situated in the past and memory, dissecting the condition of traumatogenic representations through the means of art. More specifically, the notion is applied for examining the conflict in Bosnia, captured both as a historical and as living memory. Furthermore, this concept will assist in explaining the conditions pertinent to the creation of traumatogenic representations in contemporary art, as demonstrated by the following artists: Ilya Kabakov, Anselm Kiefer, Rachel Whiteread, Doris Salcedo, Marina Abramović and Šejla Kamerić.

The concept and the word

In the earlier collaborative work by Sigmund Freud and Josef Breuer, Freud came to recognise particular traumatogenic patterns in his patients. In the *Fräulein Elizabeth von R* case [case V], published in *Studies on Hysteria*, Freud notes:

[I]t came about that in this, the first full-length analysis of a hysteria undertaken by me, I arrived at a procedure which I later developed into a regular method and employed deliberately. This procedure was one of clearing away the pathogenic psychical material layer by layer, and we liked to compare it with the technique of excavating a buried city. I would begin by getting the patient to tell me what was known to her and I would carefully note the points at which some train of thought remained obscure or some link in the causal chain seemed to be missing. And afterwards, I would penetrate into deeper layers of her memories at these points by carrying out an investigation under hypnosis or by the use of some similar technique.¹¹

Freud's patients appeared to have their problems anchored in the present without seeing the unprocessed memory-baggage caused by traumatogenic experiences, and thus were not necessarily recognised as such.¹² The symptoms would, over time, suggest the cause that could be traced back to an original primal scene. The 'surfacing mask' becomes an

¹¹ Sigmund Freud and Josef Breuer, *Studies on Hysteria* (New York: Basic Books, INC., Publishers, 1900), 139.

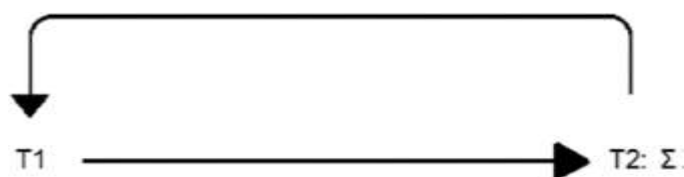
¹² G. M. Rosen and S. O. Lilienfeld, 'Posttraumatic stress disorder: An empirical evaluation of core assumptions', *Clinical Psychology Review* (2008), 839.

integral part of the patient's reality¹³ wherein the patient is not aware of its existence until it is taken off by a trigger and a *nachträglich* awareness of trauma. Along these lines, Jonathan House and Julie Slotnick observe:

[A] memory is implanted, buried like a landmine that goes off when associations revive the memory, and so trigger an explosion, an effect predetermined by the construction of the landmine.¹⁴

After arriving at the point of recognition, the concept of *Nachträglichkeit* came to appear in various other cases and studies such as *From the History of An Infantile Neurosis*, the case of *Wolf Man*, *Beyond the Pleasure Principle*, *The Infantile Genital Organisation (An Interpolation into The Theory of Sexuality)* and *Moses and Monotheism*.

Nachträglichkeit is a notion divided between two scenes: In Freudian terms, it is T1 and T2:



The diagram above illustrates the necessity of (a) two distinct moments in time, that are (b) separated by a delay or time lag, and which (c) the first scene initially remains without consequence, but is (d) transformed by the subsequent stage, and (e) becomes traumatic in a retroactive fashion. T1 and T2, thus, denote two distinct moments in time, separated by a chronological gap defining T2 as a moment of the traumatic event as traditionally understood in the scenario, i.e., the scene that directly precedes the onset of traumatic symptoms.¹⁵ This particular event is only identified ex-post facto since it is impossible

¹³ *Nachträglichkeit* has emerged from Freud's clinical studies when treating his patients. The notion is, however, addressed in relation to collective memory.

¹⁴ Jonathan House and Julie Slotnick, 'Après-Coup in French Psychoanalysis: The Long Afterlife of *Nachträglichkeit*: The First Hundred Years, 1893 to 1993', *The Psychoanalytic Review*, October 2015, 685.

¹⁵ For further references see "The logic of *Nachträglichkeit*" in: Gregory Bistoën, Stijn Vanheule, and Stef Craps, 'Nachtraglichkeit: A Freudian Perspective on Delayed Traumatic Reactions', *Theory & Psychology* (SAGE, 2014), 674.

to predict which experience will cause a traumatogenic effect.¹⁶

In a timeline T2 - T1, *Nachträglichkeit* is returning the gaze towards T2—the primal historical scene and the cause of the trauma but not its manifestation. Since the rediscovery of *Nachträglichkeit* in the 1950's, it is the space between the two points that have informed the most recent discussions, more precisely its directions. One of the main principles of *Nachträglichkeit*, claims Bistoien et al., is that “it is not the ‘real nature’ of the original event which is of primary significance, but rather the way in which the experience affects the psychic being and the way in which the subject responds to the experience which determines the effects of the so-called traumatic encounter”.¹⁷

Friedrich-Wilhelm Eickhoff goes even further by claiming that *Nachträglichkeit* provides the memory and not the event itself.¹⁸ This position on the centrality of memory is shared by Hanna Gekle who states that the historical cause, not recognised as such at the time, only becomes so later, while that which should be its effect, first works its way back to the cause.¹⁹ Memory is a reprint of the past, contextualising oneself within the historical event, and drawing this claim into the very territory of representations of trauma. It is crucial to consider everything in between the two points (T2 and T1) as the point of identification is being prepared between the historical primal scene and its point of recognition, the trigger. Goldin argues that it is the number of situations/events which define the image of life or one's identity. The discrepancies encountered are by those who again prepare the ground for the trigger to be identified and thus activate memory:

[I] emphasize that by considering the process of backward elaboration inherent in the phenomenon of *Nachträglichkeit*, I do not discount the stubborn influence of the past on the present, but I do hope to have demonstrated that although people may reorganize their worlds around archaic presuppositions these repetitive reorganizations emerge in reaction to discrepancies in the usual way of things at the moment. When the discrepancies of the moment are massive, betrayals or new knowledge that contradict cherished beliefs, they can produce feelings of dislocation and

¹⁶ Ibid., 674.

¹⁷ Ibid., 672.

¹⁸ Friedrich-Wilhelm Eickhoff, ‘On *Nachträglichkeit*: The Modernity of an Old Concep’, in *The International Journal of Psycho-Analysis*, 87, 2006, 1453.

¹⁹ Hanna Gekle, ‘*Nachträglichkeit* Des Ursprungs. Das Trauma des Wolfsmannes [Afterwardsness of the Origin. The Trauma of the Wolf Man]’, *Luzifer-Amor* 2, 1989, 28.

disunity in one's sense of self and world that are the opposite of repetitive.²⁰

Eickhoff, in his 2005 *On Nachträglichkeit*, draws attention to its inconsistent translations. Freud's neologism explains insufficiencies in existing terminology when pinpointing and problematising his observations.

Nachträglichkeit was first time translated into English by Freud's translator and collaborator, James Strachey as *deferred action* and *delayed effect*. This highly disputed translation then became the standard version of the term still used in much of English scholarship on Freud's work, projecting a narrow reading of what happens when the notion inhabits dual temporality [*forward movement* and *retrograde aspect*] as argued by Daniel Goldin.²¹

Nachträglichkeit emerged belatedly, and as such is mostly discussed in the secondary literature. Jacques Lacan, in the *Report of Rome* (1953), isolates the term "nachträglich" in the case of "Wolf Man (1914)"²². Later, Jean Laplanche and Jean-Bertrand Pontalis elaborated on this approach which had proved essential to Freudian thinking. According to Laplanche and Pontalis, Strachey's translation positions and thus conditions *Nachträglichkeit* as a mere 'abreaction'.²³ When seen in the context of Freud's complete oeuvre, it is not consistent with what Freud had in mind, as the nature of *Nachträglichkeit* has broader and more dynamic intentions. Ironically, the concept which had constituted the nerve in Freud's thinking, had never explicitly been defined by Freud. For that reason, new dimensions are given to the notion through new translations of the term in post-Freudian time.

²⁰ Daniel Goldin, 'Nachträglichkeit Revisited', *Psychoanalytic Inquiry: A Topical Journal for Mental Health Professionals*, vol. 36, 5, 2016, 418.

²¹ The idea of *Nachträglichkeit* carries with it a notion of dual temporality, in which new knowledge transforms the meaning of memory. This phenomenon of *dual temporality* inspired Lacan (1953–1954) to expand the concept of *Nachträglichkeit* to the project of psychoanalysis as a whole, arguing that "it is [only] by starting with the experience of the adult that we must grapple retrospectively, nachträglich, with the supposedly original experiences, in ranging the various degradations in tiers." in Goldin, 'Nachträglichkeit Revisited', 408.

²² *Fonction et champ de la parole et du langage en psychanalyse*. Report to the Rome Congress held at the Istituto di Psicologia della Università di Roma, 26 and 27 September 1953. Published in *La Psychanalyse*, P.U.F., vol. 1, 1956, 81–166.

²³ Jean Laplanche and Jean-Bertrand Pontalis, 'The Language of Psycho-Analysis, Nicholson-Smith D, [Vocabulaire de La Psychanalyse] Paris: PUF.], 1973.

These translations had both limited and expanded Freud's original conception of the term. Gerhard Dahl maintains that the *two-way vectors* of *Nachträglichkeit* is crucial for understanding the way Freud intended to approach the idea around memory and the historical primal scene²⁴: (a) the first a causal process operating in the forward direction of time against the background of factual reality and (b) the second as a backward movement that permits an understanding of unconscious scenes and fantasies taking place at the primary-process level. Furthermore, Eickhoff and Birksted-Breen show how progressive and retrospective time inherently go together and stress the circular complementarity of both directions of time.²⁵

Between determinism and hermeneutics

Research has shown that there is a level of *plasticity* in *Nachträglichkeit*. This conceptual flexibility can be demonstrated in the notion which Dahl explains as a “determinist forward movement and hermeneutic retrograde aspect”.²⁶ The former is a causal process, operating in a forward direction of time against the background of factual reality, while the latter is a backward movement that permits an understanding of unconscious scenes and fantasies taking place at the primary-process level. Bistoien et al. observe that “*Nachträglichkeit* clarifies a way in which traumatic encounters are mediated by subjective dimensions above and beyond the objective particularities of both the event and the person”²⁷, demonstrating that the “subjective impact of an event is not given once and for all but is malleable by subsequent experiences”.²⁸ Goldin, on the other hand, draws on the notion as a phenomenon which emerges out of an expanded field of inquiry encompassing representation or insight that generates and disorganises experiences in retrospect, formed through different perceptions, elaborating backwards around the knowledge of one.²⁹

²⁴ Gerhard Dahl, ‘The Two Time Vectors of *Nachträglichkeit* in the Development of Ego Organization: Significance of the Concept for the Symbolization of Nameless Traumas and Anxieties’, 4, 2010. 727-44.

²⁵ Eickhoff, ‘On *Nachträglichkeit*’ and Dana Birksted-Breen, ‘Time and the Apré’s-Coup.’, *International Journal of Psychoanalysis*, 2003.

²⁶ Dahl, ‘The Two Time Vectors of *Nachträglichkeit* in the Development of Ego Organization’. 727-44.

²⁷ Bistoien, Vanheule and Craps, “*Nachträglichkeit*: A Freudian Perspective,” 668.

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ Goldin, ‘*Nachträglichkeit* Revisited’, 408.

For Laplanche, *Nachträglichkeit* as *après-coup* leads to reconstructions of historically determined meaning sequences which constitute the actual basis of psychoanalysis. Conversely, a hermeneutic quest for meaning (that is *effet d'après-coup*), as well as any understanding, finds its place in the transference when provoked by the analyst's cryptic messages.³⁰ The hermeneutic conception of *effet d'après coup* is thus distinguished from the *après-coup* of the psychoanalytic method as understood by Freud. However, both, according to Laplanche, have their place in psychoanalytic interpretation being situated between determinism and hermeneutics.³¹

A collective turn

Although Freud came to recognise particular traumatogenic patterns in his patients from which *Nachträglichkeit* had emerged, it was in the *Moses and Monotheism* where Freud had applied the notion to a collective realm, attempting to understand the tragic historical account of the Jews focusing on the primal historical scene within that narrative.³² Moving away from the individual case and towards a cultural case study provided Freud with a new magnitude and a broader focal point to his writing.

This work can be considered as a diagnosis of the pre-war European society as much as a diagnosis of the author himself. Freud was facing the ramifications of a problem rooted in a centuries-old-complex narrative, and this confirmed his conviction that most problems have emerged elsewhere and in another time regardless of their historical validity i.e. his disbelief in the historical existence of Moses.³³

Considering collective trauma, its embodiment of the symptoms of the patients that Freud

³⁰ Jean Laplanche, *La Revolution Copernicienne Inachevée. Travaux 1965–1992* [The Unfinished Copernican Revolution. Works 1965–1992]. Paris: Aubier, 1992, 63.

³¹ Jean Laplanche, 'Interpretation between Determinism and Hermeneutics', *International Journal of Psychoanalysis* 73, (1992):16.

³² Caruth, *Trauma*, 7.

³³ He is often portrayed as "estranged from the religion of his fathers – as well as from every other religion" and Jewish tradition as he states in the preface to the Hebrew translation of *Totem and Taboo* (Vienna, December 1930). This is evident judging his earlier works such as *Totem and Taboo* (1912-1913), *Moses by Michelangelo* (1914b) and private letters such as *The Letters of Sigmund Freud and Arnold Zweig* (1934-1935) and *Sigmund Freud and Lou Andreas-Salome: Letters* (1935).

had analysed in his studies, leads to writing and language that appeared shortly prior to the outbreak of the Bosnian war (1992-1995). Such writings appeared through Graffiti populating the surfaces of public spaces and thus expressing the social dynamics and its conflicting 'cloggs'. Like Freud's patients, the images from the past have been obscured in the prewar societies and as such obsessively marked the pre-war hysteria:

[W]hen memories return in the form of pictures our task is, in general, easier than when they return as thoughts. Hysterical patients, who are as a rule of a 'visual' type, do not make such difficulties for the analyst as those with obsessions. Once a picture has emerged from the patient's memory, we may hear him say that it becomes fragmentary and obscure in proportion as he proceeds with his description of it. The patient is, as it were, getting rid of it by turning it into words.³⁴

Layered history and *mosaic* memory, both *intergenerational* and *intra-generational*³⁵ invite *two-way vector* analysis of memory for the investigation of the representation of historical trauma. As articulated by Freud, "this procedure was one of clearing away the pathogenic psychical material layer by layer, and we liked to compare it with the technique of excavating a buried city".³⁶ The post-war ground becomes then a real-life-scenario for Freud's archaeological digging in which collective psychoanalysis is taking place in Bosnian modernity.

Memory studies and Post-memory

Trauma, according to Cathy Caruth, becomes an integral part of the person which it possesses.³⁷ Traumatic accounts, however, do not only stay with the direct witnesses of the event but are also inherited by future generations and thus become an intergenerational issue.

³⁴ Freud and Breuer, *Studies on Hysteria*, 280.

³⁵ Referring to the definition by postmemory scholar Marianne Hirsch: to delineate the border between structures of transmission - between *familial* and *affiliative* postmemory, one would have to account for the difference between an *intergenerational* vertical identification of child and parent occurring within the family and the *intra-generational* horizontal identification that makes that child's position more broadly available to other contemporaries. Marianne Hirsch, 'The Generation of Postmemory', *Poetics of Today* 29, 1 (2008): 105.

³⁶ Sigmund Freud and Josef Breuer, *Studies on Hysteria*, 139.

³⁷ Caruth, *Trauma*, 4-5.

Memory studies that address these intergenerational trauma issues have become a focus of increasing scholarship in the field of trauma. In large part, this study was approached with the Holocaust case in mind. Autobiographic aspects are also present as they concern the post-war generation of the Bosnia conflict, qualifying as *the second generation*; or *the generation after*.³⁸

Belatedness or *postness* in memory had become an integral part of the generational shift and thus translated by the age groups inheriting the traumatic recollections through anecdotes, family photographs and other various remembrance objects. The concepts have been variously termed as memories of this nature are generated through secondary sources such as media, books and stories connected to someone else's experiences.³⁹ The knowledge that is addressed here is *memoire des cendres*⁴⁰, *absent memory*⁴¹, *mémoire trouée*⁴², *received history*⁴³, *vicarious witnessing*⁴⁴, *inherited memory*, *belated memory*, *prosthetic memory*⁴⁵ and *postmemory*⁴⁶. The *postness* in memory leads to *indirect knowledge* and *generational remove*⁴⁷.

Nachträglichkeit is situated under the umbrella of a broader encompassing field of

³⁸ Marianne Hirsch, 'The Generation of Postmemory', 105. "Second generation" writers and artists", notes Hirsch (2008), "have been publishing artworks, films, novels, and memoirs, or hybrid "postmemories" (as Leslie Morris [2002] has dubbed them), with titles like "After Such Knowledge," "The War After," "Second-Hand Smoke," "War Story," "Lessons of Darkness," "Losing the Dead," "Dark Lullabies," "Fifty Years of Silence," "After," "Daddy's War," as well as scholarly essays and collections like "Children of the Holocaust," "Daughters of the Shoah," "Shaping Losses," "Memorial Candles," "In the Shadow of the Holocaust," and so on."

³⁹ For further references on post-memory see: Roland Barthes' *ça a été* or "having been there" in Georges Didi-Huberman's *Images malgré tout* (2003: 111), Hirsch, *The Generation of Postmemory* (2008), *Family Pictures: Maus, Mourning, and Post-Memory* (1992), Art Spiegelman *MAUS* Vol I (1973, 1980, 1981, 1982, 1983, 1984, 1985, 1986), *MAUS* Vol II (1986, 1989, 1990, 1991), Eva Hoffman *After such knowledge: A meditation of the aftermath of the Holocaust* (2005).

⁴⁰ Nadine Fresco, 'Remembering the Unknown', *The International Review of Psychoanalysis*, no. 4 (1984).

⁴¹ Ellen S. Fine, 'The Absent Memory: The Act of Writing in Post-Holocaust French Literature', in *Writing and the Holocaust*, ed. Berel Lang (New York: Holmes & Meier, 1988), 41–57.

⁴² Henri Raczymow, 'Memory Shot Through with Holes', trans. Alan Astro, *Yale French Studies*, 85 (1994).

⁴³ James E. Young, 'Toward a Received History of the Holocaust', *History and Theory* 36, no. 4 (1997).

⁴⁴ Froma I. Zeitlin, 'The Vicarious Witness: Belated Memory and Authorial Presence in Recent Holocaust Literature', *History and Memory* 10, 2 (1998).

⁴⁵ Alison Landsberg, *Prosthetic Memory: The Transformation of American Remembrance in The Age of Mass Culture* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2004); Celia Lury, *Prosthetic Culture: Photography, Memory and Identity* (London: Routledge, 1998).

⁴⁶ Hirsch, 'The Generation of Postmemory'.

⁴⁷ Eva Hoffman, *After Such Knowledge: Memory, History, and the Legacy of the Holocaust* (New York: Public Affairs, 2004), 25.

Trauma Theory. This theory emerged in the 1990s and was primarily associated with American educational institutions. Scholars such as Cathy Caruth, Shoshana Felman, Dori Laub and Dominic LaCapra, began investigating the relationship between historical trauma and its representation, including both oral testimony and literary texts. The model of trauma theory developed by these scholars draws deeply on a Freudian psychoanalytic framework, particularly regarding the notion of *Nachträglichkeit*.

Reading trauma

The problems of incommensurability of traumatic events are considered to be beyond representation of any kind. Such an attitude has been expressed by Jacques Lacan, T. W. Adorno, Paul Celan, Jean-François Lyotard, Claude Lanzmann, Primo Levi, Dominic LaCapra and Charlotte Delbo⁴⁸. This discussion, however, had emerged over a century ago. In 1904 *The case of Irène*, the French psychiatrist Pierre Janet discovered the ability in his patient to dissociate from traumatic situations and thus illuminate the disruptive impact of traumatic experiences⁴⁹. This *paradigm for traumatic memory*, a theory from which Freud has drawn much in his studies in the field of psychoanalysis, Janet had called *the dissociation theory*.⁵⁰

One view holds that the relation between trauma and representation is mnemonic; precisely because it represents an absent subject. On this mostly Freudian account, representation returns us to the primal scene to facilitate gradual assimilation of the traumatic event into a memory.⁵¹ According to Lacan, however, trauma and representation remain mutually exclusive as trauma is the very thing about which nothing can be said,

⁴⁸ For further references see: Jean-François Lyotard, *Differend*, 56–57; T. W. Adorno, *Prisms*, 34; Paul Celan and Michael Hamburger, *Paul Celan: Poems*. (Manchester: Carcanet New Press, 1980), Claude Lanzmann, *Shoah: An Oral Testimony of the Holocaust (The Complete Text of the Film)* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1985); Dominick LaCapra, *Representing the Holocaust: History, Theory, Trauma* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1994); Dominick LaCapra, *History and Memory after Auschwitz* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1998). Charlotte Delbo and Rosette C. Lamont, *Auschwitz and After* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Pr, 2006).

⁴⁹ Bessel A. Van Der Kolk, Onno Van Der Hart, 'The Intrusive Past: The Flexibility of Memory and the Engraving of Trauma', in *Trauma: Explorations in Memory* (Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995), 160.

⁵⁰ Bessel A. Van Der Kolk, Onno Van Der Hart, 165.

⁵¹ Sigmund Freud, 'Repeating, Remembering and Working Through', *Standard Edition* 12 (1914): 147-56.

written, painted, or performed.⁵² On this more radical note, trauma representations, do little more than point to their limitations, producing, as their ultimate subject, the insurmountable distance between themselves and the traumatic event they say they evoke.

The problem lies in the borders of civilised speech and behaviour, claims Sidra DeKoven Ezrahi in *Representing Auschwitz*.⁵³ Dori Laub, on the other hand, points at the impossibility of bearing witness to traumatic accounts, carrying memory from the scene of the overwhelming crime to the other side of the 'fence' and another face of time.⁵⁴ In the words of Laub: "it is impossible to remain untainted and maintain integrity—a wholeness and separateness that could keep itself uncompromised by the very witnessing of the event."⁵⁵

In other words, one fails in becoming an authentic witness to oneself. The event becomes the generator of trauma which eventually, through this experience, brings its witnessing to a collapse.⁵⁶ What remains? An event without witnesses? On the other hand, Catherine Coquio⁵⁷ asserts, genocides generate witnesses without evidence:

[T]he silence that surrounds the phrase, Auschwitz was the extermination camp is not a state of the mind [état d'âme], it is the sign that something remains to be phrased which is not, something which is not determined. This sign affects a linking of phrases. The indetermination of meanings left in abeyance [en souffrance], the extermination of what would allow them to be determined, the shadow of negation hollowing out reality to the point of making it dissipate, in a word, the wrong done to the victims that condemns

⁵² Isabelle Wallace, 'Trauma as Representation: A Meditation on Manet and Johns', in *Trauma and Visuality in Modernity* (Dartmouth College Press: University Press of New England, 2006), 3.

⁵³ Sidra DeKoven Ezrahi, 'Representing Auschwitz', in *History and Memory*, 7, 2 (Indiana University Press, 1995), 127.

⁵⁴ Dr. Dori Laub has personally been subjected to the horrors of Auschwitz seeing the gate and the fence that has let in many but released a few. Laub has since dedicated his life to researching trauma and the ways we write and think about it post event.

⁵⁵ Dori Laub, 'An Event Without a Witness: Truth, Testimony and Survival', in *Testimony: Crises of Witnessing in Literature, Psychoanalysis, and History* (New York: Routledge, 1992), 81.

⁵⁶ Laub, 'An Event Without a Witness', 75–92.

⁵⁷ See literary works on testimony, particularly on mass crimes and genocides, by Catherine Coquio who throughout her career examined the Freudian and Derrida's take on trauma, which she had since scrutinised through the cases of Rwanda and that of Holocaust. Some of her publications in chronological order are as follows: Catherine Coquio and Aurélia Kaliski, *Rwanda - 2004 Témoignages et Littérature* (Teubingen: Stauffenburg Verlag, 2003); Catherine Coquio, *Rwanda: Le Réel et Les Récits* (Paris: Belin, 2004); Catherine Coquio, *La Littérature En Suspens: Écritures de La Shoah ; Le Témoignage et Les Œuvres* (Paris: Arachnéen, 2015); Catherine Coquio, *Le Mal de Vérité, Ou, L'utopie de La Mémoire*, Temps de Idées (Paris: Armand Colin Editions, 2015).

them to silence - it is this, and not a state of mind, which calls upon unknown phrases to link onto the name of Auschwitz.⁵⁸

Liotard, in a similar fashion, addresses what happens during and after trauma manifestation comparing it to that of “an earthquake destroying not only lives, buildings, and objects but also the instruments used to measure earthquakes directly and indirectly.”⁵⁹ Liotard goes on to suggest that the act of killing not only affects the subject but also the language itself and thus the means of assessing the loss⁶⁰.

However, there is also a great enigma which lingers in the aftermath of trauma if we are to follow the logic of Laub and Coquio: How can trauma of such gravity be represented if it leaves no witnesses nor evidence of it ever happening?

On a moral note, in his (revised) statement, presented the first time in the 1949 *Cultural Criticism and Society*, Theodor W. Adorno insisted on that writing poetry after Auschwitz is a barbaric act.⁶¹ This statement still lingers and provokes by asking whether one should ‘extract’ memory from the event in an attempt at its representation?

In *Modernity as a Mad Dog: On Art and Trauma*, Evelyn Nicodemus points to the underrepresentation of visual arts in discussions concerning the subject in psychoanalysis, psychiatry and literary studies, and the emerging interdisciplinary field of *trauma studies*.⁶² Contrary to Nicodemus’ observation contribution by visual artists and scholars

⁵⁸ Jean-Francois Lyotard, *Differend: Phrases in Dispute*. Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press, 1989, 57.

⁵⁹ Lyotard, *Differend*, 56.

⁶⁰ Lyotard, 56-57.

⁶¹ Theodor W. Adorno, ‘Cultural Criticism and Society’, in *Prisms*, trans. Samuel Weber and Shierry Weber (London: Spearman, 1967), 34; In his late work, *Negative Dialectics*. (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1973), 362–63, Adorno offers this conditional revision by stating that “Perennial suffering has as much right to expression as a tortured man has to scream; hence it may have been wrong to say that after Auschwitz you could no longer write poems.”

⁶² Evelyn Nicodemus, “Modernity as a Mad Dog: On Art and Trauma ” in *Over Here: New Perspectives on International Art*, ed. Jean and Mosquera Fisher, Gerardo (Cambridge MA: MIT Press, 2004). 258–77. For further references on her position on art and trauma, see also Nicodemus’ ‘The Ethics of the Wound’, in *Einstein Meets Magritte: An Interdisciplinary Reflection on Science, Nature, Art, Human Action and Society* (Springer Science + Business Media B.V., 2009), 191–202; and her dissertation titled ‘African Modern Art and Black Cultural Trauma’ (Middlesex University, 2011). For additional references on the subject of trauma representation see also the dissertation by Catherine Gilbert, ‘Writing Trauma : The Voice of The Witness in Rwandan Women’s Testimonial Literature.’ (University of Nottingham, 2014).

who explored the war trauma had its presence in the case of Bosnia.⁶³

Jacques Rancière directs this discussion in a different direction and concentrates instead on intentions and circumstances behind representing *the unrepresentable*, such as that of specific events, by asking: “Under what conditions might it be said that certain events cannot be represented [...] moreover, under what condition can an unrepresentable phenomenon of this kind be given a specific conceptual shape?”⁶⁴ Rancière insists on considering different regimes of representation as he maintains that ‘the unrepresentable’ does not necessarily escape all possibilities of representation, although it might demand “a type of language appropriate to its exceptionality.”⁶⁵ Regarding the ‘politics’ around representation, Rancière notes that “it is motivated by a certain intolerance for an inflated use of the notion of the unrepresentable.”⁶⁶

Correspondingly, in her 2016 *Concerning Consequences: Studies in Art, Destruction, and Trauma*, Kristine Stiles discusses the question on how and why “trauma as an appropriate field for art historical research, mainstream art history” was actively neglected well into the 1990s when it had already been recognised as a legitimate subject in art history.⁶⁷ Stiles maintains that its late entrance into the discourse was partially due to “methodological suppression and substitution of biography with poststructuralist emphasis on the construction of gender, sexuality, identity, class”, and other, already established social theories.⁶⁸ Rosalind Krauss described the situation as such:

[T]rauma befalls a subject who was unfortunately absent - too distracted or

⁶³ Artists who have dealt with the issues of trauma representability in the case of Bosnia-Herzegovina, besides Šejla Kamerić and Marina Abramović whose work is discussed in the thesis, are Maja Bajević, Alma Suljević, Danica Dakić, Damir Nikšić, Safet Zec and Mladen Miljanović, to name a few. Along with visual art, the Bosnian situation also had a strong presence in the film and television production such as: Srđan Dragojević, *Lepa Sela Lepo Gore [Pretty Village, Pretty Flame]*, Drama, 1996; Danis Tanović, *Ničija Zemlja [No Man's Land]*, War Drama, 2002; Rajko Grlić, *Karaula [The Border Post]*, Drama, 2006; Jasmila Žbanić, *Za One koji Ne mogu Da Govore [For Those Who Can Tell No Tales]*, Drama, 2014; Mirjana Karanović, *Dobra Žena [A Good Wife]*, Drama, 2016. The thematics traverse between the disputed past, the war crimes that are unaccounted for and the persistence of unresolved collective issues leaving the country in a status quo, something that was illustrated in the last scene of Danis Tanović's *No Man's Land*.

⁶⁴ Jacques Rancière, *The Future of the Image* (London: Verso, 2009), 109.

⁶⁵ Rancière, *The Future of the Image*, 137.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 109.

⁶⁷ Kristine Stiles, *Concerning Consequences: Studies in Art, Destruction, and Trauma* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2016), 17.

⁶⁸ Stiles, *Concerning Consequences*, 16–17.

de-centred to defend him-or herself adequately at the time of the attack. The life story of the traumatic subject is thus the account of a fundamental absence and lack of preparation. Because of this, trauma studies are addicted to biography, which is to say, to the reconstruction of de-centring and the shattering that is its result.⁶⁹

⁶⁹ Rosalind Krauss and Charles G. Salas, 'Who Comes After the Subject?', in *The Life and the Work: Art and Biography* (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2007), 32.

Section II: Precedence

[T]hose who are truly contemporary who truly belong to their time, are those who neither perfectly coincide with it nor adjust themselves to its demands. They are thus in this sense irrelevant [*inattuale*]. However, precisely because of this condition, precisely through this disconnection and this anachronism, they are more capable than others of perceiving and grasping their own time.⁷⁰

Giorgio Agamben

Insofar as trauma is of the past, it places everyone in the present, outside its realm, including those who were consumed by it. The artists considered in this section have each addressed trauma in their respective ways by employing their images in the hermeneutics of the past(s) and future— “whose arrows of time points to the distant past, while the others simultaneously target a possible future.”⁷¹ *Precedence* considers the artist’s (in question) capability of “perceiving and grasping their own time”, to use Agamben’s remark their *anachronism* and *disconnection*.⁷²

This section examines two precedents that concern the recall or retelling of historical scenarios in contemporary art. The first one, *historikerstreit*, considers the post-war German environment and the way art addressed the repressed past and seemingly repressed content in German history by German contemporary artists. The second precedent concerns dissident artists from nation states within the former Eastern Bloc following the fall of Communism, and a turn to *Moscow Conceptualism*. Drawing on these precedents the research then looks to an account of the Bosnian conflict in a traumatogenic key.

These art movements were significant in shaping the aesthetics and socio-political discourse in Germany and the Soviet Union from the mid-50s to mid-80s. These are also

⁷⁰ Giorgio Agamben, *Nacktheiten*, quoted by Christian Geyer in “Kollaps der Psyche”, *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, 2 October 2010, p.33.

⁷¹ Klaus Honnef, ‘Schreiben/Malen: Ein Zentral Aspekt in Anselm Kiefers Werk [Writing/Painting: A Central Aspect in Anselm Kiefer’s Work]’, in *Anselm Kiefer: Memorabilia*, ed. Beate Reifenscheid (Cinisello Balsamo: SilvanaEditorale, 2013), 17.

⁷² Agamben, *Nacktheiten*, p.33.

the initiators of what comprises the groundwork for the visual language, assisting in positioning this research in the discussion within art and representation of historical trauma.

The German Case: Decades of Intellectual and Moral Ambivalence

The memory in the German context is the essence which had to be *uncovered* and *discovered*: uncovered, because Germany had assigned decades of silence regarding its involvement in the WWII, and discovered, concerning its redefining of Germany's new position in the world and the addressing of a new German identity through modernity and a possible future.

The omnipresent historical trauma from WWII was carved deep into the cultural psyche of Europe. However, it was guilt which dominated the collective dimension of German society. This dark (cultural) matter was cultivated on German soil and occasioned by a mass rejection of 'the past'. It generated energies which would fuel different views about events in the past as well imaginings about a German future and its positioning in the world, politically and morally. Along with the politicians and the students, artists also became integral participants in this discussion.

Historikerstreit

West-Germany had entered into then inadequately explored territory. Memory processing was marked by the 1986 *Historikerstreit* – a debate around the question about the singularity of the Holocaust and its reading in the present.⁷³ The Post-war German condition could be identified as a syndrome of a 'father-less' country after the loss of its

⁷³The debate was initiated in July 1986 with the publication of Jürgen Habermas' article *Eine Art Schadensabwicklung*, in which he isolated and criticised supposed 'apologetic tendencies' in Andreas Hillgruber's book *Zweierlei Untergang: Die Zerschlagung des Deutschen Reiches und das Ende des europäischen Judentums*, and Ernst Nolte's and Michael Sturmer's publications in the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* (FAZ), as well as in confrontations with the Nazi past. Numerous articles were published in the FAZ and *Die Zeit* newspapers as the debate escalated throughout 1986 and into 1987.

Führer Adolf Hitler who embodied the father-figure of the new German identity. Furthermore, Germans seem to have been suffering the loss of collective memory. Any investment in memory and identity consequently became taboo within German society, carrying a heavy burden and guilt for many years to come. A nation that killed her father became orphaned and later alienated by the world.

Art was not there to identify what then was considered to be an abstract past⁷⁴. The role of art became a way to articulate the experience of what felt like emotional imprisonment eventually becoming the instrument for distancing oneself from the situation in which one was profoundly embedded.

The belief that education and a critical focus on the past would contribute to new collective enlightenment emerged with the new socialist movement in Germany and heralding of The New Left (1960-1970).⁷⁵ The emergence of a socialist political tendency generated opposing views anchored in the *Ritter School* and *German Neo-Conservatism* whose leading figures were Joachim Ritter and Hermann Lübbe. Each of these political movements sought to reconsider the historical representation of Germany, however, disagreeing on what form it should take.

The Left saw the urgency of facing the past and “showing the wound”⁷⁶, while the conservatives insisted on a revision of German history and a reconstruction of the globally accepted image of the two great wars. This quarrel⁷⁷ ‘mobilised’ German academics and

⁷⁴ For further analyses that specifies the framework around the discussions regarding the changes in post-war society and especially during the Cold-War, and interconnection with art related to the Nazi era, see Andreas Huyssen’s essay *Figures of Memory in the Course of Time*.

⁷⁵ The New Left was a political movement in the 1960s and 1970s consisting of educators, ‘agitators’ and others who sought to implement a broad range of reforms on issues such as civil rights, gay rights, abortion, gender roles, and drugs. The movement was affiliated with the Frankfurt School of Critical Theory and especially with Herbert Marcuse, Ernst Bloch and T. W. Adorno.

⁷⁶ This reference is pointing at Joseph Beuys’ iconic work *Zeige deine Wunde* [Show your wound] and a reminder of the genealogy of the term “trauma” which originates from the Greek word *trauma*, meaning ‘wound’, originally referred to an injury to the body.

⁷⁷ This historian debate addressed the issue of the representation of Holocaust in the context of German history and opposing right-wing against left-wing intellectuals. The debate was initiated in July 1986 with the publication of Jürgen Habermas’ article *Eine Art Schadensabwicklung*, in which he isolated and criticised supposed ‘apologetic tendencies’ in Andreas Hillgruber’s book *Zweierlei Untergang: Die Zerschlagung des Deutschen Reiches und das Ende des europäischen Judentums*, and Ernst Nolte’s and Michael Sturmer’s publications in the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* (FAZ). Numerous articles were published in the FAZ and *Die Zeit* newspapers as the debate escalated throughout 1986 and into 1987.

artists into what was a previously repressed but now an open agenda.

While politicians and artists exercised their influence in the public sphere from very different areas of responsibility (institutional and ideological), their use of the past remained grounded in a parallel burden.⁷⁸ The need for addressing the history, nevertheless, became the catalyst evident in the works of German post-war artists such as Wolf Vostell, Joseph Beuys and Anselm Kiefer. These artists are considered the leading German post-war successors of the 'historical' avant-garde or the *neo-avant-gardists*, as coined by Peter Bürger.⁷⁹

The 1960s in West-Germany saw a social re-awakening of a what became known as the 'Germans-as-perpetrators' position. This the question of guilt emerged with the 'second generation' in their confrontation with their parents' generation who had taken the stance 'Germans-as-victims' and by doing that proclaimed their innocence.

This notion was pushed into the background when the West German student movement actively engaged with the 'cultural trauma' unleashed by the Second World War and addressed the issue of perpetrations committed by the Germans. They entered this debate through representations of guilt for these atrocities, succinctly expressed with the iconic intensity of Auschwitz.

Meanwhile the artists Vostell, Beuys and Kiefer did not share this sense of moral innocence. How did these German artists negotiate the past, the collective trauma and their positioning within the ongoing debate on the German role in the war? This trio belongs to a different post-war generation of artists having witnessed many various stages

Habermas had accused the right-wing historians (Klaus Hildebrand, Michael Sturmer, Andreas Hillgruber and Ernst Nolte) of promoting a "new revisionism", relativising the Holocaust by comparing it to other events of genocide. The positions taken by the right-wing intellectuals, led by Ernst Nolte, was that the Holocaust was not unique and therefore the Germans should not bear any special burden of guilt for the Final Solution of the Jewish Question.

⁷⁸ Paul B. Jaskot, *The Nazi Perpetrator: Postwar German Art and the Politics of the Right* (Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press, 2012), 86.

⁷⁹ The 'strategies' applied by the *neo-avant-gardists* were not always approved as 'authentic' by the post-war followers of the 'historical' avant-garde. Rather, they were described as mere "imitators and recapitulators" who highjacked the momentum of rapture with a discursive practice (Benjamin H. D. Buchloh, 1986), "an overdose of Teutonicness" (Werner Spies, 1980) and accused of institutionalising the movement and thus negating the avant-garde's original intention (Peter Bürger 1984).

of the political discussion of representations of the Holocaust, and naturally informed by the shape of their participation in those debates.

Wolf Vostell: Dé-collage Happenings (the 1950s and 60s)

What was an arbitrary observation made by Vostell in 1954 while studying in Paris—a headline from *Le Figaro* reading “peu après son décollage”⁸⁰—resulted in *dé-collage*⁸¹ and articulated what Vostell would later consider the essence in his work⁸². Through *dé-collage* Vostell staged a framework for experiential possibilities within the art, becoming thus not only a method but a way of thinking. He considered it a necessity for the time in which he was living and the history he had inherited: two great wars and the Holocaust followed by the wars in South-East Asia. The constellation of these events had brought an ‘instrument’ for uncovering and acknowledgement of trauma.

The concept of *dé-collage* is rooted in the conviction that “disaster and disorder constituted the identifying image of our century and western society”.⁸³ The cyclical nature of life in which destruction forms an integral part art becomes a reminder that life with all its complexities, destruction and self-destruction, becomes precisely that: the war-torn Germany, occupied and destroyed, engendering the circumstances from which Vostell emerged as an artist:

[T]he dominant image of my childhood was that of the dying man. I saw my first happening when I was nine years old. It was during an air raid, and we had to evacuate the school and run out into the countryside. Each child was told to hide under a different tree. From my tree, I watched an aerial battle and saw the bombs fall from the sky to the ground, like great flocks of birds.⁸⁴

⁸⁰ The *Le Figaro* article read: “Shortly after take-off [*dé-collage*] a Super Constellation fell from the sky, plunging into the river...”.

⁸¹ *dé-collage* carries several meanings such as: detaching, unsticking, taking off, separating, dividing, departing, dying...

⁸² Elena Zanichelli, ed., ‘Interview with Mercedes Vostell’, in *Vostell: The Disasters of Peace* (Milano: Edizioni Charta, 1999), 71.

⁸³ Valerio Dehò, ‘The Music of History’, in *Vostell: The Disasters of Peace* (Milano: Edizioni Charta, 1999), 27.

⁸⁴ José Antonio Agúndez García, ‘To Remind Men That They Must Not Behave Savagely’, in *Vostell: The Disasters of Peace* (Milano: Edizioni Charta, 1999), 50.

Memory is woven into all of Vostell's work as history had seamlessly merged with his personal history. The energy that became a catalyst justifying both the notion of *destruction*, *dé-collage* and life itself, is deeply rooted in his early life experiences of which war was an integral part.⁸⁵ This sensibility was shared by Vostell's peers. Here in the words of the playwright and theatre theoretician Heiner Müller:

[A]rt can also be a sickness, and if this is the case, it is the sickness we live with. In our time we indeed will not run the risk of curing it. We have to live with this sickness, and with the paradox of living like parasites, because we feed on a reality made up of catastrophes.⁸⁶

The core principle by which Vostell lived and created is represented in the following equation: *Leben=Kunst=Leben* [Life=Art=Life]. Art is placed in the centre stimulating what Valerio Dehò calls for equilibrium and thus situating art in a way so it is positioned before and after life.⁸⁷ Vostell had realised, as Dehò observes, that “the world of art can no longer live on its own; it cannot be self-referential.”⁸⁸ It serves rather as a compass and an archive—representing the freedom and the ability to observe—navigating while simultaneously commenting on the society in which we are situated. How to address destruction from the past and present? What to do with the iconography of past annihilation? These were the questions that Vostell asked.

One of the strategies was to revisit and unpack the history, or as Dehò put it: “exorcise” and “dominate” it⁸⁹ as “history is important because it keeps time and does not simply serve as a memory”.⁹⁰

Vostell's early works such as the 1958 and 1959 *Swarzes Zimmer* [The Black Room] (Fig. 1), featuring a claustrophobic environment referencing the Holocaust, were directly ‘extracted’ from this set of principles. Mediums included in the installation, such as film,

⁸⁵ Valerio Dehò, ‘The Music of History’; José Antonio Agúndez García, ‘To Remind Men That They Must Not Behave Savagely’; Elena Zanichelli, ‘Interview with Mercedes Vostell’.

⁸⁶ Heiner Müller, *Tutti Gli Errori: Interviste e Conversazioni 1974-1989* [All Errors: Interviews and Conversations 1974-1989] (Milano: Ubulibri, 1994), 75.

⁸⁷ Dehò, ‘The Music of History’, 26.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 26.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 29.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 28.

a transistor, barbed wire, wood and asphalt, make no direct reference to genocide. Raw materiality of the work, however, connects directly with the memory archives and images of the genocide as Vostell examines the abyss of his own emotions and the emotions of the audience with whom he is “aiming at generating conscience in the spectator”.⁹¹

It could be understood that Vostell’s ‘method’ adds to the points argued by Eickhoff who claims “that remembering is not rooted in unchangeable impressions but a reinterpretation of the subjective past, a constructive meaning search and meaning creation activity”.⁹² Vostell generates triggering situations which in Barthesian terms could be called ‘intersubjective space’ wherein the viewer acts as an active agent whose experience of a particular memory is played out through the artwork.

During the post-war reconstruction, Vostell repeatedly returned to the traumatised and destroyed spaces of the modern city. Bearing witness to such reconstruction threatened to erase the ruins both from the landscape and from collective memory. For *Cityrama*, the artist staged a ritual enactment by encouraging an estranged pensiveness (vis à vis sites or objects) and ‘religious’ tension between the pathological abyss of contemplative paralysis and the attainment of an introverted knowledge which marks the mental state of melancholia. It was an invitation for intervention into a more evasive commemoration of war, its victims and rejection of the postwar silence. This participative artwork repeated over time was designed for the inhabitants of the city of Cologne to observe and become aware of the changes occurring in the city under reconstruction—to become aware of what was there and the image of the place that was disappearing. In this way, Vostell invited the audience to participate and acknowledge future history and a future memory.⁹³

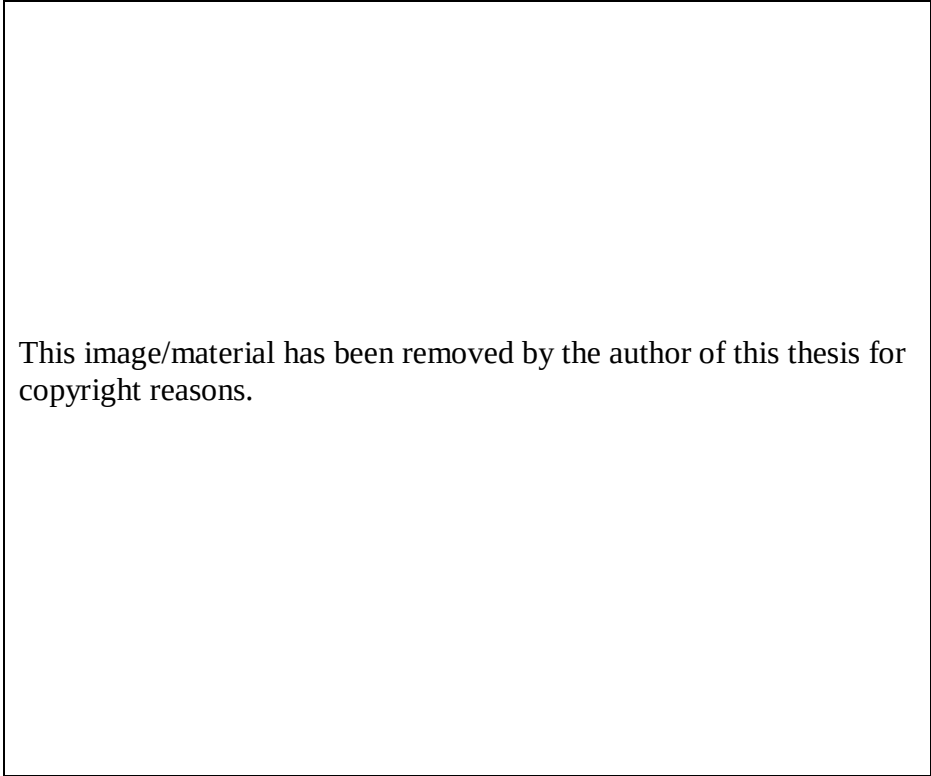
Tour de Vanves and *Cityrama* both actively engaged the issue of collective memory that critical theory had foregrounded as a cultural and epistemological priority of the postwar world.⁹⁴

⁹¹ Ibid., 29.

⁹² Eickhoff, ‘On Nachträglichkeit’, 1464.

⁹³ Claudia Mesch, ‘Vostell’s Ruins: De-Collage and the Mnemotechnic Space of the Postwar City’, *Art History*, n.d., 85.

⁹⁴ Mesch, ‘Vostell’s Ruins’, 88.



This image/material has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons.

Figure 1. Wolf Vostell, *Schwarzes Zimmer* [The Black Room], 1958-59

Destruction and trauma predominantly saturate and inform the history of humanity, particularly in the 20th century. According to Vostell, art constitutes a means of communicating and ‘uncovering’ the surface under which the history of annihilation rests. He believed that an artist should be committed to this and thus serve as the eyes, ears and at times societal conscience. Along these lines *dé-collage* became an act of frustration claiming that nothing can be unsaid and undone.

Joseph Beuys: Expose the Wound

Joseph Beuys ‘declared’ his alter ego by creating a mythic persona which would bear his creative work to the end of his life. Through the actions such as *Auschwitz Demonstration* [Auschwitz Demonstration] (1968) and *Zeige Deine Wunde* [Show your wound] (1974-75), Beuys pointed to the issue of historical representation by directing the collective gaze towards the seen yet ignored past. Terms such as *Auschwitz* and *Holocaust* were integrated into the German psyche, and by allowing this language to be expressed, Beuys attempted to demonstrate that through exposing wounds, one can generate understanding

and acceptance of oneself and the others—a much-needed process in the post-Nazi Germany.⁹⁵ He believed that art linked to the German language and its people “was also the only way to overcome all the still racially driven machinations, terrible sins.”⁹⁶

Presented in a vitrine, *Auschwitz Demonstration* (Fig. 2.) is part of a more encompassing installation, *Beuys Block*. Like those used in a museum for natural and historical artefacts, the vitrines intended to “focus on natural sciences—more specifically, palaeontology. For an artist such as Beuys who considered himself a political being in a time where political oppositions had a strong presence in the society, contrasting geology and zoology became a logical way of telling a story of the earth’s broader development.”⁹⁷ Beuys had produced work that would inhabit language and by doing that challenged both the historical and the political. Mathew Biro calls it *hermeneutic undecidability* which he defines as “the ability of cultural representation to generate not just ambiguity but a conflict of representations, radically contradictory readings of the same set of signifiers.”⁹⁸

Beuys’ vitrine potentially produces a ‘hermeneutically undecidable’ experience with a complexity of meanings and representational relations embodied in these glass-enclosed objects.⁹⁹ Nevertheless, he opted to enable the objects to speak for themselves¹⁰⁰, in representing the Holocaust and the brutality in it without instrumentalising the victims.¹⁰¹

⁹⁵ Beuys has talked in many instances about the healing properties of different materials/mediums. i.e. felt and fat. These materials are related to a personal myth – a Crimean winter rescue by the Tartar nomads who had insulated Beuys in felt and fat thus keeping him warm and alive.

⁹⁶ Joseph Beuys, “Reden über das eigene Land,” in Hans Mayer et al., eds., *Reden über das eigene Land: Deutschland 3* (Munich: Bertelsmann Verlag, 1985) and reissued as Beuys, *Sprechen über Deutschland* (Wangen/Allgäu: FIU-Verlag, 1995), pp. 10–11; Timothy Nevill’s English trans., in Joseph Beuys, “Talking about One’s Own Country: Germany,” in Wilfried Wiegand et al., eds., *In Memoriam Joseph Beuys: Obituaries, Essays, Speeches* (Bonn: Inter Nationes, 1986), p. 37.

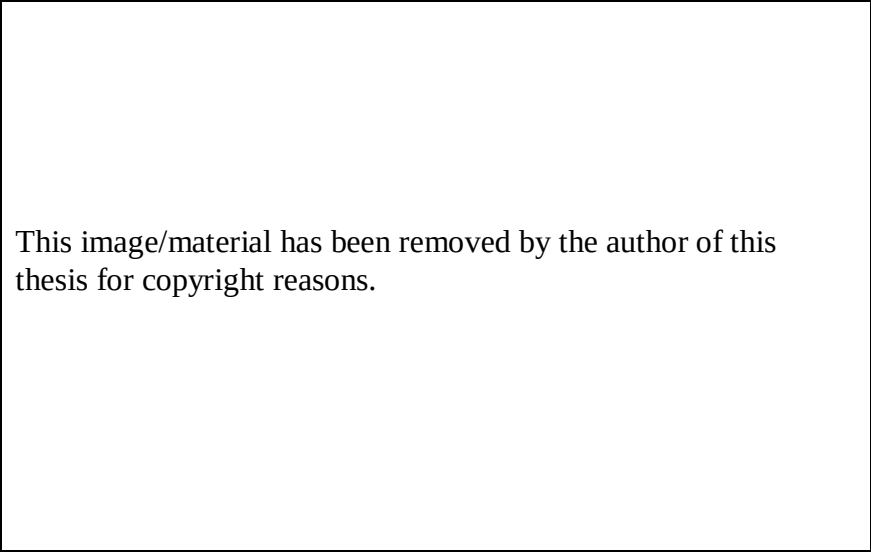
⁹⁷ Mathew Biro, ‘Representation and Event: Anselm Kiefer, Joseph Beuys, and the Memory of the Holocaust’, *The Yale Journal of Criticism*, 1 (New Haven, CT: The Johns Hopkins University Press, Spring 2003), 123.

⁹⁸ Biro, ‘Representation and Event’, 117.

⁹⁹ Biro, 120.

¹⁰⁰ Beuys, *Sprechen über Deutschland*, p. 10. Alain Borer concludes from this that the Jews represent a “dimension spirituelle absente” in Beuys’s thinking: Borer, “Déploration de Joseph Beuys,” in Fabrice Hergott and Marion Hohlfeldt, eds., *Joseph Beuys* (Paris: Éditions du Centre Pompidou, 1994), p. 29; in English as “A Lament for Joseph Beuys,” in Lothar Schirmer, ed., *The Essential Joseph Beuys* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1997), p. 29.

¹⁰¹ Biro, 120.



This image/material has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons.

Figure 2. Joseph Beuys, *Auschwitz Demonstration*, 1968.

Beuys breaks away from a traditional visual language of art. It can be argued that this work triggers an unexposed nerve in the audience by exposing historically significant symbols. In a political silence one might say that the objects screamed as they were loaded with meaning and connotations from the past i. e. the portable stove and two blocks of fat¹⁰².

While Beuys refrained from moralising or accusing any party from the war, he would point at the memory itself, drawing attention to its existence. Biro maintains that Beuys worked towards creating a context within which the spectator was encouraged to rethink what he/she knew.¹⁰³ It could be argued that in the works such as *Auschwitz Demonstration*, Beuys only introduced the vitrine—a platform—while everything else was already there. It seems like there already was a context, but the substance was missing. The relics of the post-war landscape in Germany was a vast space imprinted with debris from the past, revealing themselves through their absence in language. Beuys had brought the symbols which in a different context would generate a different meaning. However, in a post-war, post-Holocaust Germany, these relics were predetermined to produce connotations that served to fill a historical gap. In this sense, the narrative seemed to unfold by itself, and in a Barthesian manner, the meaning appeared to be constructed

¹⁰² The stove and fat hint at the most dehumanising practices in Auschwitz: the collecting of body fat as it dripped from burning bodies to fuel further incinerations.

¹⁰³ Biro, 121–22.

by the spectators. “Everyone is an artist” could perhaps be extended to another dimension, turning history into a malleable medium.

Anselm Kiefer: Declaration of War

“The thread of tradition is broken, and we must discover the past for ourselves—that is, read its authors as if nobody has ever read them before,” concluded Hannah Arendt in her 1968 statement while addressing what she considered to be a post-war culture in crisis.¹⁰⁴ Meaning we must not rely on previous interpretations of history and establish new ground and thus shed new light onto Germany’s past.

Kiefer’s 1969 actions attempted to discover and enter into the “provisionary historical realm” otherwise denied to his generation.¹⁰⁵ He did it by stepping into a *Wehrmacht* uniform embodying the ‘skin’ of a previous member of the Nazi party (his father) while (re)occupying *lebensraum* (Fig. 3.). These acts had naturally caused a stir in the intellectual community in Germany.

In an interview in which he addresses the accusations that suggest he was redeeming the old German heroes upon whom the Nazis had built their cult, Kiefer would meet the allegations with silence: “I go back to the time in which I did not know who I was.”¹⁰⁶, referring to the 1930s and the time of *Nationalsozialismus* (German National Socialism). Along these lines, Mark Rosenthal provokes with the question: “If he, like the Nazis, wants to jettison international art to explore his roots, is he, then, a Nazi heir at heart?”¹⁰⁷

Almost two decades, after Kiefer’s actions, the allegations still linger. However, questions of this nature indicate shallow observations of what emerged in a fragile yet

¹⁰⁴ Hannah Arendt, ‘The Crisis in Culture: Its Social and Its Political Significance’, in *Between Past and Future: Eight Exercises in Political Thought* (New York: Penguin Books, 1968), 204.

¹⁰⁵ This sentence is referring to Kiefer’s early performances from 1969 titled *Occupations*.

¹⁰⁶ *Anselm Kiefer - The German Painter and Sculptor - New Documentary*, 2016, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mGkyVUuRly8>.

¹⁰⁷ Mark Rosenthal and Anselm Kiefer, *Anselm Kiefer* (Munich, Chicago and Philadelphia: Prestel-Verlag, 1987), 14.

This image/material has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons.

Figure 3. Anselm Kiefer, *Heroische Sinnbilder* [Heroic Symbols], 1969.

stubborn place and time: a conflict between history and ideology in the art with which Kiefer used to enter the wounded ‘sphere’.

Having been born into the ruins of WWII and post-National Socialism, a time when everything had ended, and a ‘new world’ had begun, the questions around Kiefer’s allegiance to the Nazis were rather misplaced and irrelevant. What needed to be asked was: What role could society play after a systematic annihilation of humanity and culture? Kiefer’s Nazi-salute provocations would not make any sense if there were not any references to the malignant and subsumed cultures of guilt and pride. They were silent, but radiating through the concrete of a newly urbanised Germany.

To understand the perspective of German artists in this situation, one has to understand the complexity of both their physical and psychic context. From her memoir *Slow Fire: Jewish Notes from Berlin*, Susan Neiman writes about her experiences in Berlin during the 1980s, stating that one could not draw on old tradition without echoing the Nazis. Furthermore, she writes, the postwar preoccupation with the Nazi era instigated a rebirth in German painting, a conflict between fathers and sons that could only be resolved through art.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁸ Susan Neiman, *Slow Fire: Jewish Notes from Berlin* (New York: Schocken Books, 1992). 28.

Immersed in enigmatic modernity as *Nachgebornen* [those born after], puzzled with the problematic past, Kiefer's interest did not necessarily lie in representing its dark matter, as is the case of his predecessors, Vostell and Beuys.¹⁰⁹ Kiefer confronted German collective history, and perhaps most importantly, this constituted an integral link to a perceived tainted past. Kiefer seems to be persistent in showing that 'his' Germany, the country of his generation, was thoroughly saturated with the attitudes and precedents that have existed throughout German history. As Rosenthal observes: "Kiefer continuously tries to make certain that half-buried memories are not left peacefully at rest."¹¹⁰

[I] do not identify with Nero or Hitler, but I have to re-enact what they did just a little bit to understand the madness. This is why I make these attempts to become a Fascist.¹¹¹

These memories were never "left peacefully at rest". They were experienced as a stubborn 'itch' caused by the misdoings of the others. It can be argued that Kiefer attempted to identify and exhaust, muted yet haunting, image of the past – to shake-off someone else's memory and stop living in the skin to the fathers' of his generation. Consequently, representing the past trauma was a way of reconstructing what caused it in the first place: marching Nazis 'declaring' war. Only this time referring to the battle taking place in the head of German *populous*.

In a still divided Germany, he was criticised for not addressing the problems of that time: the 'real' wall and not what Kiefer considered to be the mental barrier.¹¹² During the days of *Historikerstreit* when the past and the ideologies have entangled themselves into a

¹⁰⁹ It is evident in the iconography between the 1950s and the 1990s by various German artists, that post-war trauma and guilt was a dominant force in German society. *Auschwitz Demonstration* [Auschwitz Demonstration] (1968) and *Zeige deine Wunde* [Show your wound] (1974-75) are the works by Joseph Beuys that bring the point of collective trauma to a significant altitude of social awareness. In this way, Beuys communicated a catharsis which was desired by a majority. A division of Germany remained present after the war as during the war. This division had to be faced and confronted, which the work, especially the early *de-collage* happenings from the 1950s and 60s, by Wolf Vostell, have demonstrated as issues of the past.

¹¹⁰ Rosenthal and Kiefer, *Anselm Kiefer*, 17.

¹¹¹ Quoted in Axel Hecht and Werner Krüger, "Venedig 1980: Aktuelle Kunst Made in Germany," *Art: Das Kunstmagazin* (Weisbaden), June 1980, p. 52.

¹¹² Rosenthal and Kiefer, *Anselm Kiefer*, 10. Divisions in post-war Germany were both ideological and mental, and physical with the emergence of the 1961 Berlin Wall which partitioned east from the west. The construction of the wall in retrospect seems like a physical manifestation of the politics played out between two Germanys.

polemicalised political knot, Kiefer inverts and recontextualises Germanic mythical iconography when addressing this problem. Like the German landscape¹¹³, it could be argued that Kiefer attributed German mythology a considerable role in the narrative of dark German history. While a landscape scene can be seen as an archive containing a record of history and time, myths tend to occupy essential roles in decisive historical moments, inviting the people to flank their forefathers and act in euphoric moments such as war.

The announcement of the 1944 *Morgenthau Plan* was one of those moments. In early September 1944, most men in the Allied high command believed that victory over Germany was imminent. This belief led to the proposal to de-motorise, de-industrialise and eventually de-moralise post-war Germany, making it into a vast rural land or, as Goebbels called it, a “potato field”.¹¹⁴ This plan could have been a factor influencing Germany repressing their past and embracing a ‘history-less’ future, anticipating the extreme measures planned by the Allies—to punish the German people. However, moments before capitulation, it became a catalyst for mobilisation and a call for war by the German propaganda ministry.

Kiefer, on the other hand, had called for war by other measures—an act of war on history: “History is like argyle and therefore less catastrophic”¹¹⁵, suggests that art, like history, had found common ground, accessing the past and thus demonstrating Dahl’s Hermeneutic *Retrograde Aspect*¹¹⁶—a backward movement that permits an understanding of scenes taking place at a primal historical event.

¹¹³ Find the interview with Kiefer titled *Anselm Kiefer - The German Painter and Sculptor - New Documentary*, 2016, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mGkyVUuRly8>. Here Kiefer talks about the landscape as a non-innocent entity when considering the past as it holds traces of conflicts and wars.

¹¹⁴ See John Dietrich's, *The Morgenthau Plan: Soviet Influence on American Post-war Policy* (New York: Algora Publishing, 2002). In this publication Dietrich looks deeply into the idea around the plan and the reaction to it by then Nazi Germany and the Germans.

¹¹⁵ Tim Marlow, *Anselm Kiefer Interview: Art Is Spiritual*, 2015, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_8h11-Jm4-s. On a different occasion at his major UK retrospective at the Royal Academy for the autumn (27 Sep - 14 Dec) 2014, Kiefer had compared history to clay – a malleable material.

¹¹⁶ Dahl, ‘The Two Time Vectors of Nachträglichkeit, 727.

Claude Lanzmann: Speaking of *Shoah*

The 1985 film *Shoah* by Claude Lanzmann can be considered a model for thinking through the Bosnian Case. Its rawness, lack of aesthetic filtering and the production values typical of commercial film productions, along with its appropriate intellectual positioning in history, made *Shoah* into a critical reference point. Furthermore, no (pre)scripted scenarios, a lack of a big crew-presence and intrusive high-tech props, provides an intimate narrative of the Holocaust, despite the protagonists never telling their own story—“the film did not speak of them”—they became “spokespersons of the dead.”¹¹⁷

These technological limitations are a significant factor determining the direction and content in the film which assisted in preserving the temporality and continuity of time, and the tendency to break from contiguities common in filming fictions.¹¹⁸ For Lanzmann it was essential to portray the 'real' in *Shoah* and not tamper too excessively in post-production as he considered it to be immoral.¹¹⁹

Lanzmann asserts that it is possible to make art after a film such as *Shoah*. However, one must bear in mind that art alters reality and not always in a truthful way. One such an example where the preservation of the real-time and “reincarnation” of truth was compromised, can be seen in Lanzmann’s *The Karski Report*, after a novel *Jan Karski* by the French writer Yannick Haenel whom Lanzmann had accused of falsifying both history and its protagonists. According to Lanzmann Haenel had created a fictitious character of something that was not to be touched by anyone’s imagination as the truth is something which only emerges from oral testimonies given by survivors.¹²⁰

Since the end of the war, the historical accuracy of representations of the Holocaust has been the subject to scrutiny by those who were not convinced of the genocide magnitude.

¹¹⁷ Jean-Michel Frodon, ‘The Work of the Filmmaker: An Interview with Claude Lanzmann’, in *Cinema and the Shoah: An Art Confronts the Tragedy of the Twentieth Century* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2010), 96-97.

¹¹⁸ Frodon, ‘The Work of the Filmmaker’, 95.

¹¹⁹ Ibid.

¹²⁰ Ibid.

They wanted the proof—the proof of dead bodies. "The proof is not the corpses; it is the absence of corpses"¹²¹ was Lanzmann's response to that. For this reason, *Shoah* is a film of absences—there are no old photos, no newsreel footage and no corpses.

The opening scene begins with forty-seven-year-old survivor Simon Srebnik being rowed along the Narew river. Srebnik has returned to Chelmno, the epicentre of his trauma along with many others. As the boat eases through calm waters, Srebnik sings a song that German soldiers made him sing for their amusement. His voice mingles with the sound of the breeze in the summer trees: "A little white house lingers in my memory. Of that little white house, I dream each night."¹²²

When taken out of context, the song lyrics are reminiscent of innocent children's songs. However, it is a song that was sung by the Nazi soldiers while marching in Chelmno. By reciting this song, Srebnik resituates its melody and text in memory and time. "No one can recreate what happened here...and no one can understand it", remarks Srebnik.¹²³

In addition to highly organised extermination of humans, leaving little evidence of its crime, those that have survived the horrors of the Holocaust struggle to comprehend let alone articulate what happened. Hence, Dori Laub's claim on the Holocaust as an event without witnesses:

[N]ot only, in effect did the Nazis try to exterminate the physical witnesses of their crime; but the inherently incomprehensible and deceptive psychological structure of the event precluded its witnessing, even by its very victims.¹²⁴

Lanzmann is entirely aware of what it means to witness and represent something like the Holocaust—an unprecedented trauma in many ways. With *Shoah*, he attempted "to incarnate the truth of what happened through survivors' testimonies"¹²⁵, and not representing something that principally is incomprehensible. He is asking the viewers to

¹²¹ Stuart Jeffries, 'Claude Lanzmann on Why Holocaust Documentary Shoah Still Matters', *The Guardian*, June 10, 2011.

¹²² Lanzmann, *Shoah*, 4.

¹²³ Ibid., 6.

¹²⁴ Dori Laub, 'Truth and Testimony: The Process and The Struggle', in *Trauma: Explorations in Memory* (Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995), 65.

¹²⁵ Jeffries, 'Claude Lanzmann on Why Holocaust Documentary Shoah Still Matters'.

bear witness to these crimes. For this reason, *Shoah* does not typically fit into the category of a documentary.¹²⁶ There are no conventionally defined archives shown in the film; the only files that are accessed are those of landscapes and memories—*lieux de memoire* [sites of memory]—with real protagonists telling their (real) stories the way they experienced them. What *Shoah* asks from us is to be both conscious and have a conscience. Be present and listen.

“Hearing is a physiological phenomenon; listening is a psychological act”, wrote Roland Barthes in his essay titled *Listening*.¹²⁷ *Shoah* commands a moral commitment. It differentiates from other films as it breaks away from the traditional format. It asks the viewer to sacrifice this duration of time – to watch but mostly listen. It is not a film that will accommodate the ‘consumer need’ for comfort, which one has to put aside as one needs to immerse oneself in the material and meditate on it to understand, however, without reconstructing the event itself.

In an interview with Jean-Michel Frodon, Lanzmann argues that the film: “strives for some harmony; it is born of extreme demands in form, in which time is an essential element.”¹²⁸ He goes on to criticise the lack of ethics and methods in post-production in media. While conceding there are external demands on form and time in film production it is Lanzmann’s opinion that film tends to: “kill temporality” and is an “ethical crime”. Portraying television as “the mistress of truth”¹²⁹, Lanzmann avoids mentioning other dubious and potentially immoral stunts in filmmaking that are perhaps altogether inevitable. For example, once a subject is framed, one becomes a participant in a moral-based selection process and thus the creation of reality composed through this medium. What is equally essential is the ‘reality’ which is not allowed into the frame and thus kept away from the context of (preempted) subject matter.

"To speak of historical trauma is to recognise events as wounds" and "to speak of

¹²⁶ In the majority of secondary literature on Lanzmann’s *Shoah*, the film is addressed as a documentary film despite Lanzmann stating clearly that he does not see it that way.

¹²⁷ Roland Barthes, ‘Listening’, in *The Responsibility of Forms: Critical Essays on Music, Art, and Representation* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1985), 245.

¹²⁸ Frodon, ‘The Work of the Filmmaker’, 94.

¹²⁹ Ibid., 95.

representing historical trauma is to ask questions such as "What are the limits of representation and do they exist? If so, what is the relation between art and these limits?", asks Adam Lowenstein.¹³⁰ Can these limits be considered as conditions through which *jetztzeit* (now-time) and *intersubjective space* emerge? In other words: Can we talk about representing trauma before we identify the terms of representation? In the words of Walter Benjamin:

[...] even the most perfect reproduction, *one* thing is lacking: the here and now of the work of art—its unique existence in a particular place. It is this unique existence—and nothing else—that bears the mark of the history to which the work has been subject of.¹³¹

When both of the crucial elements have had their unique existence in time and thus conditioned their 'here and now', it is those conditions that we scrutinise.

The Soviet Case: Alienated Reality

While Germany's principal concern was addressing its history, the Soviet Union was busy adopting the image of the communist vision of the future¹³². This 'other' side of Europe was marked with the Berlin wall and signified other socio-political worlds, leading to the art movements such as *Moscow Conceptualism* (Ilya Kabakov, Eric Bulatov, Dmitri Prigov, Irina Nakhova, Viktor Pivovarov, Andrei Monastyrsky and Vitaly Komar and Alexander Melamid) and *Medical Hermeneutics* (Pavel Pepperstein, Sergei Anufriev, Yuri Liederman) all of which have carved their historical weight through their official invisibility.

¹³⁰ Adam Lowenstein, *Shocking Representation: Historical Trauma, National Cinema, and the Modern Horror Film* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2005), 1.

¹³¹ Walter Benjamin, *The Work of Art in the Age of Its Technological Reproducibility, and Other Writings on Media*, ed. Michael William Jennings, Brigid Doherty, Thomas Y. Levin, and Edmund Jephcott (Cambridge: Mass: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2008), 20.

¹³² Boris Groys, *History Becomes Form: Moscow Conceptualism* (Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press, 2010), 3.

Moscow Conceptualism

Fatherlessness, as a syndrome, characteristic of Germany¹³³ was visible in the Soviet parallel society. Boris Groys argues that post-war Soviet artists, and mainly independent artists, in contrast to those in post-war Germany, never had that problem in the first place nor the desire to kill their father as they had yet to discover them:

[T]ime and again in Russian history, the traditional institutions, authorities and power structures have of themselves gone under, and in such a way that the following generation is in no position, basically, to have any past to react against, far less to evaluate, to learn from and above all refer to.¹³⁴

December 1st, 1962 is considered by many as the birthdate of the Soviet *non-official art* when Nikita Khrushchev, the new father, opened the exhibition of 'leftist art'. The works were supposed to follow the process of liberation and the generating of the art of the new Socialist Union. Dealing with the unexpected, the new leader simply declared this event to be "private psycho-pathological distortions of the public conscience".¹³⁵ It marked the day where many doors in the future would be closed for the artists present that day. While this 'unofficiality' ensured invisibility for many artists, to a degree, it also ushered in a kind of art(ist) liberty.¹³⁶ Although these "unofficial art" tendencies have been entirely cut off from the state-controlled media, they have been more or less tolerated by the government.¹³⁷ And as the "unofficial art" movements were left on their own, this apparent lack of structure became the central pillar in their creative output.

Being both deprived of the internal attention and external orientation led many of them to a place that opened up new concepts and new means of artistic expression.¹³⁸ Thus,

¹³³ By "fatherless syndromes", in the context of the post-war Germany, is meant the death of Hitler – a self-proclaimed father of the nation.

¹³⁴ Boris Groys, "The Russian Artists of the Eighties or a Life without an Oedipus Complex" in *Artisti Russi Contemporanei: Erik Bulatov, Ilya Kabakov, Igor E Svetlana Kopystiansky*, catalogue (Prato: Centro per l'arte contemporanea Luigi Pecci, Museo d'arte contemporanea Prato, 1990), 9.

¹³⁵ Andrej Erofeev, *Non-Official Art: Soviet Artists of the 1960s* (East Roseville, Australia: Craftsman House, 1995), 34.

¹³⁶ Ibid.

¹³⁷ Groys, *History Becomes Form*. 4.

¹³⁸ Groys, 'Medical Hermeneutics, or Curing Health' in *Moscow Conceptualism in Context*, ed. Alla Rosenfeld (New York: Prestel Publishing, 2011). 236.

Moscow Conceptualists had found themselves in an invisible state of liberation. They did not seem to fit into any of the (polarising) political agendas; neither in the world of capitalism in the West, nor the newly formed sphere of Communism, behind the so-called Iron Curtain. As Groys notes:

[T]he art of Moscow Conceptualism was a non-topic for the Western audience of that time. From the perspective of the Western Left, this art lacked the utopian, emancipatory and constructivist impulse that was characteristic of the Russian avant-garde and was expected to manifest itself in progressive Russian art. For the Western Right, this art was not dissident, anti-Communist, or accusatory enough – no mention of Gulag, no defence of human rights. For the art world per se, this art could just not exist: The Soviet Union was seen as a totalitarian desert where the population was too unfree, too thoroughly cut off from the outside world, and only too poor to be able to make art.¹³⁹

Already after the shift in *Moscow Conceptualism* (MC) Andrei Monastirsky and the artist group *Collective Actionists* began to develop their hermeneutics suited to describe events and experiences known only to the initiated few. This fashion was also a beginning of the formation of the second generation of the MC known as *Medical Hermeneutics* whose interests were also located within the activities of its milieu and less so in the general Soviet or Russian culture of its time. Thus, *Medical Hermeneutics* which, “in a time of cultural isolation producing images and texts that were potentially accessible to everyone, reacted to the opening up of the public space by self-closure, by cultivating a sectarian and esoteric atmosphere, by making itself inscrutable and impenetrable by uninitiated outsiders.”¹⁴⁰

The utopian energies generated by Soviet Union unofficial artists foregrounds the curious out-of-touch-with-time aspects. They seemed to be inhabiting different worlds within Soviet society. Firstly, Soviet politics dictated a certain attitude regarding public spaces; its collective appearance and art resulting in art ‘energies’ which were attempting to communicate with Soviet collective realm with which Soviet officialities shared little or no common ground. These Futurist tendencies were already present in the Soviet-Union. According to Groys, the Soviet Union was an entity that ultimately neglected its ‘present’

¹³⁹ Groys, *History Becomes Form*, 10.

¹⁴⁰ Groys, 8.

as it completely embraced the vision of the future. The ‘present’ was considered transitional and therefore eliminated as a subject of importance.¹⁴¹

Moscow Conceptualism comprised of two stages: first and second generation. Former with its structure emerging from its openness and accessibility to latter with eventual self-closure and inwardness, cultivating its internal milieu.¹⁴² The spirit of opposition, which has been repressed by the Communist ideology has been liberated to some extent with such practices. The 1960s is the time when anti-Soviet art movements were considered to have gained momentum; this would pave the road for and ease the pressure on Soviet dissidents.¹⁴³

The ‘extraverted’ first generation of *Moscow Conceptualists* emerged in the late 70s and early 80s, during a time of cultural isolation. This group of artists were mainly interested in the function of text and image within the general framework of Soviet culture—its everyday life and its mass propaganda which occupied the public space ‘nourishing’ the challenge of operating and existing in that seemingly unclosed space while remaining free.¹⁴⁴

The first generation of Moscow conceptualists, as contemporaries to a strict regime of control (the pre-perestroika time of the mid-80s), did not participate in the state-run state-funded exhibitions; they did not take part in the art platform which served the state propaganda machine. This way, the movement, being clandestine, was utterly invisible to the eyes of government and culture which, however, had an emancipatory and utopic effect: the artists were not asked to produce anything as they were unknown. Perhaps they did not live in an autonomy per se, one can, however, raise a question whether they were autonomous as they exercised the freedom of unofficiality, being unseen and residing in

¹⁴¹ Ibid., 2.

¹⁴² A crucial point in the Soviet Union was the emergence of *Perestroika*, a political movement for reformation within the Communist Party of the Soviet Union during the 1980s until 1991 with Mikhail Gorbachev at its forefront. What, at the early stages of *Moscow Conceptualism*, seemed as an unreachable world, now became accessible. This reformation also meant the opening of the public space to which *Moscow Conceptualists* reacted by self-closure: the ports of access were still impenetrable, however, now instituted by the movement itself.

¹⁴³ Orçun Alpay, ‘The Irony of Social Realism: Sots-Art as An Early Stage of Russian Postmodernism’ 10, no. 52 (25 October 2017): 15.

¹⁴⁴ Groys, *History Becomes Form*, 8.

a “utopian project”?¹⁴⁵

Orçun Alpay argues that “Soviet artists took advantage of its plain but picturesque language and inverted it to an Anti-Soviet art using the slogans and expressions that are inherent in them.”¹⁴⁶ By defamiliarising and estranging socialist clichés, Moscow Conceptualists were questioning and reconsidering the Soviet past. Such reflections on alienation have especially been articulated in the works of Ilya Kabakov and Erik Bulatov.¹⁴⁷

Groys observes a struggle between imagination and the misery of the everyday mundane life in Ilya Kabakov’s work.¹⁴⁸ This cross-over between the imagined and the ‘real’ world seems to saturate his work, in a world where his art manifests retrospectivity of a world where everything that has and could happen has already happened. When entering the site of the event in its post-event, one finds records of what had happened and to whom: metadata of the after the fact: “...everyone was replaced by his archive. For Kabakov, the ultimate grace is identical with the possibility of emigration—from a positive body of reality into a purely negative, absent body of imagination.”¹⁴⁹

In *The Man Who Flew into Space From His Apartment*, Kabakov displays the traces left behind after the event: the moment when the protagonist in the installation’s narrative had launched himself into space. What can be seen is a claustrophobic room insulated with the posters displaying the kind of Soviet political propaganda seen in everyday life. However, there are also other details: the drawings and the thinking that, now absent, the hero had gone through before the irreversible journey to a *no-topos* [no-place]¹⁵⁰—a place that could only be reached through mind and art.

¹⁴⁵ The Soviet Union, in the eyes of the West, is considered as a failed and unrealizable Socialist project, hence the term *Utopian project*.

¹⁴⁶ Orçun Alpay, ‘The Irony of Social Realism’, 14.

¹⁴⁷ Ibid.

¹⁴⁸ Groys, *History Becomes Form*, 19.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid., 22.

¹⁵⁰ Boris Groys, *Ilya Kabakov: The Man Who Flew into Space from His Apartment* (London: Afterall, 2006), 1.

This image/material has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons.

Figure 4. Ilya Kabakov, *The Man Who Flew into Space from his Apartment*, 1988.

Like in Kabakov's apartments¹⁵¹, the installation presents us, as articulated by Groys, "not with *real* bodies but their absences, by negative bodies—by bodies that have already gone through *point zero*"¹⁵² referring to a form of journey which takes you "from the sphere of positive reality into the sphere of non-reality, negativity, virtuality, pure imagination".¹⁵³ With this dimension in mind, the work begins to allude to the need for the dimension that represents freedom, something that could not be achieved in the Soviet reality. This way Kabakov had projected the collective desire towards that kind of journey to a "no-topos", through the unnamed character in this story.¹⁵⁴

There is an interplay between obscure places and obscuring the identities of the artists behind Kabakov's oeuvre. A mode which Groys describes as a mode of "self-expropriation", attributing his work to other, fictitious artists.¹⁵⁵ This way the artist constructs a realm where he can observe and express himself without being officially identified by "allowing the author to disappear behind a myriad of doppelgangers of his creation."¹⁵⁶

¹⁵¹ *Apartments* address the fictional communal apartment referring to the Soviet habits of housing different families in same apartments (1988).

¹⁵² Groys, *History Becomes Form*, 21.

¹⁵³ *Ibid.*, 19.

¹⁵⁴ Groys, *Ilya Kabakov*, 1.

¹⁵⁵ Groys, *History Becomes Form*, 105.

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 106.

Similarly, Ivan Chuikov centres his attention on the correlation between illusion and reality; he considers “a picture, in the traditional sense of the term, as a thing that is not self-identical.”¹⁵⁷ He asks us to consider art as an illusion; this definition reduces the field of art by narrowing it to art that is already present, already there. According to Groys’, art “is always a project to reach the things themselves”.¹⁵⁸ “Not of course in the sense that the art becomes the thing itself”, he adds, but that it allows us an understanding of what is the essence of things. By showing an image of art as an illusion, and that in all seriousness, Ivan Chuikov is saying something true to us, concludes Groys.¹⁵⁹

For the *Moscow Conceptualists*, art served in a literal sense as an instrument for the imprisoned characters, impediments of the Soviet system, and unarticulated language which sought its way out to the free zone into which art seemed to allow. Vitaly Komar and Alexander Melamid traversed through time and many realms of art styles in their works. The heroes in their paintings were from different times, and facing challenges from distant worlds. The fictional characters from Apelles Ziablov, an eighteenth-century abstract painter finding himself in the age of (figurative) realism is a wholly misplaced character in anachronous reality. The time and style are reflected in the massive decorative frames common for that time. Misunderstood by the world around him, the protagonist ends his life in despair.

In another fictive narrative, they introduce to the reader a realist painter Nikolai Buchumov who lives in a time of Malevich’s *Constructivism*. The qualities and interests which Kumar and Melamid attribute to their hero, contrast with the nature of the world in which he lives— the same world which had severely beaten Buchmov and prevented him from becoming a serious artist ending up living on a margin of society.

In the works of Erik Bulatov, there is a play between the imagined sphere and imposed rule that is taking place on the surface of his paintings. “In the Horizon” (1972) the horizon itself is described by Groys as a “flat quasi-suprematist form that seems to be

¹⁵⁷ Ibid., 43.

¹⁵⁸ Ibid., 46.

¹⁵⁹ Ibid.

superimposed on this conventional picture, cutting horizontally across its entire breath”.¹⁶⁰ Constructivists and Malevich especially interfere with the space in the paintings as depicted by some of the *Moscow Conceptualists*. Bulatov writes: “Malevich simply forbids the space. He abolishes it by outright revolutionary decree.”¹⁶¹ Hence he continues, the constructivists’, replacement of the space of art by the space of society.

¹⁶⁰ Groys, *History Becomes Form*, 22.

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 23.

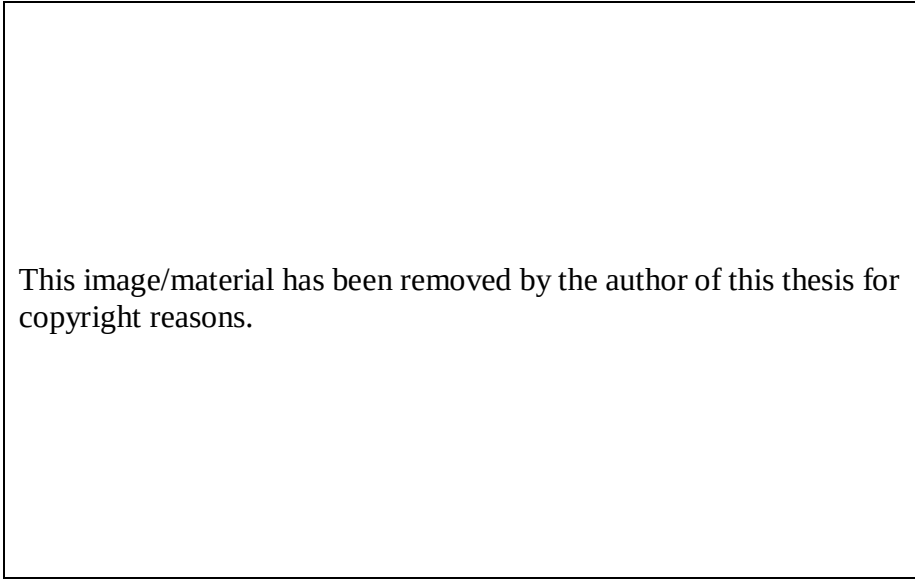
Section III: The Bosnian Case

The Collapse of the Neighbour, Death of the Brother

Istorija nadanjuje i opominje.
[History inspires and warns.]¹⁶²

The early stages of Yugoslavia's dissolution were marked by an 1989 event on 28 June—the St. Vitus Day speech by Slobodan Milošević in Gazimestan (now the Republic of Kosovo)¹⁶³. This monumental event appeared as a pretext to the conflict for the years of war that followed.

The address was delivered to over one million people attending the central celebration marking the 600th anniversary of the Battle of Kosovo. This 'open wound' would later spark strong national sentiment and weaken the close inter-ethnic relations and stronghold of *komšilik*, and eventually result in a full-scale bloody war with irreversible consequences.



This image/material has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons.

Figure 5. *St. Vitus Day speech in Gazimestan (Kosovo), 1989*
Image credit: (Newspaper) Oslobođenje.

Representations of Bosnia's collective trauma were mediated through all its public media

¹⁶² B. Tomić and N. Novaković, 'Istorija Nadanjuje i Opominje [History Inspires and Warns]', *Oslobođenje*, 29 June 1989, Archives in Sarajevo.

¹⁶³ See the complete speech in the *APPENDIX NO. II: Slobodan Milošević's Speech (Complete)*.

platforms. Bearing on internal references – simulacra that have frequently merged with what became a public image of the Bosnian war, triggered both aversion and curiosity. How can something as deep-seated and profound, phraseless and symptomatic, find its way through one-channelled TV-monitors without being reduced to a mere aesthetic, instant daily news feed?

In a divided, contemporary Bosnia, still without official borders, the mental division is robust and present. Instead of emerging walls, there are individual monuments marking territory as well as the past. It appears that history had found its way into modernity through the emergence of mass graves as the only real indicator of the past.

While the intellectual debate about history was far-ranging in Germany, institutions of the Bosnia-Herzegovinian entity Republika Srpska are yet to acknowledge the historical trauma of the country officially, despite the constant uncovering of mass graves, and the subsequent evidence that continues to bring those responsible for trialing.¹⁶⁴

Xavier Bougarel dissects Bosnian trauma and its background in his book *Bosna: anatomija rata* [Bosnia: anatomy of war]. By examining the different layers in Bosnian society, he asks what led these previously close communities to commit atrocities against each other and to others? In doing so, Bougarel interrogates the Bosnian term *komšilik* which has a double meaning to denote both neighbourhood and well-functioning multiethnic community as an informal institution. However, despite these well-functioning communities, their ambivalence and fragility would come to the surface each time the political atmosphere would shift. This daily confirmation of a stable and peaceful character of inter-ethnic relations are functioning as long as the state is in a position to guarantee their stable and peaceful nature. As Bougarel understands it, *Komšilik* is situated at the intersection of political and everyday life.¹⁶⁵

¹⁶⁴ This matter will be discussed further in the section 4.

¹⁶⁵ Bougarel, Xavier, *BOSNA: Anatomija rata* (Edicija REC, 2004), 118–23.

Art

Mora

Što to radiš sine?

Sanjam, majko, kako pjevam, a ti me pitaš, u mom snu:

što to činiš, sinko, o čemu, u snu, pjevaš, sine?

Pjevam, majko, kako sam imao kuću, a sad nemam kuće. O tome pjevam, majko.

Kako sam, majko, imao glas, i jezik svoj imao. A sad ni glasa, ni jezika nemam.

Glasom, koga nemam, u jeziku, koga nemam, o kući, koju nemam, ja pjevam moju pjesmu majko.

[Nightmare

What are you doing, my son?

Mother, I am dreaming of singing, and you are asking, in the dream:

what are you doing, son, about what, in your dream, are you singing, son?

I am singing, mother, about my home which I have had, and now I am without. I am singing, mother, about voice and language which I have had.

Now, I have neither a voice nor a language. With a voice which I do not have, in a language which is not mine, about a house that I am without, I sing my song, mother.]¹⁶⁶

-Abdulah Sidran

This poem was written in 1985 and is regarded as prophetic by the author Abdulah Sidran. The imagery conveyed are all instances that are no longer there. In a dream he recites to his mother who had died, in a voice that no longer serves him, and a language which is not a part of him any longer. As Dori Laub and Daniel Podell explain:

[...] there is an annihilation of the internal “other” that occurs in the traumatic experience and to the resulting absence, which both constitute the core of trauma and precluding its representation.¹⁶⁷

The poem can be read as the territory representing trauma in a manner that exemplifies a problematising of the aspects and questions this research attempts to address. Principally these are Freud’s mnemonic approach to the representation of trauma; Lacan’s doubt directed to the same; Lyotard’s killing of language; Adorno’s moralisation of traumatic representation and Felman’s post-traumatic disorientation.

¹⁶⁶ Translated by Elmedin Žunić.

¹⁶⁷ Dori Laub and Daniel Podell, ‘Art and Trauma’, *The International Journal of Psycho-Analysis*, 1995.

It is imperative that the memory of the Holocaust be preserved according to Primo Levi. Levi wrote about the standardisation of memory whose description reminds us of the way Freud describes how his patient comes to terms with images from the past. Language and words serve in this case as ‘archive labellers’ and the images being what is being stored. Levi was addressing the price one pays when something as authentic as a memory such as the Holocaust is standardised. It partially loses its truth. The most critical condition of ‘afterwardness’ is its proximity. Proximity in the case of Bosnia is the main one and the unavoidable one – time. The other condition which imposes its proximity is location. Location in the case of this study imposes conditions such as variables in language and culture.

Šejla Kamberić

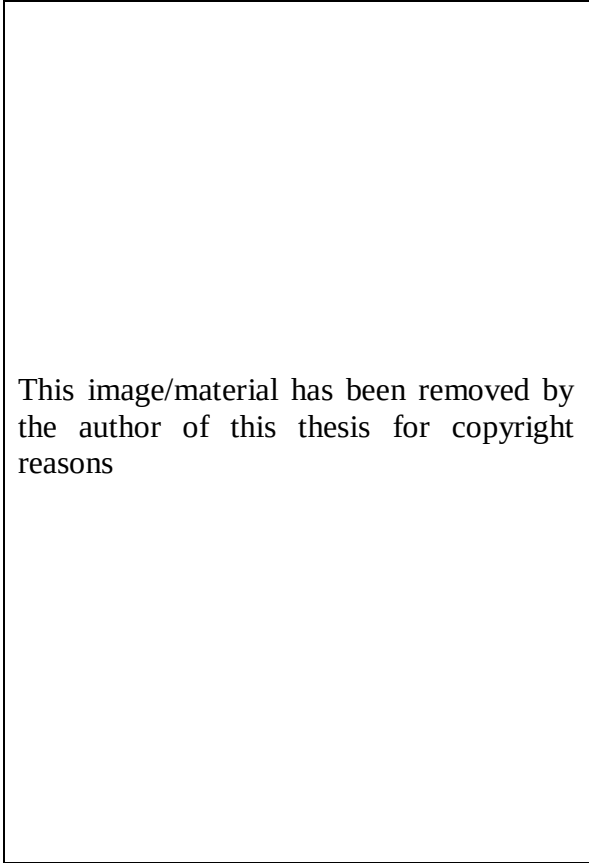
Ab uno disce omnes

Šejla Kamberić is an artist who had lived in Sarajevo during the siege of the city experiencing what would later lead to the production of the works *Ab uno disce omnes* [from one learn all] (2015) and *Bosnian Girl* (2003) that this section examines.

“After you learn something, you cannot hide from it.”¹⁶⁸ These words and this attitude is intertwined in the work *Ab uno disce omnes* [from one learn all] (Fig. 6.) which Kamberić uses to explore the archives and images from the war; after enabling access to the information she then introduces the perspective and unfolds the relationship between the personal knowledge and the collective realm. By doing so, the work attempts to find out what we make of the event in posterity. The video monitor is placed in a mortuary fridge featuring 32000 video clips, equalling 88 hours of a continuous footage stream.

The archives consist of material from the war: photographs, news reports, legal and military documents, forensic reports, testimonies, lists of missing persons and interviews. Most of it consists of footage of executions and the images of corpses found in various mass graves.

¹⁶⁸ Šejla Kamberić, *Investigating Bosnian War Crimes*. Šejla Kamberić: ‘*Ab Uno Dicse Omnes*’, 2015, <https://wellcomecollection.org/abunodisceomnes>.



This image/material has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons

Figure 6. Šejla Kamberić, *Ab Uno Disce Omnes*, 2015.

When talking about the work, Kamberić specifies that she “wanted the audience to understand that they are in a place that keeps precious things, once human remains, now information.”¹⁶⁹ In this way also, the recorded history is considered a corpse which has found itself in a mortuary fridge awaiting dissection and forensic trauma analysis. The work seeks to reconcile the cultural, political and historical void between the proliferation of statistical information and the enduring human consequences of war.¹⁷⁰

“The difficult thing for me”, confesses Kamberić, “is to look at the landscape in Bosnia and not to think about what is hidden.”¹⁷¹ This obsession and appetite for information is hinted at in the opening sentence as much as in the last statement. These words intimate a collective demand for the past as there is much that is unaccounted for and many unanswered questions. As Kamberić explains: “I feel that maybe through this, their stories

¹⁶⁹ Šejla Kamberić, *Investigating Bosnian War Crimes*.

¹⁷⁰ <https://abunodisceomnes.wellcomecollection.org/about-ab-uno-disce-omnes/>

¹⁷¹ Šejla Kamberić.

will be knitted in a collective narrative that I believe we need. But this will also preserve personal memories and, maybe one day this will be how we learn about the past.”¹⁷²

This demand for representation points to the complexities inherent to representation and the demands across the spheres of the private, intimate, public, collective, diversity in medium, sender and receiver of the image. Representation becomes even more complex when emotions are central and *vacuumed memory* such as those of a traumatic nature. As Kamerić maintains: “The crime continues by hiding the evidence by hiding their remains”.¹⁷³ The collection of this vast material evidence acts thus as a trigger for the formation of a complete image of the post-war landscape in Bosnia. Kamerić insists that this archive reflect on the collective memory of the Bosnian war as past by saying that although the “information is seen by someone else, soon we understand that we are that someone.”¹⁷⁴ The artist alludes to the responsibility of the art and the artist by saying that the “work speaks for those that cannot: victims, witnesses, survivors, families who are still searching for their loved ones.”¹⁷⁵

Bosnian Girl

Research for this thesis required working in places such as Prijedor, Kozarac, Trnopolje, Srebrenica, Potočari and Bratunac, in which some of the most severe atrocities occurred during the years of war. That these events occurred while under the watch of the United Nations (UN) is something that still mars the public perception of the UN mission in Bosnia during that period. Not only was the UN marked by its indifference to the mission; they were also shown to have a disparaging attitude towards the people that they were there to protect, particularly during the blockade of Srebrenica, exhibiting an impotent approach to ‘peace-keeping’.

¹⁷² Ibid.

¹⁷³ Ibid.

¹⁷⁴ Ibid.

¹⁷⁵ Ibid.

This image/material has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons.

Figure 7. Šejla Kamerić, *Bosnian Girl*, 2003.

No teeth...?
A moustache...(sic)?
Smel like shit...(sic)?
Bosnian girl!¹⁷⁶

In a collaboration with the photographer Tarik Samarah¹⁷⁷, Kamerić had juxtaposed and thus created a poster-like image titled, *Bosnian Girl*. She did this by adopting the inscription of the graffiti found in one of the military barracks in Srebrenica. The work was made eight years post massacre when the inscription became known to the world outside of Srebrenica.

Demystification of the face did not tone down these echoing words. Rhythm in the writing reminds that of a riddle. It provides the 'clues', however, allowing for the 'answer' to be displayed. Written with a green marker, the words were intended to express disdain towards those it addresses, the Bosnian women. By doing so it alienates the subject(s) and identifies them as the 'other' who do not share the same reality as the peacekeeping forces whose safety was more or less guaranteed. "In a way, it was never entirely mine."¹⁷⁸, insists Kamerić, the artist and the face behind the work when explaining that the work was conceived as a public project.

¹⁷⁶ Graffiti found in the UN barracks at the Potočari compound near Srebrenica in 1994/95. This graffiti piece is one of many which can still be seen on the walls of the barracks.

¹⁷⁷ Tarik Samarah is a Bosnian contemporary photographer who works within artistic and documentary genre of photography. Samarah is mostly known for his projects related to Srebrenica, such as "Srebrenica - genocide at the heart of Europe".

¹⁷⁸ <http://balkanist.net/what-does-a-victim-look-like-sejla-kameric/>

Somewhat pessimistic tone can be detected in Jasmina Husanović's 2010 *Između traume, imaginacije i nade: Kritički ogledi o kulturnoj produkciji i emancipativnoj politici* [Between trauma, imagination and hope: critical views on cultural production and emancipatory politics] while illustrating the post-war political climate in Bosnia. She argues that art suffers from poorly organised politics in the country which applies apparatuses and terminology, and all of that reiterate dominant ethno-political frameworks. Similar accentuation can be found in Dijana Jelača's 2016 *Women's cinema of trauma: Affect, movement, time* when challenging "the standard tropes of war, as well as normative approaches to war cinema, by highlighting the intimate affective domain of experience, rather than large-scale narratives and collective emotions."¹⁷⁹ Husanović, however, manages to find new emancipatory voices which she observes in Kamberić's work.

In her analysis of *Bosnian Girl* she mostly deals with the (obvious) juxtaposition and dissecting of the fragments in the work, reading them in the light of societal (patriarchal) parameters. Husanović reminds us that the artwork's aim is "to renegotiate the position of a subject and change the parameters of the symbolic system of coordination that categorises something as life, something as art, something as context, and something as a concept."¹⁸⁰ In Kamberić's work, she finds an alternative to the dominant political regimes that rest on the ethno-nationalist ideologies. Kamberić, Husanović claims, dislocates the context/detail/symbol and thus draws new politicised meanings tied to war, trauma, identity, otherness, and border.¹⁸¹

The mechanical repetition of the face has a dehumanising effect as if the artist insists on identifying with the *others* – a sign of solidarity with the sufferers by attributing the face and innocence of the weaker gender as passive, silent victim – an image all enshrined in the international media as shown in various research material by Bringa, Helms, Mertus,

¹⁷⁹ Dijana Jelača, 'Women's Cinema of Trauma: Affect, Movement, Time', *European Journal of Women's Studies* 23, no. 4 (2016): 335.

¹⁸⁰ Jasmina Husanović, *Između Traume, Imaginacije i Nade: Kritički Ogledi o Kulturnoj Produkciji i Emancipativnoj Politici*, Edicija (Beograd: Fabrika Knjiga, 2010), 199.

¹⁸¹ Husanović, *Između Traume, Imaginacije i Nade*, 199.

Furthermore, Elisse Helms observes engaged apparatuses in the postwar Bosnia that have been defined as “Holocaustising”¹⁸³ and “Organised innocence”¹⁸⁴. She ties the two to the male dominant societal rules where women are depicted as helpless into which Kamerić’s *Bosnian Girl* is instrumentalised for establishing “the case for (innocent) victimhood...in the strongest terms possible...”¹⁸⁵

“The contrast was not only with the attributes listed”, writes Helms, “but between the beautiful, worldly, educated artist from the city (who could surely spell in English better than the Dutch soldier!) and the image of the typical Srebrenica refugee.”¹⁸⁶ In addition to ‘proving them wrong’ these posters were read also as a conscious distancing of the urban, cosmopolitan artist from the despised rural refugees epitomised by the Srebrenica enclave population.¹⁸⁷

¹⁸² The image and the role of Bosnian (and predominantly Muslim) women have been found to carry the tone and a still dominant influence from the Orientalist Ottoman heritage. The literature that have dealt extensively and thus provided a portrait of Bosnian woman are as follows: Tone Brinda, *Being Muslim the Bosnian Way: Identity and Community in a Central Bosnian Village* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995); Elisse Helms, ‘East and West Kiss: Gender, Orientalism, and Balkanism in Muslim-Majority Bosnia-Herzegovina’, *Slavic Review* 1, no. 67 (2008): 88–119; Julie Mertus, “‘Woman’ in the Service of National Identity”, *Hastings Women’s Law Journal* 5, no. 1 (1994): 5–23; Maria Todorova, *Imagining the Balkans* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997); Dubravka Žarkov, ‘Gender, Orientalism and the History of Ethnic Hatred in the Former Yugoslavia’, in *Crossfires Nationalism, Racism and Gender in Europe*. London: Pluto Press, ed. Helma Lutz, Nira Yuval-Davis, and Ann Phoenix (London: Pluto Press, 1995), 105–120; Dubravka Žarkov, ‘War Rapes in Yugoslavia: On Masculinity, Femininity and the Power of the Rape Victim Identity’, *Tijdschrift Voor Criminologie* 2, no. 39 (1997): 140–51.

¹⁸³ In Samantha Power’s “‘To Suffer by Comparison’”, *Daedalus* 128 (1999): 31–66, the author displays problems with the exaggerated rhetoric of what she calls “Holocaustising” suggesting the impossibility of living up to the role of a helpless victim existing in a pattern such as of Nazi killings; as “implicated victims” it can be shown that ‘they’ are not completely innocent.

¹⁸⁴ In Vlasta Jalušić’s ‘Organized Innocence and Exclusion: “Nation-States” in the Aftermath of War and Collective Crime’, *Social Research* 74, no. 4 (2007): 1173–1200, the author identifies an organised sentiment which she ties to nationalism and its urge to be recognised as a collective victim and detached from the “aggressor” labelling. This sentiment Jalušić terms as “organised innocence”.

¹⁸⁵ Elisse Helms, “‘Bosnian Girl’: Nationalism and Innocence Through Images of Women”, in *Retracing Images: Visual Culture After Yugoslavia*, by Daniel Šuber and Slobodan Karamanić (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2012), 211.

¹⁸⁶ Helms, “Bosnian Girl”, 211.

¹⁸⁷ Ibid.

Marina Abramović

Balkan Baroque

Marina Abramović is a performance artist who prefers to work with concepts that allow for the distance from the “specifics of her early life”.¹⁸⁸ Due to significant shifts that have taken place in the former Yugoslavia in the 90s, Abramović chose to reconnect with her suppressed identity.¹⁸⁹

Delusional (1994), *Cleaning the Mirror I, II, and III* (1995), *Balkan Baroque* (1997), are some of Abramović’s performative works which resulted from her decision to address the conflicts occurring in the various countries which comprised the former Yugoslavia, her native country. In *Count on Us* (2003), an ironic song of praise, sung by a group of schoolchildren, the artist, in the words of Mary Richards, speaks to the UN:

[I]n the opening, a young boy sings a traditional song of love, and this is followed by a young girl singing a song about longing. Later in the piece schoolchildren dressed in black shirts and trousers form a star shape that echoes the star used in her early piece *Rhythm 0* (1974). Abramović, also dressed in black, with a skeleton attached to her body lies in the centre of the star. The children appear later in the video singing an ironic song extolling the value of the United Nations; which promised the region help during the conflicts in the 1990s but never delivered any. Abramović, with the skeleton attached to her front, conducts the children.¹⁹⁰

For the 1997 Venice Biennale, Abramović proposed to perform *Balkan Baroque* as part of FYR’s official contribution. The proposal was unsuccessful. Instead, Abramović was invited to stage her work in the context of the International Biennale. The artist was dressed in a white dress and seated on a massive pile of cow bones, which she individually scoured of their remaining flesh. She was continuously singing and humming nostalgic folk songs from Yugoslavia. As in nearly all of her works, Abramović performed to the point of collapse.

¹⁸⁸ Abramović had left Yugoslavia already in the early 1970s. She had lived abroad when Yugoslavia broke up and during the war that followed. Abramović’s trauma experience was not immediate and direct, it was mediated.

¹⁸⁹ Mary Richards, *Marina Abramović*, 77.

¹⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 33.

Contextualised within the framework which the artist describes as her *Cleaning the House* stage¹⁹¹, this motif of cleaning and scraping bones is one that recurs as an image both of mortality and of cleansing, remaking and acceptance. Abramović explains how *Balkan Baroque* was born of an urge to deal with those same emotions and feelings of shame she had about the war.¹⁹² Remaking and acceptance do not address acceptance of the past per se, by accepting this collective crime. The Venetian Baroque-styled building featured a more profound understanding of life, death and trauma. Abramović has in her fashion become one with the work, and that way internalised the pain. The complexities of life and death leave that enigma unresolved the same way as the wound of the war and mass killing remains open. The white dress, representing purity, had become impure and tinted with blood stains.

In a sense, Abramović was performing Heiner Müller's statement on history and violence:

[...] history is covered by flesh, skin and surface. The greatest incentive is to go beyond the surface to see the structure.¹⁹³

In retrospect, an analysis of this performance act could be read as a prediction of what followed. The year of the performance (1997) happened only two years after the Srebrenica genocide. The wounds were still fresh as the bones were scattered around in the yet undiscovered mass graves.

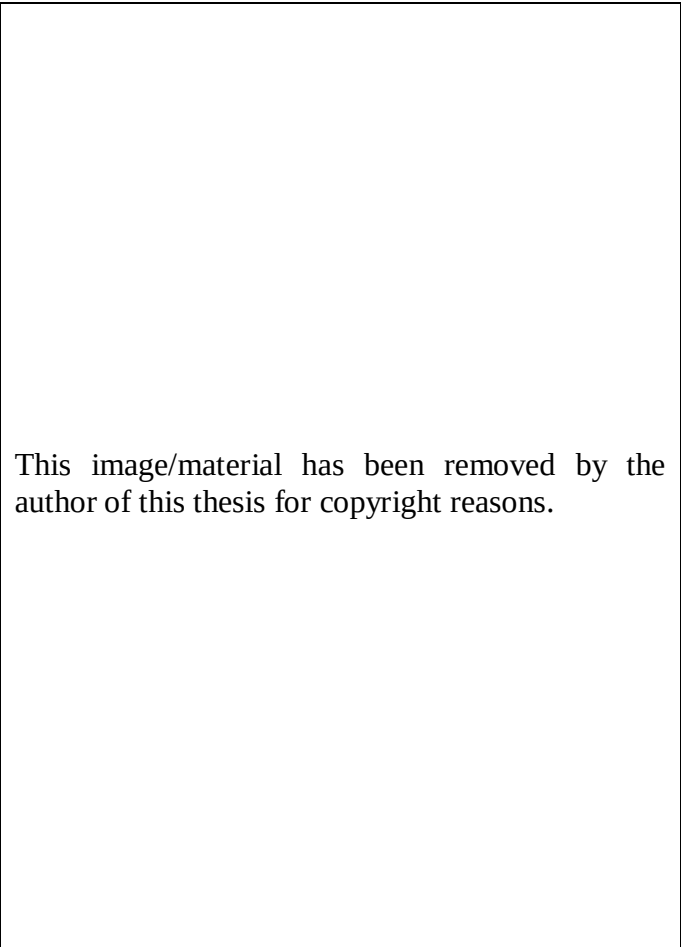
Moreover, writes Nermina Zildžo, it is imperative to go beyond the surface because "it is expected of them to forget and move on while the dead ones remain unburied."¹⁹⁴ Like the unidentified limbs that lay under the surface, the victims will be absorbed by the 'structure' of history.

¹⁹¹ *Cleaning the House* is the book published in 1995 in which Abramović expresses her obsession with death; a personal investigation of the limitations of the body and mental potential through the performance medium. This is something that shows a continues presence in the artist's works. Abramović also expresses a deep interest in spiritual cleansing which is depicted in her self-portraits, featuring skeletons and bones which she scours and washes. Returning to FRY, her native country, dealing with the ethnic conflicts, was part of that spiritual journey.

¹⁹² Stefano Pirovano in an interview with Marina Abramović, in *Balkan Epic*, Pirelli Museum, Milan 2006

¹⁹³ Müller, *Tutti Gli Errori*, 75.

¹⁹⁴ From the correspondence between Nermina Zildžo and myself 6th May 2015. Zildžo is referring to the post-war situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina and a surreal expectance of the Bosnian people to embrace the future while the consequences of the war are still present and visible.



This image/material has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons.

Figure 8. Marina Abramović, *Balkan Baroque*, 1997.

What Zildžo is saying here is that a peace-agreement signature is not an end, but rather a prelude to a collective confrontation with the past, referring to the post-war situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina and the surreal expectation of the Bosnian people to embrace the future while the consequences of the war remain present and visible. This statement also articulates two crucial conditions in terms of the representation of trauma in the context of Bosnian past: (1) the need to address the trauma which is so deeply embedded in multiple, intersecting layers of the society, being still highly present and visible, yet (2) the challenge around the form of representation generates a force which divides the society. This also proves that art penetrates into different realms of society showing that the expectation to 'embrace' a conventional mode of representation is not acceptable.

Section IV: The Trials and the Media/Film

silent enim leges inter arma

[in the time of war, the laws fall silent]

Cicero

Judges, Slobodan Praljak, is not a war criminal,
with disdain I reject your verdict!

This is a poison that I drank.¹⁹⁵

These are the words from the final sentencing in The Trial Judgement of the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY) at The Hague. Slobodan Praljak was a convicted Croatian war criminal who drank poison in a Hague courtroom upon confirmation of his 20-year jail term for crimes committed during the Bosnian War. The act happened on live television. The curtain was thus closed, concluding a two-decade-long juridical demonstration and formally ending the post-war drama in the region. Only that it was not: this formal and theatrical closure was also the beginning of the desire to have a bureaucratic closure exercising a paradoxical persistence and the deficiency of the law. The challenge of the juridical system, together with educational, fails to articulate trauma in the present adequately.

Giorgio Agamben claims that the aim of the law is not the establishment of justice nor the verification of the truth, but rather, its existence portends to a more pragmatic nature which is “independent of truth and justice”. Likewise, in the case of the ICTY which seems to centre law itself as the primary purpose and thus becomes directed solely toward judgement:

[T]his is shown beyond doubt by the force of judgement that even an unjust sentence carries with it. The ultimate aim of the law is the production of *res judicata*, in which the sentence becomes the substitute for the truth and the just, being held as true despite its falsity and injustice. Law finds peace in this hybrid creature, of which it is impossible to say if it is a fact or rule; once the law has produced its *res judicata*, it cannot go any further.¹⁹⁶

¹⁹⁵ Slobodan Praljak The Hague 29 Nov 2017

¹⁹⁶ Giorgio Agamben, *Remnants of Auschwitz: The Witness and the Archive*, trans. Daniel Heller-Roazen, Reprint edition (New York: Zone Books, 2002), 18.

This trial has sown more conflicting seeds than peace and acceptance. It has started a new wave of condemnations, framing and reframing the simulacrum of the historical event which had started the trial process in the first place.

It is crucial to point out their timing as it underlines an unconscious link to a collective *Nachträglichkeit* and Caruth's *Reclaiming the Past and Explorations in Memory*, bringing along juridical and educational systems, all of which seem to fail in the eyes of the victims and, perhaps more importantly, the future generations.

The Hague trial, like the Nuremberg trial, has not been popular as it touches on many sensitive cases. It takes, argues Florence Hartmann, education, social change and time before a new generation can face the past, as happened in post-war Germany.¹⁹⁷ However, the trial has undoubtedly provided a platform and possibility for current and future Bosnian generations to confront, understand and process the past and deal with its ramifications. However, it has also been politicised in a way that has resulted in a divided public education process that has portrayed conflicting narratives of history.

The Nuremberg Trials and The Eichmann trial in Jerusalem are the first two trials documented on film and broadcast on home TV stations. The Eichmann trial was the first trial in history to have a full set-up not only for the archive purposes but also sent the footage to private homes. In the case of the ICTY, this is a continuation of an already internationally documented war crime, with the trial performing as an extension of the conflict.¹⁹⁸

Since its establishment in 1993, the ICTY as a court of law has dealt with war crimes that took place during the conflicts in the Balkans in the 1990s.

During its mandate, which lasted from 1993 - 2017, it irreversibly changed the landscape of international humanitarian law, ICTY provided victims with

¹⁹⁷Florence Hartmann, 'A Slipping Memory: Can the International Criminal Tribunal Be a Bulwark Against Oblivion? (Invited Voice)', in *War, Community, and Social Change* (LLC: Springer Science+Business Media, 2014), 201.

¹⁹⁸ ICTY, I consider being an extension of the conflict because the Dayton peace accord stopped the killings but did not solve the conflict. It has instead introduced a new mode of war – a war of law.

an opportunity to voice the horrors they witnessed and experienced, and proved that those suspected of bearing the greatest responsibility for atrocities committed during armed conflicts could be called to account.¹⁹⁹

In her article *Burying the past and exhuming Mass Graves*, Zildžo writes how Bosnia-Herzegovina lost its sovereignty with the Dayton Peace Agreement Accord in 1995. It left Bosnia divided into national administrative units, which practically legitimises Serbian war gains across half of the country.²⁰⁰ This unresolved post-war narrative creates a challenge that the juridical, and educational system failed to address adequately. Consequently, in the eyes of the public, this event exists only as an unsettled reference point.

Film

Simultaneously, in reaction to the ongoing trial and the sentencing, specific film productions were created. These will be examined below.

1996 *Lepa Sela Lepo Gore* [Pretty Village, Pretty Flame] by Srđan Dragojević, introduces two male characters, typical and thus familiar to the Bosnian mentality: Milan, a Bosnian Serb and Halil, a Bosnian Muslim, consumed with their mundane activities before the seriousness of nationalism interrupts their lives and breaks up their friendship. There is a Bougarelian assumption, portrayed in this film, that politics dictate the seemingly stable and 'normal' intercultural relations (*komšiluk*). These relations have one principle, and that is their proven fragility which is according to Bougarel, guided by politics and dependent on the ambience which politics create.²⁰¹

Watching the film, one accepts that the two best friends turn against one another. This acceptance seems to be rooted in the fact that it revisits known anecdotes from past events. It touches the acknowledged, the historical image of uninterrupted war-flow through history as if the narrative in the film insists the authentic 'prophecy' remain undisturbed.

¹⁹⁹ <http://www.icty.org/>

²⁰⁰ Nermina Zildžo, 'Burying the Past and Exhuming Mass Graves', in *East Art Map: Contemporary Art and Eastern Europe* (London: Afterall Book, 2006), 141.

²⁰¹ *Komšiluk* and its interethnic dynamics are more closely discussed in Bougarel's *Bosna: Anatomija rata*.

“The two-time vectors of *Nachträglichkeit*“ by Dahl comes to mind: “the first as a causal process operating in the forward direction of time against the background of a factual reality”²⁰², while the second is a backward movement that allows for a broader understanding of the given case.²⁰³ The narrative does not necessarily portray the past but also acts in a capacity of articulating a more general umbrella encompassing events from the past, however, allowing for a shared vision of the present and the future to interact with it.

In contrast to this, Danis Tanović’s 2002 *Ničija Zemlja* [No Man’s Land], skips past any form of nostalgia or sentiment for Yugoslavian ‘brotherhood and unity’. Instead, he drops the viewer directly into the war zone (familiar images of the past) as this stage is what carries and leads to the film’s main point and the conclusion: a Bosnian soldier named Cera wakes up on a landmine that could not be dismantled. The mediating UN unit leaves the soldier behind with vague promises to him and those involved, acting in the known UN capacity of being present, observe, and leaving dubious traces behind. This act seals Cera’s case by leaving him on the ground on top of the landmine. While Cera’s destiny remains unknown, it can be said that current Bosnian reality had done the work of filling in the gaps.

Perhaps it is to be expected that both films deal with the history of the war—and its anecdotes—as both productions happened within the first six years after the war ended. Jasmila Žbanić’s *Za One koji ne Mogu da Govore* [For Those Who Can Tell No Tales] (2014) and 2016 Mirjana Karanović *Dobra Žena* [A Good Wife] deal directly with the problems that occurred after the war, representing the conflict in a different light. They present a more abstract dimension to the problems rooted in vague memory, accessing various forms of war crimes and the way they continue to shape Bosnian society today. Dijana Jelača situates both *Za One koji ne Mogu da Govore* and *Dobra Žena* in “post - Yugoslav women’s cinema of trauma”:

[T]he post-Yugoslav women’s cinema of trauma is a body of films with women behind and in front of the camera – but that is not the only thing that

²⁰² Dahl, ‘The Two Time Vectors of *Nachträglichkeit*’, 727.

²⁰³ Ibid.

links them. They are also films that persistently challenge the dominant Truths about ethno-national identity, gender, and their links to war trauma in the aftermath of a violent ethnic conflict. These films extend an invitation for an ethical encounter with difference, one that unsettles the spectator rather than resolves the moral dilemmas that may ensue.²⁰⁴

In the light of her predecessors²⁰⁵, Jelača's *post-Yugoslav women's cinema of trauma* discusses "cinema as a locally specific expression of movement in space and time-history that nevertheless pertains to significant transnational feminist reverberations."²⁰⁶

Za One koji ne Mogu da Govore is a true story experienced by its lead actress Kym Vercoe who is also producer: a case of mass rapes which had occurred in the town of Višegrad during the war. The 'rape-camp' was turned into a spa-centre "Vilina Vlas" after the war ended, reflecting the known desire of moving forward and leave the past in the past. On one occasion, an Australian tourist (Vercoe) visits Višegrad and runs into *Vilina Vlas* hotel. She is later to discover, while staying at the hotel, that the very room where she resided was used for other, more grim purposes.

Like Cera, a living person and an unresolved problem that still haunt Bosnian contemporaneity from the past, the buried stain becomes a reminder that trauma is a broader and all-encompassing issue that reinscribes the complexities of its representation.

Pretty Village, *Pretty Flame*, *No Man's Land*, *Za One Koji ne Mogu da Govore* and *Dobra Žena*, have all emerged at different post-war/post-trauma stages and have thus addressed different 'waves' of the traumatogenic impacts. The most distinct aspects in each of the films are arguably those reacting to the immediate issues in the aftermath of trauma.

²⁰⁴ Jelača, 'Women's Cinema of Trauma: Affect, Movement, Time': 335. For further references on "post-Yugoslav women's cinema of trauma", see Jelača's *Dislocated Screen Memory: Narrating Trauma in Post-Yugoslav Cinema* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016).

²⁰⁵ For further references see A. Butler's *Women's Cinema: The Contested Screen* (London: Wallflower Press, 2002), C. Johnston's (ed.) *Notes on Women's Cinema* (Glasgow: Society for Education in Film and Television, 1973), T. De Lauretis' *Alice Doesn't: Feminism, Semiotics, Cinema* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1984), T. De Lauretis' 'Guerilla in the midst: Women's cinema in the 80s', *Screen* 31(1) (1990): 6–25, JW Scott's 'Feminist reverberations', *Differences: A Journal of Feminist Cultural Studies* 3(3) (2002): 1–23.

²⁰⁶ Jelača, 'Women's Cinema of Trauma: Affect, Movement, Time': 337.

Section V: Materiality On Writing and Concrete

The following section considers the works of the two contemporary artists: Colombian-born Doris Salcedo and British-born Rachel Whiteread, both of whom make work that can arguably be categorised as memory sculpture within a post-minimalist art field.

Following analysis of Salcedo and Whiteread's extensive body of work, this section will identify and scrutinise the philosophical and material apparatus which they apply for articulating the complexities inherent in representations of trauma. This will include a close examination of the ubiquity of the materiality of concrete where trauma has been recorded both in history and in the landscape itself.

Part 1.

Doris Salcedo

Salcedo's works address traumatic events resulting from political instability in her home country Colombia. Her work is characterised by a concern with voids and absence, mainly represented by the missing person. Salcedo's consistent dedication to the cause of mourning and trauma, Mieke Bal refers to as "experiments with a great variety of aesthetic strategies as if never entirely convinced that the effective power she has conjured up through one of these could suffice".²⁰⁷

Across her extensive range of work, she emphasises on the artefacts and belongings as symbols or traces of personal existence. The present is saturated by the memory of the missing, a kind of "half-present reality" which occupies both mind and physical space. Although the issue is a collective dimension, Salcedo usually conveys it by entering into a more intimate space of mourning: "When a beloved person disappears, everything becomes impregnated with that person's presence."²⁰⁸

²⁰⁷ Mieke Bal, *Of What One Cannot Speak: Doris Salcedo's Political Art* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2010), 4.

²⁰⁸ Carlos Basualdo, Andreas Huyssen and Nancy Princenthal, *Doris Salcedo*, 2000, 16.

Emptiness is a ‘heavy’ presence portrayed through concrete, in a literal sense, which consumes the furniture with its cold weight. Edward Bacal describes it thus:

[S]alcedo’s use of concrete, often raw and exposed with visible casting marks and protruding reinforcement bars, gives her work both an imposing physicality and a docile stillness. Between the sheer weight and corresponding volume and immobility, it imparts upon her sculptures, concrete works to the opposite effect of the other, more organic or ‘personal’ material she uses. Whereas the latter foreground a delicacy this is frail and often flesh-like, these concrete surfaces appear impersonal, cold and synthetic.²⁰⁹

This observation and the effects of these ‘domestic bodies’ in Salcedo’s work, resonate with Caruth’s statement on traumatic pasts which possess the body it inhabits:

[T]he pathology consists, instead, solely in the structure of its experience or reception: the event is not assimilated or experienced fully at the time, but only belatedly, in its repeated possession of the one who experiences it. To be traumatised is precisely to be possessed by an image or event. The fact that the scene or thought is not a possessed knowledge, but itself possesses, at will, the one it inhabits, often produces a deep uncertainty as to its very truth.²¹⁰

Caruth is addressing here the image imprint from a traumatic situation that comes through a series of repeated flashbacks. These mind interferences arrive unwarranted and without a logical connection to the context from which they emerge. In this sense, the concrete represents the image infused in the mind-structure with its overwhelming weight and persistence; gravity becomes the only law to which it adheres as it resists “integrating into the existing cognitive meaning of schemes” as noted by van der Kolk and van der Hart.²¹¹ In an interview with Carlos Basualdo where Doris Salcedo reflects on her early experience of becoming an artist, she remarks on the importance of discovering the external world, which left her feeling invisible. Being Colombian born and raised means one “suffers from lack of information as Colombia is largely cut off from the rest of the world, and this arouses anxiety.”²¹² It is a country which during the last decades’ martial

²⁰⁹ Edward Bacal, ‘The Concrete and the Abstract: On Doris Salcedo, Teresa Margolles and Santiago Sierra’s Tenuous Bodies’, *Parallax*, 3, 21 August 2015, 262–63

²¹⁰ Caruth, *Trauma* 4-6

²¹¹ Bessel A. van der Kolk and Onno van der Hart ‘The Intrusive Past: The Flexibility of Memory and the Engraving of Trauma’, in *Trauma: Explorations in Memory* (Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995), 160.

²¹² Basualdo, Huyssen and Princenthal, *Doris Salcedo*, 8.

law has become the norm alongside the presence of fear, animosity and a particular attitude towards the government. Living within such a blockage prevents one from seeing the world beyond the imposed borders. However, she also noted that conversely, it allows one to understand oneself and the conditions under which one exist. When Salcedo went to New York for further studies, she experienced a world which existed outside her domain. In that world she was absent—she became invisible to herself. These voids observed by the artist translated into her works as knowledge and becoming the primary catalyst and reference for representing the displaced, mourning and trauma.

It could be argued that communicating with the world through artworks is an attempt to establish contact in a desperate situation. This is how Salcedo expresses her memory of frustration when in the late 70s the artist, under the blockage, found herself in isolation.²¹³ Having been trained as a painter, she had developed a specific relationship to the surface and thus established specific strategies for surface-treatment in her sculptures:²¹⁴ the artist channels the ‘message’ through to the surface, finding its way to the exterior of the sculpture penetrating the heavy application of the material.²¹⁵ This approach can be read as the artist looking for a way to break through matter and by doing so allow the screams to be heard or as Elisabeth Adan interprets it as “an imperative to interrupt”²¹⁶.

The studio-process, highly contaminated with thoughts of self-despair, resulted in such channelling: “by stressing their forced muteness, she makes objects speak” observes Laura Garcia Moreno.²¹⁷ Salcedo treated her objects as if they represented the world itself as unfairly incomplete – the same world which did not accommodate everyone and thus silenced the voices of many. Considering this trajectory, it makes sense to claim that Salcedo both cherished and resented the matter with which she worked. It represented the hope which was real and the oppression which in many instances felt even more present and absolute.

²¹³ Ibid., 8-9.

²¹⁴ See *Untitled* installations from the period 1989-98, and the more recent *Shibboleth* (2007-08) at the Tate Modern in London.

²¹⁵ Ibid.

²¹⁶ Elisabeth Adan, ‘An “Imperative to Interrupt”: Radical Aesthetics, Global Contexts and Site-Specificity in the Recent Work of Doris Salcedo’, *Third Text*, 5, 2010, 583.

²¹⁷ Moreno, ‘Troubled Materiality’, 98.

Both Salcedo and Laub discuss their position on ‘the Other’: Salcedo talks from a position of the confined where “life imposes upon you this awareness of *the other*”.²¹⁸ Living in a world surrounded by ‘otherness’, for Salcedo it becomes “the air of what you breathe” as there is no alternative but to face ‘the other’ before you.²¹⁹ Laub, on the other hand, reminds us of the severe human conditions in the context of the collapse of witnessing:

[W]hat do I mean by the notion of a witness from inside? To understand it one has to conceive the world of the Holocaust as a world in which the very image of the Other was no longer possible. There was no longer another to which one could say “Thou” in the hope of being heard, of being recognised as a subject, of being answered. The historical reality of the Holocaust became, thus, a reality which extinguished philosophically the very possibility of address, the possibility of appealing, or of turning to, another.²²⁰

It is evident from these quotes from Laub and Salcedo that they regard conditions for the other to emerge in two different ways. Laub considers the elementary circumstances wherein relations between self and the other disintegrate. This sort of dissolution between self and other happens when witnessing the unthinkable finds its way out of the event and the images and language collapse during the transmission of the memory archive. It is as if the true picture of the event can only find its authentic form in its original ‘frame of reference’—the event itself. Thus, “their “otherness” and their experiences were no longer communicable even to themselves, and therefore perhaps never took place.”²²¹

Moreno asserts that Salcedo stages the missing link between what is visible and what is intelligible or sayable.²²² But where is that “missing link” or “exposed image” located, and what is its role? Should the testimonies, which are the primary source of information in Salcedo’s work, rest on the echoes from their statements and provide the platform for the voices to be heard in their original form and authentic voice colour?

Andreas Huyssen points to the ‘mnemonic triggers’ of previous presences and absences which are activated when discarded furniture, old garments or anodyne objects are placed within particular domestic space:

²¹⁸ Basualdo, Huyssen and Princenthal, *Doris Salcedo*, 14.

²¹⁹ Ibid.

²²⁰ Laub, ‘An Event Without a Witness’, 81–82.

²²¹ Laub, 82.

²²² Moreno, ‘Troubled Materiality’, 100.

[I]n these works, the material object is never just installation or sculpture in the traditional sense, but it is worked in such a way that it articulates memory as a displacing of past into the present, offering a trace of a past that can be experienced and read by the viewer.²²³

These “memory sculpture(s)” as Huyssen categorises these works by Salcedo, especially the ‘concrete’ installations *Untitled*, also include her well-known ‘furniture-pieces’ that were begun in 1989 and continued until 2008. Salcedo takes commonplace wooden chairs, armchairs, bed frames, and tables and fuses them and fills them with concrete embedded with traces of clothing or bone. This transformation renders the domestic objects both unusable and haunting suggesting a home wrecked with catastrophe. The works appear to be expressing “let these garments be seen and occupy the mind of the viewer with the memory of this place – with its weight”. Rather than illustrate the message of trauma, Salcedo subtly imposes the presence of real objects infused with actual personal belongings, real past narratives, which are then preserved in the ‘real’ materiality of concrete. Theorist Jill Bennett suggests the installations do not explicitly refer to violence, its victims, or its possible causes.²²⁴ In this way, they have a unique relationship to the spaces in which they are exhibited as they give the sculptures meaning by presenting this loss and intimacy in a voyeuristic manner.

On the relationship between the testimonial source and Salcedo’s work, Edlie L. Wong claims that “while personal testimony endows these sculptures with their peculiar form, Salcedo openly resists narrativization in her working method.”²²⁵

[T]rauma is a failed experience, and this failure makes it impossible to remember the event voluntarily. This is why traumatic re-enactments take the form of drama, not narrative. Drama just presents itself, or so it seems; narrative as a mode implies some mastery by the narrator or the focaliser.²²⁶

²²³ Andreas Huyssen, ‘Sculpture, Materiality and Memory in the Age of Amnesia’, in *Displacements: Mirosław Balka, Doris Salcedo, Rachel Whiteread* (The Art Gallery of Ontario, 1998), 33.

²²⁴ Jill Bennett, *Empathic Vision: Affect, Trauma, and Contemporary Art*, 1 edition (Stanford, Calif: Stanford University Press, 2005), 3.

²²⁵ Edlie L. Wong and Frances Guerin, ‘Haunting Absences: Witnessing Loss in Doris Salcedo’s *Atrabiliarios* and Beyond’, in *The Image and the Witness: Trauma, Memory and Visual Culture* (London: Wallflower, 2007), 174.

²²⁶ Ernst Van Alphen, *Art in Mind: How Contemporary Images Shape Thought* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2005), 168.

Perhaps one should ask the question whether Salcedo refuses “narrativization” of the kind of knowledge which in its nature is already presented in a narrative, i.e. testimony?

Pierre Janet refers to traumatic unintegrated knowledge as a *traumatic memory*.²²⁷ According to Kolk and Hart, trauma is different from memory as “it becomes dissociated from conscious awareness and voluntary control.”²²⁸ For that reason testimony as part of ‘integrable’ mnemonic knowledge, already percolated and presented in the form of a narrative, would arguably, if narrativised, be further removed from the subject matter which the artist was trying to represent in the first place. Salcedo confirms Wong’s observation by saying that she “does not illustrate testimonies”, she simply “reveals the image”.²²⁹

Although *Shibboleth*²³⁰ goes beyond the surface, inviting the spectator into a journey inside, it is important to remember that this work is all about unearthing the simulated ‘inner’ and thus exposing the lingual and cultural impediment.²³¹

Rachel Whiteread

Rachel Whiteread draws on her memories that are similar to Salcedo’s concrete sculptures, a trend which emerged in the late 1980s and 1990s:

[I]n recent years, there has been the surprising emergence in the post-minimalist art of what I would tentatively call memory sculpture: a kind of sculpture that is not centred on spatial configuration alone, but that powerfully inscribes a dimension of localisable, even corporeal memory into the work....Sculptures by artists such as Miroslav (sic) Bałka from Poland, Ilja

²²⁷ For further discussion on the Janet’s three modes of memory, see Bessel A. van der Kolk, Onno van der Hart’s Bessel A. van der Kolk, Onno van der Hart, ‘The Intrusive Past: The Flexibility of Memory and the Engraving of Trauma’, in *Trauma: Explorations in Memory* (Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995), 158-82.

²²⁸ Bessel A. van der Kolk, Onno van der Hart, ‘The Intrusive Past: The Flexibility of Memory and the Engraving of Trauma’, in *Trauma: Explorations in Memory* (Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995), 160.

²²⁹ Basualdo, Huyssen and Princenthal, *Doris Salcedo*, 82.

²³⁰ *Shibboleth* was Salcedo’s temporary art installation at Tate Modern presented in 2007. The work took the form of a long crack in the floor.

²³¹ Referring to the Bible story which is also the origin of the work grounded on the *Book of Judges* which describes how *Ephraimites*, attempting to flee across the river Jordan, were stopped by their enemies, The Gileadites. As their dialect did not include a *sh* sound, those who could not say the word “shibboleth” were captured and executed. “Shibboleth” thus became a token of power: the power to judge, refuse and kill.

(sic) Kabakow (sic) from Russia, Rachel Whiteread from England, Vivan Sundaram from India, or Doris Salcedo from Colombia thus perform a kind of memory work that activates body, space, and temporality, matter and imagination, presence and absence in a complex relationship with their beholder.²³²

Both Salcedo and Whiteread's sculptures²³³ are invalidated in their functionality, which nonetheless accentuates their presence in space; the function is negated and negative space invaded and hardened into mass.²³⁴ These are mutated, altered and inverted objects as if belonging to the logic of dreams—the world of groundless absurdity, yet with such presence of weight and gravity. They are mute witnesses. They are present, and their presence is their only expression and the only language.

Whiteread's drawings have a parallel existence to her sculptural pieces, mirroring her thought processes contained within her objects—a kind of private realm and a sanctuary. Although the moments captured in those drawings are her own,²³⁵ “they convey both solidity and transparency”²³⁶ and serve as blueprints to illustrate what is conserved in the masses of concrete or what can be considered the internal behaviour of her sculptures. Through the matter itself in her (physical) art, her sculptural vocabulary comes through as dramatic representations of intimate subliminal memories, often by literally ‘sensing’ them as the collected hidden debris of someone’s memory. Allegra Pesenti describes Whiteread’s method as resurrecting intimate traces of past lives.²³⁷ Her sculptures pick up and preserve the details from the interior—all the intimate moments from other people: “the communal traces of humankind” or “a timeless monument that speaks on behalf of multitudes”.²³⁸ Although very private about her drawings (which often lead to the creation of her sculptural works) Whiteread’s technically sound drafts show in detail the ideas behind her future sculptures, this has the effect of unearthing preemptively, the form and

²³² Andreas Huyssen, *Present Pasts: Urban Palimpsests and the Politics of Memory*, 1 edition (Stanford, Calif: Stanford University Press, 2003), 110–111.

²³³ Doris Salcedo's sculptures are often reworked and altered objects and furniture, which are transformed

²³⁴ Hal Foster, Rosalind Krauss, Yve-Alain Bois, Benjamin H.D. Buchloh, *Art Since 1900* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2004), 637.

²³⁵ Allegra Pesenti, Ann Gallagher, and Rachel Whiteread, ‘Like Shallow Breaths: Drawings by Rachel Whiteread’, in *Rachel Whiteread Drawings* (Los Angeles, Munich, Berlin, London, New York: Hammer Museum, Del Monico Books Prestel, 2010), 9.

²³⁶ Pesenti, Gallagher and Whiteread, ‘Like Shallow Breaths’, 27.

²³⁷ Ibid., 9.

²³⁸ Pesenti, Gallagher, and Whiteread, ‘Like Shallow Breaths’, 9.

identity of that which cannot be viewed with the naked eye.

Furthermore, as observed by Fiona Bradley: “Paradoxically, we are put in touch with space by the elements of it that deny us entry: its solid mass, and black surface”.²³⁹ She goes on to state: “the artist asks us to go back to beds from which we have risen, rooms we have left, chairs on which we have left our traces”.²⁴⁰ Whiteread also asks us to consider her drawings as ‘preconceived’ documentation of the spaces and thus her sculptures:

[W]hiteread has spent the last thirty years asking us to pay attention to the empty spaces contained, tightly or causally, by the everyday objects among which we spend our lives. She has turned these absences into tangible solids that reveal the mysteries of hidden places.²⁴¹

Although the artist claims that these drawings exist as separate works independent of the physical sculptural pieces and thus autonomous, they do not necessarily act impartially to what her work represents. Whiteread guides the viewer to the interior of the work and in that way draws it out, or as Caruth articulates, Whiteread is “reclaiming” a pre-defined mnemonic space by implementing, what Bradley calls a “predatory approach”²⁴²: externalising the internal by inverting and thus invading and violating the intimate spaces, including those of the past and traumatic memories.

By casting the negative space, Whiteread emphasises the void. About the *Holocaust Memorial*, 1995-2000 at Judenplatz in Vienna, ‘displaying’ those that are not there, Neil Christian Pages notes:

[...] reminding viewers of an actual lack of figuratively space-takers: specifically, Jews and books. The Jews and their books are not ‘there’; they no longer dwell on the site [...]²⁴³

²³⁹ Rosalind Krauss et al., *Rachel Whiteread: Shedding Life: Exhibition, Tate Gallery Liverpool (U.a.), 13 September 1996-5. January 1997: Catalogue* (Liverpool: Tate Gallery, 1996), 12.

²⁴⁰ Krauss et al., *Rachel Whiteread*, 17.

²⁴¹ Karen Wilkin, ‘Rachel Whiteread at Tate Britain’, *The New Criterion*, 4, November 2017, 39.

²⁴² Krauss et al., *Rachel Whiteread*, 11.

²⁴³ Neil Christian Pages, ‘Architectures of Memory: Rachel Whiteread’s ‘Memorial to the 65,000 Murdered Austrian Jews’, 11 (*Austrian Studies*, 2003), 107.

According to Pages, Whiteread successfully articulates both *Denkmal*, a more neutral and a somewhat passive reflection of the site in relation to its historical significance, and *Mahnmal* which stands for an active stand of condemnation, interfering with the conventional interpretation of the historical narrative which had taken place in this Viennese square, and thus disrupting and challenging existing public memory.²⁴⁴ In contrast to Pages' observation of Whiteread's passive and contemplative remark on the Austrian past, I find it difficult to see Whiteread's rather imposing work being 'courteously' placed in the midst of Austrian history and the lives of Viennese people. With a massive concrete 'matter' externalising what the Austrian public did not 'digest', *Judenplatz Memorial* actively condemns the past and makes a grand reminder in interrupting the 'elegant' constellation of a hitherto uninterrupted historical evolution of urban space. With this work, Whiteread hits the nerve as much as she exposes it by amassing it in an agglomerate of cold concrete. Although silent, it persistently demands attention.

There is a connection between mapping the vanished and eradicated and unmapping of what is present and visible. In her study for *House* (1992) Whiteread erases a part of a building used for housing to reimagine and outline its original forms which would later be translated into drawings for future work. By deliberately erasing a segment of reality—eradicating form and masses of living spaces—it allows imagination and memory to enter that realm, creating perhaps emancipatory spaces like those that remind of etchings from the series *The Imaginary Prisons* by 18th-century Italian artist Giovanni Battista Piranesi (1720-1778). What Whiteread imagines here is what Christian Boltanski found in a Berlin street; a post-war void expressed in Boltanski's work from 1991, *The Missing House* as the documentation and acknowledgement of *absence*. The absence of once existing homes and addresses, families and names in Berlin. This gesture of marking the unmarked and the erased was a way of highlighting its place and time in history, emphasising individual and collective memory and bringing it into awareness of social consciousness.

²⁴⁴ Neil Christian Pages, 105–6.

Part 2.

Čovjek bi volio da egzistira. Volio bi da živi.
Ali žarko želiš da si nevidljiv – da te ima ali da on tebe ne vidi,
al' ne može.²⁴⁵

[One strives to exist. One wants to live, but one also wants to be invisible.
You want to be present, but without being seen (by *him*),
however, it does not work like that.]²⁴⁶

Šerif Velić
(Omarska concentration camp survivor)

Velić's statement carries three terms that speak to the complexities of representation which this section examines: existence, presence and invisibility.

A central motif for survival is the imperative of bearing witness. That is to say, through survival one aims to draw from obscurity the experience and the witness in him/her, to strive from anonymity to perceptibility: "...this imperative to tell and to be heard can become itself an all-consuming life task. No amount of telling seems ever to do justice to this inner compulsion".²⁴⁷ Auschwitz survivor Hermann Langbein also remembers the imperative to bear witness as the only drive for making it out alive on the 'other side': "I firmly decided that, despite everything that might happen to me, I would not take my own life... since I did not want to suppress the witness that I could become".²⁴⁸

Post-Holocaust literature, especially the literary works dating from the last decade of the 20th century and onwards²⁴⁹, reveals a desire for 'extracting' memory from the abyss of traumatic pasts. This trend is not exclusively expressed in literary works but is also represented in art.²⁵⁰

²⁴⁵ 'Logor [Concentration Camp]' (Al Jazeera Balkans, 31 May 2014), <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-EGrLBDaCT8>.

²⁴⁶ Translation by Elmedin Žunić.

²⁴⁷ Laub, 'Truth and Testimony', 63.

²⁴⁸ Hermann Langbein, Ella Lingens-Reiner, and H. G. Adler, *Auschwitz: Zeugnisse Und Berichte* (Frankfurt am Main: Athenäum, 1988), 186.

²⁴⁹ See the discussion on studies in *Trauma theory* addressed in an earlier section of this dissertation.

²⁵⁰ Referring to the works by Salcedo and Whiteread which have been discussed earlier in the thesis.

Concrete

The rituals that have occurred in the making process behind the *#documents* series (Fig. 19., 20., 24., 25. and 26.), have raised questions regarding the ethics of retrieving memories. The *#documents* series intended to investigate the notion of eradicating personal memoirs by enclosing them in concrete and making them inaccessible. These documents are laid to rest in rectangular concrete blocks, reminiscent of the way one subconsciously buries traumatic pasts. Making these notes disappear is the most crucial moment in the series as burial is an act of mourning as well as an act of parting with something/someone permanently.

Bennett notes that “writers from Caruth and Felman to Krog have, in fact, been accused of usurping the position of trauma victim – of appropriating testimony and treating trauma as an available or “unclaimed” experience (to use Caruth’s phrase) when, in fact, its ownership is deeply contested.”²⁵¹ Instead of searching for that (possessing) image²⁵², the work *#documents* proposes an alternative to creating and presenting the conditions of trauma metaphorically, its contextualising, and framing of the event. Not being able to express the historical simulacrum framed by the image of trauma, is perhaps the pointer towards the wrong ‘essence’. Thus, the urge to reveal the other²⁵³ might be directing attention towards the issue of precise ownership and the related issue of ‘trespassing’ into a realm one has no right to claim.

Epicentre

Epicentre is an exhibition which draws on observations made by Sidra DeKoven Ezrahi’s in her 1995 essay *Representing Auschwitz*. In this essay, she reports that “there is an entity, an event or a place, to which the historical, artistic, cinematic or literary reflections

²⁵¹ Bennett, *Empathic Vision*, 6.

²⁵² See Cathy Caruth’s, *Trauma: Explorations in Memory*. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995), 4-5. in which she encourages us to reconsider the position of the human mind in relation to trauma; Caruth claims that what represents the image of the traumatic event is possessing the psyche and not the other way around.

²⁵³ The reference of ‘the other’ points to the discussion

do or do not correspond [...]”²⁵⁴ She called it an *Epicentre*.

Two neat, long tables presented along with the gallery space, offer an arrangement of ‘archived’ texts and images, individually enclosed in book-like concrete blocks, in sizes ranging from A4 to slightly larger, resting on the tables as the weight of their content was reflected in their forms. Personal archives displayed in an athenaeum manner are set up to invite the spectator into these intimate remarks, partially enclosed, slightly preserved and altogether violated by the materiality of concrete in which they are all set—arrested in the weight of their historic and bureaucratic sterility.²⁵⁵

The objective of *Epicentre* was to challenge Ezrahi’s notion of the epicentre and the denial of its representation. The work presented in the exhibition addressed in close detail a violated past and memory, which through the process of enclosing the personal memoirs, mutes the very concept of voice, language and memory. The absence of subject matter points to the paradox of visibility and hence the perceptibility of ‘the erased’ and ‘the invisible’. In these works, the materiality and properties of concrete are particularly foregrounded in the presentation of the work and are thus pertinent to this discussion. The display of personal notes, including the fingerprints on the concrete documents (Fig. 25. and 26.), and documents obtained from different archives centres in Sarajevo (Bosnia) (Fig. 19. and 24.), points to the connection and mutual validation that exists between the private and the collective realms.

As a process detected in the studio in the first year, the work made left the traces behind on the plastic sheet, which was utilised as an underlay. After some repetitive acts, there emerged a vague form – an image. It reminded of a palimpsest registry. The work had left traces on the sheet and thus created its memory and archive.

In *Archive Fever: A Freudian Impression*²⁵⁶, Jacques Derrida discusses the concept archives by etymologically dissecting the term and then examining its function

²⁵⁴ Sidra DeKoven Ezrahi, ‘Representing Auschwitz’, in *History and Memory*, vol. 7, 2 (Indiana University Press, 1995), 121.

²⁵⁵ From the *Epicentre* exhibition at KINGS ARI (4th Feb – 25th Feb 2017)

²⁵⁶ Lecture given on June 5th, 1994 in London during an international conference entitled *Memory: The Question of Archive*.

throughout history.²⁵⁷ These investigations lead him to the Greek terms: *arkhe*, meaning “at the origin” and *archeion*, meaning “the house of the magistrate who makes the law and holds the official documents”. Boris Groys claims that the demand for the new occurs principally when old values are archived and so “protected from the destructive work of time.”²⁵⁸ Archives exist as dedicated storage for valuable information and to protect the historical account from history itself. In this sense, the concrete blocks were useful to investigate the notion of ‘capacity’ and served as ‘violent archives’ forced upon personal documents. The memories and thoughts are solidified and set in blocks and thus made into quantified items or units.

The objectification and dehumanisation of victims of war typically precede their systematic obliteration. In the interview with Sabahudin Garibović at the site of the recently discovered mass-grave in Kevljani near Prijedor, he discloses where and how the corpses were buried by pointing with his finger at the exact spots:

[T]his is the mass grave Kevljani which has unearthed 456 corpses. The victims were mostly inmates from the concentration camp Omarska who were killed and brought to this location where they were buried – 10-12 meters in the ground - in layers. They shot 30 to 40 people daily, brought here, thrown to the ground and then finished with a thin layer of earth which would be done after each killing. Over here, there was another mass grave which has unearthed over 200 corpses. We can establish that Kevljani mass grave has consumed over 700 victims. With this, I maintain that it is the most significant mass grave found on this territory if not the whole of Bosnia.²⁵⁹

A similar scene depicted in Lanzmann’s *Shoah* features Itzhak Dugin, a witness from Sobibor, reflecting on how the Nazis forced the inmates to refer to the bodies as items rather than corpses to remove any association with the human:

[I]n early January 1944, we began digging up the bodies. When the last mass grave was opened, I recognised my whole family. Mom and my sisters. Three sisters with their kids. They were all in there. They had been in the earth for four months, and it was winter. They were very well preserved. I recognised their faces, their clothes too... The Germans even forbade us to use the words "corpse" or "victim." The dead were blocks of wood, shit, with absolutely no

²⁵⁷ Jacques Derrida, *Archive Fever: A Freudian Impression*, Religion and Postmodernism (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996., 1996), 9.

²⁵⁸ Boris Groys, “The new between Past and Future” in *On the New*, ed (etc)

²⁵⁹ See Transcript #2 with interviewee Sabahudin Garibović and interviewer Elmedin Žunić. p. 147.

importance. Anyone who said "corpse" or "victim" was beaten. The Germans made us refer to the bodies as Figuren, that is, like puppets, as dolls, or as Schmattes, which means "rags." When things were ready, they poured on fuel and touched off the fire. They waited for high wind. The pyres usually burned for seven or eight days.²⁶⁰

It is evident that a well-organised system was created to increase efficiency regarding both elimination and 'storage'. Of more importance to this discussion is the way the atrocities and their victims are addressed as mere numbers and remain nameless. Agamben in *Remnants of Auschwitz: The witness and Archive* refers to this "loss of the power of self-narration"²⁶¹ as the second dehumanisation, principally by (1) depriving the living of their lives and (2) arrangement of the exhumed bodies which are given the numbers as the only form of identification.

(un)documenting

To (un)document suggests a reversal of the event from the beginning: uncovering and removing the layers of modernity saturated with a traumatic record which nevertheless leads to a mode of inarticulation. Works titled as #document(s) proposed an institutional aesthetic of personal documents and the way they are stored both physically and metaphorically, away from memory and history.

Trauma as a failed experience is never really deliberated claims Ernst Van Alphen.²⁶² This point returns us to the cyclic nature of trauma representation, to the time before the event started, as a point of silence as there was nothing to be said about something that did not yet take place. Van Alphen talks about this experience as the erroneous injection into memory with which the intellect cannot deal. By this he means traumatic experiences arrive uninvited and impose themselves onto unprepared mnemonic territory which it cannot accept or absorb. It, however, remains alongside memory like a grey cloud which hovers above the memory regimen. Kolk and Hart describe this situation as the resistance of new experiences to being integrated into existing cognitive schemes, which may be

²⁶⁰ Lanzmann, *Shoah*, 12–15.

²⁶¹ Agamben, *Remnants of Auschwitz*, 47-52

²⁶² Ernst Van Alphen, *Art in Mind: How Contemporary Images Shape Thought*, 168.

remembered with a particular vividness or resist integration in its totality.²⁶³

Concrete blocks. These existing units in reality reject one another: paper is suffocated by concrete and is subjected to its weight and gravity with which it co-exists. Personal documents juxtaposed with the raw materiality of concrete suggest institutional sterility and historical brutality where the industrial meets the personal. Strong impressions are retained on the surface of the facing material as it becomes an archive in its own right. The production of the artwork connects direct and indirect experience to the event itself. The concrete units become archives within archives. They are exposed without exposing the enclosed 'material'.

In the text on Mike Kelley's *Educational Complex*, John Miller comments on Kelly's architectural models who ask his viewers to focus on what was not there—the gaping presence which was framed by the identifiable elements of the work. According to Kelley, all the parts that are not present in the work are the bits that have been repressed in the memory due to a traumatic experience. In contrast to Kelley's work, works such as document #385, #82 and #27 do not omit anything but merely contain items 'hidden' in the concrete. *(un)documenting* explores eradication by covering and overwriting. These documents do not only exist in the artist's mind and memory, but they also exist physically in their form, somatically, despite their enclosure.

In the series of works *#documents* the embedded material consisting of predominantly handwritten personal memoirs and photographs including those acquired from the Archive centre in Sarajevo, perhaps do not aspire to 'breaking through' to the surface to reach the world outside. Consequently, these documents end up 'framed' and lost in the masses of concrete. They are planted in a cement mix without any hope of harvest—a one-way 'internment'.

The testimonies of witnesses indicate the hopelessness felt during the moments when one's existence is put into question and having to bear witness to family and friends as they vanish at the hands of the oppressor. *Epicentre* points to the inter-dimensionality of

²⁶³ Ibid.

trauma and locates it within its historical and geographical conditions. Hence the appropriation of the *black hole* metaphor as it travels into the sphere of incommensurability and denial of access regardless of its *interdimensionalities*. This aspect of isolation is noted in the testimonies by the witnesses who were cut off from the world and rendered voiceless and entirely invisible from the world outside. This silence remains and is present in Potočari (Srebrenica) today.

Writing

When you do not write and when you do not have
photos and documentation, there is no war crime.²⁶⁴

By discussing the following four works: *Typewriter(s)*, *Monuments*, *Geen Doorgang!* and *Inverted Memoirs*, this section intends to show how trauma, in the wake of the war, arising from its primal scene, still emerges in the form of language and writing, and is traced back to the sites and its point of eruption.

Monuments in public spaces express a presence of memory through which many depict contested narratives of history. Graffiti that point to the time of the conflict can be found in various places throughout Bosnia-Herzegovina declaring collective sub-consciousness that comment on disputed or so-called war heroes. The trauma not only comes from the events of a not too distant past but continues to unfold in the present. A collective sentiment in Bosnia is expressed through public, religious and nationalist symbols and monuments, and indicates that the traumatic narrative has not ended and that Bosnian history remains contested and highly problematic as memories of the war are still being processed.

Considering the failed proposal for the recognition of the Bosnian genocide, the *Srebrenica resolution 2015* was an attempt to clarify the origins of the conflict which led to the ethnic cleansing and which generated a toxic sentiment that remains present in

²⁶⁴ Aernout Van Lynden, 'Never Forget the War in Bosnia', 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UdNmIVs3cds>.

contemporary Bosnia. The verdict in effect declared its victims anonymous by muting their voices for a second time and sweeping the historical narrative under the carpet.

In *The Sweeper*, an unnamed protagonist performs a meditation on an ambivalent Bosnian history. It is a photographic capture depicting a commemoration centre worker in Potočari near Srebrenica photographed in January 2016. On a wintery day such as this when the snow covers names of the victims, the (cyclic) ‘act’ of sweeping takes place.



Figure 9. Elmedin Žunić, *The Sweeper*, 2016.

With the ritual of sweeping the snow off the memorial to illuminate the names engraved underneath, the sweeper is illuminating the collective contemporaneity and the absent discourse on history and what should constitute the shape of collective memory.

Typewriter

Arriving at the ‘crime scene’ you find a space saturated with inscriptions and documents; it is the place where the crime was committed and space where an account of the crime is made. As you make your way through the gallery between the tables covered by black

plastic sheets and concrete blocks, forensic archives of partly hidden scripts and records are displayed, as sounds start to emerge. The visual elements appear incommensurate with the audio factors which have a continuous presence in the gallery. In a manner in which the collective psyche can fail to recall historical accounts, the sound is delayed, as if emerging *nachträglich*. The same noise that comes after the typing, caused by the 'hit' of the button, appears in the space after the impact itself in the writing machine. This frequent audio sequence occupies the entire ambience in the gallery.

Typewriter II is a work that encompasses video, sound and performance. During the performance, on top of the immediate nature of the work, there was an overlay in the sound being generated from two different sources.



Figure 10. Elmedin Žunić, *Typewriter II*, 2017.
Image credit: Rushdi Anwar

A live event took place while images of the live event were simultaneously projected. The question which emerges after such observation, in which one of the two is the original act as the performance itself was designed after the video projection which had been recorded earlier? This question is introduced as it problematizes the immediacy of the work and the notion around *intersubjective space* and Benjamin's *jetztzeit*. The work considers the culture which through its destructive nature had framed what will constitute

the Bosnian genocide, looking at the minds of bureaucrats performing the tasks based on explicit instructions, yet delivered in labour of abstract nature with no evident efficiency or dialogue as the work suggests.

In Lanzmann's written record on *Shoah*, Raul Hilberg observes the absence of language in what he phrases as a "bureaucratic destruction process – a series of minute steps taken in logical order" to achieve the level of destruction "beyond that which had already been established by precedent."²⁶⁵ The use of an ambiguous and general language is stark as there remain no "specific documents, specific planned outlines or blueprints" indicating the magnitude of what today is known as the Final Solution.²⁶⁶ These "technocrats of destruction"²⁶⁷ were authorised to invent something "that was not as yet capable of being put in words."²⁶⁸

During his hearing, Eichmann stated: "When we receive an order, we automatically click our heels together and say, 'Yes Sir.'"²⁶⁹ Contrary to Himmler 'the believer',²⁷⁰ Eichmann believed in neither Hitler nor National Socialism. He was less possessed by the idea of extermination, as Mulisch states, but much more by 'the order': "*an order* emerges as something larger than the one giving it and the one receiving it."²⁷¹

The directions delivered to a bureaucrat may seem coherent and evident on a micro level. But removing oneself from the 'desk' and discovering the bigger picture, these very instructions disappear into obscurity. The performance returns to and occupies the space of public sentiment which was present during the war while clarity was absent. The tension on paper connecting the two 'units' is about to tear and the only dialogue is the one conditioned by the tension which, at its breaking point, consumes language and engenders 'them' and 'us' entities – preconditions for the absurdity of *suživot*.²⁷²

²⁶⁵ Lanzmann, *Shoah*, 70.

²⁶⁶ Lanzmann, *Shoah*, 72–73.

²⁶⁷ See Raul Hilberg, *The Destruction of the European Jews*, 3rd ed (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2003), esp. 1075, 1104. Hilberg uses the phrase "technocrats of destruction" on p. 1076.

²⁶⁸ Lanzmann, *Shoah*, 72–73.

²⁶⁹ Harry Mulisch, *Criminal Case 40/61, the Trial of Adolf Eichmann: An Eyewitness Account*, trans. Robert Naborn (Philadelphia: University Press, 2009), 113.

²⁷⁰ Mulisch, *Criminal Case 40/61*, 108.

²⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 111.

²⁷² The word is not rooted in etymological logic and it only exists as a part of political and urban platforms,

Monuments

There is nothing in the world as invisible as monuments as they are so conspicuously inconspicuous.”²⁷³

-Robert Musil

Acknowledging that history is present in modernity redirects the question towards the present itself: How to deal with the image of the present injected with a traumatic consciousness? This question becomes crucial in light of the emergence of mass graves in Bosnia and the monuments erected which directly address the events from ‘the past’. The landmarks that allude to collective trauma are many; they are the language directed at the past but writing for the present within the present. The question becomes this: how can they represent the traumatic past before which they stand?

Writing of the Bosnian past through the erecting of monuments that address the events of war can be considered as a method for composing the image of Bosnian history. This thesis maintains that trauma does not only reside in the distant past but rather unfolds in the immediate present as a historical reoccurrence. Monuments in post-war Bosnia mostly placed on specific sites to honour past events or to amplify the existing historical narratives and thus lending them a particular reading. The presence of memory in public spaces is expressed through public monuments, many of which depict contested narratives of ‘history’.

A giant concrete eagle, the traditional symbol of Serb nationalism, is placed right in front of the former concentration camp Trnopolje and is captioned thus: To the Serb fighters who built their lives on the foundations of Republika Srpska.²⁷⁴

especially those employed for political purposes. *Suživljenje* [Co-living] would be the closest term for articulating something similar. Abdulah Sidran, thus, claims that “Suživot” [Co-life], etymologically speaking, makes little or no sense unless it is a beginning of a process, or an indicator of that process, separated life, apartheid and, as an ultimate consequence, Fascism (Abdulah Sidran on *Pressing* N1 49 min).

²⁷³ Robert Musil, *Posthumous Papers of a Living Author*, trans. Peter Wortsman, 2nd ed. edition (Brooklyn, NY: St. Paul, MN: Archipelago, 2006), 64.

²⁷⁴ During the Bosnian War (1992-1995) Republika Srpska was an unrecognized territory under the control of the Army of the Republika Srpska, while after 1995, it became one of the two political entities (The Republic of Serbs and Federation of Bosnian-Herzegovina) composing Bosnia and Herzegovina. The

What this inscription fails to mention are the many thousands of Bosniak and Croat civilians that were killed, tortured and raped at this very location during the summer of 1992. In this silencing the monument thus makes these acts of violence imperceptible.



Figure 11. Elmedin Žunić, *Rising Eagle*, 2016.

The Nazis' great concern was to obliterate all traces of the Holocaust. However, they were not able to erase all the memories. "Lanzmann has succeeded in ferreting out the horrible realities hidden beneath camouflage, like young/new forests and fresh grass."²⁷⁵ Historical camouflage is of a entirely different nature to that of simply replacing one historical narrative with a set of fabricated facts, as has been done in Trnopolje and other places in Prijedor region: it constitutes an aggressive form of public (re)education and revision of the past.

The monument enacts a form of psychological violence on the memory of that place or

borders of Republika Srpska are, with a few negotiated modifications, based on the front lines and situation on the ground at the time of the Dayton Peace Accords. As such, the entity is primarily a result of the Bosnian war without any direct historical precedent. Its territory encompasses a number of Bosnia and Herzegovina's numerous historical geographic regions, but due to the above-mentioned nature of the inter-entity boundary line it contains very few of them in entirety. Likewise, various political units existed within Republika Srpska's territory in the past, but very few existed entirely within the region.

²⁷⁵ Frodon, 'The Work of the Filmmaker', 7.

as Hariz Halilovich insists: “highjacked memory and symbols of exclusion”.²⁷⁶ This is an idea that is shared with Ljubinka Petrović Ziemer, that monuments of this kind that represent one ethnic group, essentially serve as territory markers and representing a political attitude that holds that the memories of others are not significant. As Petrović Ziemer states “Memorials today are not serving reconciliation at all.”²⁷⁷

Memory as a distant domain

Oral testimony is a testimony which “falls directly from the lips of the witness”, maintains Lawrence Langer.²⁷⁸ This form of directness constitutes a form of unmediated truth which is accessible within the raw memory archives, something that often causes re-living of the trauma. Contrarily, Levi points to the way in which the standardisation of memory cancels authentic memories. Thus, he argues it is imperative that the memory of the Holocaust be preserved.²⁷⁹ Research in the field of trauma studies documents the often-painful experience of recalling traumatic events which can occur often in the case of trauma victims.

When asked about sharing his traumatic experiences from Trnopolje 1992, Sejfudin Garibović said that he had re-lived the experiences of ‘that day’ when he testified the first time.²⁸⁰ However, on later occasions, it became easier to share the memories. Garibović’s statement suggests the idea of exposed language. When first exposed, the lived memories are constructed through language, then once the statement becomes part of the public domain it is this which one refers to later rather than the personal memory archives. Garibović used words such as “mimicry” and “scenario-shift” when talking about the lessened weight of the memory.²⁸¹ In an interview, Garibović describes his impressions

²⁷⁶ Hariz Halilovich, *Places of Pain: Forced Displacement, Popular Memory and Trans-Local Identities in Bosnian War-Torn Communities*, 1 edition (Berghahn Books, 2013), 114; Hariz Halilovich, *Kako opisati Srebrenicu [Writing After Srebrenica]* (Sarajevo, Zagreb: buybook, 2017).

²⁷⁷ See *BIRN Launches Memorials Investigation in Sarajevo* on the website “Balkan Transnational Justice”: <http://www.balkaninsight.com/en/article/birn-s-memorial-investigation-unveiled-in-sarajevo/1460/5>

²⁷⁸ Lawrence L. Langer, *Holocaust Testimonies: The Ruins of Memory* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1991), 204–5.

²⁷⁹ Primo Levi was talking about the price one pays when something as authentic as collective memory such as the Holocaust is standardised. It partially loses its truth.

²⁸⁰ Garibović had made his first public testimony in Trnopolje which is also the site of the crime.

²⁸¹ See the transcribed account from the interview with Sejfudin Garibović.

from the time he was detained in the concentration camp Trnopolje. He discloses details of the building in which he and the other inmates were kept against their will and without knowing what would follow:

By the 21st of August year 1992, two buses with women and children left Kozarac. Those were the last people that had left the town during the war. This means that from that moment, Kozarac was deserted when it comes to Bosnian Muslims. When I think back at that time, it makes sense to say that Trnopolje was one of the biggest concentration camps recorded in The Balkans after WW2.

According to The Hague Tribunal, 23 000 men, women and children, have gone through Trnopolje concentration camp. The number is closer to 35 000.

You spoke earlier about this building. Can you please explain again for what purpose was it used before the war?

This building belonged to the council of Trnopolje. It was used for cultural purposes such as theatre productions and everything that had to do with this community and communal gatherings. However, during the year 1992, from the 26th of May, those same halls in the building were used for other purposes, it became a concertation camp in which women, children and elderly were placed.

The primary school Trnopolje, was also used as a concentration camp where all the class rooms were full of people. Even the space between the school and the council building was used for those purposes. They were imprisoned here, and this is also where they slept.²⁸²

At the time the interview with Garibović was conducted, the building of the former concentration camp had been repainted and generally renovated both inside and outside leaving the infamous concentration camp almost entirely without a trace. Once a place where the youth of many different ethnicities would gather and perform for their classmates and their parents, it was entirely repurposed during the war. This building had different periods of use and in its last most contemporary period it is without any proper functionality. A building which marked the beginning of the Bosnian war and is now being muted so it can fit more comfortably into the forced ‘harmonious silence’ of the town of Prijedor.

The land around the site of the Trnopolje concentration camp is for sale and is dotted with

²⁶⁵ Elmedin Žunić, in conversation with Sabahudin Garibović, Prijedor, January 18, 2016. For further information see: Transcript #1.

many real estate signs. The future of this place is contaminated by soil soaked with memory and past that it has endured. A person can be spotted at the site, holding a bottle of beer and without being asked he confesses: “I have also been imprisoned in the Manjača”—a concentration camp near Prijedor. It makes it more curious knowing that this man returns to this place regularly, without being forced or asked to come back to this crime scene. This place has also become a site for tourists from Bosnia and visitors from abroad who find their way to Trnopolje. However, when no one else is around, there are those who come here and contemplate the site as the only place that makes sense after the event. After the memories and traumas manifest like gravity which pulls you to the tornado’s eye where one finally finds peace; as if that particular place is the only place on earth which can offer an undisrupted pattern of meaning.

Inside the building, there are the traces of renovation and likewise on the exterior. The inside walls have been painted, thus camouflaging its history. However, during the day the sunlight scans the site through the windows as if pointing to the corners of the hall to illuminate the scars of the past, lingering in the darkness of this collective subconscious.

“Everybody should be allowed to erect monuments for their own victims”, said Hamdija Fejzić, referring to the range of victims from different ethnicities but specifically in this instance, the Serbs and the Bosniaks.²⁸³ During the interview, Fejzić would frequently use terms such as ‘us’, ‘them’, ‘ours’ and ‘theirs’ with such ease that it seemed a commonplace usage in contemporary Bosnia. This kind of division within the language is the same division against which Xavier, Mahmutćehajić and Kadić have warned. However, Fejzić does not place much significance on the monuments in Bosnia and says that the monuments in Bosnia are a mere expression of euphoria. He finds them to be an instant outlet, short-lived, irrelevant and to a certain degree pathetic. The monuments, like the Yugoslav ones, will get old. What Fejzić is alluding to here is that the monuments get old both in terms of ideology and their presentation.²⁸⁴

²⁸³ The interview was conducted in Srebrenica in Bosnia-Herzegovina 18 January 2016. Hamdija Fejzić is from Srebrenica and had been in Srebrenica during the war where he had witnessed the genocide and the drama around the UN during the year 1995.

²⁸⁴ Ibid.



Figure 12. Elmedin Žunić, *UN monument/Monument of failure*, 2016.

The *UN monument/Monument of failure* (Fig. 12.)²⁸⁵, now preserved by a thick glass, became more visible *post-factum* as the historical event had defined its positioning in the presence rather than the other way around, having been erected to mark the historical happening.

Stripped of its function and its duty, the monument arrives at its final resting point as an artwork. Flattened and re-presented in the form of an image, it now represents something that was already reduced of its role once referring to something that already had addressed the past once. With this, now monument, like the case of most historical sites, it never had any intention of becoming one, it instead became one as a result of it represented in the time of its historical significance. Today it serves both as a trace and a reminder of the significance of the memorial centre located elsewhere. The *UN monument* is a memory site, unaccepted and unwillingly preserved.

²⁸⁵ The UN forces have been assigned the task to, primarily, have a visible presence in a war-torn Bosnia and observe the conflict developments, something that they have done. UN Peacekeeping troops also have the mandate to help countries navigate the difficult path from conflict to peace. This task had failed already on the 16 April 1993 when the United Nations Security Council passed Resolution 819, which demanded that: "all parties and others concerned treat Srebrenica and its surroundings as a 'safe area' which should be free from any armed attack or any other hostile act". The UN has in the earlier missions displayed its powerlessness. Neither of the sides respected the resolution. Besides their soldiers and generals being humiliated, the civilians were exposed to shelling and famine. Srebrenica. Once a refugee haven now became a slaughter valley and another symbol of genocide. The UN monument is a testimony to that.

Geen Doorgang!

The simulacrum of Srebrenica is a loaded image of a post-genocidal town recirculated throughout the global media, smearing the world with its opinions. Preparing towards the journey to see it for the first time, the image of the memorial centre, an endless valley of white gravestones attuned with the slope formations of the encircling hilltops, it had engraved itself in the collective mind and became a fixation of what then was thought needed to be seen. Thus, the account of the Srebrenica Genocide starts with its monument as the marking of its very end. The history and the memory unfold in reverse as *nachträglich*. The puzzles of these mnemonic narratives write themselves and thus generate a new awareness informing an understanding of the past through the materialising of its closure and its outcome.

Looking at the rows of tombstones, it appeared as if they were pointing down towards the valley, to a place across the fence in which an old infamous battery factory, rusty and seemingly still intact, rested. The place where all manner of fear had amassed²⁸⁶, cemented in a valley of death in the year 1995—a number repeated 8372 times²⁸⁷. Sites such as this one, articulate the past through traces of the event left behind, marking the history and tainting the memory. The quiet, early wintery morning had then shown its contrasting nature: a subtle scream of the faceless in the eyes of the world echoed within the walls of this old conceptual construct of history.

On the way into the building, a semi-opened metal door with the writing *Geen Doorgang!* welcomes its ‘visitors’ by announcing what enter one cannot. The writing on the door dates from the time of war and has not been replaced or altered. All the writings and markings on the surface remain intact. There is an exclamation mark which emphasises the importance of this message.

²⁸⁶ The facilities (as part of the battery factory) on the outskirts of Srebrenica is where Muslim men and boys were rounded up and detained before being driven to the hills for execution by the forces led by General Mladić. The three days, following the 11th July is when all the killings took place - the fear which saturates the memory of Srebrenica, also known as the event which concluded the Bosnian war.

²⁸⁷ 8372 is a number that can be found on the entrance into the memorial centre – the number of victims that have fallen in July 1995 and thus marking the end of life to the 8372 individuals whose names are engraved on the monument of commemoration.



Figure 13. Elmedin Žunić, *Battery factory*, 2016.

It is a curious thing that only the Dutch UN ‘peace missionaries’ stationed in Potočari Head Quarters were supposed to understand what this sign communicated. However, across the road, one can find all kinds of derogatory language on the walls of the nearby building, most of which are written in English, by these very individuals.

The sign had a practical function and meaning in 1995: it was there to signal a particular behaviour of the UN troops. It has undoubtedly orchestrated and thus led the event towards the known outcome. So what meaning does the sign carry today? It commands us to stay outside. What does it represent today as it rests on the traumas of many? What happens when one enters the building in ‘trespassing’ the intention behind the sign? Does one enter into memories, emotions or ‘the facts’? As addressed earlier in the thesis, one of the main principles of *Nachträglichkeit* as argued by Bistoien et al, it is not the nature of the original event which is of primary significance, but the way in which the experience affects the psychical being. In other words, “it is not what happened” but the subject’s response to the event that determine the effects of the traumatic encounter.²⁸⁸

[T]he silence that surrounds the phrase, Auschwitz was an extermination

²⁸⁸ Bistoien, Vanheule and Craps, "Nachträglichkeit: A Freudian Perspective," 672.

camp not a state of mind [état d'âme], it is the sign that something remains to be phrased which is not, something which is not determined.... They will say that history is not made of feelings and that it is necessary to establish the facts. But something new has happened in history (which can only be a sign and not a fact), which is that the facts, the testimonies which bore the traces of here's and now's.²⁸⁹



Figure 14. Elmedin Žunić, *Geen Doorgang*, 2016.

How can there be a direct, authentic representation of trauma when there are, as Dori Laub claims, no “authentic witnesses”?²⁹⁰ Emotions and a sign (in the case of Potočari), is a prefix to the collective memory and feeling, as the facts are more mysterious and enigmatic than memories, as Lyotard intimates: “a sense is situated like an unresolved problem”.²⁹¹

The sign commands an imperative for those who found themselves in the midst of the event, a vacuum that consumed the silence and the fear. Entering into the building, one enters into silence without substance. The next level of emptiness. This event and this place have consumed the victims and their voices. Laub and Coquio claim that events

²⁸⁹ Lyotard, *Differend*, 57.

²⁹⁰ In Shoshana Felman and Dori Laub's, *Testimony: Crises of Witnessing in Literature, Psychoanalysis, and History* (New York: Routledge, 1992), 80–81. Laub writes what authentic witnessing causes its collapse: witnessing overwhelming events also cause the change of perception of oneself and one's character. This also causes a failure or the collapse of authentic witnessing.

²⁹¹ Lyotard, 57.

such as Srebrenica have not only laid claim to their victims but also to their witnesses.²⁹² Laub points to the importance of seeing the other who can recognise the subject in you. When there is no ‘other’ to acknowledge your presence and you as subject, one also fails to bear witness to oneself.²⁹³

Remembering her Omarska days, Nusreta Sivac in an interview confesses:

When it overwhelms you, you start being afraid of yourself. You do not even dare to ask the inmate who suffers with you what had happened.²⁹⁴

It is in this sense that Laub alludes to the collapse of witnessing, as if making peace with the experience and the event itself can make like it never happened. The experience, already rejected from memory in its initial manifestation, thus making “her experience, as well as in the distorted way in which her present life proceeded from this memory, she failed to be an authentic witness herself.”²⁹⁵ When one stops being the authentic subject, the image of ‘the other’ vanishes.

Sivac remembers wanting to remain in disbelief—in the hope of not witnessing torture and rape. It seems like one neither can nor is one willing to perceive or comprehend what was happening to them. One does not want to accept the outcome of the event nor does one accept the ‘fact’ of ever being present while the genocide unfolded: it stayed in the pit of darkness, the all-consuming *black hole*.

Inverted Memoirs

The work was made of thin paper and coated with carbon or another pigmented substance, and was used for making a second impression of a document (Fig. 19 and 20). The work addresses “indirectness” and “afterwardness” in the process of “carving” and the notation

²⁹² Both Dori Laub and Catherine Coquio claim that the destructiveness of traumatogenic events go far beyond the obvious and recorded. It is what is not recorded and made to account for what Laub and Coquio are pointing at: in her memory of her Holocaust experience, as well as in distorted way in which her present life proceeded from this memory, she failed to be an authentic witness to herself.

²⁹³ Felman and Laub, *Testimony*, 82.

²⁹⁴ ‘Logor [Concentration Camp]’ (Al Jazeera Balkans, 31 May 2014) <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-EGrLBDaCT8>.

²⁹⁵ Felman and Laub, *Testimony*, 80.

of memories. A reaction follows the pressure of the pen which leaves a mark on an underlaid surface which it again absorbs, engendering it with negative space. Such an act leaves the surface with an inverted text which on top of all that becomes even more abstract as the carbon paper process is usually repeated as is the case in this project.

This project addresses a form of disorientation: the kind of impact which interferes with all of our senses creating a short-cut. We cannot understand what we have seen, and yet the image stays with us to the point where it possesses us. The image remains in the field of the unknown and thus remains inaccessible. When confronted with written testimonies explained in detail, it still cannot be fully grasped: the language is there, the letters are present, but it cannot be comprehended within its unsynchronised emotional and intellectual parameters. The text remains only an image as it cannot be integrated into the other side and by 'the other' in its entirety. Thus, the carbon paper suggests the negative space of carved 'thoughts' and a mirrored image of a story which then becomes inverted in its narrative and its message.

Post-event disorientation and disconnection exists on both the emotional and intellectual level, translating into an 'epicentric' nerve. This highlights how everything is shaken after a traumatic impact and can reverberate on many different levels.²⁹⁶ *Inverted memoirs* concentrates on the unrepresented but existing in the form of an inverted image. It emerges but as it remains in the field of the unknown it is thus inaccessible.

The image of the writing, in its entirety, like its process, begins to represent the intention behind the message rather than the message itself. This frames the 'space' of trauma but does not disclose or grant access to its content.

²⁹⁶ Shoshana Felman, 'Education and Crisis', 51.

Conclusion

Representability: The Case for Art

The conflict in Yugoslavia precipitated by Slobodan Milošević's speech concerning a monument in Gazimestan commemorating the *Battle of Kosovo* (1389) in Kosovo, June 28, 1989, began with monuments and continued with monuments. The conflict was manifest through its memorialisations. Simultaneously as the post-war landscape in Bosnia harvests mass-graves, debris from the war have settled and planted the seeds for erecting the future monuments. It also generated a post-war momentum for remembrance articulating contrasting views on memory, highjacking them and thus engaging in a war of iconography. Robert Musil states that “there is nothing in the world as invisible as momuments as they are so conspicuously inconspicuous.”²⁹⁷ Contra Musil, the 1991-2001 war in the Former Yugoslav Republic did not stop. It simply shifted its language.

Acknowledging that history is present in modernity redirects the question towards the present itself. How do we deal with the image of the present injected with a traumatic consciousness? The landmarks that allude to collective trauma are many. They are the language directed at the past but writing for the present within the present. The question becomes this: how can they represent the traumatic past before which they stand?

Writing of the Bosnian past through the erecting of monuments that address the events of war can be considered as a method for composing the image of Bosnian history. By critically examining the current positioning of monuments—of which a fixed and authoritarian approach to memory is a significant part—the argument can be extended to the public aesthetics of memory as the representation also plants a seed for future understandings of the past. Instead of concealing, this thesis argues for opening up the space for discussion, and thus illuminating *lieux de memoire* and granting access to the memory of many. Trauma does not only reside in the distant past but rather unfolds in the immediate present as a historical reoccurrence. In many instances, post-war monuments eclipse the historic sites and by doing that they enhance their visibility and thus put an

²⁹⁷ Musil, *Posthumous Papers of a Living Author*, 64.

accent on those very historical sites. Being placed on specific sites to honour past events or to amplify the existing historical narratives, and thus lending them a specific reading, many in actuality depict contested narratives of 'history'.

The account of the Srebrenica Genocide started with its monument. The memory unfolded in reverse, *nachträglich*, marking its very end with history. The puzzles of these mnemonic narratives began to write themselves and generate a new awareness, informing the notion of understanding the past through the materialisation of its closure and final outcome. Looking at the tombstone-rows, it seemed as they were pointing down towards the valley where the massacre took place – across a fence to an old and now infamous battery factory, rusty and seemingly still intact, rested. The place where all frequencies of fear had amassed²⁹⁸ - the place cemented in a valley of death.

Lieux de memoire such as this one, left untouched after the traumatic primal scene, memorialise through the traces alone. The three terms, existence, presence and invisibility, demonstrate how the imperative for survival can be considered as guidelines for the representation of traumatogenic events: that is, the desire to become invisible by physically removing oneself from the situation but without removing the event from the memory as he/she was yet to bear witness.

By addressing the traumatogenic changes in the cases (German and Soviet), a discussion on turbulent political ambience in which art had been generated, established the ground for terminology and visual language to emerge and thus assisted in problematising the role of memory and exposing complexities of representation within the Bosnian landscape. In contrast to the German case where exposing the *wound* and adding suppressed substance to an already loaded historical context and declaring war on the historical blackout, the Bosnian case, saturated by the already explicit historical substance including direct and graphic mass media descriptions and artworks such as Abramović's *Balkan Baroque*, introduces another layer of complexity, the question of what art can

²⁹⁸ The facilities (as part of the battery factory) on the outskirts of Srebrenica is where Muslim men and boys were rounded up and detained before being driven to the hills for execution by the forces led by General Mladić. The three days, following the 11th July is when all the killings took place – the fear which saturates the memory of Srebrenica, also known as the event which concluded the Bosnian war.

introduce, through its traces, its *Nachträglichkeit*, its indirectness, that fills in the narrative of trauma.

Post-eventual disorientation and disconnection as illustrated by Felman in her study *Education and Crisis*²⁹⁹, exists on both emotional and intellectual level, translating into an ‘epicentric’ nerve. This highlights how everything is shaken after a traumatic impact and can reverberate on many different levels³⁰⁰, concentrating on what is not represented visually but exist in the form of an inverted image. It emerges but exists in the field of the unknown remaining inaccessible except for its indication by reference. Addressing “indirectness” and “afterwardness” in the process of “carving” and the notation of memories, the image, in its entirety, begins to represent the intention behind the message rather than the message itself. We cannot understand what we have seen, and yet the image stays with us to the point where it possesses us. The image remains in the field of the unknown and thus remains inaccessible: the language is there, but it cannot be comprehended by its unsynchronised emotional and intellect parameters. The text remains only an image as it cannot be integrated into the other side and by ‘the other’ in its entirety. However, what can be represented is this process itself. The work *Inverted Memoirs* (Žunić, 2017) addresses this point as the inscriptions on the reverse side of the carbon paper which compose it, suggests the negative space of carved ‘thoughts’ and a mirrored image of a story which then becomes inverted in its narrative and its message.

Taking up a point from Lanzmann's *Shoah*, while he is critical of the methods and lack of ethics during post-production in film, its tendency to “kill temporality” in an “ethical crime”, and deferring to the mass media, to television, as “the mistress of truth”³⁰¹ the logic of representation in art is its obverse. It is all post-production. Once a subject is framed, one becomes a participant in a moral-based selection process and thus the creation of a particular reality. The ‘reality’ is the immediacy, the *Jetztzeit* and *intersubjective space* that (e)merge in the artwork. Indeed, the artwork is simply an articulation of the post-productive nature of memory itself. The moral-based selection and participation in the memorialised image is relative. It depends on the various

²⁹⁹ Felman, ‘Education and Crisis’, 51.

³⁰⁰ Ibid.

³⁰¹ Ibid., 95.

perspectives in the contestations the image represents. The content/essence of work and what it 'represents' becomes conditioned by the present and the contemporaneity it inhabits, from which the so-called past is always also a future, is never acted in the past tense. In this way, the war, and its traumatogenic material continues in the contestations of the image.

Bibliography

- Adorno, Theodor W. *Prisms*. Studies in Contemporary German Social Thought. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1981.
- Adorno, Theodor W., and E. B. Ashton. *Negative Dialectics*. London: Routledge, 1973.
- Agamben, Giorgio. "The Witness". In *Remnants of Auschwitz: The Witness and the Archive*, translated by Daniel Heller-Roazen. 15–39. New York: Zone Books, 2002.
- Alexander, Jeffrey C., Ron Eyerman, Bernhard Giesen, Neil J. Smelser, And Piotr Sztompka, eds. 'Toward a Theory of Cultural Trauma'. In *Cultural Trauma and Collective Identity*, 1st ed., 1–30. University of California Press, 2004.
- Arasse, Daniel, and Anselm Kiefer. *Anselm Kiefer*. London: Thames & Hudson, 2001.
- Arendt, Hannah. *Eichmann in Jerusalem: A Report on the Banality of Evil*. New York: Penguin Books, 2006.
- Arnds, Peter. 'On the Awful German Fairy Tale: Breaking Taboos in Representations of Nazi Euthanasia and the Holocaust in Günter Grass's "Die Blechtrommel", Edgar Hilsenrath's "Der Nazi & Der Friseur", and Anselm Kiefer's Visual Art'. *The German Quarterly* 75, 4 (2002): 422-439.
- Bakshtein, Joseph "Nonconformist Traditions and Contemporary Russian Art". In *Nonconformist Art: The Soviet Experience, 1956-1986*, edited by Alla Rosenfeld and Norton T. Dodge. New York: Thames and Hudson in association with the Jane Voorhees Zimmerli Art Museum, 1995.
- Barthes, Roland. "Listening". In *Responsibility of Forms: Critical Essays on Music, Art, and Representation*, 245–60. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1985.
- Basualdo, Carlos, Andreas Huyssen, and Nancy Princenthal. *Doris Salcedo*. London: Phaidon Press, 2000.
- Butler, Alison. *Women's Cinema: The Contested Screen*. London: Wallflower Press, 2002.
- Becker, Jürgen, and Wolf Vostell. *Happenings: Fluxus. Pop Art. Nouveau Réalisme*.

- Eine Dokumentation*. Hamburg: Rowohlt-Paperback, 1965.
- Benjamin, Walter. "Theses on the Philosophy of History". In *Illuminations*. (trans. Harry Zorn), edited by Hannah Arendt, 253-265. London: Lowe & Brydone, 1970.
- Bennett, Jill. *Empathic Vision: Affect, Trauma, and Contemporary Art*. 1 edition, California: Stanford University Press, 2005.
- Bessel A. Van Der Kolk, Onno Van Der Hart. 'The Intrusive Past: The Flexibility of Memory and the Engraving of Trauma'. In *Trauma: Explorations in Memory*. Edited by Cathy Caruth, 158-182. Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995.
- Beuys, Joseph, Götz Adriani, and Thomas M. Messer. *Joseph Beuys: Drawings, Objects and Prints*. Stuttgart, W. Germany: Institute for Foreign Cultural Relations, 1989.
- Beuys, Joseph, Jochen Gerz, and Reiner Ruthenbeck. *Biennale 76, Venedig, Deutscher Pavillon*. [Place of publication not identified]: Kommissar der Bundesrepublik Deutschland, 1976.
- Beuys, Joseph, Gene Ray, and Lukas Beckmann. *Joseph Beuys: Mapping the Legacy*. Sarasota, FL: John and Mable Ringling Museum; New York, NY: D.A.P., 2001.
- Biro, Mathew. *Anselm Kiefer and the Philosophy of Martin Heidegger*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000.
- Biro, Mathew. "Representation and Event: Anselm Kiefer, Joseph Beuys, and the Memory of the Holocaust." *The Yale Journal of Criticism* 16, no. 1 (2003): 113-46.
- Boltanski, Christian, Didier Semin, Tamar Garb, and Donald B. Kuspit. *Christian Boltanski*. Contemporary Artists. London: Phaidon, 1997.
- Bone, James. "Izudin Alić, Famously Pictured with Bosnian Serb General Ratko Mladic in Srebrenica, Says He Is Ready to Testify". *The Times*. 1 June 2011 (Accessed through The Australian). Accessed 28 October 2015.
<https://www.theaustralian.com.au/news/world/izudin-alic-famously-pictured-with-bosnian-serb-general-ratko-mladic-in-srebrenica-says-he-is-ready-to->

testify/news

story/627155f4282a2154563dabf1a8042196?sv=49b6c44d1ac467a6657e0b331324cd1b

Bougarel, Xavier. *Bosna: Anatomija Rata*. Beograd: Fabrika Knjiga, 2004.

Breuer, Joseph, and Sigmund Freud. *Studies on Hysteria*. New York: Basic Books, 2009.

Bringa, Tone. *Being Muslim the Bosnian Way: Identity and Community in a Central Bosnian Village*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995.

Buchloh, Benjamin H. D. "The Primary Colors for the Second Time: A Paradigm Repetition of the Neo-Avant-Garde." *October* 37, 41 (1986): 41-52.

Bürger, Peter. *Theory of the Avant-Garde*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press., 1984.

Butler, Judith. *Frames of War: When is Life Grievable?*. London: Verso, 2009.

Caruth, Cathy. *Trauma: Explorations in Memory*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995.

Caruth, Cathy. *Unclaimed Experience: Trauma, Narrative, and History*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996.

Celan, Paul, and Michael Hamburger. *Paul Celan: Poems*. Manchester: Carcanet New Press, 1980.

Cheddie, Janice. "Listening to Trauma in the Art of Everlyn Nicodemus". *Third Text* 21, 1 (2007): 79–89.

Chan, Paul. "What Art is and Where it Belongs?". *E-Flux* 10 (November 2009). Accessed 28 October 2015. <http://www.e-flux.com/journal/what-art-is-and-where-it-belongs/>

Chare, Nicholas. "The Gap in Context: Giorgio Agamben's Remnants of Auschwitz." *Cultural Critique* 64, 1 (2006): 40-68.

Coquio, Catherine. *La Littérature En Suspens: Écritures de La Shoah; Le Témoignage et Les Œuvres*. Paris: Arachnéen, 2015.

- Coquio, Catherine. *Le Mal de Vérité, Ou, L'utopie de La Mémoire. Temps de Idées*. Paris: Armand Colin Editions, 2015.
- Coquio, Catherine. *Rwanda: Le Réel et Les Récits*. Paris: Belin, 2004.
- Coquio, Catherine and Aurélia Kaliski. *Rwanda - 2004 Témoignages et Littérature*. Teubingen: Stauffenburg Verlag, 2003.
- Colomina, Beatriz. "The Architecture of Trauma". In *Louise Bourgeois: Memory and Architecture*, edited by Carlos Ortega, 29–50. Madrid: Museo Nacional Centro de Arte Reina Sofia, 1999.
- Cooke, Lynne, Dunja Blažević, Maja Bajević and Angela Vettese. *Maja Bajević*. Charta/Bevilacqua La Masa Foundation, 2008.
- Cowart, Jack, Siegfried Gohr. *Expressions: New Art from Germany : Georg Baselitz, Jörg Immendorff, Anselm Kiefer, Markus Lüpertz, A.R. Penck*. Munich: Prestel-Verlag Munich in association with the Saint Louis Art Museum, 1983.
- Cournut, Jean. "De L'après-Coup". *Revue Française de Psychanalyse IV*, 1997: 1379-1382.
- Delbo, Charlotte and Rosette C. Lamont. *Auschwitz and After*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006.
- Derrida, Jacques. *Archive Fever: A Freudian Impression*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996.
- Derrida, Jacques, Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak. *Of Grammatology*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2016.
- Deerfield, Beech Fla, Nicola Hodges, Paul Crowther. eds. *New Art from Eastern Europe: Identity and Conflict*. London: Academy Editions; VCH Publishers, 1994.
- Dube, Wolf-Dieter. *The Expressionists*. (translated by Mary Whittal). London: Thames and Huston Ltd, 1979.
- Eisner, Elliot. "Art and Knowledge." In *Handbook of the Arts in Qualitative Research: Perspectives, Methodologies, Examples and Issues*, edited by J. Gary Knowels and Ardra L. Cole, 3-12. SAGE Publications: Los Angeles, London, New Delhi,

Singapore, 2008.

Erofeev, Andrej. *Non-Official Art: Soviet Artists of the 1960s*. East Roseville, Australia: Craftsman House, 1995.

Ezrahi, Sidra DeKoven. "Representing Auschwitz". *History and Memory* 7, 12 (1995): 121–54.

Felman, Shoshana, and Dori Laub. *Testimony: Crises of Witnessing in Literature, Psychoanalysis, and History*. New York: Routledge, 1992.

Foster, Hal, Rosalind Krauss, Yve-Alain Bois, Benjamin H.D. Buchloh. *Art Since 1900*. London: Thames & Hudson, 2004.

Freud, Sigmund. *Moses and Monotheism*. New York: Vintage Books, 1939.

Freud, Sigmund, and C. J. M. Hubback. *Beyond the Pleasure Principle*. London; Vienna: International psycho-analytical press, 1922.

Freud, Sigmund, and James Strachey. *Civilization and Its Discontents*. NY: Norton, 2005.

Freud, Sigmund, James Strachey, Anna Freud, Carrie Lee Rothgeb. *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud*. London: Hogarth Press, 1900.

Freud, Sigmund. 'Repeating, Remembering and Working Through'. *Standard Edition* 12 (1914): 147-56.

Frodon, Jean-Michel. 'The Work of the Filmmaker: An Interview with Claude Lanzmann'. In *Cinema and the Shoah: An Art Confronts the Tragedy of the Twentieth Century*, 93-106. Albany: State University of New York Press, 2010.

Fiorini, Leticia Glocer, Thierry Bokanowski, Sergio Lewkowicz, and Ethel Spector Person. *On Freud's "Mourning and Melancholia". (Contemporary Freud : Turning Points and Critical Issues)*. London: Karnac, 2009.

Friedländer, Saul. *Probing the Limits of Representation: Nazism and the 'Final Solution'*. MA: Harvard University Press, 1992.

Fulford, Robert. 'How the Nazis Accidentally Turned Primo Levi into a Philosopher and a Much-Loved Author'. *National Post*. Accessed October 28, 2015.

<http://news.nationalpost.com/arts/books/how-the-nazis-accidentally-turned-primo-levi-into-a-philosopher-and-a-much-loved-author>.

- Gallagher, Ann, Allegra Pesenti, and Rachel Whiteread. 'Drawing Form'. In *Rachel Whiteread Drawings*, 27–38. Los Angeles, Munich, Berlin, London, New York: Hammer Museum, Del Monico Books Prestel, 2010.
- Gilbert, Catherine. 'Writing Trauma: The Voice of The Witness in Rwandan Women's Testimonial Literature.' University of Nottingham, 2014.
- Golomshtok, Igor, and Aleksandr Glezer. *Soviet Art in Exile*. New York: Random House, 1977.
- Groys, Boris. "Art Workers: Between Utopia and the Archive". *E-flux* 45, May (2013). Accessed October 28, 2015. <https://www.e-flux.com/journal/45/60134/art-workers-between-utopia-and-the-archive/>
- Groys, Boris. "On Art Activism". *E-flux* 56, June (2014). Accessed October 28, 2015. <http://www.e-flux.com/journal/on-art-activism/>.
- Groys, Boris. *On the New*. Translated by G. M. Goshgarian. NY: Verso, 2014.
- Groys, Boris. *History Becomes Form: Moscow Conceptualism*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT Press, 2010.
- Groys, Boris. "Medical Hermeneutics, or Curing Health." In *Moscow Conceptualism in Context*, (edited by Alla Rosenfeld), 243-241. New York: Prestel Publishing, 2011.
- Groys, Boris. "Under the Gaze of Theory." *E-Flux* 35 (May 2012). Accessed October 28, 2015. <https://www.e-flux.com/journal/35/68389/under-the-gaze-of-theory/>.
- Habermas, Jürgen, and Jeremy Leaman. "A Kind of Settlement of Damages: The Apologetic Tendencies in German History Writing." *New German Critique* 44 (1988): 25-39.
- Hartmann, Florence. "A Slipping Memory: Can the International Criminal Tribunal Be a Bulwark Against Oblivion?". In *War, Community, and Social Change: Collective Experiences in the Former Yugoslavia*, edited by Dario Spinni, Guy Elchroth and Dinka Corkalo Biruski, 199-204, LLC: Springer Science+Business Media, 2014.

- Hamrit, Jacqueline. 'Nachträglichkeit', *PSYART: A Hyperlink Journal for the Psychological Study of the Arts*, 16 July (2008). Accessed October 18, 2015. <http://psyartjournal.com/article/show/hamrit-nachtrglichkeit>.
- Halbwachs, Maurice, A. Lewis Coster, *On Collective Memory*, (trans. A. Lewis Coster). Chicago & London: The University of Chicago Press, 1992.
- Halilovich, Hariz. *Places of Pain: Forced Displacement, Popular Memory and Trans-Local Identities in Bosnian War-Torn Communities*. 1 edition. NY: Berghahn Books, 2013.
- Halilovich, Hariz. *Kako opisati Srebrenicu [Writing After Srebrenica]*. Sarajevo, Zagreb: buybook, 2017.
- Hawthorne, Celia. *Ivo Andric: Bridge Between East and West*. London: The Athlone Press Ltd, 1984.
- Helms, Elissa. 'East and West Kiss: Gender, Orientalism, and Balkanism in Muslim-Majority Bosnia-Herzegovina', *Slavic Review* 1, no. 67 (2008): 88–119.
- Helms, Elissa. "'Bosnian Girl': Nationalism and Innocence Through Images of Women', In *Retracing Images: Visual Culture After Yugoslavia*, edited by Daniel Šuber and Slobodan Karamanić, 195–222. Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2012.
- Herman, Judith Lewis. *Trauma and Recovery*. NY: Basic Books, 1992.
- Heiser, Jörg. 'Moscow, Romantic, Conceptualism, and After'. *E-Flux* 29 (November 2011). Accessed October 28, 2015. <https://www.e-flux.com/journal/29/68122/moscow-romantic-conceptualism-and-after/>
- Herr, Michael. *Dispatches*. Reprint edition. NY: Vintage, 1991.
- Hirsch, Marianne. *Family Frames: Photography, Narrative, and Postmemory*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1997.
- Hirsch, Marianne. *The Generation of Postmemory: Writing and Visual Culture After the Holocaust*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2012.
- Hirsch, Marianne, and Leo Spitzer. *Ghosts of Home: The Afterlife of Czernowitz in Jewish Memory*. The S. Mark Taper Foundation Imprint in Jewish Studies.

- Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010.
- Hirsch, Marianne. "Surviving Images : Holocaust Photographs and the Work of Postmemory." *Yale Journal of Criticism* 14, 1 (2001): 5-37.
- Honnef, Klaus, Beate Reifenscheid, and Dieter Ronte. *Anselm Kiefer: Memorabilia*. Milano: Cinisello Balsamo, Milano Silvana (SilvanaEditorale), 2012.
- Holert, Tom, Sabine Folie, and Horst Bredekamp. *Danica Dakić*. Köln: Walther König, 2010.
- Husanović, Jasmina. *Između Traume, Imaginacije i Nade: Kritički Ogledi o Kulturnoj Produkciji i Emancipativnoj Politici*. Beograd: Fabrika Knjiga, 2010, 199.
- Hojić, Aida. 'Making of the Unwanted Colonies: (Un)Imagining Desire'. In *Cultural Studies & Political Theory*, (edited by Jodi Dean), 228-240. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2000.
- Huyssen, Andreas. *Present Pasts: Urban Palimpsests and the Politics of Memory*. 1 edition. Stanford, Calif: Stanford University Press, 2003.
- Huyssen, Andreas. 'Sculpture, Materiality and Memory in the Age of Amnesia'. In *Displacements: Mirosław Bałka, Doris Salcedo, Rachel Whiteread*, 11–23. The Art Gallery of Ontario, 1998.
- Irwin (Artist group) ed. *East Art Map: Contemporary Art and Eastern Europe*. London: Afterall, 2006.
- Jalušić, Vlasta. 'Organized Innocence and Exclusion: "Nation-States" in the Aftermath of War and Collective Crime'. *Social Research* 74, no. 4 (2007): 1173–1200.
- Jelača, Dijana. 'Women's Cinema of Trauma: Affect, Movement, Time', *European Journal of Women's Studies* 23, no. 4 (2016): 335-352.
- Jelača, Dijana. *Dislocated Screen Memory: Narrating Trauma in Post-Yugoslav Cinema*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016.
- Jeffries, Stuart. 'Claude Lanzmann on Why Holocaust Documentary Shoah Still Matters'. *The Guardian*, 10 June 2011. Accessed November 28, 2015. <https://www.theguardian.com/film/2011/jun/09/claude-lanzmann-shoah-holocaust-documentary>.

- Johnston, Claire (ed.) *Notes on Women's Cinema*. Glasgow: Society for Education in Film and Television, 1973.
- Cassidy-Welch, Megan, and Peter Sherlock. *Practices of Gender in Late-Medieval and Early Modern Europe*. Turnhout: Brepols, 2008.
- Kamerić, Šejla, and Christophe Solioz. *Two words: Šejla Kamerić: medley*. Genève: La Baconnière arts, 2009.
- Kadić, Safet. 'Bosnofobija i Bosnocid: (Post)Genocidno Zatiranje Bosanskog Imena', *Acta geographica Bosniae et Herzegovinae* 6, (2016): 31-41.
- Kiefer, Anselm, Simon Schama, Tim Marlow, and Jay Jopling. *Anselm Kiefer : Karfunkelfee, the Fertile Crescent*. London: White Cube, 2009.
- Kotsopoulos, Nikos, ed. *Contemporary Art in Eastern Europe*. London: Black Dog Publishing, 2010.
- LaCapra, Dominick. *History and Memory after Auschwitz*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1998.
- LaCapra, Dominick. *Representing the Holocaust: History, Theory, Trauma*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1994.
- Langer, Lawrence L. *Holocaust Testimonies: The Ruins of Memory*. Yale University Press, 1991.
- Laplanche, Jean, and Jean-Bertrand Pontalis. *Vocabulaire de la psychanalyse*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France - PUF, 2007.
- Lane, Richard J. *Reading Walter Benjamin-Writing through the Catastrophe*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005.
- Lanzetta, Kym. "The Aesthetics of Sacrifice in Heiner Mueller, Wolf Vostell, Anselm Kiefer and Rainer Werner Fassbinder." Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2008.
- Lanzmann, Claude. *Shoah: An Oral Testimony of the Holocaust (The Complete Text of the Film)*. New York: Pantheon Books, 1985.
- Lauretis, Teresa De. *Alice Doesn't: Feminism, Semiotics, Cinema*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1984.

- Lauretis, Teresa De. 'Guerilla in the midst: Women's cinema in the 80s', *Screen* 31(1) (1990): 6–25.
- League, Kathleen. *Adorno, Radical Negativity, and Cultural Critique: Utopia in the Map of the World*. Plymouth: Lexington Books, 2011.
- Laub, Dori. "Truth and Testimony: The Process and the Struggle". In *Trauma: Explorations in Memory*, 61–75. Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995.
- Lauterwein, Andrea. *Anselm Kiefer/Paul Celan: Myth, Mourning and Memory*. London; New York: Thames & Hudson, 2007.
- Lil, Kira van. 'Creative Qualities of Mourning: Artists Responding to Loss Today'. *International Journal of the Arts in Society* 6, 6 (December 2012): 141–55.
- Lyotard, Jean-Francois. *Differend: Phrases in Dispute*. 1 edition. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1989.
- Mesch, Claudia, and Viola Maria Michely. *Joseph Beuys: The Reader*. London, New York: I.B. Tauris, 2007.
- Mahmutćehajić, Rusmir. 'Andrićism: An Aesthetics for Genocide'. *East European Politics & Societies* 27, 4 (2013): 619–67.
- Marling, Georgina, Rebecca Wilson, and Saatchi Gallery, eds. '*Gaiety is the Most Outstanding Feature of the Soviet Union*': *Josef Stalin: Art from Russia: Saatchi Gallery*. London: Saatchi Gallery, 2012.
- Mertus, Julie. "'Woman" in the Service of National Identity', *Hastings Women's Law Journal* 5, no. 1 (1994): 5–23.
- Merleau-Ponty, Maurice, and Donald A. Landes. *Phenomenology of Perception*. Abingdon: Routledge. Routledge, 2012.
- Miller, John. *Mike Kelley: Educational Complex*. MA: MIT Press, 2015.
- Musil, Robert. *Posthumous Papers of a Living Author*. Translated by Peter Wortsman. 2nd ed. edition. Brooklyn, NY: St. Paul, MN: Archipelago, 2006.
- Nicodemus, Evelyn. "Modernity as a Mad Dog: On Art and Trauma ". In *Over Here: New Perspectives on International Art*, edited by Jean and Mosquera Fisher, 258–

77. Cambridge MA: MIT Press, 2004.
- Nicodemus, Evelyn. "African Modern Art and Black Cultural Trauma." Doctorate by Public Works, Middlesex University, 2012.
- Olick, Jeffrey K., Vered Vinitzky-Seroussi, and Daniel Levy, eds. *The Collective Memory Reader*. 1 edition. New York: Oxford University Press, 2011.
- Onno Van Der Hart, Rutger Horst. 'The Dissociation Theory of Pierre Janet'. *Journal of Traumatic Stress* 2, 4 (1989): 397-412.
- Pesenti, Allegra, Ann Gallagher, and Rachel Whiteread. 'Like Shallow Breaths: Drawings by Rachel Whiteread'. In *Rachel Whiteread Drawings*. Los Angeles, Munich, Berlin, London, New York: Hammer Museum, Del Monico Books Prestel, 2010.
- Power, Samantha. "To Suffer by Comparison?". *Daedalus* 128, no. 2 (1999): 31–66.
- Ray, Gene, Lukas Beckmann, and Peter Nisbet. *Joseph Beuys: Mapping the Legacy*. D.A.P./Ringling Museum, 2001.
- Reshöft, Hiedrun, Jorg Immendorf, and Joachim Pente. "Café Deutschland." *BOMB* 7 (1983): 30-32.
- Ricœur, Paul. *Memory, History, Forgetting*. Chicago : University of Chicago Press, 2004.
- Richards, Mary. *Marina Abramović*. London & New York: Routledge (Taylor & Francis Group), 2010.
- Rieff, David. *Slaughterhouse Bosnia and the Failure of the West*. NY: Simon and Schuster Inc., 1996.
- Roland, Barthes. 'Listening'. In *The Responsibility of Forms: Critical Essays on Music, Art, and Representation*, 245–60. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1985.
- Rosenthal, Mark, Sean Rainbird, and Claudia Schmuckli. *Joseph Beuys : Actions, Vitrines, Environments*. London: Menil Collection, 2004.
- Rosenfeld, Alla, and Norton T. Dodge, eds. *Nonconformist Art: The Soviet Experience, 1956-1986: The Norton and Nancy Dodge Collection, the Jane Voorhees Zimmerli Art Museum, Rutgers, the State University of New Jersey*. New York:

Thames and Hudson in association with the Jane Voorhees Zimmerli Art Museum, 1995.

Rosenfeld, Alla, and Jane Voorhees Zimmerli Art Museum, eds. *Moscow Conceptualism in Context*. New Brunswick, N.J.: Munich [Germany]; New York: Zimmerli Art Museum at Rutgers University; Co-published by Prestel, 2011.

Rosenthal, Mark, Sean Rainbird, and Claudia Schmuckli. *Joseph Beuys: Actions, Vitrines, Environments*. London: Menil Collection in association with Tate Pub, 2004.

Rothberg, Michael. *Traumatic Realism: The Demands of Holocaust Representation*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2000.

Schafer, William John and Truman Nelson. *The Truman Nelson Reader*. University of Massachusetts Press: Amherst, 1988, 276.

Saltzman, Lisa. *Anselm Kiefer and Art after Auschwitz*. Cambridge: New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999.

Saltzman, Lisa, and Eric M. Rosenberg, eds. *Trauma and Visuality in Modernity*. Hanover, N. H: Dartmouth College Press: University Press of New England, 2006.

Schade, Werner, and Joseph Beuys. *Joseph Beuys: Early Watercolors and Drawings*. Munich: Schirmer Art Books, 2004.

Scott, J.W. 'Feminist reverberations', *Differences: A Journal of Feminist Cultural Studies* 3(3) (2002): 1–23.

Smelser, Neil J., Jeffrey C. Alexander, Ron Eyerman, Bernhard Giesen, and Piotr Sztompka, eds. 'Psychological Trauma and Cultural Trauma'. In *Cultural Trauma and Collective Identity*, 1st ed., 31–59. University of California Press, 2004.

Sontag, Susan. *Regarding the Pain of Others*. 1st ed. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2003.

Spies, Werner. "Überdosis an Teutischem: Die Kunstbiennale von Venedig Eröffnet". *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, June 2, 1980.

Stroud, Timothy, and Emanuela Di Lallo, eds. *Art of the Twentieth Century*. Milano:

- NY: Skira; Rizzoli International Publications, 2006.
- Suleiman, Susan Rubin. *Crises of Memory and the Second World War*. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 2006.
- Suleiman, Susan Rubin. 'The 1.5 Generation: Thinking About Child Survivors and the Holocaust'. *American Imago* 59, 3 (2002): 277-95.
- Sztompka, Piotr, Jeffrey C. Alexander, Ron Eyerman, Bernhard Giesen, And Neil J. Smelser, eds. 'The Trauma of Social Change': In *Cultural Trauma and Collective Identity*, 1st ed., 155–95. University of California Press, 2004.
- Wallace, Isabelle. "Trauma as Representation: A Meditation on Manet and Johns". In *Trauma and Visibility in Modernity*. (edited by Lisa Saltzman and Eric Rosenberg), 3-27. London and Hanover: University Press England, 2006.
- Thomson, Helen. 'Study of Holocaust Survivors Finds Trauma Passed on to Children's Genes'. *The Guardian*, August 22, 2015.
- Thompson, C. "Alexei Monroe, Interrogation Machine: Laibach and NSK." *Radical philosophy*, no. 137 (2006): 47-49.
- Tiedemann, Rolf. "Historical Materialism or Political Messianism? An Interpretation of the Theses "on the Concept of History". In *Benjamin: Philosophy, History, Aesthetics*, (edited by Gary Smith), 175-209. Chicago & London: The University of Chicago Press, 1983.
- Todorova, Maria. *Imagining the Balkans*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1997.
- Tupitsyn, Margarita, Marcia Tucker, John E. Bowlt, Eric Bulatov, Alexander and Komar Melamid, Vitaly, Alexander Kosolapov, Leonid Lamm, Leonid Sokov, and Kazimir Passion group. *Sots Art: Eric Bulatov*. New york, Calgary, Syracuse: The New Museum of Contemporary Art, New York, 1986.
- Yerushalmi, Yosef Hayim. from "Zakhor: Jewish History and Memory." In *The Collective Memory Reader*, edited by Jeffrey K. Olick, Vered Vinitzky-Seroussi and Daniel Levy, 201-208. New York: Oxford University Press, 2011.
- Vostell, Wolf, and Marie-Luise Körber. *Wolf Vostell: Zeichn. 1952-1976: Museum Am Ostwall Dortmund, [24. Februar-24. April 1977, Kestner-Ges. Hannover, 12.*

Mai-19. Juni 1977, Centro Miró Barcelona, Oktober 1977]: Anmerkungen Und Kommentare. Dortmund: Museum am Ostwall, 1977.

Weissman, Gary. *Fantasies of Witnessing: Post-war Efforts to Experience the Holocaust.* Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2004.

Wood, James. 'The Art of Witness'. *The New Yorker*, 28 September 2015. Accessed Jan 12, 2016. <http://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2015/09/28/the-art-of-witness>.

Zelizer, Barbie. *Remembering to Forget: Holocaust Memory through the Camera's Eye.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998.

Zildžo, Nermina. "Burying the Past and Exhuming Mass Graves." In *East Art Map: Contemporary Art and Eastern Europe* edited by Irwin (Artist group), 141-52. London: Afterall, 2006.

Žarkov, Dubravka. 'Gender, Orientalism and the History of Ethnic Hatred in the Former Yugoslavia', In *Crossfires Nationalism, Racism and Gender in Europe.* London: Pluto Press, edited by Helma Lutz, Nira Yuval-Davis, and Ann Phoenix, 105–120. London: Pluto Press, 1995.

Žarkov, Dubravka. 'War Rapes in Yugoslavia: On Masculinity, Femininity and the Power of the Rape Victim Identity.' *Tijdschrift Voor Criminologie* 2, no. 39 (1997): 140–51.

Appendix No. I: The Bosnian Case: Art, History and Memory (Margaret Lawrence Gallery School of Art, University of Melbourne 29th June - 9th of July 2017)

This image/material has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons.

Figure 15. Floor plan of the Margaret Lawrence Gallery, Melbourne.



Figure 16. Elmedin Žunić, *The Bosnian Case*, 2017.
Image credit: Rushdi Anwar

Balaban/Garibović interview link: <https://www.elmedinzunic.com/audio>



Figure 17 Elmedin Žunić, *The Bosnian Case*, 2017.
Image credit: Rushdi Anwar



Figure 18. Elmedin Žunić, *The Bosnian Case*, 2017.
Image credit: Rushdi Anwar

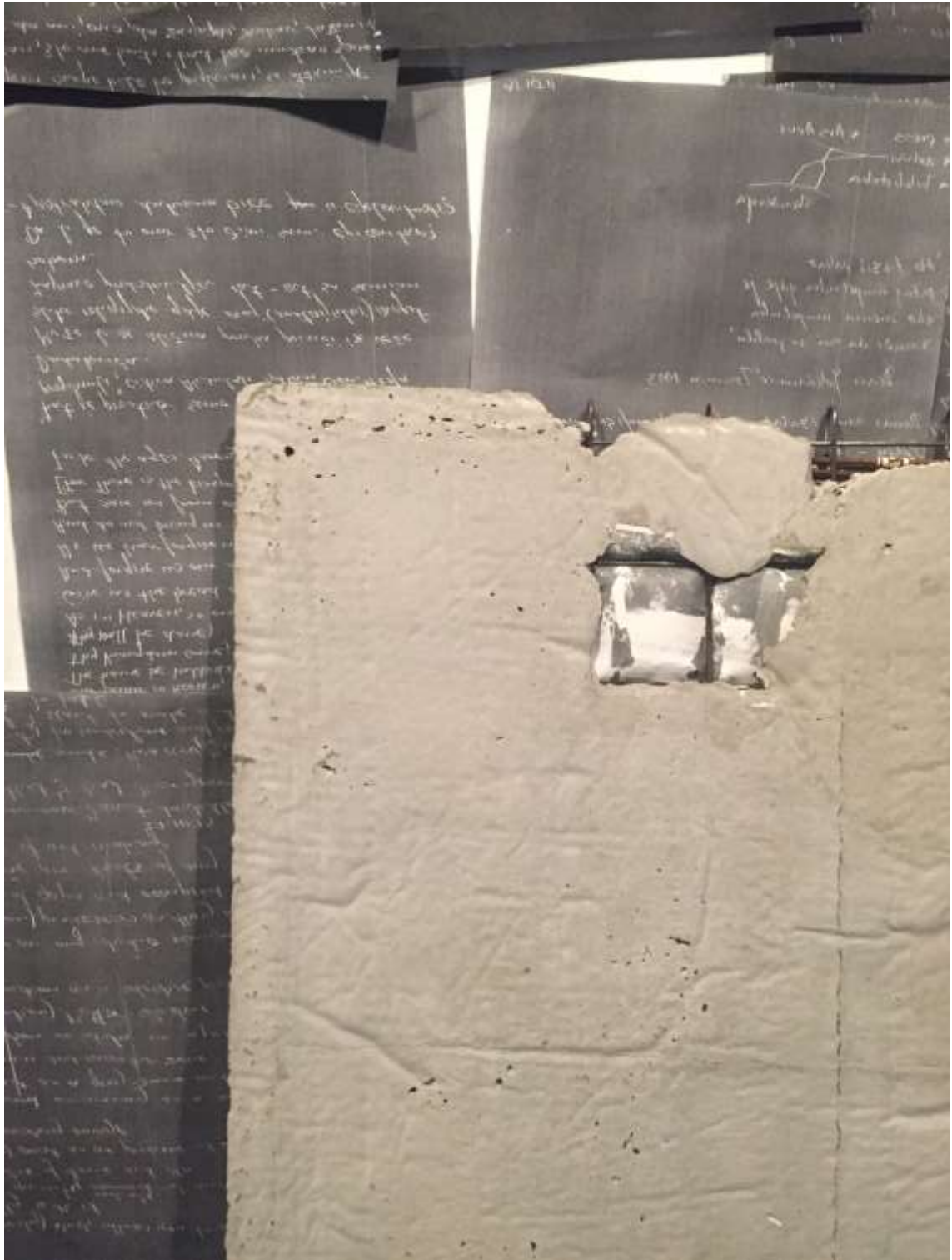


Figure 19. Elmedin Žunić, *The Bosnian Case*, 2017.
Detail: *Inverted Memoirs*.

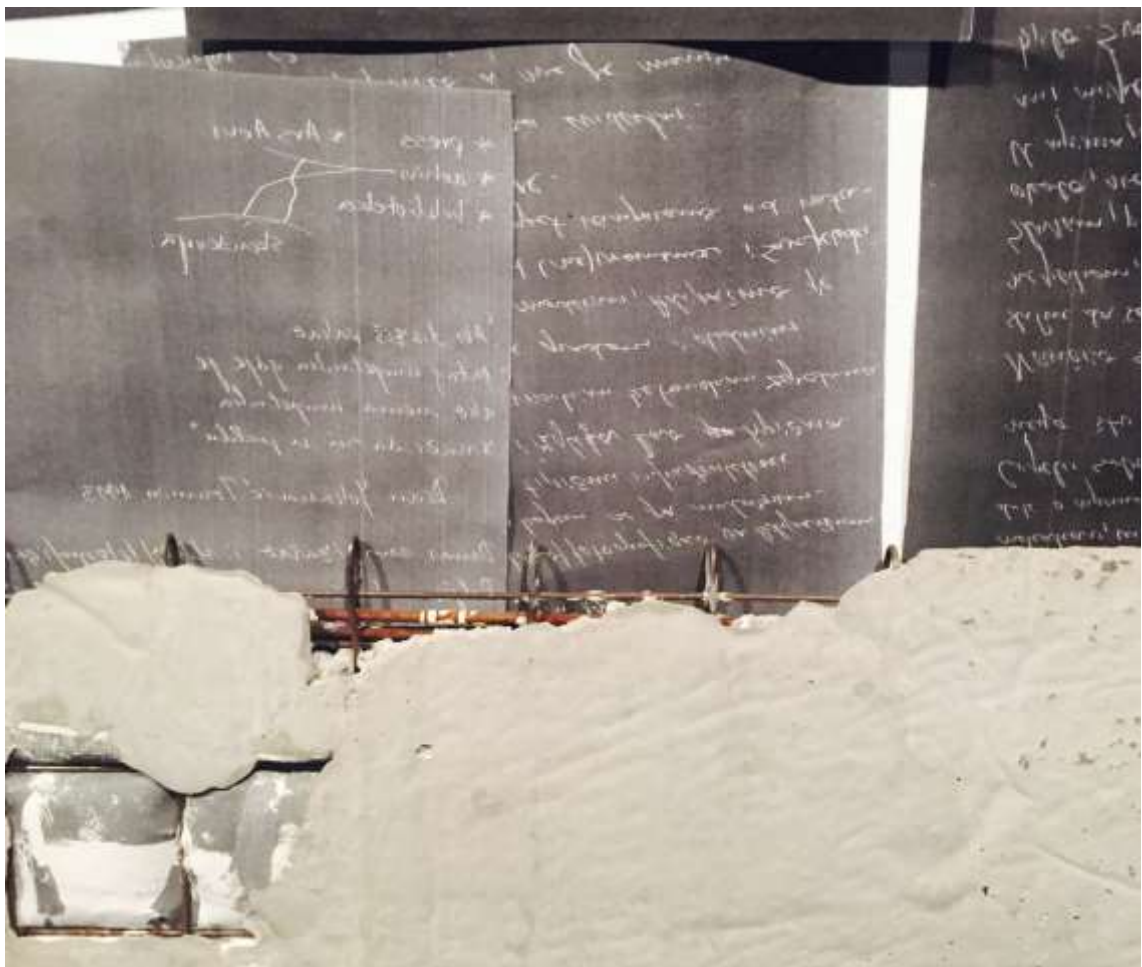


Figure 20. Elmedin Žunić, *The Bosnian Case*, 2017.
Detail: *Inverted Memoirs*.



Figure 21. Elmedin Žunić, *Inverted memoirs*, 2017.
Image credit: Rushdi Anwar



Figure 22. Elmedin Žunić, *The Bosnian Case*, 2017.
Image credit: Rushdi Anwar



Figure 23. Elmedin Žunić, *Inverted Memoirs*, 2017.
Image credit: Rushdi Anwar



Figure 24. Elmedin Žunić, *The Bosnian Case*, 2017.
Datil: #document series
Image credit: Rushdi Anwar



Figure 25. Elmedin Žunić, *The Bosnian Case*, 2017.
 Datil: #document series
 Image credit: Rushdi Anwar



Figure 26. Elmedin Žunić, *The Bosnian Case*, 2017.
 Datil: #document series



Figure 27. Elmedin Žunić, *The Bosnian Case*, 2017.

Datil: #document series

Image credit: Rushdi Anwar



Figure 28. Elmedin Žunić, *The Bosnian Case*, 2017.

Datil: #document series

Image credit: Rushdi Anwar



Figure 29. Elmedin Žunić, *The Bosnian Case*, 2017.

Datil: #document series

Image credit: Rushdi Anwar



Figure 30. Elmedin Žunić, *Inverted Memoirs*, 2017.
Image credit: Rushdi Anwar



Figure 31. Elmedin Žunić, *The Bosnian Case*, 2017.
Detail: Photographic prints in A2 size.



Figure 32. Elmedin Žunić, *Typewriters*, 2017.



Figure 33. Elmedin Žunić, *Typewriters*, 2017.



Figure 34. Elmedin Žunić, *Typewriters*, 2017.
Detail: *Typewriters II*.
Image credit: Rushdi Anwar



Figure 35. Elmedin Žunić, *Typewriters + Typewriters II*, 2017.
Image credit: Rushdi Anwar

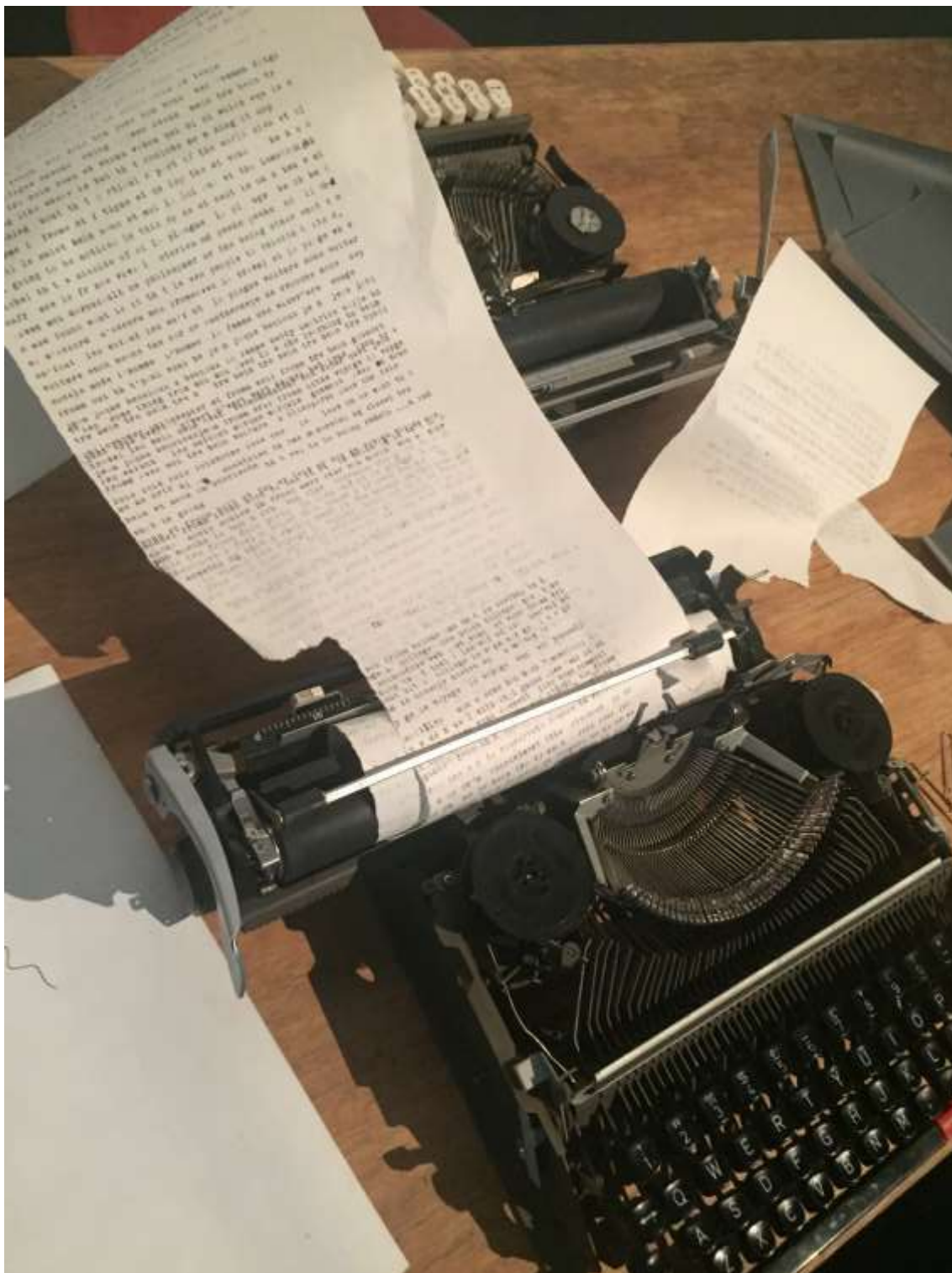


Figure 36. Elmedin Žunić, *Typewriters*, 2017.
Detail: *Typewriters II*.



Figure 37. Elmedin Žunić, *The Bosnian Case*, 2017.
Detail: Photographic prints in A2 size, text and audio recording (Balaban/Garibović interview).
Image credit: Rushdi Anwar



Figure 38. Elmedin Žunić, *The Bosnian Case*, 2017.
 Detail: Photographic prints in A2 size, text and audio recording (Balaban/Garibović interview).
 Image credit: Rushdi Anwar



Figure 39. Elmedin Žunić, *The Bosnian Case*, 2017.
Detail: #document series
Image credit: Rushdi Anwar



Figure 40. Elmedin Žunić, *The Bosnian Case*, 2017.
Detail: #document series
Image credit: Rushdi Anwar



Figure 41. Elmedin Žunić, *Typewriters*, 2017.
Detail: *Typewriters II*.
Image credit: Rushdi Anwar



Figure 42. Elmedin Žunić, *Typewriters II*, 2017.
Performance at Margaret Lawrence Gallery: Melbourne
Video still.

Link to the video:

<https://vimeo.com/239386123>

Duration: 04:12.



Figure 43. Elmedin Žunić, *Typewriters II*, 2017.
Performance at Blindsight: Melbourne
Video still.

Link to the video:

<https://vimeo.com/239392875>

Duration: 05:22.

Appendix No. II: Field Trip

Trnopolje - Prijedor

This image/material has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons.

Figure 44. Penny Marshall, *Trnopolje concentration camp*, 1992.
Photo credit: ITN.



Figure 45. Elmedin Žunić, *Outside Trnopolje concentration camp*, 2016.



Figure 46. Elmedin Žunić, *Inside Trnopolje concentration camp*, 2016.



Figure 47. Elmedin Žunić, *Inside Trnopolje concentration camp*, 2016.



Figure 48. Elmedin Žunić, *Inside Trnopolje concentration camp*, 2016.



Figure 49. Elmedin Žunić, *Inside Trnopolje concentration camp*, 2016.



Figure 50. Elmedin Žunić, *Mass grave in Kevljani*, 2016.



Figure 51. Elmedin Žunić, *Mass grave in Kevljani*, 2016.

Potočari - Srebrenica

This image/material has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons.

Figure 52. Unknown author. Untitled, 1995.
Sarajevo: (newspaper) Oslobođenje June 29, 1989.
Image credit: Reuters

This image/material has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons.

Figure 53. Unknown author. Untitled, 1995.
Sarajevo: (newspaper) Oslobođenje June 29, 1989.
Image credit: Reuters



Figure 54. Elmedin Žunić, Untitled, 2016.



Figure 55. Elmedin Žunić, Untitled, 2016.



Figure 56. Elmedin Žunić, *Untitled*, 2016.



Figure 57. Elmedin Žunić, *The Sweeper*, 2016.



Figure 58. Elmedin Žunić, Untitled, 2016.



Figure 59. Elmedin Žunić, Untitled, 2016.



Figure 60. Elmedin Žunić, Untitled, 2016.



Figure 61. Elmedin Žunić, *UN monument/Monument of failure*, 2016



Figure 62. Elmedin Žunić, Untitled, 2016.



Figure 63. Elmedin Žunić, Untitled, 2016.



Figure 64. Elmedin Žunić, *Towards the battery factory*, 2016.



Figure 65. Elmedin Žunić, *The battery factory*, 2016.



Figure 66. Elmedin Žunić, *Geen Doorgang*, 2016.



Figure 67. Elmedin Žunić, *Untitled*, 2016.



Figure 68. Elmedin Žunić, Untitled, 2016.



Figure 69. Elmedin Žunić, Untitled, 2016.



Figure 70. Elmedin Žunić, Untitled, 2016.



Figure 71. Elmedin Žunić, *Inside the battery factory*, 2016.

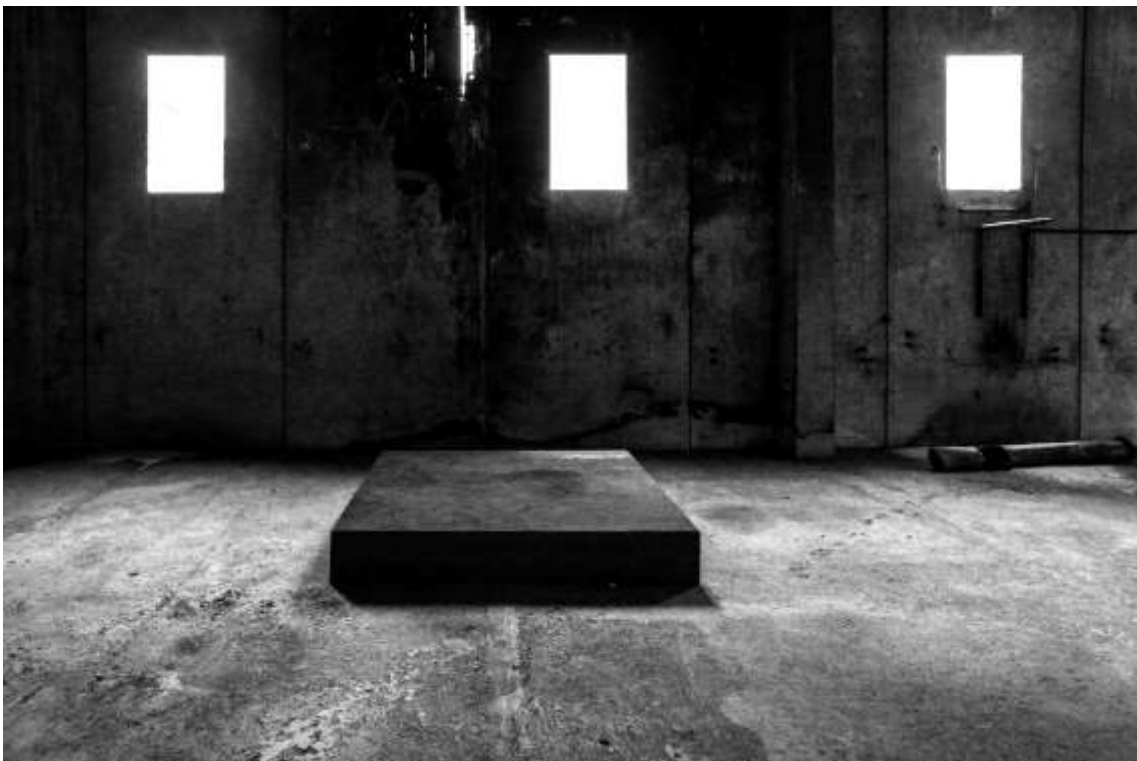


Figure 72. Žunić, Elmedin. 16. January 2016. Inside the battery factory.



Figure 73. Elmedin Žunić, *Inside the battery factory*, 2016.



Figure 74. Elmedin Žunić, *Inside the battery factory*, 2016.

Appendix No. III: Slobodan Milošević's Speech (Complete)

SLOBODAN MILOSEVIC'S 1989 ST. VITUS DAY SPEECH

Gazimestan - June 28, 1989



Speech by Slobodan Milošević, delivered to 1 million people at the central celebration marking the 600th anniversary of the Battle of Kosovo, held at Gazimestan on 28 June, 1989. Compiled by the National Technical Information Service of the Department of Commerce of the U.S.

By the force of social circumstances this great 600th anniversary of the Battle of Kosovo is taking place in a year in which Serbia, after many years, after many decades, has regained its state, national, and spiritual integrity. Therefore, it is not difficult for us to answer today the old question: how are we going to face Milos [Milos Obilic, legendary hero of the Battle of Kosovo]. Through the play of history and life, it seems as if Serbia has, precisely in this year, in 1989, regained its state and its dignity and thus has celebrated an event of the distant past which has a great historical and symbolic significance for its future.

Serbian Character – Liberational

Today, it is difficult to say what is the historical truth about the Battle of Kosovo and what is legend. Today this is no longer important. Oppressed by pain and filled with hope, the people used to remember and to forget, as, after all, all people in the world do, and it was ashamed of treachery and glorified heroism. Therefore it is difficult to say today whether the Battle of Kosovo was a defeat or a victory for the Serbian people, whether thanks to it we fell into slavery or we survived in this slavery. The answers to those questions will be constantly sought by science and the people. What has been certain through all the centuries until our time today is that disharmony struck Kosovo 600 years ago. If we lost the battle, then this was not only the result of social superiority and the armed advantage of the Ottoman Empire but also of the tragic disunity in the leadership of the Serbian state at that time. In that distant 1389, the Ottoman Empire was not only stronger than that of the Serbs but it was also more fortunate than the Serbian kingdom.

The lack of unity and betrayal in Kosovo will continue to follow the Serbian people like an evil fate through the whole of its history. Even in the last war, this lack of unity and betrayal led the Serbian people and Serbia into agony, the consequences of which in the historical and moral sense exceeded fascist aggression.

Even later, when a socialist Yugoslavia was set up, in this new state the Serbian leadership remained divided, prone to compromise to the detriment of its own people. The concessions that many Serbian leaders made at the expense of their people could not be accepted historically and ethically by any nation in the world, especially because the Serbs have never in the whole of their history conquered and exploited others.

Their national and historical being has been liberational throughout the whole of history and through two world wars, as it is today. They liberated themselves and when they could they also helped others to liberate themselves. The fact that in this region they are a major nation is not a Serbian sin or shame; this is an advantage which they have not used against others, but I must say that here, in this big, legendary field of Kosovo, the Serbs have not used the advantage of being great for their own benefit either.

Thanks to their leaders and politicians and their vassal mentality they felt guilty before themselves and others. This situation lasted for decades, it lasted for years and here we are now at the field of Kosovo to say that this is no longer the case.

Unity Will Make Prosperity Possible

Disunity among Serb officials made Serbia lag behind and their inferiority humiliated Serbia. Therefore, no place in Serbia is better suited for saying this than the field of Kosovo and no place in Serbia is better suited than the field of Kosovo for saying that unity in Serbia will bring prosperity to the Serbian people in Serbia and each one of its citizens, irrespective of his national or religious affiliation.

Serbia of today is united and equal to other republics and prepared to do everything to improve its financial and social position and that of all its citizens. If there is unity, cooperation, and seriousness, it will succeed in doing so. This is why the optimism that is now present in Serbia to a considerable extent regarding the future days is realistic, also because it is based on freedom, which makes it possible for all people to express their positive, creative and humane abilities aimed at furthering social and personal life.

Serbia has never had only Serbs living in it. Today, more than in the past, members of other peoples and nationalities also

live in it. This is not a disadvantage for Serbia. I am truly convinced that it is its advantage. National composition of almost all countries in the world today, particularly developed ones, has also been changing in this direction. Citizens of different nationalities, religions, and races have been living together more and more frequently and more and more successfully.

Socialism in particular, being a progressive and just democratic society, should not allow people to be divided in the national and religious respect. The only differences one can and should allow in socialism are between hard working people and idlers and between honest people and dishonest people. Therefore, all people in Serbia who live from their own work, honestly, respecting other people and other nations, are in their own republic.

Dramatic National Divisions

After all, our entire country should be set up on the basis of such principles. Yugoslavia is a multinational community and it can survive only under the conditions of full equality for all nations that live in it.

The crisis that hit Yugoslavia has brought about national divisions, but also social, cultural, religious and many other less important ones. Among all these divisions, nationalist ones have shown themselves to be the most dramatic. Resolving them will make it easier to remove other divisions and mitigate the consequences they have created.

For as long as multinational communities have existed, their weak point has always been the relations between different nations. The threat is that the question of one nation being endangered by the others can be posed one day – and this can then start a wave of suspicions, accusations, and intolerance, a wave that invariably grows and is difficult to stop. This threat has been hanging like a sword over our heads all the time. Internal and external enemies of multi-national communities are aware of this and therefore they organize their activity against multinational societies mostly by fomenting national conflicts.

At this moment, we in Yugoslavia are behaving as if we have never had such an experience and as if in our recent and distant past we have never experienced the worst tragedy of national conflicts that a society can experience and still survive.

Equal and harmonious relations among Yugoslav peoples are a necessary condition for the existence of Yugoslavia and for it to find its way out of the crisis and, in particular, they are a necessary condition for its economic and social prosperity. In this respect Yugoslavia does not stand out from the social milieu of the contemporary, particularly the developed, world. This world is more and more marked by national tolerance, national cooperation, and even national equality. The modern economic and technological, as well as political and cultural development, has guided various peoples toward each other, has made them interdependent and increasingly has made them equal as well [medjusobno ravnopravni]. Equal and united people can above all become a part of the civilization toward which mankind is moving. If we cannot be at the head of the column leading to such a civilization, there is certainly no need for us to be at its tail.

At the time when this famous historical battle was fought in Kosovo, the people were looking at the stars, expecting aid from them. Now, 6 centuries later, they are looking at the stars again, waiting to conquer them. On the first occasion, they could allow themselves to be disunited and to have hatred and treason because they lived in smaller, weakly interlinked worlds. Now, as people on this planet, they cannot conquer even their own planet if they are not united, let alone other planets, unless they live in mutual harmony and solidarity.

Therefore, words devoted to unity, solidarity, and cooperation among people have no greater significance anywhere on the soil of our motherland than they have here in the field of Kosovo, which is a symbol of disunity and treason.

In the memory of the Serbian people, this disunity was decisive in causing the loss of the battle and in bringing about the fate which Serbia suffered for a full 6 centuries.

Even if it were not so, from a historical point of view, it remains certain that the people regarded disunity as its greatest disaster. Therefore it is the obligation of the people to remove disunity, so that they may protect themselves from defeats, failures, and stagnation in the future.

Unity brings Back Dignity

This year, the Serbian people became aware of the necessity of their mutual harmony as the indispensable condition for their present life and further development.

I am convinced that this awareness of harmony and unity will make it possible for Serbia not only to function as a state but to function as a successful state. Therefore I think that it makes sense to say this here in Kosovo, where that disunity once upon a time tragically pushed back Serbia for centuries and endangered it, and where renewed unity may advance it and

may return dignity to it. Such an awareness about mutual relations constitutes an elementary necessity for Yugoslavia, too, for its fate is in the joined hands of all its peoples. The Kosovo heroism has been inspiring our creativity for 6 centuries, and has been feeding our pride and does not allow us to forget that at one time we were an army great, brave, and proud, one of the few that remained undefeated when losing.

Six centuries later, now, we are being again engaged in battles and are facing battles. They are not armed battles, although such things cannot be excluded yet. However, regardless of what kind of battles they are, they cannot be won without resolve, bravery, and sacrifice, without the noble qualities that were present here in the field of Kosovo in the days past. Our chief battle now concerns implementing the economic, political, cultural, and general social prosperity, finding a quicker and more successful approach to a civilization in which people will live in the 21st century. For this battle, we certainly need heroism, of course of a somewhat different kind, but that courage without which nothing serious and great can be achieved remains unchanged and remains urgently necessary.

Six centuries ago, Serbia heroically defended itself in the field of Kosovo, but it also defended Europe. Serbia was at that time the bastion that defended the European culture, religion, and European society in general. Therefore today it appears not only unjust but even unhistorical and completely absurd to talk about Serbia's belonging to Europe. Serbia has been a part of Europe incessantly, now just as much as it was in the past, of course, in its own way, but in a way that in the historical sense never deprived it of dignity. In this spirit we now endeavor to build a society, rich and democratic, and thus to contribute to the prosperity of this beautiful country, this unjustly suffering country, but also to contribute to the efforts of all the progressive people of our age that they make for a better and happier world.

Let the memory of Kosovo heroism live forever!
Long live Serbia!
Long live Yugoslavia!
Long live peace and brotherhood among peoples!

From: <http://www.skobodan-milosevic.org/spch-kosovo1989.htm> (accessed Oct. 2010)

Appendix No. IV: Interview transcripts

(All transcribed interviews were initially audio-recorded.)

Transcript #1.

Interviewee: Sabahudin Garibović, Interviewer: Elmedin Žunić

Location: Trnopolje near Prijedor, Bosnia-Herzegovina. 18/01/16

SG: “23rd of May 1992, it had all begun then. Brdo and the part of Prijedor where the Muslim villages are located - on the left-hand side of the river Sana. It started there and then Kozarac was next, which was May 24th. By May 26th, 90 percent of all the inhabitants of Kozarac ended up in various concentrations camps. By the 21st of August year 1992, 2 buses with women and children left Kozarac. Those were the last people that had left the town during the war. This means that from that moment, Kozarac was deserted when it comes to Bosnian Muslims. When I think back at that time, it makes sense to say that Trnopolje was one of the biggest concentration camps recorded in The Balkans after WW2.

According to The Hague Tribunal, 23 000 men, women and children, have gone through Trnopolje concentration camp. The number is closer to 35 000.

EŽ: “You spoke earlier about this building³⁰². Can you please explain again what purpose this building served before the war started?”

SG: “This building belonged to the council of Trnopolje. It was used for cultural purposes such as theatre productions and everything that had to do with this community and communal gatherings. However, during the year 1992, from the 26st of May, those same halls in the building were used for other purposes, it became a concentration camp in which

³⁰² The reference made was referring to the concentration camp in Trnopolje.

women, children and elderly were placed.

SG: “The primary school Trnopolje, was also used as a concentration camp where all the class rooms were full of people. Even the space between the school and the council building was used for those purposes. They were imprisoned here, and this is also where they slept.

EŽ: “If we return back to the contemporary Prijedor. What are the relations like between the Serbs and the Muslims – Is there a dialogue?

SG: “I think that the relations are seemingly quite good...and I can’t quite tell how. In my opinion, the reason is the fear for speaking publicly about the atrocities. Can they speak about the things they saw when they were on the other side of the barbed wire?

-----END TRANSCRIPT-----

Transcript #2.

Interviewee: Sabahudin Garibović, Interviewer: Elmedin Žunić

Location: Mass grave Kevljani near Kozarac. Bosnia-Herzegovina. 18/01/16

SG: “This is the mass grave Kevljani which has unearthed 456 corpses. The victims were mostly inmates from the concentration camp Omarska who were killed and brought to this location where they were buried, 10-12 meters in the ground - in layers.

They killed 30 to 40 people daily, brought here, thrown in the ground and then finished with a thin layer of earth which would be done after each killing.”

SG: “Over here, there was another mass grave which has unearthed over 200 corpses. We can establish that Kevljani mass grave has consumed over 700 victims. With this I maintain that it is the biggest mass grave found on this territory if not the whole of Bosnia.”

SG: “After the year 1992, I reconstructed that situation. We brought the buses to the crossroad in Kozarac. The convoy begun driving precisely at 10:10 just as I had experienced in the same context in 1992. Then I explained what happened to me leading up to that moment. After that it has become easier – I don’t have the same trigger which I would have had earlier. I think I have overcome it.”

-----END TRANSCRIPT-----

Transcript #3.

Interviewee: Nikolina Balaban, Interviewer: Elmedin Žunić

Location: Prijedor. Bosnia-Herzegovina. 18/01/16

NB: “My name is Nikolina Balaban. I am a medical doctor who specialised in the field of pathology. I live in Prijedor, but I am originally from Bosanski Novi – a place located only 30 km away from Prijedor. It’s the place where I was born. I began to work when I completed my studies and got married there. Now I am widowed. I went to high school in Prijedor, so I can say that many things connect me to this place.”

EZ: “So you know this place very well?”

NB: “Yes. I do. I graduated from the high school in Prijedor in 1991 – from 87 to 91 - the generation of 91. I think that we are perhaps the last generation that graduated from the school when it was called Esad Midžić. Today, the name is changed to Sveti Sava. In other words, it has existed under this name for a long time now.”

EZ: “Can you talk a bit about your impressions from Prijedor during the war?”

NB: “I was in Prijedor during the war when the worst atrocities were committed – I was here. I think I can talk about that. I can say that because the corridor was broken through, as The Army of Republic of Serbs called it. It happened on July the 2nd 1992. I came back to Prijedor before that time.”

NB: “It is interesting to mention that the Easter of 1992 I spent in Kozarac – the end of April month, year 1992, with my friends. I spent 3-4 days in Kozarac in that time with my girlfriends who were Muslims. In those moments in 92 the end of April the war was never a topic for conversation as we never thought that only a few days later it would all turn around.”

NB: “I have lost some very close friends. Some of them are murdered. Some of them had to flee which is a big loss as I have not seen them since. I was powerless to do anything or help anybody in those days. Then the least that I can do now, what I maybe should have done earlier, is to say: Yes, it happened. Let us be honest: We killed our neighbours, unarmed civilians. They were taken out from their houses. Barefoot. The children were murdered – 102 children were murdered in Prijedor. The youngest one was two months old.”

“And what are we talking about now – to forget the past? We certainly can’t live in the past, but we have to face it.”

“They don’t teach my children the history I teach them at home. That is why they’re having problems with their teachers. Their mother thinks that the war in Bosnia looked a bit different than what they teach at schools around here – I am talking about the period from 92 to 95.”

“Of course, one can’t bring back those who perished but this is the chance for those that have not committed any war crimes to step forward as well.”

EZ: “Who should step forward to break the silence?”

NB: “The people themselves should step forward. The politicians. Yes. Because they have been elected by the people to speak on their behalf. The people should tell them: “We ask you to say sorry. We ask you to be Willy Brant. From you, Dodik, I expect you to kneel and kiss this ground and beg for forgiveness”. If they can find the strength for that. I ask of you to go to Prijedor, visit the concentration camps. Visit that mother who lost 6 sons and beg for her forgiveness.”

“Here, the army – armed soldiers killed unarmed civilians. That is a crime of a high magnitude – what happened in Prijedor was a genocide, according to all definitions of the term.”

EZ: “What will happen in 10 years’ time?” What will Prijedor look like then?”

NB: “There will be a war again, and all the killing. The hatred is still deeply rooted. There is still talk about some bloody clash that needs to happen.

NB: “The young generation carries a chilling gap in knowledge- they are pro-nationalist on all three sides. They are being made into a prototype generation as they carry no real knowledge or experience from the war and have not formed their own memories from that time.”

-----END TRANSCRIPT-----