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The Sound of Genocide: Music, Memory, and Commemoration in Postwar Bosnia

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The Sound of Genocide: Music, Memory, and Commemoration in Postwar Bosnia

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by

Badema Pitic

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

The Sound of Genocide: Music, Memory, and Commemoration in Postwar Bosnia

by

Badema Pitic

Doctor of Philosophy in Ethnomusicology

University of California, Los Angeles, 2017

Professor Timothy Rice, Chair

This dissertation focuses on a repertoire of Western classical, neo-traditional, and religious music created in the past twenty years to commemorate the Srebrenica genocide, a massacre that occurred in July 1995 at the end of the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Drawing on more than seven months of fieldwork in Bosnia and the United States, I explore this commemorative repertoire as a demonstration of the interdependence of official and personal narratives of the genocide. Approaching works of commemorative music as performative narratives, I argue that this repertoire reflects and reinforces current projects of nation-building and identity construction among Bosniaks (Bosnian Muslims) that are largely founded on interpretations of the war and sentiments of victimization. At the same time, this repertoire provides a means for genocide survivors to preserve and transmit their memories, to build transnational and translocal communities, and to experience emotional catharsis while making sense of the traumatic past. I address both the use of music by genocide survivors as a mnemonic

medium and its appropriation by Bosniak political elites for rhetorical interpretation of the war and genocide, which affects inter-ethnic and inter-religious dynamics in Bosnia.

The dissertation of Badema Pitic is approved.

Gail Kligman

Daniel M. Neuman

Helen M. Rees

Timothy Rice, Committee Chair

University of California, Los Angeles

2017

To those who survived

and

to my parents, Aiša and Kenan Softić

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ARBiH – Army of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina

BiH – Bosnia-Herzegovina

ICJ – International Court of Justice

ICTY – International Criminal Tribunal for Yugoslavia

JNA – Yugoslav People's Army

OHR – Office of the High Commissioner in Bosnia-Herzegovina

SDA – Party of Democratic Action

UN – United Nations

UNHCR – United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees

UNPROFOR – United Nations Protection Force

VRS – Army of the Republic of Srpska

PRONUNCIATION GUIDE

A, a	a (as in father)	L, l	l
B, b	b	Lj, lj	ly (as in value)
C, c	tz (as in Katz)	M, m	m
Č, č	tch (harder, as in match)	N, n	n
Ć, ć	t (softer, as in future)	Nj, nj	ny (as in venue)
D, d	d	O, o	o
DŽ, dž	j (harder, as in John)	P, p	p
Đ, đ	j (softer, as in jail)	R, r	r (as in reason)
E, e	e as in met	S, s	s
F, f	f	Š, š	sh (as in mash)
G, g	g	T, t	t
H, h	h (as in hat)	U, u	u (as in crucible)
I, i	i (as in pin)	V, v	v
J, j	y (as in yes)	Z, z	z
K, k	k (as in cat)	Ž, ž	zh (as in Zhivago)

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This dissertation is the result of many years of involvement with this topic, years that have sometimes been marked by emotionally challenging moments, but also moments that provided me with rewards that could not be achieved in other circumstances. These rewards are due to the many people that accompanied me on this journey. To them, I owe an opportunity to gain insight into the question of music's employment in the aftermath of genocide. However, all inevitable omissions and mistakes in this work are solely mine.

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Vita

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2015	'"If We Had Not Sung, None of This Would Have Happened to Us:' Music and Religion in Post-war Bosnia." Presented at the annual meeting of the Society for Ethnomusicology, Southern California and Hawai'i Chapter, San Diego, March 1.
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2013	'"Once You Understand Sevdah, You Can't Resist It': On the Creation of 'New Sevdah' and a Bosnian Cosmopolitan Identity." Presented at the annual meeting of the Society for Ethnomusicology, Indianapolis, IN, November 14.

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2007	Ministry of Education, Science and Culture, Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina Fellowship for Talented Students

Chapter 1: Introduction

In February 1984, the eyes of the world were focused on Bosnia-Herzegovina, as Sarajevo, the Bosnian capital, hosted the XIV Winter Olympic Games. Eight years later, Sarajevo became the site of the longest siege of a single city in modern history, and the country was caught in the whirlwind of war. In July 1995, the world watched as 8,000 Bosniak (Bosnian Muslim) boys and men were killed by Bosnian Serb forces in the small Bosnian town of Srebrenica, a place that would become known as the site of one of the bloodiest episodes of the Bosnian war (1992-1995). The war in Bosnia is among a number of conflicts that attended the break-up of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia during the 1990s. While the story of this transformation from socialist and federalized comity to national tragedy is relatively well known, much less is known about how the survivors of this horrible event have coped psychologically, socially, and politically with it.[1] This dissertation offers an aesthetic perspective on how human beings deal with and make sense of traumatic events like those at Srebrenica.

There is indeed no prescribed way of dealing with trauma. People succumb to various ways of making sense of their past, ranging from silence to sharing their stories; from the abandonment of the site of trauma to the deliberate return to it; from mental paralysis to activism. The ways are numerous. Memorial works and practices, and the marking of important anniversaries, however, represent a sort of constant when it comes to great collective tragedies. This dissertation deals with various forms of musical commemoration as one means to deal with trauma by focusing on a repertoire of commemorative music, including Western classical, neo-traditional, secular traditional, and popular religious music, created in the past twenty years to commemorate the Srebrenica genocide.

[1] On the dissolution of Yugoslavia and wars in Bosnia-Herzrgovina and Croatia, see, for example, Magaš and Žanić 2001, and Ramet 2002, 2005.

This commemorative repertoire reflects both the existence of official and personal narratives of the genocide and their mutual dependence. By carefully exploring these narratives, I argue that this repertoire reflects and reinforces the current projects of nation-building and identity construction among Bosniaks (Bosnian Muslims) that are largely founded on interpretation of the war and the resulting trend of victimization. At the same time, this repertoire serves to provide a means for genocide survivors to preserve and transmit their memories and to reach a sort of emotional catharsis. I am concerned with both the use of music by genocide survivors as a mnemonic medium and its abuse by Bosniak political elites for the interpretation of the significance of the recent war and genocide, which affects inter-ethnic and inter-religious dynamics primarily in Bosnia but also in the entire former Yugoslav territory.

Independent Bosnia-Herzegovina emerged in the wake of the break-up of Yugoslavia as a new nation consisting of Bosniaks, Bosnian Serbs, Bosnian Croats, and a small number of other national minorities.[2] During the period from 1992 to 1995, Bosnia was known as the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina (RBiH). In 1992, Bosnian Serbs declared their own state within Bosnia-Herzegovina, called Republika Srpska (RS), causing the outbreak of the war, which in its final phase was marked by the Srebrenica genocide. The RBiH ceased to exist with the signing of the Dayton Peace Accords that ended the war in Bosnia in 1995, after which Bosnia-Herzegovina formally remained a unified country, but divided into two political entities, shown in Figure 1:

[2] The Bosnian declaration of independence on March 2nd 1992 from the Socialist Yugoslavia for many has opened essentially destructive questions: Whose is Bosnia? Does it have the right to exist on its own? Not being an independent state since the fifteenth-century medieval Kingdom of Bosnia, this small country in Southeastern Europe belonged to and was desired by many, including the Hungarians, Ottomans, as well as the Serbian and Croatian medieval kingdoms. However, the Ottoman conquest in 1463, and more than a four-centuries-long Ottoman rule in Bosnia, permanently altered and determined the country's social, political, and cultural climate. Bosnia was annexed to the Austro-Hungarian Emprire in 1878. In 1918, the country became part of the Kingdom of Serbians, Croats and Slovenes (also refered to as the Kingdom of Yugoslavia or the First Yugoslavia), and then part of the Socialist Yugoslavia in 1945. For more on the history of Bosnia, see Malcolm 1996; Hoare 2006, 2007, 2013.

the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina (a shared Bosniak and Bosnian Croat entity) and the Republic of Srpska (a Bosnian Serb entity).

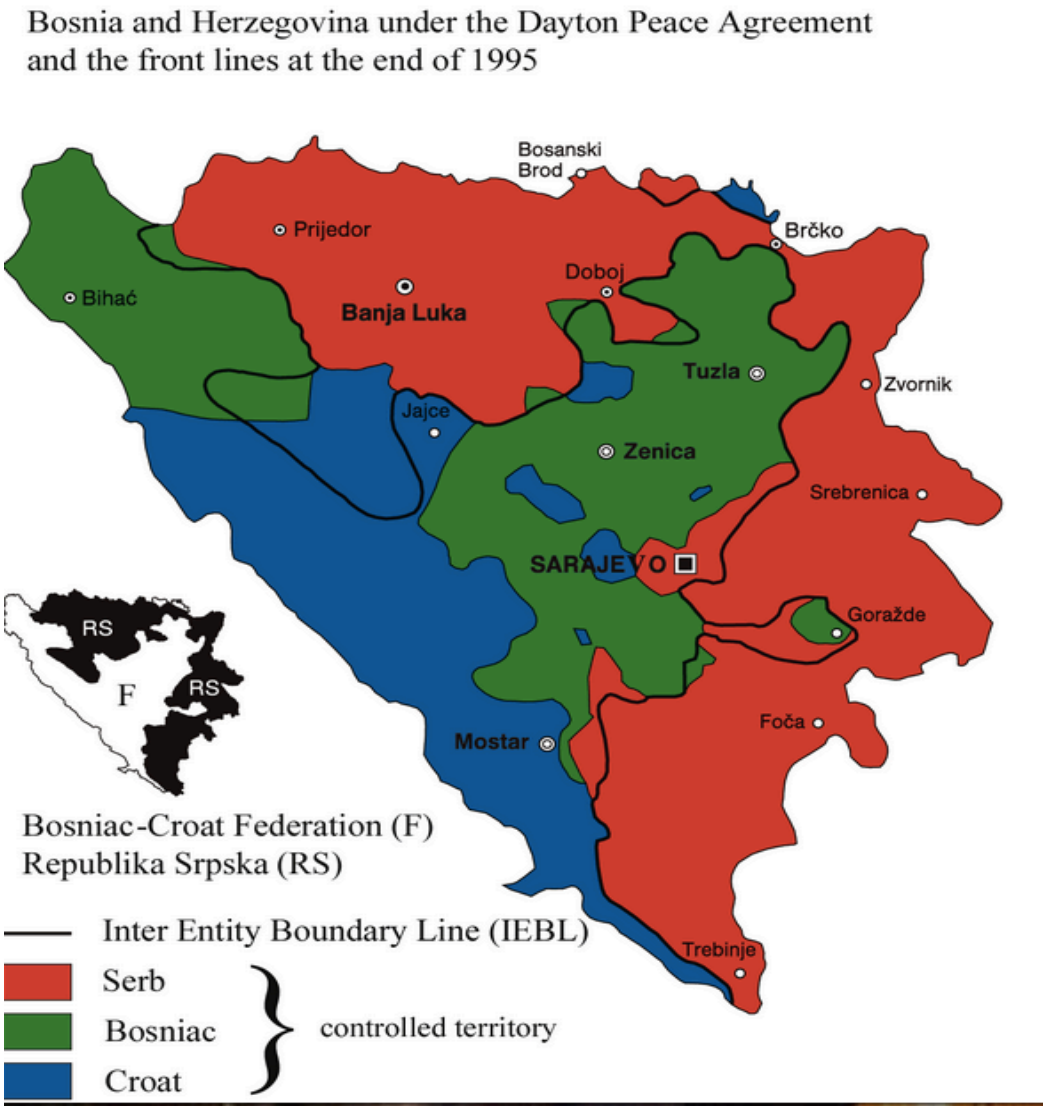

Figure 1. Bosnia-Herzegovina under the Dayton Peace Agreement. Source: Purdue University.

The International Criminal Tribunal for Yugoslavia, the United Nations court founded for the prosecution of war crimes committed in the territory of the former Yugoslavia during the 1990s, recognized the massacre in Srebrenica as an act of genocide in 2007.[3] However, the

[3] For more information on ICTY, see www.icty.org.

genocide was never acknowledged by the Bosnian Serb government in Bosnia, which imposes its own version of the past that is dominant in the Republic of Srpska, the Bosnian-Serb dominated part of Bosnia. While the genocide has been negated both on the official and local level in this part of Bosnia, the genocide is officially acknowledged and memorialized in the other state entity, the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina. This contestation about the Srebrenica genocide is part of current discourse about the war in Bosnia. Within this discourse, all three national groups in Bosnia, represented by their respective national political parties, claim their own rights to the territory of Bosnia. Since the war in Bosnia was ended by the Peace Agreement that essentially divided Bosnia, there is no consensus among the three national groups about the past, the present, or the future of Bosnia. Thus, conflicts about the past resemble conflicts between ethno-national groups. In this context, the repertoire of commemorative music about the Srebrenica genocide belongs to the corpus of ethno-national, "official," and popular memories of only one group in Bosnia, the Bosniaks.

Collective Memory

The repertoire of commemorative music dedicated to the Srebrenica genocide is part of the larger body of collective memory about this event that exists in Bosnia and in the Bosnian diaspora in Europe, North America, and Australia (see Halilovich 2013). One of the major preoccupations of this dissertation is music's capacity not only to preserve and transmit the memory of a traumatic event, but also to render a particularly shaped collective memory (and history) of the Srebrenica genocide, for collective memory is never devoid of human agency but constructed by agents who do the remembering. In this sense, my approach to collective memory stems from cross-disciplinary scholarship on this subject that is largely the product of a long-

standing preoccupation with the differentiation between individual and collective memory. This primarily results from grappling with the initial definition of collective memory constructed by the "father" of memory studies, the French sociologist Maurice Halbwachs. Although Halbwachs' main argument in his seminal 1925 work, *On Collective Memory*, is that collective memory is the memory of individuals as members of a group, a number of scholars have subsequently recognized that his conceptualization of collective memory is problematic in its treatment of individual agency (Olick and Robbins 1998; Winter 1998; Olick 1999).

The sociologist Jeffrey Olick (Olick 1999) addresses the dichotomy between individual and collective memory present in the literature, commenting on two considerably differing theoretical approaches to collective memory. Olick writes that there exist "two cultures" of memory: a so-called "collected" memory, or a collection of memories of individuals as members of a group; and "collective" memory, or the representation of the past that "speaks in the name of collectivities" (1999: 345). According to Olick, the main presumption of the "collected" memory approach is that only individuals remember, although they may do so as members of a group. According to the "collected" memory approach, shared memories are located in individual minds and collective outcomes are aggregated individual processes (Ibid.: 339). However, Olick asserts that this approach does not account for a more substantial theorization of social contexts (Ibid.: 341). On the other hand, the "collective" memory approach challenges "the very idea of an individual memory. It is not just that we remember as members of groups, but that we constitute those groups and their members simultaneously in the act (thus re-member-ing)" (Ibid.: 342). According to Olick, this approach acknowledges that,

> There are well-documented aggregation effects that cannot be predicted from individual responses: groups, for instance, tend to act more extremely than individuals.

> Additionally, there are clearly demonstrable long-term structures to what societies remember or commemorate that are stubbornly impervious to the efforts of individuals to escape them. Powerful institutions clearly value some histories more than others, provide narrative patterns and exemplars of how individuals can and should remember, and stimulate memory in ways and for reasons that have nothing to do with the individual or aggregate neurological records. (Ibid.: 342)

Regardless of these two existing approaches to collective memory, Olick argues that all mnemonic forms are in fact interrelated, proposing to use the term collective memory for "a wide variety of mnemonic processes, practices, and outcomes, neurological, cognitive, personal, aggregated, and collective," presupposing that "all remembering is in some sense social" (Ibid.: 346).

In this dissertation, I follow Olick's understanding of collective memory to include a range of closely interrelated mnemonic processes and practices – both individual (as "collected" or aggregated) and collective. The collection of memories of the Srebrenica genocide found in the commemorative repertoire of music in question uncovers the mutual dependence between collected individual memories and collective memories that speak in the name of collectivities. While the works that make up the commemorative repertoire do represent a collection of memories of individuals as members of both a transnational community of Srebrenica genocide survivors and the Bosniak nation, these individual memories are part of the public discourse and narratives of the past that speak in the name of, first, genocide survivors and then the Bosniak nation as a whole. However, the reverse is also true: these public narratives are part of the individual renditions of the past by both the Srebrenica genocide survivors and those Bosniaks who engage in commemoration of and discourse about this event.

This brings us to another major point that shapes this dissertation: the difference between official and unofficial (popular) memory, or between public and private memory. For example, the distinction between popular and official memory can be seen in differences between the living memory of survivors of a certain event and historical accounts of the same event that make up the national collective memory and history. This distinction is related to the differentiation between "private" memory and "public representation" of the past. In this regard, Ashplant et al. note that "public representations" of the past refer

> to those representations of the past that "achieve centrality" within the public domain, where their institutional propagation by the national and local state, the culture industries or the public media ensure their scope to make public meanings for vast audiences. Private memory, by contrast, refers to "the more privatized sense of the past" which circulates among particular social groups "in the course of everyday life." (2000: 13)

According to this understanding of the distinction between public and private memory, their relationship is represented as a hegemonic process, in which public memory is a dominant memory. According to Ashplant et al., "the power of dominant memories depends not simply on their public visibility, but also on their capacity to connect with and articulate particular popular conceptions, whilst actively silencing or marginalizing others" (Ibid.).

A number of scholars treat official and unofficial memory as sharply distinctive (Gillis 1994; Wertsch 2002). However, the distinction is not that simple and dichotomous. Sociologist Gail Kligman and anthropologist Katherine Verdery (2011: 13) note that the "disjuncture between 'public' and 'private,' or 'official' and 'popular' is not that stark" and is related to the meaning and reception of memory. Official memory can influence popular collective memory and vice versa; individual memories can be represented through official collective memory

(Ibid.). For example, Kligman and Verdery note how, even though the Communist Party in Romania exercised strict control over the official collective memory that shaped individual memories, individual memories were also refracted through individual and community experiences (13). Just as the categories of collective and individual memories are interrelated and mutually constitutive, so are the boundaries between "official" and "popular," and "public" and "private" memories blurred. Differentiation between official and popular memory has also been criticized by Alon Confino (1997), who urges for the acknowledgment of the role of popular memory in everyday experience, as well as the manner official memory is received by people. With that in mind, this dissertation deals with the psychological and political role of popular memory of the genocide found in commemorative music in relation to genocide survivors' everyday experiences, while at the same time exploring the effects of the official memory of the Srebrenica genocide within the commemorative repertoire and its reception by genocide survivors and the public in Bosnia.

Official and Personal Narratives

The existence of official and popular memory of the Srebrenica genocide means the existence of official and personal narratives. Here, I treat commemorative works as *performative narratives* set up in particular contexts and performed with a specific goal. Throughout this dissertation, I explore how each of these commemorative works functions to accomplish some or all of the following purposes: 1) support of political ideologies; 2) codification of the Srebrenica genocide memory and the related construction of national narrative and identity; 3) memory preservation and transmission; 4) post-traumatic healing; and 5) maintenance of local identity and relationships with places of home.

One might say that it is impossible to discuss memory without referring to narrative, at least in terms of memory's principal mode of representation. As Paolo Jedlowski (2001) notes, memory *is* narrative. According to Jens Brockmeier, "a narrative is every text that tells a story, while a text is every meaningfully organized sign system, be it an opera score, an advertisement or a wedding ceremony" (2002: 32). The above perspective corresponds with my own approach to commemorative works as *performative narratives,* as each of these works and their respective musical performances represent a meaningfully organized text, and therefore a narrative and a memory of the genocide.

Narrative is a principal tool through which people construct a story about themselves for both themselves and others. As the elements of time and place are foundational to the structure of a narrative, narratives enable people to "localize" themselves "in time and history" (Ibid.: 28), and therefore to ascribe meaning to their lives. In this sense, sociologist Margaret Somers (1994) treats narrative as both social epistemology – that is, a way of producing knowledge – and social ontology – that is, a reflection of one's being in the world. For Somers, "narrative is an *ontological condition of social life*" (Ibid.: 614, emphasis in original). Narratives are at the core of the sense of one's identity, experience, and meaning-making. Ultimately, people act through the influence of the repertoire of available social, public, and cultural narratives (Ibid.).

One characteristic of a narrative that proves to be particularly important for the following discussion of commemorative music is its social dimension. In this regard, Jedlowski sees narrative as 1) culturally mediated; 2) a dialogical relationship between a narrator and his audience, be it actual or imagined; and 3) a "socializing" action between a narrator and his reference group (2001: 32). In other words, narrative is both a social and "socializing" action, in the sense that it takes place in a social context and enables the interaction between a narrator and

his audience, be that interaction real or symbolic. The social dimension of narrative is especially significant in the context of the aftermath of trauma. Many scholars agree that, when it comes to survivors of a trauma, "listening" is as important as "telling" (for example, see Laub 1995). Psychological literature suggests that narrating one's story has a therapeutic effect on those who experienced a trauma, providing them with a means to make sense of what happened and to "remake the self." For example, Susan J. Brison argues that the act of narration provides survivors of trauma with an opportunity to "rework" and "remaster" their traumatic memories, which can then be integrated into survivors' sense of self and worldview (1999: 39-40). However, in order for this process to be successful, the act of narration needs to happen in relation to others; that is, survivors' stories need to be told to "understanding listeners." Brison notes that survivors experience difficulty in recovering from a trauma if others are "unwilling to listen to what they endured" (Ibid.: 46).

The role of narrative is not to present the past as it is, but to provide an individual with an opportunity to "come to terms with this past" (Jedlowski 2001: 33). Narrative represents one of the essential means through which individuals make sense of a past event. As Brockmeier writes,

> narrative, as a form of communication and symbolic mediation, is not only a product, a story, but also a process, a telling; it is not only an account of an action but an action itself, not only a structure of meaning but also a performance of meaning (e.g., Bamberg, 1997; Brockmeier and Harré, 2001; Edwards, 1997). Viewed in this way, a narrative is a functional action that unfolds an objective; it realizes a goal; it aims to do something. (2002: 35)

In other words, narrative is *performative*: it represents an action that performs a particular meaning, and, therefore, it does something for those involved. Considering this fact, in order to

understand the meaning constructed and performed by a narrative, and what that narrative does or aims to do, it is important to consider the context in which that narrative takes place (see Bauman 1986; Brockmeier 2002). When it comes to the Srebrenica genocide and the related commemorative repertoire of music, this context includes 1) discourse about the nature of the war in Bosnia; 2) the events that preceded the Srebrenica genocide as well as those that followed in its aftermath; 3) the process of Bosniak nation-building that began in the 1990s and gained momentum during the last years of the war and immediately after its end; and 4) a longer history of the strengthening of Bosniak national identity rooted in ethnicity and religion that reaches into the 1970s. On the other hand, the development of the commemorative repertoire of music – especially neo-traditional commemorative songs – is also largely due to the existence of "understanding listeners," especially those Bosniaks who experienced war atrocities themselves but also those who embrace the specific view of the war and genocide that is propagated through this repertoire.

The History of the Srebrenica Genocide

Before the outbreak of war in 1992, Bosnia-Herzegovina was part of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, along with five other republics (Croatia, Macedonia, Montenegro, Serbia, and Slovenia, and two autonomous provinces, Kosovo and Vojvodina). While all other republics in Yugoslavia had at least one majority national group, Bosnia was heterogeneously populated by three major national groups: Bosnian Croats, who are Roman Catholic; Bosnian Muslims (Bosniaks); and Bosnian Serbs, who are Eastern Orthodox Christians. As such, Bosnia was both the model of multiethnic society for all Yugoslavia and its greatest challenge. Having large populations of Bosnian Croats and Bosnian Serbs, Bosnia was persistently targeted by

Croatia and Serbia under the banner of an ethnonational ideology claiming that all people of a nation should live in a single state.[4] By the same token, since the nineteenth century, Bosnian Croats and Bosnian Serbs came to see Croatia and Serbia as their motherlands, and not Bosnia. While these aspirations and sentiments were publicly suppressed during the existence of Yugoslavia, so that all these national groups could live in one country, they resurfaced with the dissolution of Yugoslavia. This was particularly true for Bosnian Serbs, for whom the end of Yugoslavia meant their separation from Serbia.[5]

Most historians agree that Yugoslavia entered a state of crisis during the 1970s, at the time of the Yugoslav economic crisis caused by the increase in oil prices and over-borrowing. Sabrina Ramet summarizes the often cited factors that contributed to this crisis: 1) problems associated with systemic illegitimacy, which, according to Ramet, meant the lack of "classical liberal standards of programmatic framework" and "democratic principles" (2002: xviii); 2) economic deterioration; 3) the ethnically-based federal system; and 4) the significance of human agency "in taking the country down the violent path" (Ramet 2005: 67). According to Ramet, the political illegitimacy of the Yugoslav system was relatively successfully suppressed during Josip Broz Tito's presidency (1953-1980), but it became an issue once Yugoslavia was faced with economic crisis. However, the real crisis began with the implementation of the so-called "system of rotation" after Tito's death in 1980, whose purpose was to allow each of the republics to control the federal government for one term. The rotation system prevented Serbian domination in Yugoslavia and guaranteed the preservation of the autonomy of republics and autonomous provinces (Sigora et al. 2012: 247). After Tito's death, the rotation system caused a debate

[4] On nationalism, see Anderson 2006 [1983]; Gellner 2006 [1983]; Hobsbawm 2012 [1990].

[5] This is mainly due to the fact that there are substantial Serb populations not only in Bosnia, but also in Croatia.

among Yugoslav republics about how the government should be organized, with Croatia and Slovenia, as the two most developed republics, advocating for a decentralized federation, and with Serbia defending a strongly centralized system in which it was able to remain a dominating power (Ibid.: 247-248). In addition, the existing ethnically based federal system supported political elites in the Yugoslav republics, who advocated for their respective republics and competed "on the basis of nationalist agendas" (Ramet 2005: 67). This was especially the case with the rise of president-to-be Slobodan Milošević and the escalation of nationalist rhetoric in Serbia in the second half of the 1980s, when Milošević decided to abolish the autonomy of the autonomous provinces Kosovo, southern Serbia, and Vojvodina, in northern Serbia, in 1989 in order to secure Serbian control of Yugoslav presidential voting (Ramet 2005: 67; Sigora et al. 2012: 248). What was ultimately at stake was Serbian domination in Yugoslavia, which was challenged by aspirations for decentralization and the existing relative autonomy of the other republics.

In response to Milošević's attempts to secure the Serbian domination of Yugoslavia, first Slovenia, and then Croatia, voted for independence from Yugoslavia in 1991. With no significant Serb population, Slovenia successfully seceded from Yugoslavia after a ten-day war. Croatia, however, had a significant Serb minority in its eastern and western territories of Slavonia and Krajina, respectively. These Croatian Serbs were convinced by Serbian nationalist rhetoric that they would be annihilated by the Croats, casting Croatia into a war, which it won in 1995. With the independence of Croatia and Slovenia, Serbia replaced its ambitions for control over Yugoslavia with a plan for a "greater Serbia." In response, Croatian Serbs in Slavonia and Krajina declared their own Autonomous Province of Serb Krajina and endeavored to join this territory to Serbia, sparking the outbreak of the war in Croatia. The same fate awaited Bosnia.

After a memorandum in which over 90% of the population voted for independence from Yugoslavia, Bosnia declared independence and was officially recognized by the international community on April 6, 1992. Bosnian Serbs followed the example of their Croatian counterparts and declared their own Republic of Srpska (Republika Srpska), with the aim of joining their territory to Serbia. Thus began their campaign of so-called "ethnic cleansing" of Bosnian Muslims in Eastern and northeastern Bosnia in early April of 1992, which culminated in the 1995 genocide.[6]

The war soon spread to the rest of Bosnia, and the Bosnian Serb army occupied around 70% of Bosnia's territory in the first three months of the war. At first, Bosnian Croats and Muslims fought together against the Bosnian Serbs, who were supported by the Serbian government and the Yugoslav People's Army (JNA, already under Serbian control), both in terms of manpower and weaponry. Some paramilitary groups from Serbia, such as the Scorpions, White Eagles, and Arkan's Tigers (which were later involved in the Srebrenica genocide), crossed the border on the Drina River and committed atrocities against Bosnian Muslims in Eastern Bosnia. However, one year into the war, Bosnian Croats started fighting against the Army of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina (ARBiH), which was still predominantly multiethnic (comprised of members of all ethno-religious groups in Bosnia), with the purpose of

[6] Controversy surrounds the term "ethnic cleansing," which entered academic discourse during the Yugoslav wars of the 1990s. According to Edina Bećirević (2014: 193), the term "cleansing" was coined by Draža Mihailović, the leader of the Chetniks (Serbian paramilitary groups) during World War II, to refer to the "cleansing" of Muslims in Eastern Bosnia, and was later adopted as "ethnic cleansing" by Vojislav Šešelj, a Bosnian Serb politician of the 1990s. Unfortunately, both the international community and academia accepted this term to refer to atrocities committed against the Bosnian Muslim population. Bećirević notes that "ethnic cleansing" is "nothing but a cloak for genocide," pointing to the occurrence of genocide in Eastern Bosnia during 1992, of which the Srebrenica genocide is only a culmination (Ibid.). For Bećirević, calling all other atrocities in Bosnia "ethnic cleansing" diminishes the scope of genocidal actions conducted there and localizes it only to the case of Srebrenica. On ethnic cleansing, see Naimark 2001; Mann 2005.

gaining southern parts of the country close to the Croatian border for themselves. As the war progressed, however, the politics of the Bosnian government led by Alija Izetbegović switched from an emphasis on a multi-ethnic state to a Bosniak nationalist rhetoric that paralleled that of Bosnian Croats and Serbs. Therefore, by the second half of the war (from 1993 onward), the Bosnian national army became predominantly Muslim. All sides antagonized "the other," and the killing of civilian populations occurred among all ethno-religious groups in Bosnia. The war had a significant religious component, which prompted Michael Sells to call the genocide in Bosnia "religious genocide" (1996), even though religious identification was only one of the factors present in the Bosnian war. It is estimated that 68,101 Bosnian Muslims (25,609 civilians), 22,779 Bosnian Serbs (7,480 civilians), 8,858 Bosnian Croats (1,675 civilians), and 4,495 others (1,935 civilians) were killed by the end of war (Zwierzchowski and Tabeau 2010) – a total of 104,223 people (36,699 civilians). Out of these numbers, more than eight thousand people were killed in the Srebrenica genocide.

Srebrenica, a small town in Eastern Bosnia, was first captured by the Bosnian Serb army early in 1992, during the initial campaign of "ethnic cleansing" of Eastern Bosnia. However, the city was soon recaptured by Bosnian Muslims lead by Naser Orić, who later became the commander of the Srebrenica Brigade unit of the Army of the RBiH and recaptured some neighboring territories around the city in the following months. However, Srebrenica was never linked with the main area of Bosniak-controlled territory (ICTY Prosecutor vs. Krstić 2001: 5). In 1993, Bosnian Muslim forces led an attack on the Bosnian Serb village of Kravica, provoking a Serb retaliation that eventually caused the reduction of the territory recaptured by Bosnian Muslims and a huge influx of refugees from these areas to Srebrenica (Ibid.: 5-6). From that time on, Srebrenica was home to refugees from the surrounding villages and towns in Eastern Bosnia,

which caused a serious deterioration of living conditions in the town. In 1991, the population of the Srebrenica municipality (which included surrounding villages) was 37,000, out of which 73% were Bosnian Muslims and 25% were Bosnian Serbs. Due to the influx of refugees from the surrounding villages, the population residing in the town of Srebrenica (which numbered aproximately 6,000 before the war) rose to between 50,000 and 60,000 in 1993 (see Figure 2) (Ibid.: 4-6). The refugee population was present in Srebrenica in 1995, and it experienced the genocide. Because the genocide happened in Srebrenica, it came to be known as the Srebrenica genocide and all those who experienced it came to be seen as Srebrenicans, essentializing the victims and ignoring their specific backgrounds. At the same time, this produced a sort of hierarchy among the victims, as those from Srebrenica are the most vocal and well represented by the media and non-governmental organizations, causing other victims to feel neglected.[7]

[7] For example, while attending a first post-war gathering of the Srebrenica corps in Sarajevo, I witnessed an argument between the event organizer and a participant who was not a member of the Women of Srebrenica organization. The woman complained that "other women" (non-Srebrenicans) were under-represented and that those from Srebrenica always "get the points"; that is, media attention and other potential benefits (personal field notes, 2013).

Figure 2. Downtown Srebrenica in 2015. Photo by the author, August 2015.

As of 1993, Srebrenica was under siege, and its swollen population lacked food, medicine, and water. The town was under continuous attack by the Bosnian Serb forces, who informed representatives of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) that they would capture Srebrenica unless Bosnian Army forces surrendered and agreed to be evacuated (Ibid.: 11). In response, the UN Security Council declared Srebrenica a "safe area" in April 1993. This resolution mandated that all attacks on Srebrenica by the Bosnian Serb forces cease and that Bosnian army forces de-militarize, but both parties violated these regulations. From April 1993 to the fall of Srebrenica in July 1995, a lightly armed United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) of peacekeepers was stationed in Srebrenica. Throughout this period, Bosnian Serb forces blocked the delivery of humanitarian aid to the town.

Bosnian Serb forces finally took over Srebrenica on July 11, 1995. They had started stationing heavy forces around Srebrenica in March and April of 1995, with the final attack

beginning on July 6. They captured UNPROFOR observation posts in the next few days, taking some of the soldiers as hostages. At the same time, they pushed back Bosnian army defenses in Srebrenica, which were insufficiently armed and reluctant to fully use the weaponry they did possess in order to maintain the assistance of the UN air forces against the Bosnian Serbs, who were openly violating the "safe area" regulations. However, unsuccessful air attacks were executed only on July 11, a few days after they were requested by the UNPROFOR forces in Srebrenica. By that time, Bosnian Serb forces had already entered the town of Srebrenica. The Bosnian Muslim civilian population, mainly women, children, and elderly people, was instructed by Bosnian Muslim officials in Srebrenica to seek protection in the UNPROFOR base in Potočari, next to Srebrenica. The male Bosniak population, including civilians and members of Bosnian army, gathered in the village of Šušnjari, from which they started a long walk through the surrounding woods to reach Bosnian army-held territory. Back in Srebrenica, the civilian population stayed in the UN base in Potočari for the next three days, during which time they were systematically transported to Bosnian-held territory. During this time, the Bosnian Serb forces singled out all remaining men of military age, including young boys, and took them to other localities or summarily executed them on the spot. Many women were also taken and raped. The column that left Srebrenica through the woods was attacked and ambushed in the following days. It is reported that the Bosnian Serb forces offered some parts of the column a chance to surrender with the promise of survival, but all the men captured were taken to various sites in Eastern Bosnia where they were summarily executed and buried in mass graves. It is estimated that approximately 12,000 men were in that column. Only one third of the column reached safe territory in the next ten days and survived; the rest were either executed or killed in ambushes. It is estimated that over 8,000 men were killed methodically in just a few days,

requiring meticulous organization and sufficient manpower by the Bosnian Serb forces. In the following months, they reburied the victims in secondary and tertiary mass graves in an attempt to mask the traces of mass killings.[8] Since that time, over two thirds of those killed have been exhumed from the mass graves, and their remains have been identified and reburied at the Memorial Center in Potočari, founded in 2003.

The Srebrenica genocide can be considered the last in a long chain of events that started in the territory of Eastern Bosnia in April of 1992. However, unlike the cases of "ethnic cleansing" that were recorded and interpreted as such in other parts of Eastern Bosnia (namely, in Višegrad, Foča, Prijedor, and other towns and villages), the Srebrenica genocide received tremendous global attention for two reasons. First, it happened shortly before the end of the war, when all eyes already were on Bosnia. Second, its execution involved the (in)actions of the international community, especially the UN peacekeepers, which caused some authors to write about the international community's culpability (see Rhode 2012).

The significance of Eastern Bosnia, including Srebrenica, is well summarized by General Radovan Radinović, a military expert who testified in the Radislav Krstić defense case in the International Criminal Tribunal for Yugoslavia.[9] In his words,

> Serbs intended to preserve Bosnia and Herzegovina as a component part of the former state. That was indeed their fundamental, long-term, and political objective in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Why? I don't think it is very difficult to understand that. They wanted to live in the same state with other Serbs, and the only state that could guarantee that was the former Yugoslavia . . . . The Serbs realized that the area of Central Podrinje [in

[8] For a more detailed account of the chronology of events in Srebrenica, see Honig and Both 1996; ICTY Prosecutor vs. Krstić 2001; Duijizings 2003; and Rhode 2012.

[9] General Radislav Krstić was tried for the genocide in Srebrenica as the Chief of Staff of the Drina Corps of the Army of Republika Srpska, the army unit involved in the execution of the genocide in 1995.

> Eastern Bosnia] had a huge strategic importance for them. Without the area of Central Podrinje, there would be no Republika Srpska, there would be no territorial integrity of Serb ethnic territories; instead the Serb population would be forced to accept the so-called enclave status in their ethnic territories. The territory would be split in two, the whole area would be disintegrated, and it would be separated from Serbia proper and from areas which are inhabited almost 100 percent by Serb populations. (ICTY Prosecutor vs. Krstić 2001: 4-5)

The war in Bosnia was ostensibly concluded with the Dayton Peace Accords signed by the presidents of Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia, and Serbia (Alija Izetbegović, Franjo Tuđman and Slobodan Milošević, respectively) in November 1995. In theory, the Agreement preserved Bosnia as a single unit divided into two entities: the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina comprising Bosniaks and Bosnian Croats; and the Bosnian Serb Republika Srpska. A large portion of Eastern Bosnia, including the Srebrenica municipality, was included in Republika Srpska. In practice, Bosnia-Herzegovina became divided along ethnic lines. Bosnia today is a politically and economically dysfunctional country thanks to the political divisions and obstructions enabled by Annex 4 of the Agreement, which still serves as Bosnia's constitution.

Methods and Literature

a. Genres of Bosnian Music

Music in Bosnia can be conceived as part of a larger mosaic of the music of the Balkans, with countries of the region sharing a number of musical traits such as rural polyphony, the relationship between music and life-cycle and ritual events, the significance of circle dances, the influence of Ottoman Turkish culture, shared or similar instruments, and others. Bosnian

ethnomusicologists usually distinguish between two main categories of Bosnian music: rural and urban. Within the former category, further categorization is maintained between so-called "older" and "newer" traditional rural music. Of "older" forms of traditional rural music, the genre of *ganga* is considered one of the most important. Ganga is a vocal polyphonic genre performed in groups of two or more same-sex singers by Bosniaks and Bosnian Croats in Bosnia. The performance of ganga is marked by close proximity of voices, with the dominance of an interval of a major second (on which ganga also culminates), as well as the element of so-called "cutting" performed by one of the voices with a "gn" sound (see Petrović 1977; 1983; 1995). In addition to ganga, traditional rural music in Bosnia features "newer" forms represented by the genres of *bećarac* and *na bas*. Both bećarac and na bas are vocal polyphonic forms that also feature the interval of major second, but they regularly end on the interval of a fifth (Petrović 1993). All the aforementioned genres contain lyrics related to love and everyday life in villages.

In addition to these widespread vocal forms, rural tradition in Bosnia is characterized by vocal-instrumental music accompanied by the *šargija* (a long-necked lute) or by the combination of šargija and violin. The latter combination is typical for villages in northeastern Bosnia and is known as *izvorna* (literally "from the source"), within which older forms of polyphonic singing have been set to newly developed instrumental accompaniment. These strophic songs are generally in a fast tempo, and they accompany a circle dance called *kolo* (for more on this tradition, see Golemović 1987). Vocal music accompanied solely by the šargija is also closely related to the performance of kolo dances. Music in Bosnia is further characterized by the performance of epic songs accompanied by a bowed fiddle called *gusle*, a practice that is widespread in the former Yugoslavia (especially in Serbia and Montenegro) and in Albania. These long songs usually tell of heroic battles, historic figures, or past events, and they are

performed by a single male performer who accompanies himself heterophonically on the gusle. Historically, epic songs in Bosnia were performed by all three national groups, and, although they were primarily associated with rural areas, they were present in some urban centers in which gusle performers (*guslari*) would be hired by social elites to perform at their homes for an extended period of time. However, after the recent war, gusle and the tradition of epic singing became nationalized and ascribed solely to Bosnian Serbs (on epic tradition, see Buturović 1992; Lord 1960).

Unlike the variety of musical genres present in Bosnian villages, the urban musical tradition in Bosnia is dominated by a single genre: an urban love song, *sevdalinka*. It is believed that sevdalinka emerged during the seventeenth century among Muslim women of the upper classes, only to be embraced later by men, who took the genre into the more public spaces of taverns and coffeehouses. This genre became the common musical heritage of all national groups in Bosnia and was, therefore, composed and performed by all of them. Sevdalinka is a strophic song characterized by a wide range, an extensive employment of melismas and ornaments, and the use of the interval of augmented second. Bosnian ethnomusicologists agree that sevdalinka developed from the elements of Bosnian *poravna* song (literally "straight song") and the influences of Ottoman Turkish and Roma (Gypsy) music (Milošević 1964). Sevdalinka is traditionally performed either a cappella or with the accompaniment of the *saz* (a long-necked, unfretted lute), which accompanies the singer heterophonically. At the beginning of the twentieth century, a major change was introduced into the performance of sevdalinka with the addition of the accordion, which eventually replaced the saz as the principal instrument in sevdalinka performance. The emergence of new media, primarily the radio, as well as cultural policies that were introduced in Bosnia by the Communist government in the former Yugoslavia, have also

changed sevdalinka. The radio contributed to its popularization and, ultimately, a "golden age" of sevdalinka during the 1950s and 1960s, as well as its institutionalization and formalization. During this period, the performance of sevdalinka was significantly shortened, and improvisation – previously a regular feature of sevdalinka – was omitted. At the same time, communist cultural policies caused sevdalinka to be "cleansed" of "oriental" influences. Sevdalinka songs were arranged for so-called folk orchestras by classically trained musicians, and sevdalinka singers trained in fine singing and elecution (for more on sevdalinka, see Petrović 1988; 1989; 1990; Karača-Beljak 2005; Pekka-Pennanen 2010). Sevdalinka started declining in popularity with the emergence of urban popular music during the 1970s, primarily the genre of *newly composed folk music* (NCFM). Sevdalinka also experienced a process of nationalization during the recent war in which particular instruments and musical genres became ascribed to particular national groups in Bosnia. For example, the gusle became ascribed to Bosnian Serbs, the *tamburitza* (a short-necked lute) to Bosnian Croats, and the saz to Bosnian Muslims. In this context, sevdalinka became promoted as the Bosniak cultural heritage.

During the 1970s, popular music forms from other parts of the former Yugoslavia became popular in Bosnia, albeit with Bosnian influences and contributors. The aforementioned newly composed folk music, a genre that combined elements of Bosnian sevdalinka, Serbian *starogradska* (Ottoman-era "old city songs"), and instruments and arrangements typical of Western popular music, became mainstream (see Vidić Rasmussen 1995; 2002). In the 1990s, NCFM morphed into the genre called *turbo-folk*, which is today the most widespread music in both Bosnia and Serbia.[10] There are, of course, other traditions of urban music not native to Bosnia. The first composers and orchestras in the European classical tradition appeared in Bosnia

[10] Turbo-folk, in particular, became associated with Serbian nationalism during the 1990s (see Gordy 1999; Hudson 2003).

in the late nineteenth century, when Bosnia switched hands from the Ottoman to the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Bosnia is also known for its so-called Sarajevan school of rock music, which included some of the major Yugoslav-period rock bands such as Bijelo Dugme [The White Button], Zabranjeno Pušenje [Smoking Forbidden], and Dino Merlin.

In addition to these secular rural and urban genres, there also exist genres of religious music in Bosnia. For Bosniaks, traditional religious music includes the genres of *ilahija* and *kasida* – traditionally unaccompanied strophic songs that were historically performed within dervish orders (followers of Islamic mysticism) and during religious ceremonies and rituals. Depending on the dervish order, these songs were sometimes accompanied by drums and flutes (for more on *ilahija* and *kasida*, see Pekka-Pennanen 1993; 1993/1994; Baralić-Matterne 2003; Laušević 2000), and their lyrics concerned love for God and the Prophet Muhammad.

In this dissertation, I deal with only a subset of all these genres because not all of them historically concern the question of commemoration and not all of them are part of the contemporary commemorative repertoire that is the subject of my research. In the following pages, I will discuss the genres of *izvorna*, *ilahija* and *ilahija*, a new genre of popular religious music that I refer to as "religious pop," and Western classical music.

b. Ethnomusicology of Conflict and Violence

The role of music in times of war, conflict, and violence has long been neglected in ethnomusicological studies (Kartomi 2010; O'Connell 2010). Although interest in this topic has recently increased, the ethnomusicological literature concerning music in times and places of war, violence, and conflict remains scarce. The existing literature is characterized by the assumption that music can and does have an important role within these contexts, recognizing

both its potential to promote peace and its usage as a weapon of symbolic and physical violence. Some of the roles of music in conflict and violence recognized and analyzed by ethnomusicologists are: 1) incitement to violence (Pettan 1998; Laušević 2000; Longinović 2000; Cloonan and Johnson 2008; Baker 2013); 2) encouragement and provocation (Pettan 1998; Sugarman 2010; Kartomi 2010; Baker 2013); 3) resistance (McDonald 2013; Dave 2014); 4) conflict resolution (Pilzer 2003; Urbain 2008; Brinner 2009); 5) strengthening of national identity (Lausevic 2000; Sugarman 2010; McDonald 2013); 6) accompaniment to physical and symbolic violence (Pettan 1998; Gilbert 2005; Cusick 2006, 2008; Cloonan et al. 2008; Baker 2009, 2012, 2013; Daughtry 2014); and 7) commemoration (Fast and Pegley 2007; McDowell 2007; Ritter 2007, 2012, 2014; Baker 2009). This dissertation, then, is specifically situated within the literature on music used to commemorate collective acts of violence, which is also part of a broader ethnomusicological literature on music and memory (among others, Seeger 1991; Feld 1996; Shelemay 1998; Wong 2004; Bithell 2006). Ethnomusicological literature on music, memory, and violence posits particular musical genres as tools employed for the purposes of remembrance, as well as mediums through which people musically express differing views on violence, which can be both positive and negative. The common feature of this literature is that it also observes what is expressed musically in relation to other discourses about the memory and meaning of particular events, often positioning music either alongside "official" (Baker 2009) or "unofficial" (Ritter 2006; 2007; 2012; 2014) narratives of the past.

When it comes to post-genocide musical commemoration, much work has been done by musicologists, with their scholarly analysis mainly focusing on the Holocaust. The majority of work on music and the Holocaust is concerned with the music that was sung and created in ghettos and death camps (for example, Mlotek and Gottlieb 1983; Flam 1992; Silverman 2002;

Gilbert 2005) and Western classical music dedicated to the Holocaust (for example, Arnold 1992; Čizmić 2012; Calico 2014; Wlodarski 2015). Within this literature, music created during the Holocaust is most often analyzed as a form of spiritual resistance (Silverman 2002) or a historical document that can serve as a vehicle of memory (Gilbert 2008). When it comes to representations of the Holocaust in classical music, some musicologists have recently started approaching these as forms of "musical witness" (Čizmić 2012; Wlodarski 2015), referencing the vast sociological and psychological literature on trauma, witnessing, and testimony. On the other hand, post-WWII musical responses to the Holocaust other than in classical music have not received much scholarly attention. Recently, the media scholars Oren Meyers and Eyal Zandberg have addressed the issue of contemporary Holocaust commemoration in Israeli popular culture (2002).

Unlike the Holocaust, other genocides have received limited scholarly attention when it comes to music aimed at their commemoration. In the case of the Armenian genocide, scholars have focused on the role of music in the reinforcement of ethnic identity among Armenian diasporic communities affected by its aftermath (Alajaji 2007; 2013; 2015). In Cambodia, the emphasis is on the revival of "lost" Cambodian culture almost destroyed by genocide (Chambers-Letson 2011). In the case of genocide in Rwanda, the existing repertoire of commemorative songs focuses on remembrance and reconciliation conditioned by the current context of reconciliation between the Tutsis and the Hutus (Karemera 2014; Mugarura 2014).

Ethnomusicologists have been less inclined to analyze commemorative music in the aftermath of genocide or other forms of collective violence (for example, Ritter 2006; Ritter and Daughtry 2007; Baker 2009; and in folklore studies, McDowell 2000, 2007), leaving this issue largely understudied and undertheorized. Jonathan Ritter's work (2012; 2014) is a rare example

in the ethnomusicological literature that deals with a repertoire of songs that, through their content and employment, explicitly serve both as narratives of the past and as the construction of a particular view of history. Ritter has written extensively about the history and development of so-called "testimonial" music created during and after the 1980s and 1990s mass violence and war in Peru (2006; 2007; 2012; 2014). In his most recent work, Ritter situates testimonial music as both the "site of memory" and "sound of memory," claiming that this music represents "a dynamic space for the construction of historical narratives, a space where such narratives could be presented and transformed in the search for public consensus about the past and present" (2014: 220). This corresponds with the role of commemorative neo-traditional music in Bosnia and its diaspora. The concept of the "sites of memory" is a useful analytical tool for the discussion of commemorative music, and Ritter indeed questions the French sociologist Pierre Nora's famous dichotomy between memory and history. Writing in the tradition of Maurice Halbwachs, who argues for a distinction between written history and lived history as a form of collective memory (Halbwachs 1980[1950]), Pierre Nora distinguishes between the "sites of memory" and "settings of memory" (Nora 1989). "The sites of memory" are external symbols and memorials we create to reinforce remembrance (such as museums, archives, cemeteries, festivals, monuments, etc.), and they, according to Nora, differ from the real "settings of memory," in which memory is transmitted naturally and spontaneously through customs, tradition, ritual, and repetition, without the influence of historical versions of the past.[11] By contrast, Ritter argues that testimonial songs can be part of both "the sites" and "the real settings of memory."

I expand on Ritter's perspective by focusing on commemorative songs not only as

[11] While immensely influential, Nora's work is also criticized by a number of scholars, who argue that history and memory do not exclude each other but are mutually interdependent (Crane 1997; Schwartz 1997; Winter 1997; Olick and Robins 1998; Kansteiner 2002; Kligman and Verdery 2013).

bearers of memory, but as "arenas" or spaces in which genocide victims (and political elites) "advance claims for the recognition of their specific war memories . . . for whatever other benefits they seek to derive from such recognition" (Ashplant et al. 2000). This dissertation additionally departs from Ritter's treatment of testimonial music in Peru, a product of popular memory, as distinct from the official version of events supported by the work of the Peruvian Truth and Reconciliation Commission, by examining the interplay between official and popular narratives of the genocide found in the commemorative repertoire in Bosnia.

c. Narrating the Narratives

This dissertation is a narrative about the way the commemorative repertoire operates as a musical narrative about the Srebrenica genocide. Therefore, I position myself primarily as a narrator, an ethnographer. My aim is to expound on testimonies about the genocide present in music to others, so they can understand the people's experiences for themselves, and what effects these experiences have today. My own background does not allow me to take the role of a "neutral observer," nor do I try to impose myself as such. This work belongs in the tradition of "self-reflexive" ethnography, which treats ethnographers' interpretations as always influenced by their own biases; "writing culture" (Clifford and Marcus 1986) is, at the same time, writing about oneself. Ethnography is subjective and selective, and there is no complete, objective, and "truthful" account – it can always be challenged, and there can always be something to add. This approach resonates with my own work. My intention is not to offer an ultimate truth about the Srebrenica genocide or about the meaning and significance this event has acquired in the Bosniak national narrative, and I am fully aware of the existence of other competing narratives. Therefore, I am neither a "neutral observer" nor a "prosecutor." What follows is my

interpretation, unavoidably influenced by who I am and the way I have developed my relationship to this subject through time.

I was not yet seven years old when the war in Bosnia started. I did not experience the Yugoslav school system as generations before me did; the Yugoslav ideal of "brotherhood and unity" was, for me, a largely abstract idea that I heard many times but never actually experienced. Therefore, I never came home from school, like many other children in the wake of war did, to ask my parents "Who am I?" I was taught early about my belonging once my daily life became hiding in neighborhood basements, running to shelter under the rain of shells, and realizing childishly that my life assumed a new form of normal. The fact is that the war remains the biggest mark of my life, though what I have left in my mind from that period are small fragments of memory, mainly traumatic ones. One could argue that this experience of war was a major driver behind my choice of research topic. The truth is that it was instead the curiosity awakened during an ethnological project with internally displaced persons from Eastern Bosnia conducted by the National Museum of Bosnia-Herzegovina, in which I took part in 2008 and 2009, that led me on this path. I encountered the Srebrenica genocide survivors for the first time during this project. Hearing a surviving woman sing was a true revelation for me because, at that time, any relationship between music and the genocide survivors was immediately disregarded since it did not fit the perception of the survivors as "permanent mourners" and inactive agents not wanting to continue with their lives. After a while, I decided to switch the topic of my master's thesis from the music of Bosnian minorities to the history of music in Srebrenica before, during, and after the war of the 1990s (Softic 2011a; 2011b). My focus was on the changing perception and presence of music in this community. After completing my master's degree at the University of Sarajevo, I continued and extended my focus on Srebrenica in the aftermath of

genocide in the Ph.D. program in Ethnomusicology at the University of California, Los Angeles. This dissertation is, therefore, a product of more than seven years of interest in and involvement with this topic.

There are many layers to "nativeness." Although I was born and raised, and have spent a major part of my life, in Bosnia, my belonging to the Srebrenica community surpasses my ethnic and religious identity. In this sense, calling myself a "marginal native" (Freilich 1977) seems appropriate. My marginality is conditioned by my not belonging to the Srebrenica community as someone who is from there, and I first visited the area only when it became my research subject. It is also conditioned by the complexity of what this community came to mean and represent after the war. Primarily, the experience of genocide shared by the members of this community, which became the strongest mark of their post-war identity, makes anyone who does not share that experience an outsider. This tightness of the Srebrenica community as genocide survivors positions it as symbolically apart from the rest of Bosnian society; it is, indeed, an entity in and of itself, and its story both marks and exceeds Bosnia. Being an outsider was not only felt by me personally, but was also ascribed to me during my fieldwork in the Srebrenica community. Still, as Soraya Altorki and Camillia Fawzi El-Solh note, being a "marginal insider" to a particular community does not make a "native" scholar a "non-native" one, as she still possesses a strong familiarity with a wider society (1992: 16). Hence, the native scholar's position is complex not only from the academic point of view that presupposes her subjectivity and her assumed inability to remain detached from the research subject, but also from the point of view of the communities in which she works, which often perceive her according to the established social hierarchy of a particular society. The status of a native scholar also includes a different set of ethical and moral implications. First and foremost, it includes a different level of moral responsibility that is

expected from him as a member of the community he researches. In this case, my own moral responsibility is to the genocide survivors. Although no expectations were ever voiced in this regard, I am always aware that I am expected to approach the Srebrenica genocide in a particular manner that does not challenge the rather controlled narrative about it in contemporary Bosnia. In addition, the established victimhood and innocence ascribed to Srebrenica genocide survivors also provides them with a particular kind of a social capital, a kind of specialness and credibility that allows them to voice unchallenged critiques towards the rest of society. The Srebrenica genocide and its victims and survivors are represented as the ultimate sacrifice for the Bosniak nation, and thus the rest of society is often questioned as to what has it done for the Srebrenica community in return. Although there is a loud critique of the international community's failure to prevent the Srebrenica genocide, this critique is rarely directed towards individual non-native scholars. However, this barrier does not always exist when it comes to the position of the survivors vis-à-vis a native scholar. For example, some members of my research team from the National Museum of Bosnia-Herzegovina were, as both non-survivors and representatives of a relative powerful class (because of their association with Sarajevo, a Bosnian hub of power, and by virtue of their role as researchers from a prestigious scientific institution), faced with the following question from some female survivors they were interviewing: "What have you ever given to us?"

Thus, my position as both insider and outsider informs this work. Such positioning was sometimes beneficial, and sometimes not. It provided me with insights that may have remained hidden to an outsider, but it also prevented me from gaining those that an outsider would be able to acquire. I was able to distance myself critically from the subject during the short fieldwork intervals before 2010 and my subsequent relocation from Bosnia to the United States in the same

year. To the latter, I owe my disentanglement from the Bosnian context, which has transformed how I view and approach the question of music and genocide in Srebrenica.

d. In the Field

My work is the result of fieldwork trips to Bosnia and to cities in the Unites States, including St. Louis, MO, Bowling Green, KY, Atlanta, GA, and Jacksonville, FL. I began my preliminary research in 2013, when I spent one month in Sarajevo and Srebrenica interviewing Srebrenica genocide survivors and a number of musicians who wrote commemorative music dedicated to the genocide. In 2014, I returned to Bosnia to attend an approximately month-long annual commemoration of the genocide that takes place in Srebrenica (with some events held in the capital of Sarajevo) starting in the middle of June and concluding in Potočari, near Srebrenica, on July 11, the day when the city fell in 1995. That date marks the official Day of Remembrance of the Srebrenica genocide. I gathered a major part of the material informing this dissertation in the period between early July and late October 2015 in Bosnia, followed by a visit to St. Louis in November 2015, and concluding with short trips to St. Louis, Bowling Green, Atlanta, and Jacksonville in December 2015 and January 2016, when I accompanied a neo-traditional group from Bosnia performing commemorative songs on their American tour. Altogether, this dissertation is based on more than seven months of dedicated ethnographic work in Bosnia and the United States. Over these seven months, I have interviewed more than eighty people, including musicians, journalists, representatives of associations of Srebrenica genocide survivors in Bosnia and St. Louis, and Srebrenica genocide survivors. I have attended over a dozen commemorative events and musical events featuring commemorative music. In addition to ethnographic work, I have also conducted archival research in Sarajevo, particularly at the

Center for Research of Genocide and Crimes against Human Rights of the University of Sarajevo and at the Media Center Sarajevo, where I collected both scholarly sources on the history of the Srebrenica genocide in the Bosnian language and media reports on this event from July 1995 to the present.

Organization

The dissertation is organized into two main sections, each comprising three chapters. Each section begins with an introductory chapter that outlines the theoretical underpinnings of the following chapters. With this structure, I tried to establish an organic relationship between the two sections by connecting them through the notions of collective memory and official and personal narratives. The first section, titled "Official Narratives," deals with official narratives of the genocide found in Western classical music and Bosnian traditional and popular religious music. The first chapter of this section focuses on the development and content of the official metanarrative about the Srebrenica genocide, tracing its establishment through Bosniak national politics, national media, scholarship, educational curricula, commemorative ceremonies, and artistic commemorative projects from 1995 to the present. Chapter 2 examines the influence of this metanarrative on the creation and content of a work considered to be the official music of the genocide, the classical oratorio "Srebrenički Inferno." In addition, I tease out the issue of the official narrative's domination by exploring another piece of classical music whose trajectory contrasts with that of the Inferno. The third chapter of this section deals with the influence of the official narrative on traditional and popular religious music, exploring the role of religious interpretations of the genocide and the related narrative of victimization within a larger process of Bosniak nation-building.

The second section of this dissertation, titled "Narratives of Survivors," focuses on personal narratives of genocide survivors living in Bosnia and the United States that are found in a specific genre of neo-traditional music, *izvorna* (from the source or wellspring)**,** which is typical of Eastern Bosnia. The first chapter of this section (Chapter 5) lays out a theoretical groundwork for the following two chapters by focusing on individual narratives and their role in the process of post-trauma meaning-making and healing. Continuing on that note, Chapter 6 examines the development of the *izvorna* commemorative repertoire and its employment by genocide survivors for memory preservation and the advancement of their claims to truth about the genocide in opposition to genocide denial. Chapter 7 continues with this focus on *izvorna* songs, but views them as a medium employed by genocide survivors, internal resettlers in Bosnia, and international migrants in the United States to express complex subjectivities reflected in their performances of longing, defiance, and the new beginnings that mark their post-genocide lives. I conclude the dissertation with a chapter that reiterates some of the main themes of this work.

PART I
OFFICIAL NARRATIVES

Chapter 2: When Memory Matters Politically: The Creation of the Srebrenica Genocide Metanarrative

Traumatic events like the Srebrenica genocide inevitably generate memories in those who endure and survive them. These memories may have their origins in individual experiences, but when the trauma is based in a political atrocity, as this one is, then after the trauma political entities – whether nation-states, political parties, or national groups – will seek to shape and control those memories for political advantage. One way they do this is to create expressions of official collective memory and history that are presented to the public through commemorative events, media, educational systems, governmental bodies, and others, representing views that are advantageous to the surviving political entities. This is because official memory and history are understood as constructions of the past that "conform most to the dominant interests," and that are intended to legitimize the elites that propagate them (Jedlowski 2001: 34; see also Wertsch 2002; Kligman and Verdery 2011). As Jan-Werner Müller states, "memory matters *politically*" (2002: 2, emphasis in original) and is often used to accomplish certain political goals in times of crisis. According to Müller, the shape of memory and political interests are interdependent (Ibid.: 30). In other words, the shape, selection, and use of memories are dynamic; memories are politically effective because they can suggest different meanings for different agents. For this reason, politicians use memory to legitimize certain policies in the eyes of a wider public.

Since memory matters politically, political elites in charge of the construction of official memory and history employ the media mentioned above to secure the public dominance and presumed legitimacy of their version of the past, creating a metanarrative about the past. A metanarrative is "an overarching account or interpretation of events and circumstances that provides a pattern or structure for people's beliefs and gives meaning to their experience" (oxforddictionaries.com 2017). The first to introduce this term into scholarly language was the

philosopher Jean Francois Lyotard, in his work "The Postmodern Condition: A Report on Knowledge" (1979). Here, Lyotard defines metanarrative or "grand narrative" as overarching ideas, ideologies, and perceptions. For him, examples of metanarratives include common ideas of truth and justice, but also "the dialectics of Spirit, the hermeneutics of meaning, the emancipation of the rational or working subject, or the creation of wealth" (1979: xxiii). According to Lyotard, great ideologies, such as Marxism or capitalism, and intellectual movements, such as Enlightenment, can be seen as metanarratives.

Lyotard's definition of a metanarrative has also found its way into sociology, primarily through the work of Margaret Somers. Somers developed an influential theory of *narrative identity* during the 1990s (1993; 1994). When discussing narrative as a theoretical concept, Somers differentiates between four dimensions of narrativity: ontological, public, conceptual, and metanarratives. In her view, ontological narratives are those narratives that define who we are, and, consequently, what we do. Public narratives are those narratives constructed by cultural and social institutions, such as families or government, and they surpass a single individual. Conceptual narratives are those concepts and explanations that include factors of social forces, and that are constructed by social scientists (1994: 618-620). Finally, Somers views metanarratives or "masternarratives" in the same way that Lyotard does: as master narratives that dominate and mark particular moments in history, such as Capitalism vs. Communism or Industrialization/Modernization.

Literature studies approach metanarratives in a similar way, though not as master stories that condition our interpretation of history, but as universal concepts, such as Good vs. Evil. In this view, metanarratives provide a particular narrative schema and a structure for individual narratives, as well as "the criteria for perception and appreciation by which sense is made of that

structure" (Stephens and McCallum 1998). Similarly, scholars of leadership studies Justin A. Irving and Karin Klenke approach metanarratives as master stories that produce a particular meaning and organize events in a certain order by integrating cultural, historical, psychological, and other perspectives (2004: 30). According to Irving and Klenke, metanarratives, as dominant master stories, have the potential to suppress other narratives. In this sense, they can be compared to "hegemonic narratives," which the political scientist Jelena Subotic defines as dominant narratives that encounter little or no challenge and that "interpret the past and then situate the past in the circumstances of the present" (2013: 307). Considering their power to produce meaning and to fix it in time (Ibid.: 308), these dominant narratives, usually disseminated by political elites and nation states, are a significant part of "states' autobiographies" as "they often contain a clear designation of responsibility for past historical events that are perceived to be unjust" and "delineate the space available for political action" (Ibid.).

Following Irwing, Klenke, and Subotic in their claim about the relationship between metanarrative and "meaning-making," I here employ the notion of metanarrative as an overarching representation of the Srebrenica genocide that affects people's perceptions, understanding, and renditions of this traumatic event. For the purposes of my discussion, I do not, however, see metanarratives as a "global or totalizing cultural narrative schema," as suggested by Stephens and McCallum, or omnipresent ideals or ideologies, as argued by Lyotard and Somers, nor do I treat the metanarrative about the Srebrenica genocide as "oppressive" (Irwing and Klenke 2004). Still, the fact is that this metanarrative represents a dominant story about the Srebrenica genocide, at least in one part of Bosnia. It is my contention that the dominant metanarrative about the Srebrenica genocide provides a schema and structure to the

representation of individual narratives about this event, as well as criteria for their perception. It is through this metanarrative that the story about the Srebrenica genocide is given specific meaning, and it is through this metanarrative that this story is told in a particular order and in combination with wider historical, cultural, social, political, and religious contexts. Individual narratives of the genocide are structured according to this metanarrative, which makes these individual narratives schematic. On the other hand, all narratives that do not comply with this structure are excluded from the metanarrative, which can make them marginal, oppositional, and controversial.

Metanarratives, as *lieux de memoire*, are perpetuated in many forms, including official histories, journalistic accounts, educational curricula, monuments and other works of art, commemorative ceremonies, and, especially relevant in this case, musical compositions and performances. In the Bosniak case, these forms include scholarly books (such as those produced by the Institute for the Research of Crimes Against Humanity and International Law), nationalized media (such as *Dnevni Avaz*, a newspaper), history textbooks, commemorative galleries and exhibitions (such as the Gallery 11/7/95 or the exhibition *Ars Memoriae*), the official annual commemorative ceremony in Potočari-Srebrenica, and musical compositions such as "Srebrenički Inferno" ["Srebrenica's Inferno"] and "Cvijet Srebrenice" ["The Flower of Srebrenica"]. In this section of my dissertation, I focus principally on commemorative and religious ceremonies and the classical and religious music that accompanies them. In addition, I focus on the way these events and musical genres are influenced by and help to create and reinforce the dominant metanarrative about the Srebrenica genocide that represents an important segment of politically advantageous official collective memory and history of the war and

genocide among Bosniaks. In this particular chapter, however, I deal with the development and content of the Srebrenica genocide metanarrative.

A metanarrative about the Srebrenica genocide assumed a prominent role in Bosnia's post-1995 autobiography for at least two reasons. First, this metanarrative gives particular meaning to the war and, therefore, to the suffering of Bosnian Muslims during the war. Second, organized as a historical sequence of events that highlights the failure of the Western powers and the United Nations to prevent the genocide, this metanarrative offers a "clear designation of responsibility" (Subotic 2013) and opens up a space for political action by Bosniak political elites on both the national and international level. Given the political significance of the Srebrenica genocide, the Bosniak political elite initiated the creation of this metanarrative, which was later supported by its dissemination in national media, scholarship, public education in the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina, and the official commemoration of the genocide. Through these means, the Bosniak political elite established a mechanism for the control of collective memory and history of the Srebrenica genocide.

The main elements in the creation and dissemination of the Srebrenica genocide metanarrative in Bosnia since 1995 are: 1) initial statements made by Bosniak politicians in the days before and after the genocide took place in July 1995, and at the official commemorations in Potočari since 2003; 2) national media, first in the wartime Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina (RBiH) and later in the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina; 3) scholarly research and works published in the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina; 4) the education system and, more precisely, history textbooks used and distributed in the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina, primarily in areas dominated by the Bosniak population; and 5) other educational, documentary, and artistic

initiatives that resulted in the dissemination of a unified representation of the Srebrenica genocide.

The Metanarrative

a. Political statements

National media in the wartime Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina distributed statements made by Bosniak political leaders during July 1995, after the fall of Srebrenica. In these statements, Bosniak political leaders and journalists characterized the events in Srebrenica in various ways – as a "tragedy," "suffering," an "attack on Srebrenica," "crime against the people of Srebrenica," "massacre," and "genocide." For example, on July 12, 1995, the Bosnian Prime Minister Haris Silajdžić characterized events in Srebrenica as the "massacre of helpless civilians" (Oslobođenje 7/12/1995), while other politicians interpreted these events in the context of collective Bosniak suffering under the umbrella of "genocide." The term "genocide" was particularly used when referring to the overall nature of the war in Bosnia, of which Srebrenica was viewed as its most tragic escalation. In this way, Bosniak political leaders continued their rhetoric of characterizing the war in Bosnia as an aggression and genocide against Bosnian Muslims. They used this rhetoric throughout the war to draw the attention of the international community to the suffering of Bosniaks and to seek the prevention of further crimes (Bougarel 2007). However, "genocide" subsequently emerged as the taken-for-granted term in the Bosniak metanarrative about the events in Srebrenica, and all other possible interpretations of the event in Bosnia were effectively eclipsed. This characterization was ultimately confirmed in 2007, when the International Criminal Tribunal for Yugoslavia and the International Court of Justice officially designated the crimes in Srebrenica as an act of genocide. This designation was

followed by the lawsuit of Bosnia-Herzegovina against Serbia and Montenegro for genocide in the same year, but the Court did not find Serbia guilty of genocide, except for not interfering and preventing the genocide.

b. Culpability

Paralleling the official characterization of the events in Srebrenica as genocide, the Bosniak political elites' and journalists' accounts assigned blame for what happened in Srebrenica. The first analyses of the events in Srebrenica directed blame toward the international community for not taking preventive action (Figure 3). For example, on July 16, 1995, the President of the Parliament of the RBiH, Miro Lazović, stated in his letter to the United States Congress and the Parliaments of Great Britain, Germany, Italy, Spain, France, and Russia:

> The complete collapse of UNPROFOR in BiH, which was most obviously in the "safe" and demilitarized zone of Srebrenica, demands a review of the UN forces mandate, and the Parliament of RBiH will soon have its say about that. We will review the entire politics of the international community in Bosnia-Herzegovina, and we demand that you support this initiative with willful action to stop the aggression against BiH. (Oslobođenje 7/16/95)

Similarly, the President of the RBiH, Alija Izetbegović, stated that the United Nations contributed to the situation in Srebrenica with its belated and insubstantial actions, while others claimed that the international community and the United Nations supported and were complicit in the events in Srebrenica (Oslobođenje 7/13/95). This rhetoric, blaming the international community and the United Nations for the genocide in Srebrenica continues to the present day and has been a trigger for apologetic politics of international politicians in their reflections on the

genocide and their public speeches at official annual commemorations at the Srebrenica-Potočari Memorial Center.

Figure 3. A cartoon from Oslobođenje portraying the United Nations as a snail and stating: "Forces for fast interventions in Bosnia-Herzegovina."

c. Representations of Victims

The connection of the term genocide with the events in Srebrenica and the rhetoric blaming the international community were coupled with the creation of a narrative that concerned the principal victims of the genocide. In July 1995, print media (newspapers and magazines) in the Bosniak-dominated part of Bosnia established a visual and textual picture of the Srebrenica genocide by focusing on the exodus of the Srebrenica population from the city, testimonies of eyewitnesses, and poignant photographs of expelled women and children, emphasizing their status as innocent victims. Women and children made up the majority of the expelled Srebrenica population, and they came to the forefront of the narrative about Srebrenica's suffering, with their stories featured in on-site journalistic reports.

d. A Muslim Tragedy

These images and stories were soon situated in the context of collective Bosniak suffering. On July 11, 1995, the Governor of the Tuzla-Podrinje Canton, Izet Hodžić, stated, "In this moment, the heart of Bosnia and Bosniak people is in Srebrenica, in the trenches of Srebrenica fighters, *in the tears of Srebrenica's mothers*, [and] *in prayers of righteous Bosniaks* to their only Master" (Oslobođenje 7/11/1995: 3, my emphasis). Already, this sentiment alludes to the suffering of Srebrenican women, who later became a symbol of the genocide, and refers to the innocence ascribed to Bosnian Muslims. This characterization of the Srebrenica genocide as not only the tragedy of Bosniak people as a whole, but also as the tragedy of Muslims, reverberated in statements that followed throughout July 1995. The Bosnian Islamic Community leader Mustafa ef. Cerić was one of the most prominent advocates of this perspective, characterizing the events in Srebrenica as "the genocide of Muslims" (Oslobodjenje 7/17/1995).[1] Writing for the support of religious leaders in Muslim countries of the world, Cerić stated:

> Dear brothers in Islam: A few moments ago, I visited old people, women, and children who were expelled from Srebrenica to Tuzla by the Serbs, helped by the UN, because they are Muslims. These 40,000 Muslims from Srebrenica survived killings, rapes, exodus, and humiliation while the entire world watched, including a billion Muslims around the world. Muslims from Srebrenica asked me to tell you that they are mostly hurt

[1] The Islamic Community in Bosnia-Herzegovina was established in 1882, during the period of Austro-Hungarian rule in the country. Since its establishment, the Community has been in charge of all religious matters in Bosnia, including the appointment of all religious cleric. The Community is chaired by a *reis-ul-ullema*, the supreme head of the Community. During the period of the former Yugoslavia (1945-1992), the Islamic Community in Bosnia-Herzegovina was the main Muslim organization in all Yugoslav countries. Since 1990s, the Community remains the main Muslim organization for all Bosniaks in Bosnia-Herzegovina and other former Yugoslav countries (Croatia, Macedonia, Montenegro, Serbia, and Slovenia), as well as for the Bosniak diaspora. For more information, see Nakičević 1996 and the Islamic Community's official website http://www.islamskazajednica.ba/islamska-zajednica.

> with the fact that the Christian world, under the pressure of world powers, agreed to the moral suicide in Srebrenica, because in Bosnia the victims are Muslims and their perpetrators are people who claim to be Christians. Those carriers of evil build their pyramid in New York on the blood and tears of us, Muslims in Bosnia, but also all Muslims of the world, because the genocide in Bosnia is the genocide of all Muslims, and the human dignity of all Muslims is destroyed in Bosnia. (Ibid.)

Similarly, Bosnian president Alija Izetbegović stated that "some centers of power in the world do not want the Muslim people to exist here" (Oslobođenje 7/19/1995: 3), reasoning that the Srebrenica genocide was allowed to happen because it was directed toward Muslims. French anthropologist Xavier Bougarel (2007) notes that the beginnings of this rhetoric were already present among Bosniak political and religious leaders at the beginning of the war. The explanation of the entire Bosniak suffering with the phrase "just because we are Muslims" [*samo zato što smo muslimani*] continued throughout the war and post-war periods, contributing to what historian Iwona Irwin-Zarecka defines as the differentiation between the victim and the perpetrator (1994: 60); that is, the self and the other.

This relationship between religion and victimhood began as early as the late 1980s, when all three ethnic groups in Bosnia experienced an increased sense of religious identity. Additionally, this relationship was reinforced by an increase in nationalist rhetoric, by the political crisis that preceded the breakup of Yugoslavia and the wars in Croatia and Bosnia, and by the strengthening and politicization of religious institutions. For Bosniaks, the increased sense of a Muslim identity was also related to the Islamic revival in Bosnia during this period. This Islamic revival was a result of pan-Islamist movements in Muslim countries of the Middle East and Asia, and was followed by the politicization of religion in the early 1990s in Bosnia. This

was mainly reflected in the formation of the Bosniak national political party SDA (Stranka Demokratske Akcije, "Party of Democratic Action"), which won the first free elections in Bosnia in 1990. SDA was founded by members of the pan-Islamist current in Bosnia, primarily Alija Izetbegović, who became the first president of independent Bosnia in 1992 (Bougarel 2003: 347). According to Bougarel, SDA openly supported the re-Islamization of Bosniak identity, which was additionally emphasized by the outbreak of war (Ibid.: 352). In addition, the party took control over Islamic religious institutions in Bosnia in 1993 by initiating the split of "Yugoslav Islamic religious institutions along national lines," creating a new set of institutions limited to Bosnia, Sandžak, and the Bosnian Muslim diaspora (Ibid.: 353), and, ultimately, ensuring that newly-elected religious leaders were close to the party.[2] The Islamic Community of Bosnia-Herzegovina also became an important part of Bosnian political life during the 1990s. The Community became responsible for all commemorations of Bosniak victims during the war, which affected the way these victims were remembered and commemorated. A defining act that characterized Bosniaks as not only victims, but as innocent *Muslim* victims, was the Islamic Community's decision to define all Muslim fallen soldiers as *šehidi* (religious martyrs, sn. *šehid*).[3] According to Bougarel,

[2] Sandžak is a historical geopolitical region now divided between Serbia and Montenegro, with a significant Muslim population. During Ottoman rule, Sandžak was part of the so-called Bosnian Villayet (an administrative district), which causes many Sandžak Muslims to identify with Bosniaks even today.

[3] It is important to note that the use of the term *šehid* in Bosnia has a primarily religious-national, and not strictly religious, nature. Although *šehidi* are understood as religious martyrs, their role in Bosnia differs significantly from other instances of Islamic religious martyrdom, such as for example in Palestine (on martyrdom in Palestine and elsewhere, see Khosrokhavar 2005; Cook 2007; Khalili 2007), and they have no relationship whatsoever with the current interpretation of martyrdom represented through the acts of suicide-bombers elsewhere. As Bougarel (2007) notes, the designation of Muslim victims (both civilian and military) in Bosnia as *šehidi* was a deliberate policy propagated by the SDA and the Islamic Community in service of the wartime homogenization of the Bosniak population and the articulation of the meaning of the war. The Bosniak people have not always unilaterally accepted this policy. As an example, Bougarel refers to a note from one bereaved father to Alija Izetbegović, in which the father condemns the policy, stating that his son is not a *šehid* and that he does not "allow anybody to refer to

> After the war, the cult of *šehidi* has remained a central element in the commemorative practices of the SDA and the *Islamska Zajednica* [Islamic Community], its main function being to cultivate the remembrance of fallen soldiers and to influence the character of nascent war memory. (2007:172)

The development of Bosniak "Muslim victimhood" continued after the war with the purpose of reinforcing an ethno-religious collective identity. In terms of the Srebrenica genocide, this was accomplished by the Islamic Community assuming an important role in the commemoration of the genocide and in declaring all genocide victims *šehidi*. Considering the international community's role in the fall of Srebrenica, the narrative of victimization has been used by Bosniak politicians in their efforts toward genocide recognition and the reunification of Bosnia-Herzegovina. This is clear in historian Jie-Hyun Lim's observation that the embrace of victimhood by some nation-states is a result of the awareness that "the global public sphere tends to be more sympathetic to innocent victims," making the achievement of political goals more probable (2010: 138-139). In a similar vein, Bar-Tal et al. write:

> Victimhood in a conflict enables criticism to be avoided and support obtained from the international community, especially when the group or society concerned is the weaker side, suffers more and does not violate international moral codes of behavior. Victims are not blamed for the outbreak of the conflict and the violence that follows, as they are suffering from the unjustified violence of the aggressor. This is crucial in obtaining the backing of worldwide public opinion and increasing the likelihood of moral, political and material support. In the post-conflict era, it puts the group or society at an advantage –

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him in this way. In my language there are a thousand non-religious and non-partisan words to describe his sacrifice for Bosnia" (Bougarel 2007: 179).

especially if the rival accepts this status – as the one that should get support, assistance, compensation, apology, and so on. (2009: 246)

The most obvious example, in this sense, would be the case of "competitive victimhood" between Israelis and Palestinians. When it comes to competing victim narratives and the politics of memory in former Yugoslavia, Michele Frucht Levy (2015) notes that, while Bosniaks, Croats, and Serbs have all employed narratives of victimization during and after the wars of the 1990s, the Croatian and Serbian "war for innocence" has remained a regional dispute, while Bosniak suffering has been globally acknowledged. The official commemoration in Srebrenica became "imbued with socio-political and religious meaning" (Wagner and Nettelfield 2013: 59), a space in which Bosniaks demonstrate their victimhood, but also their unity and survival (Duijizings 2007: 160), and which acts as a "social glue" that bonds Bosniaks "on the basis of the present threat [genocide negation and a divided Bosnia] and past 'chosen traumas'" (Bar-Tal et al. 2009: 245).

e. Official Commemoration

After 2003, the metanarrative about the Srebrenica genocide was reinforced by the establishment of the Srebrenica-Potočari Memorial Center and Cemetery and the official commemoration and communal burial that has taken place there annually on July 11, the official Day of Remembrance of the Srebrenica genocide. The immediate aftermath of the Srebrenica genocide was marked by the first official Bosniak initiatives towards transforming this tragedy into a "shared and generic symbol of Muslim victimization" (Duijizings 2007) and a synecdoche for the entire war. After 1995, informal commemorations of the Srebrenica genocide began to occur in Tuzla Canton in northeastern Bosnia, where the majority of Srebrenican women, mostly

widowed, were resettled in the immediate years after the war. These women, already organized around non-governmental victims' associations (Subašić and Hotić interview, August 2015), gathered every July 11 demanding that their missing relatives be found.[4] In addition to these informal gatherings, the first formal memorial and "burial in absence" was held in 1997 in the village of Ravne, near Kladanj (where the first expelled Srebrenicans came after the exodus in 1995).[5] A burial in absence is not a common feature of Bosniak culture. Some three thousand people led by Reis Ul-Ullema Mustafa ef. Cerić participated in a religious ceremony for all genocide victims (Dnevni Avaz 7/11/2015). However, the first official burial was held in 2003, after the opening of the Srebrenica-Potočari Memorial Center. In 1996, victims' associations became the main initiators behind the idea of building a memorial center and burying all victims of the genocide in Potočari, near Srebrenica, at the very site of genocide (Duijizings 2007; Wagner 2008; Wagner and Nettelfield 2013). At first, both Bosniak and Bosnian Serb authorities opposed this initiative; Bosnian Serb authorities opposed the possibility of renewed Bosniak presence in an ethnically cleansed Bosnian Serb entity of the Republic of Srpska, while the Bosniak authorities dismissed the idea because the proposed location was in Republic of Srpska and because of a competing movement for the location to be in a Bosniak-dominated area. However, both sides were pressured to agree by the international community, specifically

[4] The movement led by Srebrenican women around these non-governmental victims' associations and their designation as "mothers" or "women" (and, interestingly, never as "widows") is not a unique case. It is comparable to similar and much earlier movements organized by Argentinian women known as the Mothers of the Plaza del Mayo, an association of relatives of those who "disappeared" during the 1970s dictatorship in Argentina. In fact, it might be argued that the activities of the Srebrenican women are modeled on the activities performed by the Mothers of the Plaza del Mayo for the last thirty-five years. This is especially true in terms of the parallel between the Argentinian Mothers' weekly protest walks and the Srebrenican women's monthly walks to demand justice for their relatives (for more on the Mothers of the Plaza del Mayo, see Navarro 1989; Arditti 1999; Bouvard 2002). When it comes to the former Yugoslav region, a similar women's movement is also present in Serbia and is exemplified through the activism of the Women in Black association (see Friedman 2006).

[5] For an example of a burial in absence in Transylvania, see Kligman 1988.

through the Office of the High Representative (OHR) in Bosnia-Herzegovina that initiated the building of the Memorial Center in Srebrenica-Potočari and provided financial support.[6] In 2000, the High Representative of the international community in Bosnia, Wolfgang Petrisch, designated the land in Potočari as the site of the future memorial center and communal cemetery, and in that year the first commemoration was held on the land in Potočari. One of the intended purposes of the Memorial Center was to support the reconciliation of Bosnia's two entities: the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina and the Republic of Srpska (Polack 2003; Duijizings 2007; Wagner and Nettelfield 2013). While it was the desire of the surviving women, united into non-governmental organizations, to demand truth and justice for genocide victims and to bury their loved ones in Potočari, the main reasoning behind the Center's establishment was to reestablish the presence of Bosniaks in the now ethnically Serb Republic of Srpska and to inspire more Bosniaks to return to Srebrenica. The international community presumed that the Memorial Center would force the Bosnian Serb authorities to acknowledge their crimes, while also offering solace to the Bosniak populace by providing a memorial and a place they would want to come back to (Polack 2003; Duijizings 2007; Wagner and Nettelfield 2013). While the Center became a central site of genocide commemoration, it has not, over the last twenty years, truly promoted reconciliation. Although a certain number of Bosniaks did return to their pre-war homes in the Srebrenica municipality, tensions between Serbs and Bosniaks have persisted.[7] These tensions

[6] Office of the High Representative (OHR) is an international institution, established by the Dayton Peace Agreement, which oversees the civilian aspects of its implementation for the purposes of enduring democracy in Bosnia-Herzegovina. OHR is designated to remain in Bosnia-Herzegovina until the country is capable of solving its own affairs without the assistance of the international community, and it is still in effect. For more information, see www.ohr.int.

[7] According to data collected by the Unija za održivi povratak i integracije u Bosni i Hercegovini [Union for Sustainable Return and Integration in Bosnia-Herzegovina], a total of 9,648 people have returned to live in the Srebrenica municipality as of 2012 (for more information, visit http://uzopibih.com.ba/povratak/srebrenica.html).

are exemplified by sporadic attacks on, and even killings of, individual returnees and through various misdeeds by local authorities against Bosniaks in the Republic of Srpska.[8]

Since the Center's opening in 2003, the July 11 commemoration is used as a space in which Bosniaks and members of the international community impose a representation of the Srebrenica genocide that is contested by the Bosnian Serb authorities. This contestation is exemplified by both the (almost regular) absence of Bosnian Serb representatives at the official commemoration and the establishment of "counter-memorials" such as the commemoration of Bosnian Serb victims one day after the Srebrenica genocide commemoration. The official commemoration, however, represents the Srebrenica genocide as the exemplar of Bosniak suffering and articulates the narrative of collective victimization that forms the basis of the Bosniak narrative about the recent war.

f. Search for the Missing

After the opening of the Memorial Center Srebrenica-Potočari in 2003 and the discovery of the first mass graves in what year?, the media in the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina started putting more emphasis on the search for missing Srebrenicans and the burial of those who had been found. Since 2005, two newspapers in particular in the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina, *Oslobođenje* [Liberation] and *Dnevni Avaz* [Daily Voice], as well as the *Univerzitetski Informativni Glasnik* [Informative Herald of the University of Sarajevo], began publishing so-called "special enclosures" regarding "big" anniversaries of the Srebrenica genocide – the tenth, fifteenth, and, most recently, the twentieth anniversary of the genocide. Since 2012, *Dnevni Avaz* has published these "special enclosures" annually on July 11. *Dnevni Avaz* and *Oslobođenje*'s

[8] Recently, Bosniak returnees in the RS have protested against the local government's decision to remove the sequence of national courses from school curriculum, forcing Bosniak children to learn from textbooks that propagate a Bosnian Serb version of history and the conflict in Bosnia.

special enclosures are distributed along with regular newspaper issues. Considering the fact that these two printed media are the most widely read newspapers in the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina, these special enclosures reach a wide audience. Special enclosures generally contain the names of Srebrenica victims to be buried that year; testimonies of survivors; comments by Bosnian, regional, and international politicians, diplomats, and scholars; and, on big anniversaries, a detailed chronology of the events in Srebrenica preceded by the war in Bosnia, the break-up of the former Yugoslavia, and a longer history of the suffering of Bosniak people, creating an ordered and contextualized story of the Srebrenica genocide (see, for example, Special Addition nb. 3 of the Informative Herald of the University of Sarajevo, July 2010). Special additions also include images of Srebrenican women and children and the burial in Potočari (Figure 4).

Figure 4. An orphan from Srebrenica on the grave of her relative. Oslobođenje 7/12/2004: 4.

g. Genocide Denial

Discourse about genocide denial also became one of the important features of media reports on the Srebrenica genocide during this time period, though the indications of what would

later become official Bosniak and Bosnian Serb rhetoric about Srebrenica started appearing in media immediately after the fall of the city in July 1995 (see *Oslobođenje* 7/11/1995 – 7/15/1995; *Glas Srpski* ([Serbian Voice] 7/11/1995 – 7/15/1995). While the members of the government of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina immediately characterized events in Srebrenica as genocide, the Republic of Srpska instead claimed that the killings in Srebrenica were committed by the Army of the RBiH itself (Wagner and Nettelfield 2013: 278) and that the city's takeover was a justifiable "defense" against "Muslim terrorism" (*Glas Srpski* 7/13/1995). This rhetoric of denial continues to this day as the Republic of Srpska still does not acknowledge the Srebrenica genocide. Genocide denial has gone through multiple stages, ranging from "outright disavowal, to discrediting, to renaming, and finally to justifying" (Wagner and Nettelfield 2013: 272-273).[9] As the historian Ger Duijizings notes, in today's Bosnia, there are "different perspectives" on what happened in Srebrenica,

> perspectives which seem to be wholly incompatible: although similar in style and rhetorics, the 'official' Muslim and Serbian accounts of the war tell completely different stories, which are difficult to match, even if they dovetail on the level of particular events, specific dates, places and actors. In addition, there are many individual narratives [that] do not fit into these larger schemes. (2003: 5-6)

The question of the genocide denial became especially heated starting in 2007 in relation to other political events in Bosnia and the region. During this period, Bosnia experienced one of its worst political crises since the war, when Republic of Srpska representatives led by Prime Minister Milorad Dodik protested against new voting rules that allowed for reform, out of the

[9] Wagner and Nettelfield note the constant shift of content in the Bosnian Serb rhetoric of denial, which is always conditioned by the current political environment. For example, the president of the Republic of Srpska, Dragan Čavić, publicly apologized for events in Srebrenica in 2004, calling them "a black page in the history of Serb people" (Wagner and Nettelfield 2013: 270). However, this rhetoric changed with his successor, Milorad Dodik, who intensified negationist politics.

fear of being outnumbered by other ethnic groups. In addition, this was also the time when Dodik started with his threats for the withdrawal of the Republic of Srpska from Bosnia-Herzegovina, which was particularly alarming for Bosniak politicians because of Kosovo's recent withdrawal from Serbia (Bilefsky 2008). With the increase of ethnic tensions in Bosnia-Herzegovina after 2008, then, the media began to dedicate considerable attention to genocide denial rhetoric present in the Republic of Srpska and Serbia. This was also triggered by the official designation of the crimes in Srebrenica as an act of genocide by the International Criminal Tribunal for Yugoslavia and the International Court of Justice in 2007, and the lawsuit of Bosnia-Herzegovina against Serbia and Montenegro for genocide in the same year.

h. Genocide in Bosniak Scholarship

In addition to media reports and the official commemoration, one of the first books that made a considerable impact on the Srebrenica metanarrative is the 1999 collection of scholarly commentaries and survivor testimonies about wartime mass rape in Bosnia-Herzegovina. The book, titled *Molila sam ih da me ubiju* [*I've Begged Them to Kill Me*], is the first report dedicated to the documentation of war suffering published by the Centar za Istraživanje i Dokumentaciju Saveza Logoraša Bosne i Herzegovine [Center for Investigation and Documentation of the Union of Camp Inmates of Bosnia-Herzegovina].[10] Although the Union is predominantly male, and it focuses on male inmates of war camps in Bosnia, *I've Begged Them*

[10] According to the group's website, "Union of Camp Inmates in Bosnia-Herzegovina, founded on 08/25/1996, is a non-governmental, non-party and multinational association of the citizens of Bosnia-Herzegovina, surviving inmates and members of families of killed inmates, across many associations in the country and its diaspora" (for more information, visit http://www.logorasibih.ba).

to Kill Me was dedicated to the women who were raped during the war.[11] The work, divided into scholarly analysis of the nature of the war in Bosnia and the meaning of rape, and anonymous testimonies of raped women, frames the suffering of raped women as the suffering of Bosniak people as a whole. A part of the book where the collective Bosniak victimhood is most directly pronounced is a poem that follows a scholarly analysis and precedes anonymous testimonies. The poem, written by Irfan Ajanović, a former Bosniak politician and a war camp inmate himself, is titled "Bošnjakinji" ["To the Bosniak woman"]. Its last verse states:

> And your mother Bosnia,
> Thanks to God Almighty,
> HAS NOT DISAPPEARED, sister,
> But it remained honorable like you…
> Bosnia embraces you, and you embrace Bosnia,
> Freedom embraces you, and you embrace freedom…
> …the victim fertilizes the fruit again,
> the living suffering breeds the crop,
> Bosnia, life and freedom…[12]

In her 2013 book *Innocence and Victimhood: Gender, Nation and Women's Activism in Postwar Bosnia*, the anthropologist Elissa Helms offers an analysis of this publication. According to Helms, the testimonies cited in the introductory articles are framed according to Orientalist depictions of female purity; that is, the unspoiled honor and virtue ascribed to a Muslim woman (2013: 85). Ajanović's poem strongly resonates with this notion, especially in the last verse negating the fact that this honor and purity have been attacked with the act of rape. Helms argues that the book is "framed in terms of Bosniac and Bosnian victimhood" (Ibid.:

[11] It is estimated that approximately 30,000 to 50,000 women were raped during the war in Bosnia. The majority of them were raped in the so-called rape camps, especially in Eastern Bosnia. Mass rape was one of the instruments of ethnic cleansing and genocide in Bosnia. Since it was so widely used as a weapon of war in Bosnia, the International Criminal Tribunal for Yugoslavia has declared rape as an act of genocide. For more on rape during the Bosnian war, see, among others, Faber and Stigelmayer (1994); Mežnarić 1994; Mostov 1995; Niarchos (1995); Allen (1996); Hansen (2001); Helms (2013).

[12] My translation.

82).[13] For her, the book's primary focus is on "the meanings of these rapes for the nation, as part of a wider pattern of Bosniac suffering under persecution and genocide, despite the designation 'the crime against the women of Bosnia-Herzegovina'" (83). This framework was subsequently translated into the understanding of the Srebrenica genocide as a collective Bosniak tragedy, finding its way into literary and musical commemorative works (in particular, the poem and the oratorio "Srebrenički Inferno").

Since the 2000s, a representation of the Srebrenica genocide that corresponds with that initiated by the Bosniak political elite in 1995 and further developed by the media was also created through Bosniak scholarship, particularly studies produced and published by the Institute for Research of Crimes Against Humanity and International Law of the University of Sarajevo (for example, see Čekić 2007; Lapenda 2008; Šabić 2008). These works are mostly based on chronological descriptions of the events in Srebrenica, without further scholarly analysis, and they offer a singular, ethno-national perspective on the war and genocide in Bosnia. This is also true of history textbooks in the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina.[14]

i. Genocide in Educational Curricula

The issue of history textbooks in Bosnia-Herzegovina started with the beginning of the war, when the once-united Yugoslav educational system was replaced by three parallel systems divided along the ethnic lines. With the beginning of the war in Bosnia, the parts of Bosnia with majority Bosnian Croat and Bosnian Serb populations started importing history textbooks from Croatia and Serbia, respectively, which was accompanied by the production of new history

[13] Helms uses a less common English term for Bošnjak (bos.), Bosniac, instead of its equivalent, Bosniak.

[14] Unfortunately, I was unable to acquire information about the first mentions of the Srebrenica genocide in history textbooks after the war, as these are continuously revised and changed, making it challenging to acquire those editions that were printed immediately after the war.

textbooks in the RBiH by the Bosniak majority (Karge and Batarilo 2008: 15). In 1999 and 2000, Bosnia-Herzegovina faced the reform of history education, which demanded coordination between these three parallel educational systems and the creation of "national subjects" (language, history, and geography) (Ibid.: 11). The existence of these national subjects in postwar Bosnia-Herzegovina means that each political entity and national group has their own textbooks for history, language, and geography, which are adjusted to the official politics of their respective governmental and political bodies. Children in different entities learn history, geography, and language differently from their peers in other places. According to the report compiled by the Balkan Investigative Reporting Network and the Fund for Humanitarian Law, Documentation, and Memory for 2009, all history textbooks in Bosnia-Herzegovina at the time contained some degree of ethnic bias:

> Textbooks variously reflected bias in their approach to the issues related to the dissolution of SFR, Yugoslavia, and military conflicts. Responsibility for the forced dissolution of Yugoslavia is explicitly or disproportionally ascribed to the "other" side. Although the majority of textbooks do not dispute that the members of the majority ethnic group were responsible for committing war crimes, these crimes are mentioned only briefly, without concrete information, unlike more detailed descriptions of crimes committed by the opposing side. Textbooks often assign responsibility for "ethnic cleansing" and other types of crimes to the other side, while avoiding mention of their own side committing such crimes. ("Tranziciona pravda u postjugoslavenskim zemljama" 2009)

Differences between history textbooks used by the three main national groups in Bosnia correspond with the nonexistence of either political or scholarly consensus in Bosnia-

Herzegovina on a national level about the events in Srebrenica, caused by the existence of two competing versions of the past in the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina and the Republic of Srpska. Hence the representation of the Srebrenica genocide in history textbooks remains minimal and largely factual (Halimović 2015). However, some history textbooks in the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina forsake an analysis of the events in Srebrenica in favor of describing what happened in ways that confirm the truth about the genocide that the metanarrative takes for granted (for example, Čehajić and Šabotić 2012).

j. Memorial Projects

Paralleling the ongoing construction of the Srebrenica metanarrative in the media, scholarly works, and educational system, memorial projects either conform to the metanarrative or rely on its most powerful elements, such as the symbolism of Srebrenican women and their suffering. One of the first artistic initiatives to commemorate the Srebrenica genocide happened in 2000, and was in fact the product of Srebrenican women. On July 10, 2000, the High Commissioner to BiH, Wolfgang Petrisch, opened the exhibition of Srebrenican women's handicrafts in Sarajevo. Although the handicrafts did not address the genocide directly, this marked the first time that Bosnian politicians and international community representatives spoke publicly about the Srebrenica genocide. Two other exhibitions followed this project: on July 9, 2001, an exhibition was held in Sarajevo featuring artistic and literary works of Srebrenican children and youth that addressed their tragic past; and, in July of 2002, there was an exhibition of photographs documenting the activities of the victims' association Mothers of Srebrenica and Žepa Enclaves (Mothers of Srebrenica and Žepa Enclaves 2017).

The year 2003, when the Srebrenica-Potočari Memorial Center and Cemetery opened, was marked by two of the most significant and long-lasting artistic commemorative projects. One of these events was the premiere of the first piece of commemorative music dedicated to the Srebrenica genocide, "Srebrenički Inferno," which took place in Sarajevo in July. The piece was then performed at the opening of the Memorial Center in Potočari in September. The second project was an exhibition of photographs about the aftermath of the Srebrenica genocide, which was the first of many exhibitions by the famous Bosniak photographer Tarik Samarah (Figure 5). The year 2003 also marked the premiere of the first theatrical play about the Srebrenica genocide, called "Priviđenja iz Srebrenog Vijeka" ["Visions from the Silver Century"], which tells a story about the sad twentieth century through one Srebrenican woman and her family (Luković 2012). This play was subsequently staged in Amsterdam and Vienna. After "Srebrenički Inferno," another commemorative piece of classical music, a one-act opera-attraction called "Srebreničanke" (Srebrenica Women/Woman?) premiered in Sarajevo in October 2004. These memorial projects all portray the Srebrenica genocide from the perspective of a mourning Srebrenican woman, treating her as the symbol of the genocide and, therefore, both drawing from and reinforcing the existing metanarrative.

Figure 5. Portrait of a Srebrenican woman from Tarik Samarah's collection titled "Srebrenica" (2003). ©Tarik Samarah.

After the opening of the Memorial Center in 2003, perhaps the most significant event in the development of the Srebrenica genocide commemoration, major commemorative initiatives and memorials centered around major anniversaries of the genocide: the tenth (2005), fifteenth (2010), and the twentieth (2015). The first documentary about the Srebrenica genocide, called "Izvan Razumne Sumnje" ["Beyond Reasonable Doubt"], premiered in 2005 at the premises of the International Criminal Tribunal for Yugoslavia in Hague, Belgium. It documents the facts confirmed at the Tribunal about the events in Srebrenica in 1995. The director, Mina Vidaković, claimed that the documentary works against the rising genocide denial. Because of that, the documentary quotes the speech of one of the prosecutors in the Nuremberg trials, which states: "It is of utmost importance to establish the facts about the crimes based on clear and public evidence, so that no one can ever doubt whether the crime was true, or a lie" (Dnevni Avaz 7/12/2005). In addition, in 2005, two Sarajevan art institutions, Ars Aevi and Ideologija, created

a visual project on the streets of Sarajevo called "Identity." The project featured photographs of the genocide victims' clothes from mass graves, which were installed on billboards and streetlights, with the purpose of directing attention to the process of forensic identification of genocide victims (Dnevni Avaz 7/12/2005). In the same year, ten Bosnian painters organized an exhibition of their works dedicated to the Srebrenica genocide, called "Srebrenica 1995-2005" (Dnevni Avaz 7/9/2005).

In 2010, the fifteenth anniversary of the genocide, the Youth Initiative for Human Rights of Bosnia-Herzegovina initiated a project called "Srebrenica: Mapping Genocide" based on seventeen documentary-animation maps depicting reconstructed phases of the genocide. This was the first project of such a comprehensive nature that aimed to include all the facts about the Srebrenica genocide compiled from original sources, media coverage, documentary films, books, articles, and essays. Containing seventeen "visual maps" of the genocide, the project's purpose was to present causes and phases of genocide aimed at educating the "young population." In 2012, "Mapping Genocide" became part of a permanent exhibition in the memorial Gallery 11/07/95 in Sarajevo, founded to preserve the memory of the Srebrenica genocide. This gallery also features a collection of Tarik Samarah's photographs. Inspiring similar initiatives, such as the Video Archive of the Genocide in Bosnia-Herzegovina created by the Cinema for Peace Foundation, these public representations of the Srebrenica genocide all contributed to the metanarrative about this tragedy.[15]

[15] Cinema for Peace is a German foundation that supports filmmaking that addresses terrorism, war, human rights violations, poverty, prevention of diseases, and ecologic threats. The project that addresses the Srebrenica genocide was supported by the American actress Angelina Jolie and the German Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Over 1,300 oral testimonies from genocide survivors and eyewitnesses were gathered during this project, which also served as a foundation for a second documentary film called *Voices of Srebrenica*. This is also the biggest oral history collection in Bosnia-Herzegovina. For more information, see http://www.cinemaforpeace-foundation.com/Projects/genocide-film-library.

Finally, in 2015, on the twentieth anniversary of the Srebrenica genocide, the small town of Visoko (in which the exhumed remains of the Srebrenica victims are stored and from which they are then transferred for an annual burial) opened its Srebrenica Victims Square. The opening was accompanied by the public showing of the first large mural dedicated to the Srebrenica genocide victims in Bosnia, called "Tišina" ["Silence"]. The mural depicts Srebrenica survivors, mostly mothers, and their suffering (Figure 6).

Figure 6. Mother of Srebrenica on the "Tišina" created by the Bosnian artistic trio Had Kolektiv as part of the "Srebrenica Victims Square" in the center of the Bosnian town of Visoko in 2015. ©Magazin Plus

Bosniak official policies about the Srebrenica genocide, the role of religion and collective victimhood in the narrative about Srebrenica, and the representation of the genocide in media, scholarly works, the educational system, and memorial projects have all contributed to the formation of a metanarrative about this tragedy. In particular, five tropes initiated in 1995 have remained dominant markers in the subsequent metanarrative: 1) the mothers and orphans of Srebrenica, portrayed as helpless victims left to survive without their greatest support in life – men (fathers, husbands, sons, and brothers); 2) the search for the missing Srebrenicans and the

burial of those who have been recovered from mass graves as an instance of collective suffering; 3) interpretation of the Srebrenica genocide as a collective Bosniak tragedy with strong religious overtones; 4) the betrayal of Srebrenica and the Bosniak people by the world; and 5) the ongoing quest for truth, justice, and acknowledgment of the genocide. As of 2015, Srebrenican mothers have become particularly powerful and widespread symbols of the Srebrenica genocide, becoming an important element of various memorial projects. The metanarrative is oriented toward both Bosnia and the international community, and it functions on three levels: 1) local (the audience of Bosnian Muslims); 2) national, and; 3) international. This fact affects the content of the Srebrenica genocide commemoration, but also some commemorative works, including music.

Today, the Srebrenica genocide metanarrative permeates all spheres of life in Bosnia, especially in the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Accordingly, it has found its way into music dedicated to the Srebrenica genocide. In the following two chapters of this section, I discuss the influence of the Srebrenica genocide metanarrative on commemorative music, specifically the oratorio "Srebrenički Inferno" and religious music. In Chapter 3, I examine the way that "Srebrenički Inferno," as the "official" music of the genocide, reinforces and promotes the Srebrenica genocide metanarrative as the "official" truth of the genocide. On the other hand, I show how the existence of this metanarrative influences the production and reception of commemorative works that have the potential to reach audiences surpassing those who propagate it. In Chapter 4, I focus on the musical reinforcement of one of the metanarrative's most crucial elements – the interpretation of the genocide as a Muslim tragedy. Examining works of commemorative religious music, I explore how this interpretation takes shape as a specifically

ethno-religious perspective appealing to Bosnian Muslim audiences and, therefore, has no real capacity to make a statement outside that audience.

Chapter 3: Commemorating a Bosniak Tragedy: Classical Music and the Srebrenica Genocide Metanarrative

When I started my preliminary research on music commemorating the Srebrenica genocide in 2013, there was already a piece of music that was established as the "official music" of the genocide: the oratorio "Srebrenički Inferno." This piece's status was primarily accomplished through its inclusion in the official commemoration of the genocide that takes place at the Memorial Center Srebrenica-Potočari on each July 11. Curious about how exactly the Inferno became the "official music" of the genocide and what this piece meant for genocide survivors, I began interviewing a number of survivors about their perceptions of this piece and its purpose. In 2015, however, one survivor-activist reminded me of another piece of classical music about the Srebrenica genocide, the one-act opera "Srebreničanke," which she characterized as "inappropriate" when compared to the Inferno. After our conversation, I recalled that the piece was removed from the repertoire a long time ago. But now, after the survivor-activist mentioned it as "inappropriate" and the only piece of music her association of women-survivors reacted against, a question emerged in my mind: Why is the Inferno accepted by genocide survivors and the Bosnian public as the "official music" of the Srebrenica genocide, but "Srebreničanke" is not? In this chapter, I claim that the main reason for the acceptance of the Inferno and the rejection of "Srebreničanke" lies in the fact that the Inferno, unlike "Srebreničanke," participates in and reinforces the Srebrenica genocide metanarrative that developed in Bosnia in the last twenty years. I trace the way these two pieces of music, and "Srebrenički Inferno" in particular, are affected by the Srebrenica genocide metanarrative, and the way this metanarrative influences people's ideas about the role and meaning of commemorative music.

Srebrenički Inferno and the Metanarrative

Of five tropes that make up the Srebrenica genocide metanarrative in contemporary Bosnia, the first three (the mothers and orphans of Srebrenica; the search for the missing and the burial; Srebrenica as a collective Bosniak and Muslim tragedy) have entered and shaped the official music of the genocide, "Srebrenički Inferno." The oratorio "Srebrenički Inferno" was composed in 2003 by Đelo Jusić. Jusić's half-century long music career has mainly focused on popular music. He composed a considerable number of popular songs performed by famous Croatian singers and by himself, many of which were hits. Besides this, Jusić composed a number of classical works, mostly cantatas and oratorios. In addition to the Inferno, Jusić was also invited to write a ballet, "Katarina – Bosanska Kraljica" ["Katarina – the Bosnian Queen"], by the Sarajevo Canton Ministry of Culture. The Inferno and the Katarina are considered his major works. The Inferno's lyrics are written by the Bosniak poet Džemaludin Latić, who was prompted to write the piece after reading the book of testimonies of women who were raped during the war in Bosnia, called *Molila sam ih da me ubiju* [*I've Begged Them to Kill Me*]. Džemaludin Latić's poetry and scholarly work has been intrinsically linked to Islam, including his artistic references and inspiration, and his public activity. Latić was among Muslim intellectuals who were, together with the future first Bosnian president, Alija Izetbegović, convicted because of their political ideas in the early 1980s. Latić is well known for writing a number of the most famous postwar *ilahije* and *kaside* (traditional religious songs), many of which were set to music.[1] The oratorio was commissioned by Gradimir Gojer, a Bosnian poet and politician, on behalf of the Federal Ministry of Science and Culture, for a performance at the opening of the Memorial Center Srebrenica-Potočari in September 2003.

[1] For a full text of the poem "Srebrenički Inferno," see Latić's "Srebrenički Inferno" (2006) and "Mejtaš i Vodica" (2010).

The framework of collective victimhood that forms the core of *I've Begged Them to Kill Me* was translated into the poem and, later, the oratorio "Srebrenički Inferno," in which the Srebrenica genocide is represented as a collective tragedy of the Bosniak/Bosnian nation. In transforming Latić's poem into the oratorio "Srebrenički Inferno," the composer Đelo Jusić used some of the key verses from Latić's poem, but also added his own. During our interview, Jusić stated that his main goal with the piece was to evoke musically that abyss in which the doomed people fell, and the tragedy that they suffered. When I asked how he came to shape his musical representation of this tragedy, Jusić said that, before he started writing the Inferno, he learned about the genocide from the media, books, and documentary films, but he had not interviewed or met any survivors (interview, July 2013). In this way, the existing elements of the Srebrenica genocide metanarrative have found their place in both Latić's poem and Jusić's oratorio, especially the symbolism ascribed to the mothers of Srebrenica. Considering the fact that neither Latić nor Jusić are genocide survivors, their act of writing a commemorative work testifies to the power of metanarrative to shape outsiders' (from the perspective of survivors) renditions and understanding of the Srebrenica genocide.

The Inferno consists of eight movements: 1) Prolog; 2) Inferno; 3) Kod Stvoritelja Utjehu Tražim [From God I Ask for Comfort]; 4) O, Bože [Oh, God]; 5) Progon [Exodus]; 6) Exodus; 7) Lanetosum [Damn You]; and 8) Srebrenice Moja [My Srebrenica]. It is written for orchestra, two vocal soloists (a soprano and a child), and a mixed choir, with its performance lasting approximately forty minutes. Inferno's eight movements do not portray the chronology of the events in Srebrenica, but bridge the horror of the 1995 act of genocide with the contemporary mourning of survivors and the search for the missing genocide victims. The work emphasizes the

role of women – in this case, an unnamed Srebrenican mother and an orphaned girl – employing in that way one of the most widely distributed tropes of the metanarrative about the genocide.

Although the oratorio is mainly framed in the context of the genocide's aftermath, particular instances of the genocide, such as the killing and the exodus of the Srebrenica population, are employed as musical flashes aimed to contextualize the present feeling of loss and suffering. This is accomplished with the first movement, "Prolog" [Prologue], which begins with pitched shouts of "Mother! Father! Brother! Sister!" performed by a mixed choir accompanied by an orchestra dominated by percussion instruments that create a sense of tension and desperation (Figure 7).

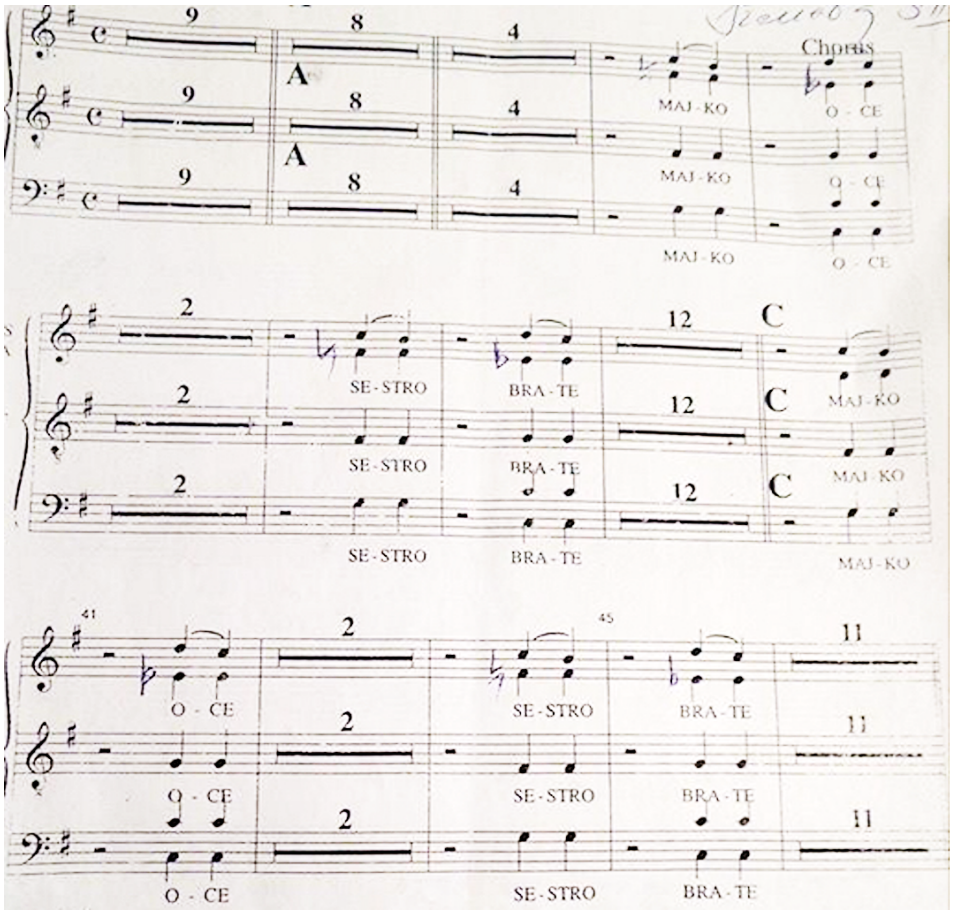

Figure 7. "Srebrenički Inferno," shouts from the first movement (Prologue), choir score. Courtesy of Alena Cakić.

With these simple but deeply meaningful shouts accompanied by the orchestra, the oratorio is set in the massacre's aftermath, in which survivors mourn and look for their relatives. By the end of the movement, these pitched shouts are performed by string instruments accompanied by strong percussion elements, leading in that way to the second movement.

After this short introduction, the oratorio continues with the equally short second movement, "Inferno." This movement begins with a mixed choir singing "Inferno! Inferno!," dominated by the high-pitched sounds of sopranos. After that, the choir performs non-pitched shouts every two measures, exclaiming "Inferno!," while accompanied by a short, fast-paced, and descending musical theme that is continuously repeated by trumpets, in turn accompanied solely by percussion instruments. These first two movements portray the past and the present as directly related to each other by superimposing two different emotions. "Prolog" projects a feeling of despair accomplished by the predominant use of string and percussion instruments, while "Inferno" paints a picture of fear and anxiety emphasized by trumpets and percussion.

The third movement, "Kod Stvoritelja Utjehu Tražim" ["From the Creator I Ask for Comfort"], introduces the first soloist, a woman from Srebrenica performed by a soprano, who asks for God's comfort. After the war and genocide, many survivors became more religious than before, which is one way they cope with their trauma, but is also a source of identity after too much loss. In this way, Jusić alludes to the survivors' religiosity and the comfort they have found in their faith, but he also puts the Srebrenican mother at the forefront of the story about the genocide, drawing from and reinforcing the existing metanarrative that employs the same set of symbolism. Musically, the movement does not evoke any elements that would suggest the influence of Islamic religious music. However, the subtle, soft, and slow-tempo orchestral accompaniment evokes the musical setting of Mozart's "Lacrimosa" and Pachelbel's "Canon,"

specifically when it comes to the melodic movement performed by stringed instruments throughout, and a violin-solo accompaniment of the soprano by the end of the movement. This movement also introduces the first large melodic theme of the oratorio with the lyrics: "Srebrenice moja, Srebrenice draga…" [My Srebrenica, beloved Srebrenica] (Figure 8). With these lyrics, the mourning of individual victims, who are symbolically represented through the general notions of mother, father, brother, and sister at the beginning of the oratorio, becomes collectivized under the umbrella of Srebrenica, which as a name comes to symbolize all the suffering.

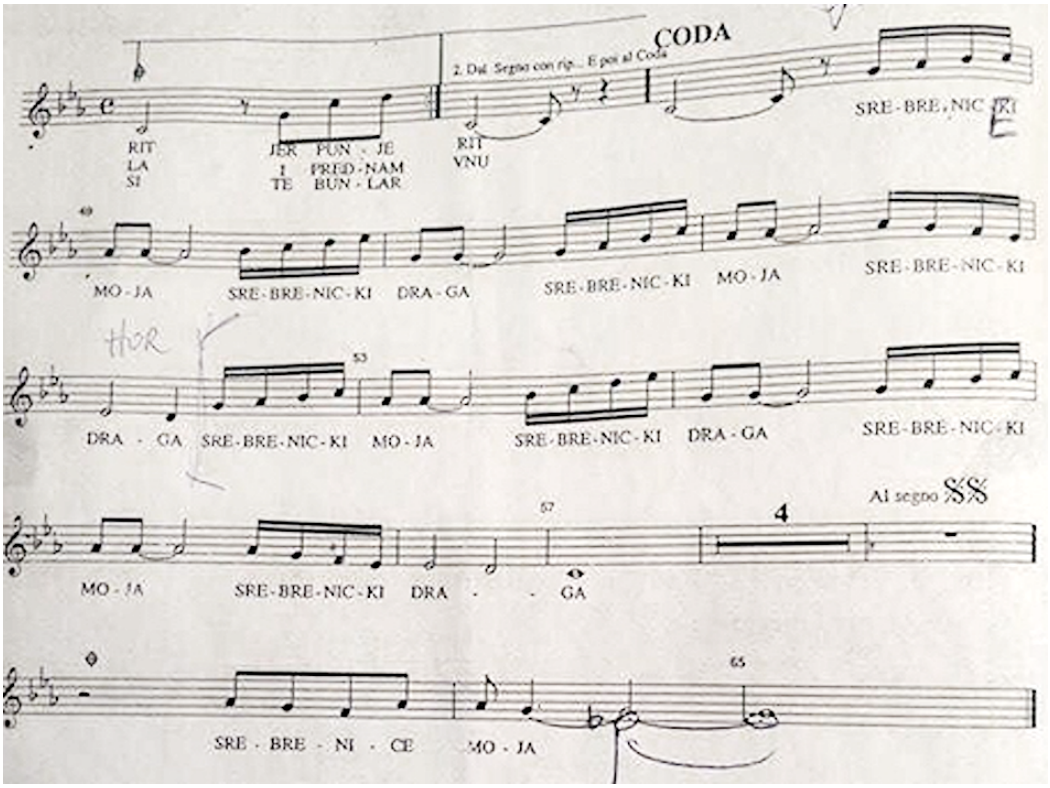

Figure 8. Srebrenički Inferno, third movement (Kod Stvoritelja Utočište Tražim). "Srebrenice moja" theme, choir score. Courtesy of Alena Cakić.

The fourth movement, "O, Bože" ["Oh, God"], deepens the feeling of desperation, but from a perspective of a woman who mourns the loss of her husband and recalls their time together. This movement is performed by the mixed choir accompanied by the orchestra, and it

begins with its main theme stating "O, Bože! O, grdne rane naše!" ["Oh, God! Our wounds are very great!"], which is exchanged between the female and the male section of the choir. After that, the female section of the choir performs a woman's yearning for her husband, accompanied by a harp. The harp is subsequently joined by the entire orchestra, with a melodic movement using the interval of an augmented second in a way that evokes the atmosphere of sevdalinka, a Bosnian traditional urban love song. In this way, a woman's mourning assumes a romantic dimension, being not only mourning for the tragically lost life of her husband, but also mourning for the loss of their life together.

The fifth and sixth movements are the central and longest parts of the oratorio. Both deal with the same topic, the exodus of the Srebrenican population from the city in 1995, but in different ways. The fifth movement, "Progon" ["Exodus"], repeats the theme from the beginning of the oratorio – that is, the shouts of "Mother! Father!," – which are now performed only by the orchestra. The absence of human voices symbolizes the vulnerability of those who are separated from their loved ones and taken away from Srebrenica, their home. Likewise, the repetition of the same theme, which in the prologue represents mourning and searching for the victims in the genocide's aftermath, now symbolizes the overarching presence of that same feeling, connecting the initial feeling of suffering immediately after the genocide to the state of "permanent mourning" that merges the past and the present into one whole. Through this, Jusić encompasses a sense of temporality that is determined by a traumatic experience – a temporality that does not recognize the passage of time. For traumatized individuals, a traumatic event remains an inherent part of their present and is continuously relived, especially in dreams: "the survival of trauma is not the fortunate passage beyond a violent event, a passage that is accidentally interrupted by reminders of it, but rather the endless *inherent necessity* of repetition" (Caruth 1996: 62,

emphasis in original). For the Srebrenica genocide survivors, this repetition and reliving of trauma is experienced through their search for missing relatives that often lasts years after the genocide, during which they regularly attend the excavations of newly discovered mass graves in hope of identifying the remains. This is why the often-repeated ultimate goal expressed by survivors – to "find and bury" their loved ones – signifies their search for final closure.

The sixth act, "Exodus," shifts emphasis from Srebrenica to Bosnia. This is accomplished with a solo introduction on the saz, the instrument that became strongly associated with the Bosniaks and Bosniak identity expression in the 1990s.[2] Except for the occasional use of the interval of an augmented second, though, the saz does not perform anything alluding to Bosnian musical heritage (such as the traditional love song sevdalinka, which is traditionally accompanied by the saz) or any type of "oriental" melodies whatsoever. In this sense, the use of the saz and the occasional augmented second point to the Bosnian context in which the genocide took place. Notwithstanding Jusić's employment of the main elements of the Srebrenica genocide metanarrative – women and orphans of Srebrenica, the search for the missing victims, and the representation of the genocide as a collective Bosniak tragedy – his musical choices (rather than textual or content-related choices) raise the question of whether this metanarrative could have been even more reinforced with different musical content directly related to Bosnian musical heritage (for example, through references to rural and urban traditional music, or the use of Bosnian traditional instruments other than the saz).

[2] The saz is one of the instruments that became nationalized during the Bosnian war. While its performance had died out during the Yugoslav era, the saz has experienced a significant revival since the 1990s, when it was promoted by Bosniak political elite as one of the greatest expressions of Bosniak culture, along with sevdalinka and *ilahija*. Being directly related to Ottoman heritage in Bosnia (the instrument was brought to Bosnia by the Ottoman Turks), the saz makes that historical connection and emphasizes the religious-cultural roots of Bosniak national identity.

The rather superficial reference to the relationship between "oriental" culture and Bosnian (Muslim) musical heritage accomplished through the use of the saz is taken up again in the seventh movement of the Inferno, "Lanetosum," this time through textual references. "Lanetosum" is the penultimate and the most famous part of the oratorio, since this is the movement that is performed at each annual commemoration of the genocide at the Memorial Center Srebrenica-Potočari. "Lanetosum" (from "lanet olsun," derived from a Turkish phrase meaning "damn it," here appropriated to mean "damn you") makes the first and only mention of the perpetrator in the oratorio. Jusić's wordplay suggests a particular orientalization, or "Turkification," of Bosniaks, making the relationship between their religion (Islam) and the Ottoman past even more pronounced than with the use of the saz in "Exodus." This movement finally introduces the other soloist, an unnamed child, who represents the orphans of Srebrenica. Here, we realize that it was she who called for her relatives from the beginning of the oratorio. Now, her longing is fully voiced through the most moving verses of the oratorio:

Majko, oče, još vas sanjam.	Mother, father, I still dream of you.
Sestro, brate, još vas sanjam svake noći.	Sister, brother, I still dream of you every night.
Nema vas, nema vas, nema vas	You are gone, you are gone, you are gone
Tražim vas, tražim vas, tražim vas	I search for you, I search for you, I search for you
Gdje god krenem vidim vas	Wherever I go, I see you
Majko, oče, što vas nema	Mother, father, why are you gone
Bosno moja, ti si moja mati	My Bosnia, you are my mother
Bosno moja, majkom ću te zvati	My Bosnia, I will call you [my] mother
Bosno majko, Srebrenice sestro	Bosnia of mine, [my] sister Srebrenica

Neću biti sam	I will not be alone

The movement begins with the child soloist performing the first verse, supported only by the mixed choir as she calls upon her mother, father, sister, and brother. The child calls upon them first, and then the choir performs the same pitched calls. The child then performs the second verse accompanied solely by the harp. Finally, the child sings the third verse accompanied by the harp and the violins, after which this same verse is repeated and performed by the child, the mixed choir, and the orchestra, also featuring the saz because the verse makes a reference to Bosnia. Afterwards, the choir, accompanied by the orchestra, repeats the phrase "Lanetosum" on a melodic sequence that uses only one pitch at a time, while the orchestra provides a melodic build-up and culmination that ends with a cadence. Although the most personalized part of the oratorio, these particular verses, more than anything else, situate the Srebrenica genocide within a national framework. Indeed, these verses emphasize the victimhood of Bosniaks as a nation. Bosnia is portrayed as both the "mother" that embraces her orphaned children, symbolized by the victims of Srebrenica, and the "mother" who is victimized yet survives despite her suffering.

Following this, the official embrace of victimhood enters into the eighth and final movement of the oratorio, "Srebrenice moja" ["My Srebrenica"]. The final movement is, at its base, a lightly altered repetition of the third movement, "Kod Stvoritelja Utjehu Tražim" (which also repeats the theme of "Srebrenice moja, Srebrenice draga"), but now ends with the line: "I will come back, we all are going to come back." During our interview, Jusić described his attempt to render a more optimistic message and to close the "circle of suffering" (interview, July 2013). With these final lines, the genocide is not represented as a defeat; rather, these words

symbolize Srebrenica as a rising phoenix. As Irfan Ajanović's poem in *I've Begged Them to Kill Me* states, "Bosnia has not disappeared."

The premiere of "Srebrenički Inferno" took place in Sarajevo, in July 2003, at a concert dedicated to the victims of Srebrenica and the victims of 9/11 terrorist attacks, where it was performed by the Sarajevo Philharmonic Orchestra, with soloists and the choir of the Narodno Pozorište Sarajevo [National Theater Sarajevo] and guest musicians from the United States. The Bosniak member of the Bosnian presidency, Sulejman Tihić, and the Embassy of the United States in Bosnia-Herzegovina sponsored the concert. In addition to "Srebrenički Inferno," the concert featured two works by Johannes Brahms, his "Tragic Overture" and the Fourth Symphony. The Inferno's premiere already suggested an endeavor to present it to international audiences and to relate the Srebrenica genocide to other great world tragedies, in this case the 9/11 terrorist attacks (Figure 9). In their report on the concert, Sarajevan newspaper *Dnevni Avaz* characterized the event as "the concert of reminder and remembrance," commenting that the musicians, through their music, sent a message to the world: "Never repeat the evil again!" (Dnevni Avaz 7/12/2003).[3]

[3] This statement resonates with the slogan "Never again," which is frequently repeated in reference to great atrocities, but is primarily related to the Holocaust.

Figure 9. Poster for premiere of Srebrenički Inferno in Sarajevo in July 2003. Photo by the author, 2013.

Two months later, in September of 2003, the oratorio was performed in its entirety at the official opening of the Memorial Center Srebrenica-Potočari. Since then, the seventh movement of the oratorio, "Lanetosum," accompanies all official commemorations of the genocide held in Bosnia, including the annual commemorative ceremony in Potočari, which I will describe in the second part of this chapter. Recently, the Inferno has been performed in its entirety in Sarajevo on July 10, the day before the official commemoration in Potočari. On these occasions, the piece is performed at the National Theater, sponsored by the Bosniak member of the Bosnian presidency (in 2015, this was Bakir Izetbegović). Although free of charge, this performance is primarily attended by the Bosniak political and intellectual elite, and a small number of citizens. Unlike at the commemoration in Potočari, though, the Inferno is here performed in its entirety. The Inferno was also performed in a number of Bosnian cities in 2015. At the 2015 commemoration of the genocide held in St. Louis, MO, organized by the Association of

Srebrenicans in St. Louis, the Inferno was played over loudspeakers, serving as a musical accompaniment to a featured artistic performance (Oslobođenje.ba 2015a).

Challenging and Catering to the Metanarrative

Thanks to the existence of the Srebrenica genocide metanarrative, the production of artistic works that commemorate the Srebrenica genocide in contemporary Bosnia tend to avoid alternative retellings of the genocide. In this way, the majority of artistic commemorative works about the Srebrenica genocide, like "Srebrenički Inferno," participate "in the process of memorialization of, and testifying about, genocide using strategies of cultural coping that lead to the codification of trauma, but also to its 'mythologization'" (Demiragić and Hodžić 2014: 148-149); that is, its transformation into a "predictable narrative." There seems to be a trend toward the search for "authentication," in which artistic commemorative products are ascribed value and credibility only when they are in accordance with general public perceptions of the genocide formed through the metanarrative's dissemination through media, official politics, the educational system, and public memorial projects discussed in the previous chapter. The most important act of authentication is approval and open support of these commemorative works by victims' associations, which is demonstrated by public endorsements and by the attendance of well-known survivor-activists at events where such works are promoted or performed. This suggests a "vital symbolic power" of genocide survivors to control "both their traumatic experience and its fictional reconstructions" (ibid.). At the same time, the involvement of survivor-activists at such events gives these particular commemorative works an element of authenticity. Literature scholars Ajla Demiragić and Edin Hodžić provide an example of the process of authentication in cinema, in which the film "Belvedere" by Ahmed Imamović (2010)

was both symbolically and physically supported by the association Mothers of Srebrenica and Žepa Enclaves, whose members participated in some of the scenes in the film (ibid.). When it comes to music, this is most often demonstrated in official performances of "Srebrenički Inferno" in Bosnia and abroad. For example, a recent premiere of the Inferno in 2013 in Turkey's capital, Ankara, was attended by representatives of women-survivors from Srebrenica in addition to the Turkish president and prime minister and the Bosniak member of the Bosnian presidency. The Inferno's composer, Đelo Jusić, recalls how these women-survivors came on stage at the end of the performance to express their gratitude for his ability to musically render their own suffering (interview, 2013). Symbolically, their act represented both a physical contextualization of the Inferno through the presence of genocide survivors and its authentication as a faithful representation of their tragic experience. Similarly, the Inferno itself has been a form of authentication and branding of events that do not have an immediate commemorative purpose, but are related to the story about Srebrenica. For example, in 2013, the Inferno branded the first postwar lineup of the Srebrenican war brigades in Sarajevo as an event related to the Srebrenica genocide, during which it was played on speakers in preparation for the beginning of the ceremony and in the actual lineup.

The trend of authentication and the dominance of the metanarrative has caused some Bosnian artists and musicians to avoid the Srebrenica genocide in their works, either because they are concerned about public response and the possibility of condemnation or because they refuse to shape their interpretations according to the survivors' expectations.[4] For example, the conductor, clarinetist, and composer Emir Nuhanović stated in our interview that "people think

[4] From interviews with Bosnian composers Ivan Čavlović and Emir Nuhanović, and the performer Hanka Paldum.

about what can happen to them if they write something about Srebrenica that does not conform to some opinion 'over there,' because that becomes a problem" (interview, October 2015).

The best known example of a high-profile musical work intended to commemorate the Srebrenica genocide that failed the test of authentication, and whose public performance was subsequently terminated because it was not based on the existing metanarrative, is a one-act opera-atrakcija [opera-attraction] – the term coined by the composer and librettist – called "Srebreničanke" ("The Srebrenican Women"). "Srebreničanke," composed by Ivan Čavlović with libretto by Gojko Bjelac, premiered in Sarajevo in October 2004. Written for a chamber orchestra with flute, clarinet, and percussion, four vocal soloists (two basses, a soprano, and a mezzosoprano), a female choir, and actors, the piece contains what the composer called eleven *atrakcije* [attractions]: 1) Overture: Research about Srebrenica, 2001; 2) Molba [Request]; 3) First Interlude: Mezarje Pleše [Graveyard Dances]; 4) Umjetnik u gladovanju [The Artist in Starvation]; 5) Second Interlude: Bol Bolova [The Pain of Pains]; 6) Dvojba [Dilemma]; 7) Third Interlude: Splav Meduza (The Raft of the Medusa]; 8) Nesreća [Misfortune]; 9) Fourth Interlude: Auschwitz; 10) Zemlja Slonova [The Land of Elephants]; and 11) Finale: Safari na Korzu [Safari on the Korzo]. These "attractions" aimed to commemorate world tragedies through the lens of the one closest to Bosnian society, the Srebrenica genocide. This "opera-attraction" portrayed some of the great tragedies of humankind, whether through a direct reference to an event such as the Holocaust in Attraction 4, or through reference to another commemorative piece such as Theodore Gericault's *The Raft of the Medusa* (1818-1819), which referenced the nineteenth-century tragedy of a French ship and a related case of cannibalism. During our interview, Čavlović said that, although each of the eleven attractions in the opera are related to Srebrenica, they are not "directly" about Srebrenica, but are employed as metaphors to direct our attention to

the human nature that reveals itself during a tragedy. For example, the reference to Gericault's *The Raft of the Medusa* relates to Srebrenica by making the point that people, metaphorically speaking, "eat one another" when faced with uncertainty (interview, July 2015).

The action of "Srebreničanke" takes place in the aftermath of genocide, addressing the wandering of displaced Srebrenican women through the streets of Sarajevo after 1995, their longing for their loved ones (in particular, their husbands), the burial of the genocide victims, and their shouts for their missing relatives. In a preface to the "Srebreničanke" libretto, Čavlović states that the opera was his dedication to the Srebrenica victims, which he intentionally wrote in the "atmosphere of female shaping of the world, which is essentially tragic" (2004: np). Unlike "Srebrenički Inferno," in which it is the lyrics that address the Srebrenica genocide, in "Srebreničanke" the tragedy is approached primarily visually (acting, scenography, and theatrical symbolism) and musically. While musical references to Bosnia and its musical heritage in "Srebrenički Inferno" are fairly limited (amounting to a short employment of the saz and augmented seconds), the musical material in "Srebreničanke" contains elements of *ilahija* (Bosnian traditional Islamic religious song) and sevdalinka (Bosnian traditional urban love song), but also some elements of Christian death sequences found in the use of Requiem at the end of the opera. Čavlović also used the sounds of everyday life in Sarajevo, exemplified by the dissonant flute playing of a Sarajevo street beggar. However, due to postmodern scenography and an unorthodox approach to the Srebrenica genocide (for example, the names of genocide victims were called out from trash cans), this opera-attraction was quickly removed from the rotating repertoire of the National Theater and never played again. The main reason for this removal was the negative reaction of the representatives of the Mothers of the Srebrenica and Žepa Enclaves association, who publicly protested against this representation of their suffering.

In particular, the association protested against the supposed relativization of a victim and a perpetrator and the implied love between a Bosniak woman and a Bosnian Serb man that was featured in the final attraction and that suggested a reconciliation and a new beginning (Subašić interview, 2015).[5] The association demanded the opera's removal from the repertoire of the National Theater's management, and the question of the opera's (in)appropriateness never became the subject of a public debate. However, one public reaction to the opera "Srebreničanke" was published in the pro-Islamic and Bosniak nationalist-oriented magazine *Saff*. The author protested against the portrayal of Bosniak women as "whores and harlots" in "Srebreničanke" and called this representation of the Srebrenica tragedy yet another genocide (Pinjo 2008). Apparently, the plot of "Srebreničanke" violated the representation of Bosniak women as honorable and morally pure as propagated by Bosniak national(ist) narratives.

Although it is a unique case, the removal of "Srebreničanke" is an explicit example of contemporary circumstances in the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina, in which the story of Srebrenica is a controlled narrative and in which the approval of the survivors (or the lack of it) substantially influences the life of commemorative artistic works. Aside from some recent endeavors by Bosnian musicians, the "Srebrenički Inferno" therefore remains the sole piece of actively performed classical music dedicated to the memory of genocide.[6]

When compared at the most basic level, both the Inferno and "Srebreničanke" employ the most widespread element of the Srebrenica genocide metanarrative: the mothers of Srebrenica.

[5] Another association, the Association of Women – Victims of War, had a similar reaction against the plot of Angelina Jolie's film *In the Land of Blood and Honey*, in which a Bosniak woman imprisoned in a war rape-camp falls in love with a Bosnian Serb soldier. Although the film was eventually made, state authorities in the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina refused to allow the crew to shoot at the original locations requested by Jolie.

[6] In 2015, a Bosnian conductor and a clarinetist, Emir Nuhanović, announced the forthcoming premiere of his piece called "Srebrenica's Lamentoso," written for the twentieth anniversary of the Srebrenica genocide. However, the piece has not yet premiered as of March 2017.

As for the mode of representation of this tragedy, the Inferno portrays the genocide primarily through the lyrics while "Srebreničanke" does this through its plot and scenography. Musically, the evocation of the Bosnian context of the genocide is better accomplished in "Srebreničanke" (through the elements of Bosnian traditional and religious music) than in the Inferno (solely through the use of the saz and an occasional augmented second). Still, the case of these two commemorative pieces suggests that it is not only the use of elements of the metanarrative that makes a particular piece "appropriate," but primarily the manner in which these elements are used. In other words, if the employment of these elements does not comply with the overall meaning and story of the Srebrenica genocide propagated by the metanarrative, the piece in question becomes marginal, oppositional, and controversial, and can be interpreted as an attack on both genocide survivors and the Bosniak nation as a whole.

"Srebrenički Inferno" at the July 11 Commemoration

In the second part of this chapter, I analyze the role of "Srebrenički Inferno" at the official commemoration in Potočari on July 11 and stances about "Srebrenički Inferno" among various actors in Bosnia and St. Louis. "Srebrenički Inferno," like all official memorials, is employed and assumes the greatest significance during the month of July, when multiple and diverse events are held to commemorate the genocide. This is especially true on July 11, when the seventh movement of the oratorio, "Lanetosum," is performed during the official commemoration in Potočari. As previously mentioned, since 2003, the official commemoration dedicated to the Srebrenica genocide is held in the Srebrenica-Potočari Memorial Center every July 11. The Center is located in the village of Potočari, some two kilometers from Srebrenica, across the pre-war battery factory that served as the UN base during the war and that was used by

Bosnian Serb forces to gather and put in one place the Srebrenica population after the city fell on July 11, 1995. Today, the factory has been transformed into the Memorial Room Srebrenica. Through the main gate across the pre-war battery factory, one enters the official complex of the Center, which contains a circle-like area featuring a memorial and a religious space surrounded by marble stones with the names of genocide victims. The religious space that is part of this area contains a *musala* (the place for religious prayer) and an *abdesthana* (the place for religious cleansing) (Figure 10). Both the memorial and the religious areas are surrounded by the communal cemetery on eastern, northern, and western sides, with cemetery sections shaped like petals, so that the entire complex looks like a flower when observed from above.[7] The cemetery features the gravestones of identified victims of the genocide. The gravestones are all standardized white marble stones, called *nišani*, which were designated for *šehidi* during and after the war in Bosnia. The first six hundred victims of the Srebrenica genocide were buried there in March 2003, and the Memorial Center officially opened in September of the same year (Duijizings 2007: 157-160). As of July 2015, 6,377 genocide victims were buried in the Memorial Center and cemetery in Potočari (Oslobođenje.ba 2015b). Approximately 7,100 genocide victims have been identified, while 1,200 are still considered missing (AlJazeera Balkans.net 2015). Some victims have been identified but not buried because their remains are incomplete and often found in multiple mass graves. Some families wait for additional remains to be discovered, while others choose to bury their relatives regardless of the remains being incomplete.

[7] The visual symbol of the Srebrenica genocide is the Flower of Srebrenica, with white petals and a green center. It is widely used during the month of July. The flower is shaped like the red poppy, which is used in British Commonwealth countries and sometimes in the U.S. as a symbol of Veterans Day.

Figure 10. The Memorial Center Srebrenica-Potočari. The photo shows the musala (covered space) in the front, with marble stones inscribed with the genocide victims' names and the battery factory in the background. Photo by the author, 2013.

In addition to being the day of official commemoration, July 11 is also the day when identified genocide victims are buried together in the communal cemetery during a religious ceremony that follows the official commemoration. July 11 is considered a central act of the genocide commemoration, with an entire set of commemorative activities usually beginning a month earlier. In 2015, these activities included scholarly conferences, exhibitions, a concert, book promotions, visits to memorials and killing sites, memorial marathons and the Peace March, and history lectures, as well as a number of religious activities including the opening of rebuilt mosques, prayers, and religious ceremonies for the dead.

The central commemorative ceremony on July 11 receives the most public and media attention. Since the opening of the Memorial Center in 2003, the ceremony is divided into a secular portion (including political speeches, paying respects, and commemorative cultural programming) and a religious portion (including religious chanting, prayers, and a burial), the

former followed by the latter. This division into secular and religious sections results from the ceremony's need to fulfill at least three purposes, some of which are in complete opposition. First, it must fulfill the needs of bereaved families who are burying their loved ones, which demands the inclusion of religious burial and prayers. Second, the ceremony needs to provide a space for achieving political goals on local and regional levels – first and foremost, the acknowledgment of the Srebrenica genocide by the Republic of Srpska and Serbia and the prosecution of its executioners. Finally, this event represents a bold political statement intended for the international audience. All of these factors contribute to the need for the ceremony to be both private and public, and both national and international. The exclusive dominance of religious elements would not satisfy all intended audiences and would not achieve the necessary quality of universality. Both the secular and religious sections of the ceremony reinforce the metanarrative about the Srebrenica genocide: the secular part frames the genocide in a particular way and within a specific historical and political context, while the communal burial and religious rituals enhance the representation of collective Bosniak (and Muslim) victimhood and solidarity.

Every July 11, around thirty thousand people from Bosnia and all over the world gather in the Memorial Center to commemorate the genocide victims. On the day of the commemoration, the main road that leads from Srebrenica to Potočari and the Memorial Center is closed to traffic and becomes populated by columns of people who walk to and from the Center starting early in the morning. Along the road, the local population sets up improvised resting areas with food and drinks provided, as well as temporary stalls with souvenirs, religious artifacts, books about the genocide, and similar items. Inside the Memorial Center, people

mingle in the central area and the cemetery, which become extremely crowded once the secular section of the commemoration starts around ten in the morning (Figure 11).[8]

Figure 11. Official commemoration and burial in Potočari. Photo by the author, July 2014.

The secular section usually begins with political speeches, followed by the part when officials pay respect to the victims and lay commemorative wreaths on marble stones with the names of the victims. The secular section of the program concludes with the recitation of excerpts from specific literary pieces, most often the poem "Srebrenica" by Bosniak poet Abdulah Sidran, and the performance of the seventh movement of the oratorio "Srebrenički Inferno." The Inferno is not performed in its entirety because of time constraints and the content of the commemoration. The seventh act is chosen for the commemoration performance because "Lanetosum" is the most moving part of the oratorio, both in musical and lyrical terms. "Lanetosum" not only features a child performer, but it also emphasizes some of the tropes of the

[8] Only a small number of people who attend the commemoration on July 11 are actually able to attend the official ceremony held in the Memorial Center because of limited space. The majority of them remain outside of the Center, some observing and listening behind the fence and others continuing to stroll up and down the main road, sometimes even socializing. Similarly, the burial is attended by the relatives of the victims to be buried that year and those who are present in the Center at that moment. In 2015, because of chaos provoked by an attack on Serbian Prime Minister Aleksandar Vučić, I witnessed many people start to conduct the religious prayer that precedes the burial wherever they happened to be standing because they were unable to enter the Center.

metanarrative, including Srebrenican orphans, the search for the missing, and the characterization of the Srebrenica genocide as a national tragedy.

"Srebrenički Inferno" is performed in between political speeches and the religious burial, representing what Sarah Wagner and Lara Nettelfield (2013) call an "intervention" – an act that literally "comes between" two opposing sections of the commemoration, but also an act that affects the visitors by reminding them of the purpose of the event. Adnan Rondić, a Bosnian journalist involved in the annual media coverage of the Srebrenica genocide commemoration, describes this "intervention":

> Commemoration needs Inferno. It looks like people become aware of where they are only when they hear the sounds of "Srebrenički Inferno." In my personal opinion, July 11 is not experienced properly because people are preoccupied with different things. That is human. You look where to stand, if you are going to bump into someone accidentally, if you are going to get wet. It looks like all that stops at the sound of "Srebrenički Inferno." (interview, September 2015)

The Inferno (that is, only its seventh movement, "Lanetosum") is performed during the commemoration on playback by a soloist and a choir, with the absence of a symphonic orchestra. In the first few annual commemorations, male and female parts of the choir performed this movement, with female members veiled according to Islamic law in some years. More recently, "Lanetosum" is performed by only a small number of veiled female members of the choir and a soloist, which fits the metanarrative's focus on Srebrenican women as innocent victims and the absence of men (Figure 12). It is performed in the central part of the Memorial, near the *musala* and next to the coffins with the victims' remains. Only a limited number of attendees, mostly officials, are able to see and hear the performance. In this way, the presence of music at the

commemoration is actually minimized both by the inclusion of only a small excerpt of the Inferno and its limited visibility. This minimization is also accomplished by the playback performance and the absence of musical instruments at the site, while the act of performing a classical oratorio is "Islamicized" by its performance by a veiled female choir. This is the reason why some genocide survivors characterized the Inferno as *ilahija* (Bosnian traditional Islamic religious song) during our interviews, justifying in that way its presence at the commemoration.

Figure 12. Performance of "Srebrenički Inferno" at the 2014 annual commemoration in Potočari. Photo by the author, July 2014.

During the years since the Center's opening, the entire secular part of the ceremony has usually been performed at the central area of the Memorial Center, near the musala, surrounded by marble stones inscribed with the victims' names. Over the years, political speeches started to dominate the entire commemoration, provoking negative reactions from survivors. Hence, the 2014 commemoration was held without political speeches, which were removed at the insistence of survivors against the use of July 11 for political purposes (Smajić 2014). In 2015, on the twentieth anniversary of the Srebrenica genocide, political speeches returned to the commemoration. However, instead of taking place in the central area of the Memorial Center as

in previous years, the speeches were moved to the closed space of the battery factory and were attended only by politicians, diplomats, public figures, and the media, while the ordinary people remained outside. The speeches were, however, broadcast on large screens installed outside of the battery factory. Most politicians and diplomats who gave speeches on July 11, 2015, stressed the importance of acknowledging the genocide in Srebrenica and terminating the politics of denial. Some also condemned attacks on one group based on ethnic, religious, or other differences, alluding to the way that Srebrenicans became victims of the genocide because of their ethno-religious identity. On the other hand, the United Nations Deputy Secretary General Jan Eliasson and the Dutch Prime Minister Bert Koenderf demonstrated apologetic politics by stating that the UN and the international community "had failed" Srebrenica and that the Dutch government "shares the political responsibility in what happened" there (field notes, July 2015).

Following the performance of the Inferno, the religious part of the ceremony begins around noon. This section begins with chanting of selected verses from Qur'an, followed by noon and afternoon religious prayers (*podne* and *ikindija namaz*) and the transportation of coffins from the musala to the cemetery accompanied by the reading of the names of victims to be buried on that day. The religious section, and the entire official commemoration ceremony, ends with the communal burial accompanied by religious services. While religious chants and a prayer are regularly performed in the space of the musala, which is specifically designated for religious services, the burial takes place in the communal cemetery surrounding the central area of the Memorial Center.

The inclusion of a communal burial in the official commemoration of the Srebrenica genocide makes this event both specific and complex, especially when it comes to the performance of "Srebrenički Inferno." Although the performance of the Inferno practically

belongs with the secular part of the commemoration, its position almost directly preceding the act of burial may seem religiously inappropriate for religious conservatives and some genocide survivors. There are two main reasons why some may interpret the performance of the Inferno as inappropriate: 1) the Islamic nature of the burial in Potočari and the absence of music in Islamic death rituals in Bosnia; and 2) the ambivalent role of music in Islam in general.

Islamic tradition in Bosnia does not involve the use of music at burials or in religious rituals for the dead. Traditionally, after the deceased undergoes ritual cleansing and preparation for burial, he is buried in a religious ceremony that includes a burial prayer (*dženaza-namaz*). No music is listened to during the period of mourning (typically lasting from seven to fifty-two days after the death, though it may last up to a year or longer). This is because music is mainly associated with joy and happiness. In addition to the fact that music is traditionally absent from a household during the days of mourning because of its association with joy, music's role in Islam has been historically contested. Whether music is allowed or prohibited is an ongoing question when it comes to Islam, and one's perspective depends on whether one favors conservative or liberal positions (see Nasr 1976; Shiloah 1997; Otterbeck et al. 2012). However, since music is neither explicitly allowed nor prohibited in the Qur'an or the Hadith (sayings of the Prophet Muhammad), its status depends primarily on individual interpretations of what is implied. Such interpretation is, again, conditioned by many outside factors such as social and political circumstances, and varies widely by historical period and geographic region. In general, music is contested because of its capacity "to distract the listeners from their right path and remembering Allah," and also because of its association with lifestyles that include religiously inappropriate behavior, such as drinking alcohol (Otterbeck et al. 2012: 13-14). While Islamic conservatives treat any kind of music other than that devoted to God as forbidden, more liberal thinkers agree

that music is allowed as long as it inspires and supports good behavior and fine emotions. However, it is important to note that this debate about the status of music in Islam has never been significantly emphasized in Bosnia, given the generally liberal nature of Bosnian Islam (for more on Islam in Bosnia, see Bringa 1995) and the fact that many Bosniaks were not practicing believers before the war and instead were mainly secular (Malcolm 1996: 221). This debate about music in Islam only entered discourse within some religious communities after the war.[9] Some genocide survivors, in particular, accepted conservative views about music as the "devil's work" in the midst of their newly embraced religiosity and their coming to terms with their traumatic experience. During my fieldwork in Bosnia and St. Louis, I encountered a number of religious genocide survivors who embraced a conservative view of music as prohibited after their experience of genocide, primarily because this traumatic experience caused them to rethink their past life and dedicate themselves to being good Muslims. A few genocide survivors (mainly older women) reasoned: "If we had not sung, none of this would have happened to us," suggesting that individual survivors interpret their previous relationship to music through their opinion that they were not good Muslims before. If they were, they would not have sung and listened to inappropriate music. On a deeper level, if they had been good Muslims, so many of them would not have perished in the genocide. Today, in their endeavor to be good Muslims, they avoid anything they consider harmful to their faith. Just as they justify and make sense of what happened to them through this good Muslim / bad Muslim paradigm, they are also strongly devoted to Islam to find solace and continue living.

Considering the absence of music in Islamic death rituals in Bosnia, as well as music's contested position in Islam, the inclusion of "Srebrenički Inferno" in the commemorative

[9] After the war in Bosnia, the Muslim religious community has seen the emergence of more radical groups, including Salafis (in Bosnia called *vehabije*, from Arabic *Wahhabiya(h)*), which have strikingly different views on some aspects of Islam, including its relationship to music.

ceremony for the victims of the Srebrenica genocide was at first strongly opposed by some groups involved in the initial planning of annual commemorations (Dautbašić interview, August 2015). However, "Srebrenički Inferno" apparently satisfied a few important criteria: 1) it is dedicated to the memory of Srebrenica genocide and is, therefore, not considered "joyful" but instead "sad" and "solemn" music, appropriate for the occasion; 2) its lyrics and the symbolic use of Srebrenican women and children promote the narrative of Bosniak victimhood; 3) it is accepted by genocide survivor-activists; and 4) it is comprehensible to wider (international) audiences who may not be familiar with the Bosnian language. Regardless, the presence of the Inferno at the official commemoration, as discussed above, has been both minimized and "Islamicized."

"Stances" on "Srebrenički Inferno"

Over the decade of its existence and its role within the official commemoration, "Srebrenički Inferno" has assumed particular meaning for genocide survivors and the Bosnian public in general, while at the same time producing a set of sometimes opposing "stances" in regard to its appropriateness. In the book *Stance: Ideas about Emotion, Style, and Meaning for the Study of Expressive Culture*, ethnomusicologist Harris Berger defines stance "as the valual qualities of the relationship that a person has to a text, performance, practice, or item of expressive culture," arguing that a stance is "frequently the pivot of meaning" (2009: 5). When it comes to the audience reception of expressive culture, Berger argues that reception should be regarded as part of *social practice*. That is, reception is "an activity that is actively achieved by the person and at the same time fundamentally informed by a situated and larger-scale social context (ibid.: 14). According to Berger, audience reception – that is, "the audience stance" –

represents their "grappling" with a particular item of expressive culture: "the valual and affective quality" of this grappling affects "the overall experience of the meaning" by audience members (15) and their perception of the shape of these items (27).

Here, I reflect on differing stances about "Srebrenički Inferno" present among different actors in Bosnia and the Bosnian diaspora in the United States. Following Berger, I contend that these differing stances are the product of the different social backgrounds of these actors (whether they are politically active or passive, religious or not, more or less educated, local or cosmopolitan, etc.) and their relationships with social contexts in which the Inferno is performed. These conditions affect the way people grapple with the Inferno and produce specific meanings of it.

The influence of individual social background on stances about the Srebrenica genocide memorials has been addressed by medical anthropologist Craig Evan Pollack (2003). In his study of Srebrenica survivors' hopes and intentions for the burial, Pollack discovered that survivors who are not politically active differ from those involved in advocacy through victims' associations in their views of the purpose of the Srebrenica-Potočari Memorial Center. Pollack argues that the first group perceives the Memorial Center as a place to mourn and lay their dead relatives to final rest, while the second group perceives it as a political statement toward the recognition of genocide and a "tool to define the memory of the massacre" (2003: 139).

Similarly, my own research showed that this distinction between politically active and politically inactive survivors applies to their perception of "Srebrenički Inferno." Politically active survivors discusses the advocacy effect this music can have as the "anthem" of the genocide and a reminder not to forget, while those who are politically inactive primarily discusses the emotional effect this music has on them personally. The first group, the one that

sees political importance in "Srebrenički Inferno," includes members of non-governmental victims' associations as well as former and current members of the local government in Srebrenica. This group acknowledges an explicit association of the Inferno with July 11, the official Remembrance Day, and favors its performance at the event. Interviewees in this group often called the Inferno the "anthem" or "symbol" of the Srebrenica genocide, as in the following example:

> Inferno symbolizes Srebrenica and presents it in a musical way. Inferno is the soul of everything. It became an inherent part of the commemoration, almost an alternative term for the Srebrenica genocide. It presents the essence [of the story about the genocide], because it tells of a mother and family members who were left behind. Inferno is like an anthem of Srebrenica. (Duraković interview, September 2015)

During our interview, a then mayor of Srebrenica and a head of the organizational committee in charge of the annual commemoration in Potočari, Ćamil Duraković, predicted that the Inferno would assume even greater importance in the official commemoration once the communal burial ceases to be performed.

The strong indexical value this group ascribes to the Inferno is the product of the co-existence of the genocide commemoration (in which they are actively involved not only as observers, but as direct organizers and participants) and the performance of the Inferno on this occasion. In this way, the Inferno is not only music *about* the genocide (which the piece suggests by its very purpose, title, and content), but also music *of* the genocide – that is, music that is indexical of the Srebrenica genocide. This co-existence of the official commemoration and the performance of the Inferno, and a strong relationship between the two, came to the fore during the 2015 genocide commemoration. During the 2015 commemoration, Serbian Prime Minister

Aleksandar Vučić and his entourage were attacked while paying respect to the genocide victims, which was partially provoked by Serbia's increasing rhetoric of denial in the months preceding the commemoration and Russia's veto on the UN resolution to designate the events in Srebrenica an act of genocide. This incident considerably altered the flow of the commemorative program, provoking unrest and disturbing many attendees.[10] Due to this international diplomatic incident, the Inferno was not performed for the first time since the opening of the Memorial Center Srebrenica-Potočari in 2003. Although it was clear that the piece was not performed because of this incident, a group of survivors-activists perceived its non-performance as a deliberate attack on the nature of the commemoration, expressing their concerns that the Inferno might be removed permanently from the commemorative program. One of the survivor-activists stated:

> It is very important for Inferno to be performed on a specific date [alluding to July 11]. Like a state anthem, once a year. And July 11, once a year, needs the Inferno. And I do not know what could replace it. It should not be replaced because, when a state has its anthem, that is part of its tradition that lasts. If [the anthem] were changed annually, what would this state be and what would it mean? (Hotić interview, August 2015)

This statement suggests that, for this group of survivor-activists, the replacement or permanent removal of the Inferno from the official commemoration would mean altering the overall meaning of the commemoration and the message this event conveys to local and international audiences.

The strong indexical values that the Inferno has assumed over the last decade have also caused the second group of my interviewees, those that perceive the Inferno in affective and apolitical terms, to acknowledge its association with July 11. However, this group has not shown

[10] For more about this incident, see Hanna et al. 2015; Harris 2015; Sito-Sucic and Zivela 2015.

a significant recognition of the Inferno's potential to promote a particular rendition and understanding of the Srebrenica genocide. This difference in the perception of the Inferno might be due to the fact that those survivors who are politically involved tend to attend official events dedicated to the genocide, both at home and abroad, that feature the performance of the Inferno. Regardless of their opinion, those survivors and public figures in Bosnia whom I had an opportunity to interview are aware of the Inferno's connection to the genocide and the fact that its sounds have become associated with the Srebrenica suffering. In addition, the majority of genocide survivors who are aware of the existence of Inferno agree that the Inferno should be performed, but stated that it is very hard to listen to because it disturbs them emotionally and makes them cry.

On the other hand, these indexical values of the Inferno are questionable when it comes to survivors who live in St. Louis and outside Bosnia in general. As my research has shown, these survivors are either not familiar with the Inferno at all or they are not aware of its status in Bosnia. Still, I need to stress that those who are involved in victims' associations abroad are aware of the Inferno and its role in the genocide commemoration, as the Inferno's 2015 performance in St. Louis shows. This suggests that, although some public figures in Bosnia described the Inferno as populist music created to cater to survivors and the dominant narrative about the Srebrenica genocide, the Inferno does not necessarily have a significant role within survivors' post-genocide soundscapes, as survivors have their own "unofficial" means of musical commemoration (described in Chapter 6). The importance of the Inferno among genocide survivors in Bosnia, especially survivor-activists, is the result of deliberate public promotion of the Inferno as "the music of the genocide" and socio-political circumstances in the country, while survivors living in St. Louis and elsewhere are not necessarily exposed to such discourse.

The choice of the Inferno, a piece of classical music, for the annual commemoration in Potočari has also produced two differing views. Politically involved survivors, artists, and public figures in Bosnia agree that the Inferno, as classical music, is the most appropriate music for commemoration because of its artistic value and association with "serious" occasions, as well as its receptivity to audiences outside of Bosnia. Such a stance might be due to the fact that this group recognizes the widespread use of classical music at commemorations worldwide, is aware of its cultural capital, and perceives the commemoration primarily as an official and political event intended for wider audiences.[11] By contrast, other survivors see the July 11 commemoration primarily in terms of the communal burial and its meaning for bereaved families. These survivors, especially those who are religious, tend to perceive the performance of any kind of music at the commemoration to be inappropriate. This latter view corresponds with the Bosnian Islamic tradition of the absence of music at a burial.

In sum, the differing stances about the Inferno discussed above are the product of individual relationships with the context of the Inferno's performance and of grappling with the Inferno itself. They are conditioned by different perspectives caused by the different social backgrounds of individual actors. In return, "the valual and affective qualities" of this grappling

[11] It is worth noting that not all artistic commemorative works are viewed as appropriate or inappropriate based on their form or genre. For example, in their analysis of literary works produced in Bosnia about the Srebrenica genocide, Ajla Demiragić and Edin Hodžić state that these works are never judged as "adequate" according to their form (for example, that only "noble genres" such as epic or tragedy can represent such an event properly), but according to their "ideological-aesthetical uniformity;" rather, the "literature of genocide" in Bosnia contains both "high" and "low" literary forms (2014: 143). However, in this case, the authors do not differentiate between the existence of formally diverse literary works about the genocide and their presence in the official commemoration. Musical works commemorating the genocide are, as this dissertation shows, also diverse in genre, but not all are used and considered appropriate for the official commemoration. Similarly, despite the richness of form in the "literature of genocide," only a "high" literary form, the famous Bosnian poet Abdulah Sidran's "Srebrenica Poem," is included in the annual official commemoration in Potočari.

affect the meaning these individual actors ascribe to the Inferno and its performance, and to the commemoration of the Srebrenica genocide more broadly.

Chapter 4: Commemorating a Muslim Tragedy: the Srebrenica Genocide in Works of Religious Music

The religious implications of the Srebrenica genocide commemoration are strong and, as I have demonstrated, result from a long chain of events and politics in Bosnia since the beginning of the 1990s. One of the most emphasized elements of the Srebrenica genocide metanarrative is its religious dimension or, more precisely, its framing as a religious tragedy of Bosnian Muslims. This notion accords with the politicization of religion during the 1990s and the subsequent interpretation of all war crimes, including the Srebrenica genocide, as crimes of one religious group against another.[1] For Bosniaks, this politicization of religion was reinforced by the politics of a leading Bosniak political party, SDA, which perpetuated the unification of the religious and the national throughout the 1990s and early 2000s. Since the religious and national identity of Bosniaks have historically been interconnected, expressing belonging to the Bosniak nation has become equivalent to being a Muslim since the 1990s, resulting in a deliberately public demonstration of one's religiosity.

The equalization of the religious and the national and the revival of Islamic practices in postwar Bosnia affected all spheres of culture.[2] In music, these developments echoed in the popularization of the religious song genres *ilahija* and *kasida*, and in the emergence of a new genre of "religious pop." Considering the framing of the Srebrenica genocide as a Muslim tragedy and the religious implications in its commemoration (namely, a religious burial and the designation of all genocide victims as *šehidi*), religious music became (and remains) one means of propagating this perspective. Beginning in the 2000s, therefore, religious music may be seen

[1] For more on the role of religious mythology in the war and genocide in Bosnia, see Sells 1996.

[2] On religion and nationalism, see for example Perica 2002; Brubaker 2011. For an example of Islamic revival in other post-communist countries in the Balkans, see Ghodsee 2009.

as an ideal medium for genocide commemoration that satisfies "religious norms" and speaks to the religious perspective on the genocide, catering to more observant circles of genocide survivors and like-minded Bosniaks.

In this chapter, I focus on the religious interpretation of the Srebrenica genocide, conditioned by the existing metanarrative, in a repertoire of traditional religious songs (*ilahija* and *kasida*) and so-called "religious pop" dedicated to the memory of this tragic event. Here, I relate the propagation of the Srebrenica genocide as a Bosnian Muslim tragedy to the story of the politicization of Muslim religious music in Bosnia and its consequent use in expressing Bosniak national identity, as well as its role in the wartime, postwar, and contemporary development of Bosniak ethno-religious nationalism. In the first part of this chapter, I sketch a history of *ilahija* and *kasida*, their politicization and repurposing during the 1990s, and their consequent popularization and mass dissemination as religious and entertainment commodities. In the second part, I reflect on the use of *ilahija* and *kasida* in commemorating the Srebrenica genocide and the related propagation of a religious perspective on this event. The third part of the chapter discusses the development of so-called "religious pop" in Bosnia and the use of these songs to promote the memory of the Srebrenica genocide within a specific section of Bosnian Muslim youth. I conclude this chapter by discussing one piece of music, "Poema o Srebrenici" ["The Srebrenica Poem"] (Appendix I), in order to highlight the influence of the religious perspective on the Srebrenica genocide propagated by the official metanarrative on non-religious genres of music and the significance of this characterization for the expression of Bosniak Muslim victimhood and identity. By focusing on the religious interpretation of the Srebrenica genocide in both religious and religiously inspired commemorative music, my aim is to further demonstrate the overarching influence of the Srebrenica genocide metanarrative. First, however, let me

briefly reflect on the foundational point in the process of meaning-making of the war and Srebrenica genocide from a religious perspective advocated by the SDA and the Islamic Community: the designation of all Bosniak war victims as *šehidi* and the significance of this designation for the interpretation of the war and postwar commemoration.

The Cult of "*Šehidi*"

In Chapter 2, I briefly addressed the Islamic Community of Bosnia-Herzegovina's involvement in official wartime politics and its role in establishing ritualized war commemorations with strong religious implications. According to Xavier Bougarel, an essential means of institutionalizing religious commemorations was the process of re-Islamization initiated by the SDA and the Islamic Community at the beginning of the 1990s. With re-Islamization, the SDA and the Islamic community "tried to turn Islam into the new ideological criterion for the selection of political and military elites" (Bougarel 2007: 170). Islamic religion was promoted as the backbone of Bosniak national identity, the main differentiating point between Bosniaks and "the others" (Bosnian Croats and Bosnian Serbs), and, therefore, the reason for Bosniaks being attacked in the first place. The SDA's interpretation of the war in terms of religious animosity also meant the party's insistence on reinforcing and preserving a religiously defined Bosniak national identity.[3]

One of the crucial elements in this process of re-Islamization was the reintroduction of the term *šehid* (religious martyr) into political and religious discourse. This was accomplished through the designation of all Bosniak victims as *šehidi*. The term aimed to give religious

[3] At the time of the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina, SDA was the only significant political party representing Bosniaks. In the postwar period, another predominantly Bosniak party, Stranka za Bosnu i Hercegovinu ["Party for Bosnia-Herzegovina"], led by former wartime Prime Minister Haris Silajdžić, emerged as the second important Bosniak political party after Silajdžić left SDA in 1996.

"meaning to the struggle and death of Bosnian Army soldiers" (ibid: 171) and also to differentiate between Bosniak and other victims of the war, with Bosniak victims, as *šehidi*, being elevated to a higher status. The introduction of this term could also be interpreted as deliberate propaganda on behalf of the SDA and the Islamic Community to justify and give meaning to the sacrifice of those killed for their surviving relatives. This was accomplished by emphasizing the "innocence" and "purity" of *šehidi*, their death "on God's path," their immediate entrance into Heaven, and the understanding that *šehidi* are not truly dead. As the final verse of the concluding part of the prayer "Al-Bekere" from the Qur'an states, "And do not say of those who were killed on Allah's path: 'They are dead!' No, they are alive, but you do not know that." This verse is often repeated during religious rituals and commemorations for Bosnian *šehidi*, and it is also engraved on all *šehidi*'s gravestones (nišani) in Bosnia. Propaganda, of which this particular verse is part, affected the interpretation of death by many Bosniak people and is engrained in the perception of the Srebrenica genocide victims. For example, some years ago I was present when a young genocide survivor was notified that her late brother's remains had been recovered from a mass grave. This devastated young woman was comforted by her mother with the words: "Do not cry. He is a *šehid*," as if this designation would reduce the gravity of the woman's grief.

In addition to designating all Bosniak victims as *šehidi* in April 1992, the Islamic Community institutionalized this term as part of official commemorative practices in 1994, when it turned the second day of Eid-al Fitr celebrations into the Day of *Šehidi* (Dan Šehida), which remains to this day.[4] The term is today prominent in all official and religious commemorations

[4] In addition to this symbolic act of remembrance, there exist physical reminders to *šehidi* demonstrated through the existence of numerous graveyards throughout Bosnia-Herzegovina. These cemeteries, called *šehidi* cemeteries (šehidska mezarja), are characterized by the unified look of gravestones, or *nišani*, that were standardized in 1996, and which represent a consolidation of Ottoman-period tombstones and

across Bosnia. Additionally, it has found its place in wartime and postwar Bosniak art, poetry, and literature (ibid.), such as the book *Šehid* by Zilhad Ključanin (1999), and especially in the religious musical genres *ilahija* and *kasida*.

Ilahije and *Kaside* as the "Highest Expression of Bosniak (Muslim) Culture"

Ilahije (pl., *ilahija,* sing.; from the Arabic word *Illah* [God]) and *kaside* (pl., *kaside*, sing.; from the Arabic word *Qasd* [goal]) are genres of traditional Islamic music in Bosnia-Herzegovina. It is believed that *ilahije* and *kaside* were first introduced to Bosnia by the Ottoman Turks and the spread of Islam into Bosnia beginning in the fifteenth century. According to ethnomusicologist Maja Baralić-Matterne, Bosnian ilahije – by their very name, function, and performance contexts – are closely related to the Turkish equivalent, *ilahi*, and many of the first ilahije in Bosnia were of Turkish origin (2003: 11-12). Historian Nicolaas Biegman claims that *ilahi* singing, which is principally related to the Sufi ritual of *zikr,* is a specifically Turkish custom that is found in the Balkans but not in the Arab-speaking regions of the Middle East (2009: 16).[5] However, Baralić-Matterne cites some sources that relate the Turkish term *ilahi*, connected to a sung mention of Allah, to the Arabic equivalent *ibtihal*, which is the term used for a religious hymn that mentions Allah (2003: 12, cf. Poche 1978: 67). There is no clear content- or form-related distinction between *ilahije* and *kaside* in Bosnia, and the common man perceives them as the same. More specifically, though, *ilahije* are characterized as religious songs (or hymns) sung in praise of Allah (God) and are defined by their content and not form. On the other

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medieval Bosnian tombstones called *stećci* (Lovrenovic 2001: 69-78; Malcolm 2011: 62-108; Sokol 2015: 113). Their design emphasizes their religious dimension, stressed by the Arabic inscription from the Qur'an that is present on all *šehidi* tombstones, as well as the moon and crescent symbol engraved on the *nišani* and the green flags that are often part of these cemeteries.

[5] Zikr (Arab. *ḏikr* [remembrance]) is a ritual ceremony performed by dervishes that contains prayers and religious music.

hand, *kaside* are songs with a larger diapason of themes, including good morals, praise of the Prophet Muhammad, and others, and are defined by form (rhyming couplets) rather than content. Both *ilahije* and *kaside* are traditionally sung during religious ceremonies and holidays, such as the celebration of the birth of the Prophet Muhammad, called *mevlud,* and in dervish shrines. However, as Baralić-Matterne shows, this content- and form-related distinction between *ilahije* and *kaside* was not maintained in Bosnia, primarily due to a lack of knowledge among local practitioners and translators of these songs from other languages (Turkish and Arabic). Thus, in Bosnia, *ilahije* and *kaside* are always referred to as a combination, and there is no clear difference between the two. *Ilahije* in Bosnia have a much wider scope than in Turkey, and many *kaside* are perceived to be *ilahije*, regardless of whether or not they mention Allah or the Prophet Muhammad (Pekka Penanen 1994: 53). Both *ilahije* and *kaside* in Bosnia were and continue to be sung in Bosnian, Turkish, and Arabic, although those in Bosnian currently predominate.

Historically, *ilahije* and *kaside* were transmitted orally. The main performance context of *ilahije* in Bosnia was dervish circles, primarily in so-called dervish *tekije* (shrines, sing. *tekija*) of the dervish orders existing in Bosnia, which historically included Mevlevvi, Bektashi, Rufai, Nakshibendi, Kadiri, and Halveti.[6] Within these circles, *ilahije* were performed as part of a religious ritual called *zikr*, either without musical accompaniment or accompanied by a specific set of musical instruments, depending on the type of dervish order in question (Pekka Pennanen 1994). The most common instruments were those built of natural materials – different types of

[6] Dervish orders (followers of Islamic mysticism) entered Bosnia in the fifteenth century, at the time of the Ottoman conquest. In 1952, the socialist government of the SFR Yugoslavia prohibited all activities of dervish orders, and a number of their shrines were destroyed. Their activities, however, were revived in the 1970s during the liberalization of the Yugoslav regime and at the time of the Islamic revival in Bosnia. Today, dervish orders still operate in Bosnia, but in reduced numbers. Some dervish orders, such as Mevlevvi, no longer exist in Bosnia. For more on dervish orders in Bosnia, see Čehajić 1986; Vukomanović 2008; Ašćerić-Todd 2015.

drums (see Pekka Pennanen 1993/1994) and wooden flutes.[7] According to ethnomusicologist Risto Pekka Penanen, in a Bosnian dervish tekije, *ilahije* included all sacred Islamic chanting except Qur'anic recitation, the call to prayer, prayer formulae, and vocal improvisations in free rhythm, called *gazel* (from Arab. *ghazal*) (1994: 52). One of the principal characteristics of an *ilahija* performance is nasal and melismatic singing that evokes religious Qur'anic chanting. *Ilahije* are generally strophic in their form, meaning that the verses are declaimed on the same melody, which varies from simple to more complex and improvisatory melodies. Some melodic composers state their authorship in the text (Baralić-Matterne 2003: 114). Other common forms of *ilahije* are those that contain two contrasting melodic sections (AB form) and those in which one or two particular verses are repeated as a type of refrain ($ABBAB_2CD$ form) (ibid.: 127). *Ilahije* were traditionally sung solo or in groups. In addition to dervish tekije, *ilahije* were also performed in mosques and religious schools (Bos./Turk. *mejtef*) and in relation to Islamic holidays (for example, Eid), Ramadan, holy nights, and religious ceremonies like mevlud, both at home and in public settings.[8]

One traditional *ilahija* performed in a dervish tekija is "Ako pitaš za derviše svijeta" ["If You Ask About Dervishes of the World"], written by Sufi Abdulvehab Ilhamija Žepčevi (1773-1821), a Bosnian dervish, writer, and poet, also known as Ilhamija. He wrote in Bosnian, Turkish, and Arabic and is the author of a number of *ilahije* in the Bosnian language. In the past decade, many performers of religious music, including the male religious choir Hazreti Hamza,

[7] Baralić-Matterne also cites historical sources that mention the use of saz to accompany *ilahije*, which corresponds with Risto Pekka Pennanen's observation that some *ilahije* melodies are influenced by Bosnian sevdalinka (1994: 53).

[8] Mevlud (Arab. *mawlidu n-nabiyyi*, or "Birth of the Prophet") is a ritual ceremony involving prayers and the melodic chanting of mevlud poems in celebration of the Prophet Muhammad's birthday. In Bosnia, there exist a number of mevlud poems in the Bosnian language by different authors such as Salih Gašević, Rešad Kadić, and famous Bosnian poets Musa Ćazim Ćatic and Safvet beg Bašagić.

have sung this traditional *ilahija*. Hazreti Hamza performs this *ilahija* in a traditional manner, accompanied solely by the kettledrum called *kudum* (also known in Bosnia as *talambas* [Pekka-Pennanen 1993/1994: 4]) in a moderate tempo. The performance features a soloist and the choir. The soloist performs the first half of the verse, and then the choir performs both the second half of the verse and the verse that is repeated as a form of refrain with different lyrics throughout the *ilahija* (in ABB form). The singing style is very melismatic and nasal, with performers singing in their full voice.

Ako pitaš za derviše svijeta, (solo)	If you ask about dervishes of the world,
Pogledaj im po svijetu turbeta, (choir)	Look at their shrines of the world,
Sve je u njih, što imade izzeta, (solo)	Everything is in them, what you can see,
Allah, Allah, srcem zbori dervišu! (choir)	Allah, Allah, say it with your heart, dervish!
Sve je u njih… (choir)	Everything is in them…
Ti ne gledaj, što ih neko pometa, (solo)	Do not look if someone disturbs them,
Terk ne čine oni svoga hizmeta, (choir)	They do not do their service,
Jera nema himmeta bez hizmeta, (solo)	Since there's no mercy without service,
Allah, Allah, srcem zbori dervišu! (choir)	Allah, Allah, say it with your heart, dervish!
Jera nema… (choir)	Since there's…
Srebra, zlata tražeć', koji ne leta, (solo)	They do not look for silver or gold,
Već on traži Allahovog rahmeta, (choir)	But for Allah's compassion,
Na svijetu to je prava ljepota, (solo)	That is the real beauty of the world,
Allah, Allah, srcem zbori dervišu! (choir)	Allah, Allah, say it with your heart, dervish!
Na svijetu… (choir)	That is…
Gledaj, brate, velikoga devleta, (solo)	Look for the big state, brother,
Ne ostavljaj Resulova suneta, (choir)	Do not leave Resul's tradition,
Imaćemo sviju osam dženneta, (solo)	We will have all the eight Heavens,
Allah, Allah, srcem zbori dervišu! (choir)	Allah, Allah, say it with your heart, dervish!
Imaćemo sviju… (choir)	We will have…
Ko ne pita i svog šejha ne sluša, (solo)	Whomever does not ask or listen to his

	sheikh,[9]
Široko mu, nek' se dobro okuša, (choir)	Is free to try himself out on his own,
Opet kažem ljepota je najviša, (solo)	Again I say, beauty is the highest one,
Allah, Allah, srcem zbori, dervišu! (choir)	Allah, Allah, say it with your heart, dervish!
Opet kažem… (choir)	Again I say…
Ilhamiju ništa više ne smeta, (solo)	Ilhamija does not mind anything anymore,
Otkad nađe Allahovog rahmeta, (choir)	Since he found Allah's compassion,
On ne želi ni od koga himmeta, (solo)	He does not want anyone else's mercy,
Allah, Allah, srcem zbori, dervišu!(choir)	Allah, Allah, say it with your heart, dervish!
On ne želi… (choir)	He does not want…

Ethnomusicologist Risto Pekka Pennanen also recorded a version of this traditional *ilahija* in Sarajevo among members of the Kadiri dervish order (1994). In this version, the *ilahija* is called "Oprosti, Ja Rabbi" ["Forgive Me, God"] and is, according to Pekka Pennanen, written by the dervish sheikh Selim Sami from Kosovo (d. 1951) (Figure 13). However, the text of the version recorded by Pekka Pennanen resembles the original text written by Ilhamija, while the melody is very similar to the one performed by Hazreti Hamza, albeit much simplified and syllabic rather than melismatic, which might be due to Pekka Pennanen's transcription. In the version recorded by Pekka Pennanen, the verse performed by the choir is the one that serves as a refrain in both versions ("Allah, Allah, say it with your heart, dervish!"), while the soloist and choir do not sing verses interchangeably as in the Hazreti Hamza performance.

[9] A sheikh is the leader of a dervish order.

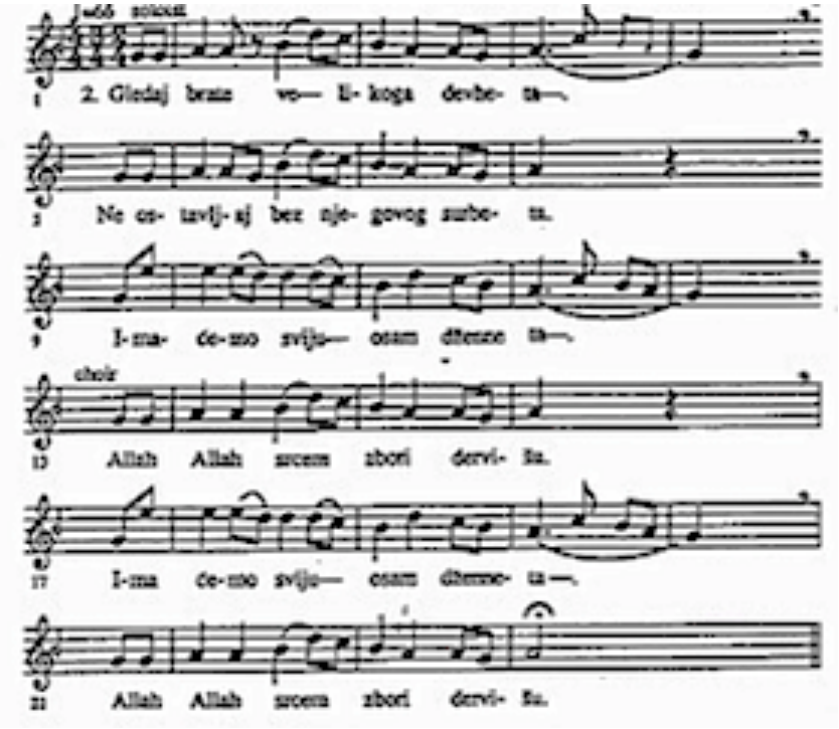

Figure 13. A traditional i*lahija* performed in the Kadiri dervish order in Sarajevo called "Oprosti, Ja Rabbi" ["Forgive me, God"], written by Selim Sami. The verses are: "Look at the great state, brother. Do not stay without its juices. We will have all eight heavens. Allah, Allah, say it with your heart, dervish. We will have all eight heavens. Allah, Allah, say it with your heart, dervish." Example from Pekka Pennanen (1994: 53).

Over the course of the twentieth century, and especially during the period when Bosnia was part of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (1945-1992), *ilahije* and *kaside* belonged to the private sphere and were never performed at public events. This was primarily due to the fact that, thanks to the socialist propagation of atheism, all religious practices in Bosnia (and all Yugoslavia) were confined to the intimacy of one's home and religious space. Additionally, a massive secularization of Bosnian Muslims during this period caused the majority of them to be unfamiliar with Islamic practices (Malcolm 1996), including the existence and sounds of *ilahija* and *kasida*.

The 1970s brought liberalization to the Yugoslav regime, sparking an Islamic revival in Bosnia that in turn was influenced by global Islamic revivals happening at that time (Karčić

2010: 523). As some scholars note, this revival was not political in the sense that it propagated the introduction of Shari'a law (Sorabji 1988), but rather entailed a revival of Islamic practices, such as more frequent attendance at mosques, reintroduction of female Islamic attire as a matter of personal choice for a number of Bosniak women, use of Islamic greetings and vocabulary in public, and others. A number of Bosnian Muslim intellectuals rose to public prominence during this time, which was also accompanied by the restoration of a number of mosques in Bosnia. This return to Islam in Bosnia intensified in the late 1980s and early 1990s, during a time of political upheaval in former Yugoslavia and an increased politicization of religion, which became a primary identity marker for all ethno-national groups in Bosnia-Herzegovina. For Bosniaks, religion and politics became wedded through the formation of the Bosniak national political party, SDA, which was and remains closely linked to the Islamic Community of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Two concerts of *ilahije* and *kaside* held at the Olympic Hall Zetra in Sarajevo in March of 1990 were among the earliest public instances promoting this newly increased religious consciousness as the backbone of Bosniak national identity. Admission to these concerts, like all subsequent concerts, was paid, which is another factor contributing to the eventual popularization and commercialization of *ilahije* and *kaside*. Ethnomusicologist Mirjana Laušević (1996: 126-127) describes these two concerts as collective participatory events that served to publicly demonstrate "Islamic-ness" both musically and visually and that allowed attendees to demonstrate their collective belonging. *Ilahije* and *kaside* were introduced at these concerts as a potent national symbol and unifying force: "Over twenty thousand people participated in something they will never forget. I do not say watched but participated . . . because everyone was

a participant, integral part of the performance, the experience, everyone breathed with one soul and one song" (*Preporod*, March 1990, quoted in Laušević 1996: 127).

These concerts brought huge changes to *ilahija* and *kasida*, including: 1) the first public promotion of these songs; 2) new public settings outside the traditional and intimate ones; 3) new and expanded repertoire; 4) introduction of the terms *ilahija* and *kasida* into everyday speech, meaning that a wide audience became familiar with these terms; and 5) introduction of new musical instruments, such as electric guitar, clarinet, and others, which were unknown to the Islamic tradition in Bosnia until then (Baralić-Matterne 2003: 104-105).

During these concerts, these religious songs, which were until then performed only during religious ceremonies and in Sufi shrines, were for the first time performed in a large public space and a semi-secular atmosphere. These concerts brought new meaning to *ilahija* and *kasida*, which, together with *sevdalinka*, were introduced to the audience as the "highest artistic forms of Bosnian Muslims."[10] The concerts also had an educational and mobilizing purpose; their aim was to reintroduce "secularized Bosnian Muslims" to the peculiarities of their faith, which was represented as the fundamental component of their national identity. An especially telling point pertaining to the endorsement of *ilahije* and *kaside* at these concerts is the fact that one *ilahija* in Arabic was performed on the melody of a popular *sevdalinka*, "Kad Ja Pođoh Na Bentbašu" ["When I Went to Bentbaša"], which is originally derived from a Sephardic song. The first verse of this sevdalinka was performed in its original form in the Bosnian language, while the second one was replaced by the Arabic lyrics of the *ilahija*. The use of this particular melody, probably familiar to everyone in Bosnia, in combination with a new text shows clear intent to quickly familiarize the audience with their (new) national music.

[10] These are the concert host's exact words in a short introduction to the audience.

The revival of *ilahije* and *kaside* continued through the war years between 1992 and 1995. During this period, a huge number of songs considered *ilahije* were created, which affected the textual content of *ilahije*. Namely, in addition to their Islamic themes, newly created *ilahije* were patriotic songs and served to foster national and religious belonging as well as the spirit of communal resistance. One example is the *ilahija* called "Gdje su Mekka i Medina" ["Where Are Mecca and Medina"], written by Džemaludin Latić.[11] This particular *ilahija* was and still is performed at concerts of religious music in Bosnia. Referring to Bosniak suffering during the war, this *ilahija* situates Bosnian Muslims within the global Islamic sphere and characterizes the Bosnian war as the struggle for Islam, while also criticizing the indifference of other Muslims to the war. This *ilahija* is, like previous traditional *ilahije*, most often performed by a soloist and choir, with the choir performing a refrain that is now clearly defined and that contains the same lyrics throughout the *ilahija*. However, in one of the first renditions of this *ilahija* in 1993, during the war, the *ilahija* was performed in its entirety by the soloist, *hafiz* (a title indicating a high degree of familiarity with the Qur'an) Aziz Alili, who sings over a MIDI file featuring keyboard, electric bass guitar, clarinet, violins, and drum set.

Od Bedranskog, sinko, polja,	From the field of Badr, son,[12]
Od pustinje pjeskovite	[And] from sandy desert
Pa do Bosne šumovite,	To the timbered Bosnia,
Preko brda, sinjih mora,	Over the hills, [and] blue seas,
Neko je krv svoju lio	Someone has spilled their blood
Da bi ti musliman bio.	So you could be a Muslim.
Zovnuh Rabbu'L-' alemina:	I'd called Rabbu'L-' alemin:[13]
Gdje su Mekka i Medina?!	Where are Mecca and Medina?!

[11] From *Dođi, Najdraži: divan ilahija i kasida* by Džemaludin Latif-zade el-Bosnevi (Dzemaludin Latić), 2009: 156.
[12] This is a reference to the battle at Badr fought by the Prophet Muhammad against his opponents in 624 CE, which is considered a turning point in the spread of Islam.
[13] This is a reference to Allah and one of His names. In this case, this means "the Lord" or "the Creator of Worlds."

K'o da Ars mi dževab prosu:	As if Ars gave me an answer:
Daleko su, daleko su!	They are far away, far away!
Dragi nas Resulallahu,	Our dear Resulallah,[14]
Dragi Hamza, dragi Ali,	Dear Hamza, dear Ali,
Bošnjaci vam selam salju:	Bosniaks send you greetings:
Ovaj život su prodali!	They'd sold away this life!
Što očima gleda svojim	This Ummet is not afraid[15]
Tog se Ummet vas ne boji!	Of what it sees with its own eyes!
Zovnuh Rabbu'L-' alemina…	I'd called Rabbu'L-' alemin…
Drage nase devletlije,	Our dear honorable ones,
Vid'te u kom smo azabu:	Look at the misfortune we are in:
Mnogi evlad nema babu,	Many children do not have their fathers,
Poklaše nas haramije!	We are slaughtered by wrongdoers!
U mukama nejač stenje,	Innocents moan in suffering,
Sela su nam pod busenjem!	Our villages are under the earth!
Zovnuh Rabbu'L-' alemina…	I'd called Rabbu'L-' alemin…
Gdje su Mekka i Medina,	Where are Mecca and Medina,
Gdje su borci ensarije?	Where are the fighting Ansars?[16]
U Bosni se krv sad lije	Blood is now spilled in Bosnia
Za spas našeg časnog dina!	For the salvation of our faith!
Ovdje tekbir se prolama!	Takbir rumbles through here![17]
Bosna – to je Bedr islama!	Bosnia – that is the Badr of Islam![18]
Zovnuh Rabbu'L-' alemina…	I'd called Rabbu'L-' alemin…

[14] This is a reference to the Prophet Muhammad, literally meaning Allah's messenger.

[15] *Ummet* (Turk.), from the Arabic word *umet* meaning people or followers of the Prophet Muhammad.

[16] This is a reference to Ansar ("The Helpers"), the people of Medina who helped the Prophet Muhammad when he was forced to leave Mecca and migrate to Medina in 622 CE.

[17] *Takbir* is the term used to refer to the phrase *Allahu Ekber!* (God is great).

[18] Again, this is a reference to the famous Battle of Badr. In the Bosnian context, it can be interpreted to mean that Bosniaks were fighting to preserve their faith during the Bosnian war, which is understood in terms of religious persecution.

In the postwar period in Bosnia, especially in the early 2000s, mass concerts of *ilahije* and *kaside* started to be organized mirroring the first one in 1990 and promoting a new repertoire of *ilahije* and *kaside*.[19] This new repertoire was and still is highly influenced by foreign Islamic music, particularly from Turkey. In addition, foreign Islamic musicians were invited to perform at these gala events, which featured the Sarajevo Philharmonic Orchestra, the Sarajevo Opera, the choir of the Gazi Husrev-Bey Medresa (an Islamic high school in Sarajevo), and other local and regional religious and non-religious choirs. In 1997, British popular singer-songwriter Cat Stevens, who converted to Islam and is today known as Yousuf Islam, gave his first performance at one of these concerts in Sarajevo after twenty years of absence from the music scene. Sponsored by the Bosniak members of the Bosnian government, the concerts were organized as spectacles in which the number of performers onstage played an important role in creating the public image of a powerful and massive Bosniak community. Attendance at these concerts supported the feeling of an imagined community with a shared cultural, national, religious, and linguistic commitment, connected by the consciousness of everyone who listens to and sings the same songs.

Government sponsorship of the concerts of religious music created a profitable space in which the new arrangements and new songs performed by new stars ended up being promoted as products for mass consumption. By the early 1990s, audiocassettes featuring *ilahije* and *kaside* performed by the Gazi Husrev-Beg Medresa choir had already started appearing on the market. Today, there exists a separate market of Islamic religious music in Bosnia, featuring releases from famous solo performers and religious choirs. Mass concerts of religious music launched the first stars of religious music, including former students of Gazi Husrev-Bey Medresa, such as

[19] Although large concerts of *ilahije* and *kaside* are organized annually to this day, their grandiosity and their employment as political statements decreased by the mid-2000s, when SDA lost elections that altered the political climate in Bosnia.

Burhan Šaban, whose work I will discuss below. Later, new performers emerged without being part of religious schools: young singers discovered by the managers of these concerts; mainstream popular musicians (some of them recently converted Muslims); and a number of newly formed female, male, and mixed religious choirs. The majority of these performers recorded albums of *ilahije* and *kaside*, which were distributed for mass consumption. In addition to the increased number of religious music performers, postwar concerts of *ilahije* and *kaside* also brought to prominence a new generation of writers of religious songs, including the aforementioned Bosniak writer Džemaludin Latić, the lyricist of the "Srebrenički Inferno," who wrote some of the most famous and often-performed postwar *ilahije*. As in the prewar period, the content of postwar *ilahije* and *kaside* performed at these gala concerts remained mostly related to the expression of love for God and the Prophet Muhammad, and to the proclamation of Muslim faith. However, as mass events, these concerts also provided an opportunity for the performance of new *ilahije* and *kaside* whose content actually propagated an ethno-religious (and nationalist) perspective on the Bosnian war, characterizing it as a struggle for the salvation of Islam not only in Bosnia, but in the world. The *ilahija* "Gdje su Mekka i Medina" suggests this perspective, as indicated by the prominence of foreign and religious terms. Additionally, a number of *ilahije* created in the immediate postwar period were influenced by wartime events, typically through reference to Bosnia and Bosnian Muslims, often in the context of religious persecution and attendant suffering.

In addition to referencing Bosniak suffering during the war and relating Bosniaks to the wider world of Islam, many postwar *ilahije* address the role of *šehidi* as Bosniak victims of the war. This thematic choice is not surprising in light of the Islamic Community's decision during the war to designate all slain Bosniaks as *šehidi*. In this way, the religious marking of Bosniak

victims has also been expressed in *ilahije* and *kaside*, making these songs one of the religiously appropriate means of commemorating Bosniak suffering.

One famous *ilahija* that thematizes *šehidi* is "Šehidi," again written by Džemaludin Latić.[20] This particular *ilahija*, besides being frequently performed at concerts of religious music in Bosnia, came to be appropriated for commemorative purposes on anniversaries of specific war tragedies related to Bosniaks. Since the majority of these commemorations are primarily of religious character, "Šehidi," as a religious and therefore appropriate song thematizing *šehidi* (i.e., Bosnian Muslim victims), is deliberately chosen for such occasions. Still, in a purely religious and commemorative context, this *ilahija* is chanted by an Islamic religious priest or a religious choir without instrumental accompaniment, which is in contrast to the usual mode of its performance by a soloist and religious choir accompanied by a philharmonic orchestra supported by a band featuring drums, keyboard, and electric and bass guitar. For example, this *ilahija-kasida* was recently part of the commemorative program that accompanied a collective burial of twenty-eight Bosniaks from Zvornik, a town in northeastern Bosnia, whose remains had been found in a number of mass graves (Bosnjaci.net 2016).

In 2006 and 2013, "Šehidi" was also included in the religious section of the Srebrenica genocide annual commemoration, when it was chanted directly after the performance of "Srebrenički Inferno" and before the beginning of the religious burial. A performance of "Šehidi" was also scheduled for the twentieth anniversary commemoration in 2015, but this was prevented due to the Vučić incident, as with the oratorio "Srebrenički Inferno" as discussed in the previous chapter. Thus, even though "Šehidi" was not intended specifically for the commemoration of the Srebrenica genocide, it came to be appropriated into the commemorative

[20] From *Dođi, Najdržzi: divan ilahija i kasida,* by Džemaludin Latif-zade el-Bosnevi (Dzemaludin Latić), 2009: 180. The most famous performer of this *ilahija-kasida* is Aziz Alili, but it is also commonly performed by other known and unknown performers.

repertoire because of its emphasis on the status of the victms as *šehidi*, which made this *ilahija* applicable to all religious war commemorations of Bosniak victims. The form of this *ilahija* is AB, where A is performed by the soloist and B by the religious choir. While the *ilahija* was initially performed by the aforementioned hafiz Aziz Alili, it was popularized during the early 2000s through the concert performance of child singer Kenan Mačković, whose appearance added to the symbolism carried by the *ilahija* in that he could be perceived to represent all orphaned children of fathers who died as *šehidi*.

Šehidi, hej, miljenici, gdje ste vi?	Šehidi, hey, [our] darlings, where are you?
Kraj česme, hej, stoji peškir vezeni!	Next to the fountain, hey, lies an embroidered towel!
I bardak, hej, od kojeg smo stvoreni! (2x)	And the jug, hey, from which we are created!
Šehidi, hej, miljenici, gdje ste vi?	Šehidi, hey, [our] darlings, where are you?
Šehidi, hej, evlijade, gdje ste vi?	Šehidi, hey, the holy ones, where are you?
U prahu, hej, trag tabana bosenih!	In the dust, hey, a trace of a bare foot!
Ko klanja, hej, na sofama zelenim? (2x)	Who prays, hey, on green porches?[21]
Šehidi, hej, evlijade, gdje ste vi?	Šehidi, hey, the holy ones, where are you?
Šehidi, hej, mirišljivi, gdje ste vi?	Šehidi, hey, the scented ones, where are you?
Kraj sela, hej, dvorci vaši po Bosni,	Next to the villages, hey, your castles are in Bosnia,
U bašči, hej, pokošeni cvjetovi! (2x)	In the garden, hey, mowed flowers!
Šehidi, hej, mirišljivi, gdje ste vi?	Šehidi, hey, the scented ones, where are you?
Šehidi, hej, ptice b'jele, gdje ste vi?	Šehidi, hey, you white birds, where are you?
K'o laste, hej, selice ste veseli!	Like swallows, hey, you are happy travelers!

[21] From the Arabic word *sofa*, meaning "porch." This is a reference to an elevated space in front of a mosque, which serves for prayer when there is not enough room inside a mosque (Škaljić 1966: 568).

Skup zv'jezda, hej, u tespihu treptavih! (2x)	A concourse of stars, hey, flashing in tespih![22]
Šehidi, hej, ptice b'jele, gdje ste vi?	Šehidi, hey, you white birds, where are you?

Although associations between this *ilahija* and the Srebrenica genocide are not uncommon,[23] a number of *ilahija* and *kasida* have been written specifically in memory of this genocide. The majority of *ilahija* and *kasida* dedicated to the Srebrenica genocide are performed and written by unknown performers and lyricists. While popular *ilahije* and *kaside* are disseminated through regular means such as media, public and religious performances, and compact discs, *ilahije* and *kaside* about Srebrenica sung by lesser-known performers are usually disseminated on the Internet, primarily YouTube. Regardless, as my research has shown, these songs are well known among Srebrenicans, especially those who have chosen Islam as their lifestyle and who consider religious music the only appropriate music to listen to (especially in relation to the Srebrenica genocide). The latter perspective stems from the common understanding shared among religious genocide survivors that holds religious commemoration of the Srebrenica genocide as the only appropriate form of remembering the dead.

Ilahije and *kaside* about the Srebrenica genocide employ one of the key elements of the Srebrenica genocide metanarrative: the characterization of the Srebrenica genocide as a Muslim tragedy and/or the genocide of Muslims in Bosnia. As religious songs, then, *ilahije* and *kaside* fully emphasize a religious interpretation of the Srebrenica genocide by the extensive use of religious vocabulary and frequent references to genocide victims as *šehidi* and to the search for God's solace. These commemorative *ilahije* and *kaside* are sometimes sung (or chanted) a

[22] From the Turkish word *tesbih*, meaning rosary. *Tespih* is used at the end of an Islamic prayer.

[23] For example, in the last few years, aerial recordings of the Srebrenica Memorial and Cemetery are released in June, preceding the annual commemoration, and are regularly set to the sounds of this *ilahija-kasida*.

cappella, but they are more often performed with musical accompaniment standardized through mass concerts of religious music (typically keyboard, electric guitar, and percussion). Male soloists typically perform commemorative *ilahije* and *kaside*. In some cases, a female choir accompanies the male soloist by singing the last line of each verse, resembling in that way traditional *ilahija* performance.

An example of an *ilahija* about the Srebrenica genocide is one performed by Fermin ef. Hamzić, which is interchangeably called "Ilahija" or "Kasida o Srebrenici" ["Ilahija or Kasida about Srebrenica"]. Like other *ilahije* and *kaside* about the Srebrenica genocide, this *ilahija* describes genocide victims through a religious perspective as flying, suffering souls still looking for final peace. This is because most genocide victims were initially buried in mass graves with their remains scattered, meaning that they did not have a proper religious burial and that their souls, therefore, were not able to find peace.[24] This *ilahija* suggests that survivors mention genocide victims in their prayers, so that Bosnia and its Muslims never forget *šehidi* and orphans. The *ilahija* is performed by a soloist, who is supported by a female religious choir only during the repetition of the concluding two lines of every other verse. The soloist sings over a MIDI file featuring the sounds of *'ud* (plucked lute), *ney* (reed flute), *kudum* (paired drums), and clarinet, alluding to elements of Middle Eastern and Islamic music. Unlike other postwar *ilahije*, this *ilahija* does not contain a refrain, but does have an instrumental introduction that is repeated as an interlude after every two verses (ABBABBA).

Srebreničke tihe duše	Quiet souls of Srebrenica

[24] It is important to note that the need for a proper religious burial and a preceding ritual cleansing of the dead is disregarded when it comes to *šehidi*, who are, because of the nature of their death (as innocents defending their faith), already considered "clean" at the time of their death. They are thus guaranteed entrance to Heaven. Considering the violent death and improper burial of genocide victims, their eventual designation as *šehidi* surely helped their surviving relatives to cope with these facts. The belief that a proper religious burial is necessary for the dead to find their final peace is not unique to Islam, but is also present in other religions such as Orthodox Christianity (see, for example, Kligman 1988).

Napaćene Bosnom lete	Suffering, fly over Bosnia
Ka Jasinu traže pute,	Looking for roads to Ya-sin[25]
Zaboravne da podsjete.	To remind the forgetful.
Mujezinu s Potočara	Muezzin from Potočari[26]
De na namaz nas pozovi,	Call upon us to pray,
Da od Rabba jedno išćem,	So I can ask for one thing from God,
Da se zlo ne ponovi. (2x)	That the evil never happens again.
Sanjam, noćas, jedno dijete	I dreamed, last night, one child
Uplakano traži majku,	crying, looking for her mother,
Za dimije drži nenu,	Holding her grandmother by her trousers,
Tumaraju po sokaku.	They wander through the streets.
Gospodaru svih svjetova	The Master of all worlds
Zaklinjem se Tebi svime,	I swear to You with my everything,
Zaboravit' Bosna neće	That Bosnia will not forget
Ni šehide, ni jetime. (2x)	Neither šehidi, nor orphans.
Od dušmana tuđa ruka	Foreign hands will never defend
Neće nikog da odbrani,	Anyone from their enemy,
Na sve strane humke nijeme	Silent mounds are everywhere
I nišani poredani.	And lined-up gravestones.
Sve sinove iz Podrinja	All the sons of Podrinje
U Dzennetu lijepom, tihom,	That are in beautiful and peaceful Heaven,
Kad ezani zažubore	Greet them at least with Fatiha[27]
Poselami bar Fatihom. (2x)	When ezans[28] murmur.

The gala concerts of religious music that popularized *ilahije* and *kaside* continue to be organized to this day, but without official government sponsorship. Instead, they are sponsored and organized by the Rijaset (the main administrative and organizational body) of the Islamic Community of Bosnia-Herzegovina. In recent years, these concerts have lost much of their initial glamour, now featuring a reduced number of musicians, lesser-known performers, and a

[25] A prayer from the Qur'an that is usually chanted for the dead.

[26] A muezzin is a man who calls Muslims to prayer from the minaret of a mosque.

[27] The opening prayer and first chapter of the Qur'an.

[28] A call to prayer.

standardized repertoire of *ilahije* and *kaside* established in the late 1990s and early 2000s. However, these concerts gave rise to a new genre of religious music, which I refer to as "religious pop" and which recently became involved in propagating the religious perspective on the Srebrenica genocide.

"Religious Pop" and the Srebrenica Genocide Commemoration

The emergence of "religious pop" in Bosnia directly results from the popularization and commercialization of *ilahija* and *kasida* made possible by mass concerts of religious music organized in the early to mid-2000s. As I mentioned previously, these concerts not only produced a line of new performers of religious music, but they also changed the overall function and sound of *ilahija* and *kasida*, which were now arranged for large orchestras.

Religious pop, as a continuation of modernized *ilahija*, emerged as a hybrid musical genre created by the combination of *ilahija* and *kasida* form and content with local and foreign popular music genres, such as pop, rock, rap, and the *newly composed folk music* genre of the former Yugoslavia. Religious pop songs are mostly accompanied by Western instruments and feature modern arrangements. The feature that distinguishes these songs as "Islamic" are lyrics that contain either direct or subtle religious references and sporadic employment of religious terms. The following is an example of one religious pop song performed by the male choir Hazreti Hamza, called "Tebe Svjedočim" ("I Proclaim Thee"), from 2013. The song resembles a typical pop sound, with no instrumentation that would allude to Islamic religious music except for a short ornamented clarinet solo in the middle that employs the interval of an augmented second. Likewise, the members of the choir do not employ the nasal and melismatic singing style typical of *ilahija*. Although the format of the traditional *ilahija* (in which the solo parts alternate

with the choir sections) is somewhat preserved, in this song the format more strongly resembles the one promoted by the boy bands of the 1990s, in which the entire band performs the refrain. The song is accompanied by a professionally produced music video, featuring the band members cruising through the streets of Sarajevo dressed as modern urbanites. These images are combined with images of an older man's store in a historic old part of Sarajevo, Baščaršija, related to the Ottoman period and references to Sarajevan mosques and religious artifacts.

Ovo sve što je od mene ostalo, Još malo, pa zemlja da je postalo. Umorno tijelo, omekšala kost, Došla mi je starost, očekivanost.	All of this that's left of me, Has almost become the soil. Tired body, softened bone, Age has come to me, expectedly.
Prolaznošću svojom tebe svjedočim, Stvorio si prvo mene nemoćnim, Pa mi snagu dao, sad je uzimaš, Ti si Tvorac, ti sve tajne znaš.	I proclaim Thee with my transience, You first created me powerless, Then You gave me strength, now you are taking it away You are the Creator, you know all the secrets.
Dao si mi zivot, daćeš mi i smrt, Molim Te za milost, za dzennetski vrt. S imenom Tvojim dišem svaki dah, Ti si moja nada i moj jedini strah.	You gave me life, you'll give me death too, I ask You for mercy, for Heaven's garden. With Your name I take my every breath, You are my hope and my only fear.
Prolaznošću svojom Tebe svjedočim…	I proclaim Thee with my transience…

The aforementioned textual relationship between *ilahija* and *kasida* and "religious pop" is the reason why the majority of Bosnian religious pop performers still refer to their songs as *ilahije* and *kaside*, even while acknowledging the introduction of foreign musical elements in their performance. This means that there is still no widely used term for religious pop songs in Bosnia, though they are now being created as almost entirely westernized forms without a strong relationship to the traditional religious songs. On the other hand, some religious pop performers, such as Burhan Šaban, classify their music as simply "popular music" without any religious

connotations, though their songs maintain "spiritual content" and are in a clear relationship to the world of religious pop music.

The religious pop scene in Bosnia is influenced by foreign performers of global "Islamic pop," particularly the British-Azerbaijanian star Sami Yusuf, and Malaysian *nasheed* (an Islamic pop genre in Malaysia), which is recognizable both in the musical style and the type of performance. Bosnian religious pop performers largely belong to a younger generation of musicians who are often former students of religious schools or religious clerics, or who have simply chosen Islam as their lifestyle. Most of these performers are not full-time musicians, and they have daily jobs (for example, as Islamic religious priests, *hodže*, or even as successful businessmen). Therefore, music is not their main source of income, while music-related income comes primarily from live performances, and not record sales. One-gender religious groups (or choirs) predominate in the Bosnian religious pop scene, which is another influence of Malaysian nasheed. The religious pop audience mostly consists of a younger generation of religious Bosniaks for whom this type of music represents an ideal meeting point between their Islamic faith and their modern urban lifestyle.

Unlike *ilahija* and *kasida*, religious pop songs feature professionally produced music videos influenced by popular music videos. Some of these videos are also influenced by those of Sami Yusuf, who, according to Christian Pond, was the first to produce "Islamic versions" of music videos or secular-looking music videos with Islamic themes (Pond 2006: 3). Similarly, Bosnian religious pop videos have a secular look but with religious references. The religious reference is most obvious for female performers, who are all veiled. In other cases, religious references may include images of mosques, religious prayers, religious relics or books, or simply Arabic inscriptions. Often, these accompanying music videos feature a combination of a closed

(sometimes religious) space and an open space (mostly in nature), although a number of videos also employ images of urban life combined with performers dressed as modern urban youth performing their religious duties.

In the past five years, a few major religious pop performers have recorded songs dedicated to the Srebrenica genocide, and these songs represent almost the only instances in which the Srebrenica genocide is commemorated with a genre of popular music. Another example of popular music commemorating the Srebrenica genocide is a newly composed folk song performed by the famous folk and *sevdalinka* singer Hanka Paldum (Appendix I). Almost none of these songs have found a place within any type of official or semi-official genocide commemoration, as is the case with the "Srebrenički Inferno" and the *ilahija* "Šehidi." However, these songs have their own virtual lives, and some of them are played on major TV stations in Bosnia at and around the time of the genocide commemoration. In the following pages, I focus on two religious pop songs about the genocide, "Srebrenička" ["A Song for Srebrenica"] by Burhan Šaban and "Cvijet Srebrenice" ["The Flower of Srebrenica"] by the male choir Rejjan. These two songs and their use by the musicians reflect two points that I have already discussed. "Srebrenička" employs one of the most prominent elements of the genocide metanarrative and its religious perspective: the designation of genocide victims as *šehidi*, which is intended as solace for those who were left behind. On the other hand, the entire project behind "Cvijet Srebrenice," including its film-like music video and the use of this song for the commemoration of all war crimes against the Bosniak people, locate "Cvijet Srebrenice" within a particular political and ideological framework that was historically propagated by the SDA.

"Srebrenička"

Intended for strictly commemorative, not promotional or commercial, purposes, "Srebrenička" was recorded in 2011 and released on July 11, on the sixteenth anniversary of the Srebrenica genocide. The singer Burhan Šaban (b. 1970) composed the song with lyrics by Amina Šiljak Jesenković, a Bosnian orientalist and philologist who specializes in Turkish language and literature in Ottoman Bosnia, and who had translated a number of historical works from Turkish to Bosnian, including a number of *ilahije*. At the time of the song's release, Burhan Šaban, a Macedonian Turk, was already well known to the Bosnian public. He started his career in the late 1980s as a soloist of the Gazi-Husrev Bey Medresa choir in Sarajevo, where he performed *ilahije*. Although he released an album of *ilahije* in the Turkish language in 1990, his career advanced in the late 1990s and early 2000s when he started performing at gala concerts of religious music. Together with two other former students of Gazi-Husrev Bey Medresa, Aziz Alili and Mensur Malkić, Burhan Šaban was praised as one of the greatest *ilahija* performers of that period. This was also the time when he released three relatively well-known soloist albums. One of his most famous works of this period is his performance of the *ilahija* "Dođi Najdraži" ["Come, Beloved"], written by Džemaludin Latić, from the 1998 record *Dođi Najdraži*. In 2005, Šaban released an album titled *Rodiš se i umreš* [*You're Born and You Die*], which, with its most popular track 'Kišna Dova" ["Rain Prayer"], signaled his switch to a popular music sound interspersed with textual references to spirituality and musical references to the Middle East, such as the inclusion of short parts at the beginning and in the middle of the song featuring a female voice singing short lines in Arabic. In 2011, Šaban recorded his most recent album, *Tebe Trebam* [*It's You I Need*]. "Srebrenička" was recorded together with the album, but was eventually released as a single on the anniversary of the genocide.

The creation of "Srebrenička" was the result of Šaban and Jesenković's personal initiative. They refused to relate the song to any political party or ideology and instead sponsored its realization by themselves (Šaban and Jesenković interview, August 2015). This decision was based on their awareness of the use of music (and other artistic works) for the promotion of certain views and ideologies propagated by political elites. Nevertheless, Šaban and Jesenković's take on the Srebrenica genocide remains within the framework imposed by the metanarrative, namely a religious perspective on the genocide. This is primarily demonstrated by the designation of genocide victims as *šehidi*, which "Srebrenička" propagates in its entirety and which is conceived as an act of solace toward genocide survivors. The following are the original verses of the Bosnian and the English versions of this song:[29]

I ne reci da sam mrtav	And don't say I am dead
Na Bož'jem sam putu pao	on God's path I fell,
Ne znah šta je grijeh učinit	my heart knew no sin
Kad sam s tobom se rastao	when with you I parted.
Umiri se, majko mila	Be still, mother dear,
Ne plači rad mrtva sina	don't you cry for me,
Sv'jet prolazni tren je oka	through this world we just pass
Zamah leptirova krila	like birds, wild and free.
Ne brini se, nije studen	Do not fear, it isn't cold
Mezar moje Srebrenice	in Srebrenica, my eternal home,
Pokriva me rosna trava	tender grass keeps me warm,
Toplom suzom zaljevana	and your tears embrace me.
Tri će sina dočekat te	Your three sons will meet you
Na kapiji od dženneta	at the gate of Heaven,
Tek ne reci da smo mrtvi	never say that we are dead,
Firdevsa je tvoja bašča	we just moved to His Garden.
Tvoj smo ponos što smo žrtve	Be proud of our death,

[29] English translation in original by Amira Sadiković.

Ne bjegunci, kukavice	we stayed, we never fled,
Jer će vječna vatra pakla	Hellfire will burn forever
Sudit zločin, ubojice.	to judge each murderer.
Ne brini se, nije studen	Do not fear, it isn't cold
Mezar moje Srebrenice	in Srebrenica, my eternal home,
Pokriva me rosna trava	tender grass keeps me warm,
Toplom suzom zaljevana	and your tears embrace me.

Musically, "Srebrenička" is set in the mood of a pop song. Performed in a minor key and with a slow duple meter reminiscent of a death march, the song is dominated by the sounds of the contrabass, piano, and solemn backing vocals. Such musical choices correspond with imagery in the accompanying music video. Textually, the song is an appeal by a dead son, the šehid, to his surviving mother, accomplishing in this way the authors' intention for the song to be a solace to Srebrenica women. Although the term "*šehid*" is never explicitly mentioned in this song, as is the case with the existing *ilahije* about the Srebrenica genocide, this status is revealed through references to the son's presence in Heaven (which is guaranteed to all *šehidi*) and his status as an innocent victim and not, as the song stresses, the perpetrator. According to Jesenković, the *šehid's* perspective was chosen intentionally as a way to appeal to mourning Srebrenican women. During our interview, Jesenković stated:

> I thought that there are too many of those stories, too much victimization. And I thought there is too much of that false pathos, and that there is a need for a song, or a story, that is [written] from the *šehid's* perspective, or from the perspective of what Islam tells us about the status of šehid, and that this should be a solace to those women who search for their children's bones for years. And many of them had not lost only one child, but two or three, and many more other family members. . . . [The song] is actually a reference to a divine message about these innocent people who were killed only because of their

> identity. Any person that is unjustly killed I think has the status of martyr. Especially when he was not of the age when he could sin. That is our perspective, Burhan's and mine, as devoted believers. For me, that is the only way to find solace, through that story, both for us and for the people directly affected by the genocide.
>
> (Jesenković interview, August 2015)

Speaking about the reason why they had chosen music to express this perspective on the genocide, Jesenković continued:

> I realized that the song is what remains remembered. In old methods of learning, even textbooks were written in lyrics so they could be easily remembered. This is a story that needs to stay in the people's memory. Not only the memory of Bosnians, but in the memory of all other people. In the same way that the story about the Holocaust remained in our memory. We need to have that story about Srebrenica. (ibid.)

This reasoning resulted in the creation of three versions of "Srebrenička" in Bosnian, English, and Turkish. All three versions of the song are set to the same accompanying video that shows Burhan Šaban dressed in white, walking with his younger self (played by a young boy) through a village road settled in a valley, surrounded by a large group of people representing the people of Srebrenica. The video evokes images of the 1995 flight of Srebrenicans, while Šaban and the boy symbolize those who were separated from the masses and killed.

As already mentioned, the song premiered on July 11, 2011, both on a local Sarajevan TV station, TV SA, and on Šaban's official Facebook page, from which he allowed it to be taken over by other Bosnian TV stations and Internet portals. In the following years, the song has been played on a few local TV stations on the anniversary of the genocide, and Šaban sporadically performs "Srebrenička" at his concerts. However, the song never became very popular or

associated with any official genocide commemoration, which may be due to the authors' decision not to associate their work with any political party's agenda.

"Cvijet Srebrenice"

While Šaban and Jesenković's "Srebrenička" is targeted strictly toward Srebrenica and its anniversary, the song "Cvijet Srebrenice" by the religious choir Rejjan became both a part of their year-long project of popularizing the story about the genocide among the Bosnian public and a means of incorporating other war crimes against the Bosniaks into this story. Thus, Rejjan transformed the Srebrenica genocide into a symbol of all Bosniak war suffering, contributing in that way to the postwar Bosniak national narrative of victimization – of which the Srebrenica genocide is perhaps the keystone. These effects were not accomplished through the song's lyrics or music video, which are, as I describe below, solely related to the Srebrenica genocide, but instead through Rejjan's subsequent employment and promotion of the song.

The religious choir Rejjan was established in 2006 as a joint collaboration between eleven young men, mostly former Gazi-Husrev Bey Medresa students, from Bosnia, Slovenia, and Macedonia. The choir released their first and only album in 2008, titled *Ya Resullalah*. Besides this, they released a number of singles, with the most popular being "Ramazanska noć" ["The Ramadan Night"]. Rejjan performs Islamic religious music, mostly newly composed *ilahije* and *kaside*, but some of their works belong to the genre of religious pop. Usually, Rejjan is accompanied by two guitars, clarinet, and percussion.

Rejjan's single "Cvijet Srebrenice" was released in early July of 2013, a few days before the eighteenth anniversary of the Srebrenica genocide. The song and accompanying music video were the result of a month-long project undertaken by Rejjan. According to members of this

choir, their serious approach to realizing the song and video was triggered by the dominance of amateur works on this topic (Rejjan interview, July 2013). Rejjan particularly emphasized the music video, which is a six-minute short film, while the song was primarily intended as musical background. During our interview, the members of Rejjan explained the reasoning behind this project:

> We wanted to give our contribution to the preservation of the memory of what had happened in Srebrenica, to spread the story about the genocide and the Bosniak suffering. . . . In this way, we want to raise awareness [about the genocide]. New generations are coming. Our elementary-school children do not learn at all about the genocide.[30] If we spread the story, the memory will last. We have to commemorate Srebrenica so that [its story] remains [etched in memory], so that we can learn something from it. (ibid.)

"Cvijet Srebrenice" can be classified as religious pop, not only in terms of the use of religious references in its lyrics, but also in terms of musical elements that are clearly influenced by Middle Eastern music and the nasal singing style typical of *ilahija*. All members of the choir perform the song in unison. The song is strophic, in a minor key and a slow tempo, and is dominated by the sound of the keyboard, stringed instruments, and especially the clarinet.

Zabranit ću osmijeh sebi na današnji dan, Neka duša danas kuša suza okus slan. Insal allah, Kabul dova šljegne na moj dlan	I'll forbid myself to smile on this day, Let the soul try the taste of salty tears. Insal allah, Kabul prayer[31] will fall on my palm
Da ničija majka nikad ne okvasi lice, suzom teškom i uzdahom majke Srebrenice.	Let no mother ever wet her face, With the tear and sigh of the Srebrenican mother.

[30] As mentioned in Chapter 2, elementary school children in Bosnia do learn about the genocide. However, this statement by the members of Rejjan might have its roots in the way the genocide is presented in history textbooks (mostly briefly).

[31] A prayer that is accepted by Allah.

Zabranit ću sreći danas ulazak u dom,	I'll forbid happiness in my home today,
Na dan kada vratiše se Gospodaru svom.	On the day of their return to their Master.
Duše lijepe poput cvijeća mirisnih behara,	Beautiful souls like fragrant blossoms,
One sad cu slova nijema mirnih Potočara.	They are now silent letters in still Potocari.
Da ničija majka nikad ne okvasi lice,	Let no mother ever wet her face,
suzom teškom i uzdahom majke Srebrenice.	With the tear and sigh of the Srebrenican mother.

The mournful sounds of this song, accomplished through the prominent and highly ornamented clarinet playing, and the touching lyrics complement the accompanying music video. In the video, members of Rejjan and other male actors are depicted as the Srebrenican men who were chased down through the hills and woods of Eastern Bosnia, making an association to the real events of July 1995. These images are combined with scenes of these men captured and held in ruins reminiscent of the place where the Srebrenican men were held immediately before their execution in 1995, and with scenes of the battery factory in Potočari in which the civilian population was held. The video ends with an image of the empty battery factory hall, with damaged clothes and shoes with designated serial numbers lying on the floor, suggesting the belongings that were subsequently found in mass graves and used for identification.

A few days after the song's release, Rejjan attended an official commemorative event called "Ima jedan grad Srebrenica" ["There is One Town called Srebrenica"], organized by the Youth Association of the SDA party. Major genocide survivor-activists and victims' associations' representatives, such as Munira Subašić and Emir Suljagić attended this event. The video for "Cvijet Srebrenice" played at the end of the event, and Rejjan also performed their other works during the event (SDA.ba 2013). Besides their work finding a place in an official commemorative event such as this, Rejjan afterwards devoted the rest of 2013 to the commemoration of the Srebrenica genocide. They accomplished this by performing "Cvijet Srebrenice" at all their subsequent concerts, and also by wearing black T-shirts printed with the

number of genocide victims (8,372). Consequently, "Cvijet Srebrenice" received much more attention in the media than, for example, "Srebrenička," with many news portals reporting on the song's release and many local TV stations, especially Sarajevan TV Hayat, replaying the song during July of 2013.

Today, "Cvijet Srebrenice" is played on some local TV stations, such as TV Hayat, at the time of the genocide commemoration. This was also the case in 2016, when the song was played during the month of Ramadan (which overlapped with the commemoration) and during a special program dedicated to the genocide anniversary. However, it is the song's virtual life – that is, its use by Rejjan on their official Facebook page – that situates it not only in relation to the genocide but all Bosniak war suffering. This was already evident at the time of the song's initial release on their Facebook page, when Rejjan wrote the following note:

> What we want to say is the following: "Share this video, share our work and legacy, and never, but never FORGET that we are the people against whom the genocide was committed while the entire world watched! The people that lost its 200,000 brothers and sisters, mothers and fathers, and children and elderly. DO NOT FORGET SREBRENICA, PRIJEDOR, VIŠEGRAD, FOČA, ZVORNIK, BIJELJINA, AHMIĆI, STUPNI DO. (Hor Rejjan 2013, capitalization in the original)

With this note, Rejjan related the Srebrenica genocide to major sites of "ethnic cleansing" in Bosnia (Prijedor, Foča, Zvornik, Bijeljina, Ahmići), insisting on remembrance. This call to remember in their later posts was directed toward the remembrance of crimes committed against Bosniaks, but also toward the remembrance of Bosniak identity that, in its present form, emerged in part out of these tragedies (for example, with statements such as "Let's not forget who we are. . . . Let's cherish what is ours."). Such statements, in particular, occurred at the time of the first

post-1990 national poll in Bosnia, when there was a huge campaign encouraging Bosnian Muslims to declare themselves as "Bosniaks" and not "Bosnians," as the former refers directly to Bosnian Muslims and their ethno-religious identity, while the latter is a term that can be used by all Bosnian citizens regardless of their religious or ethnic belonging.

Since 2013, Rejjan has posted this song throughout the year, not only on the anniversary of the genocide, relating it to Bosniak remembrance days such as the Day of *Šehidi*. In this way, the song's use is the inverse of the *ilahija* "Šehidi." "Šehidi," an *ilahija* that describes *šehidi* in a general manner with no mention of any particular war event, came to be appropriated for the commemoration of very specific tragedies, including the Srebrenica genocide. On the other hand, "Cvijet Srebrenice," which specifically addresses the genocide, came to be used by Rejjan to commemorate "all *šehidi*" and the entire Bosniak experience of wartime suffering.

Emerging from the religious-national perspective on the war and genocide propagated by Bosniak political elites and the Islamic Community in Bosnia, commemorative religious songs reinforce a particular interpretation of the genocide as a Bosnian Muslim tragedy. In doing so, these religious songs employ some of the key elements of the metanarrative rooted in the wartime and postwar characterization of genocide victims as religious martyrs. At the same time, they contribute to the principally religious commemoration of the victims, and to the homogenization of the Bosniak population and the strengthening of their ethno-religious national identity based on their victimization, among other things. The propagation of the religious perspective on the Srebrenica genocide, namely the emphasis on *šehidi* and the characterization of the genocide as a Muslim tragedy, found its place not only in works of religious music created by former students of religious schools (for whom this perspective might seem most appealing), but also in a few works of a non-religious nature. It is one such work, "Poema o Srebrenici"

("The Srebrenica Poem"), that I turn to in the following, final section of this chapter. This piece is the best example of the influence of the official metanarrative on common understandings and renditions of the genocide.

Poema o Srebrenici

"Poema o Srebrenici," a musical piece that features sung and spoken sections, was written in 2005, before the tenth anniversary of the genocide. The Poem was written by Vehbija Ibrahimović Kigen, a journalist, amateur musician, and lyricist from Srebrenik (northeastern Bosnia). Notwithstanding the financial support Kigen received from the Srebrenica Municipality, this work never achieved public presence nor was it used in any type of publicly organized commemoration. The Srebrenica Municipality received two thousand copies of the Poem, which are today sold as souvenirs at the Srebrenica-Potočari Memorial Center. The Poem's significance, however, lies in its reliance on the Srebrenica genocide metanarrative, especially its religious section, which exemplifies the extent to which this mass-mediated perspective reaches the Bosnian public and influences commemorative musical works beyond religious compositions or those commissioned by the government. The Poem also testifies to the way non-survivors embrace the metanarrative as their own story about the genocide. Indeed, Kigen's work unmistakably follows the chronology and interpretation of the events in Srebrenica as they are presented in the metanarrative, emphasizing its most typical elements: mothers and orphans of Srebrenica; understanding the genocide as a Muslim tragedy; and clear designation of the responsibility and culpability of the international community.

Vehbija Ibrahimović Kigen worked as a war reporter in northeastern Bosnia during the final years of the war, which enabled him to experience firsthand the flow of refugees from

Srebrenica after the city fell in 1995. Consequently, he came to know many people from Podrinje. During our conversation in 2013, Kigen revealed that it was this new presence of Srebrenicans in his city, as well as the overall presence of the narrative about Srebrenica in Bosnian collective consciousness, that prompted him to write and compose the Poem. Besides the Poem, Kigen is the author of many other works, including a number of patriotic songs written during the war while he was a member of so-called "Artistic" troops under the command of the 2nd Corps of the Army of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina. The majority of these songs are focused on particular events.[32] After the war, Kigen continued writing songs for local performers of popular music, as well as activist songs. For example, during our interview, he recited the parts of his new song dedicated to the 2013 national poll in Bosnia, the first since 1990, which urges people to identify themselves as Bosniaks (Bosnian Muslims). The song's title is "It is Important to be a Bosniak." In other words, Kigen uses his indisputable talent for rhyme to write about actual events in clear and pragmatic language. This is also the case with his "Poema o Srebrenici," which comprises a rhymed chronology of the events in Srebrenica that includes both the genocide and its aftermath.

The Srebrenica Poem cannot be categorized in any particular musical genre. According to Kigen himself, the piece is closest to the genre of radio drama, as it employs both sung and spoken word. The Poem is performed by seven vocalists and reciters, two of which are *efendije* (Islamic priests) – Jasmin ef. Oštraković and Alija ef. Tabaković. Their Islamic-like chanting dominates the entire Poem, emphasizing the religious setting of the work. Kigen himself is also featured as one of the reciters. Sung and spoken sections of the Poem, performed alternatingly,

[32] Some of Kigen's patriotic songs are published in a monograph entitled *Second Corps Sings to Freedom* (Drugi korpus pjeva slobodi), published in 2002.

are accompanied by electronically produced musical background dominated by the sound of ney, drums, and keyboard. The piece also features small segments played on the piano and the saz.

The choice of each of these instruments is meaningful in itself, and is deliberately employed in specific parts of the performance. The ney is featured in the majority of the piece, as it occasionally accompanies an Islamic chant-like singing part and therefore evokes an overall Islamic or religious feeling, due to the fact that Bosniaks are generally aware of the use of ney in Islamic religious music, especially by Turkish Mevlevis. The keyboard accompanies part of the Poem that relates the suffering of orphaned children and is intended to provoke feelings of nostalgia and innocence. Finally, the saz is featured in a part that tells of the Srebrenican diaspora, their patriotism and Bosnian identity. Overall, the choice and deliberate employment of these instruments throughout the performance of the Srebrenica Poem situates the Srebrenica genocide within the two frameworks: 1) a religious or Islamic framework, in which the genocide is represented as an act against Bosnian Muslims because they were Muslims, and; 2) a national or Bosnian framework, in which the genocide is represented as the ultimate sacrifice for the nation that continues to be cherished.

Throughout the Poem, Kigen relies on the elements of the genres of mevlud, *ilahija*, and kasida, while elements of sevdalinka (i.e., the saz) are employed in the sections that portray love for Bosnia and refer to those genocide survivors who were forced to emigrate to other countries. All of these genres are employed purposefully, because, according to Kigen, all of them are exclusively related to Bosniaks and are, therefore, perceived as expressions of Bosniak identity. This perspective echoes the designation of these genres as the "highest artistic forms of Bosniaks" at the 1990 concerts of religious music in Sarajevo.[33] These choices were also

[33] While the genres of *mevlud*, *ilahija*, and *kasida* are without a doubt religious genres distinctive to Bosnian Muslims, Kigen's perception of *sevdalinka* as related to Bosniaks exclusively is more

influenced by Kigen's awareness of religiosity embraced by many survivors after the genocide. According to him, it was his desire both to appeal to these survivors by relying extensively on religious music and to express his respect for their religiosity. Finally, his use of Islamic religious elements in the Poem was primarily inspired by his endeavor to urge people to, in his own words, "hold on to their own"[34] – that is, to keep expressing who they are – because

> The entire war [happened] in order to determine who is who. . . . The main reason why Srebrenica has suffered is because we are Muslims. (Kigen interview, July 2013)

Here, it is important to pay attention to Kigen's choice of words in his last sentence: although he was talking specifically about Srebrenica, he did not say the city has suffered because "they" are Muslims, but because "we" are Muslims. In other words, he embraced the official Bosniak representation of Srebrenica in which victimization related to the genocide narrative has become the victimization of Bosniak people as a whole *because* they were and are Muslims.

Kigen's personal beliefs as reflected in the Poem are marked by a strong sense of his ethno-religious identity, his experience of war through the reporter's lens, and the influence of mass-mediated history of the events in Srebrenica that has, according to Kigen himself, "entered every household in Bosnia." The piece is organized in chronological order, beginning with a symbolic, epic-like verse performed (or chanted) by an Islamic priest accompanied only by the keyboard. This verse is preceded by a very short phrase on the ney. The verse states:

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questionable. While it is a fact that sevdalinka emerged in Bosnia during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries among the elite, urban, Muslim classes, it subsequently became the common musical heritage of all national groups in Bosnia and was, therefore, composed and performed by all of them. However, sevdalinka experienced a process of nationalization during the recent war, in which particular instruments and musical genres became ascribed to particular national groups in Bosnia (for example, the gusle [a bowed fiddle] became ascribed to Bosnian Serbs, the tamburitza [a short-necked lute] to Bosnian Croats, and the saz [a long-necked, plucked lute] to Bosnian Muslims). In this context, sevdalinka became promoted as the cultural heritage of primarily Bosnian Muslims.

[34] This sentiment, as noted above, is also expressed by the choir Rejjan when they publicly share their "Cvijet Srebrenice."

Koliko je vode Drinom poteklo,	Since the waters of Drina started to flow,
nije došlo tako vrijeme prokleto,	There was not such a cursed time,
kao juli devedeset i pete,	As July of ninety-five,
kad su crne v'jesti svijetom pronijete.	When the harrowing news spread around the world.

With this one verse, Kigen situates his narrative not only geographically (mentioning the Drina River, central to the geography of Podrinje and Eastern Bosnia, and a natural border between Bosnia and Serbia) and temporally (giving the month when Srebrenica fell), but also in terms of the event's magnitude – its tragedy is emphasized by the temporal symbolism of the Drina's "eternal" with no time of origin, and its magnitude by the global impact of the event. After this, Kigen provides a factual description of the crime (all men are killed, while women, children, and elderly are exiled), a numerical estimate of those killed (more than 8,000), the nature of the crime (genocide); and the role of the international community (the fall of the UN "safe zone" and the role of the Dutch peace corps). He continues by describing the mass killings and the creation of mass graves; the transportation of women, children, and elderly to Bosniak-held territory; the column of men on their way to free territory through the woods and the manhunt directed against them; and the mothers' hope that their relatives will survive and their desperation when they realize the truth. Most of these verses are performed by an Islamic religious priest, accompanied by keyboard with occasional occurrences of the ney, while some short parts are simply declamated by Kigen himself without accompaniment.

Although Kigen at one point endeavors to personalize the story by having two verses mention the personal names of ficional mothers' sons who were killed, what is emphasized throughout the Poem is the collective experience of genocide. The following verses further demonstrate this collectivity through individual actors' recounting of all municipalities whose population was killed in the genocide (Cerska, Konjević Polje, Kamenica, Bratunac, Žepa,

Vlasenica, and Zvornik), again performed by an Islamic priest. Interestingly, Srebrenica is left out from this list, as it is the name that came to encompass all these places.

Neko naglas svu Cersku proziva,	Someone calls all Cerska out loud,
Al' se na to niko ne odaziva.	But no one responds to that.
Kamenicu jedan dedo spominje,	One grandfather mentions Kamenica,
Potom čuješ gotov' cijelo Podrinje.	And then you hear all of Podrinje.
Iz Konjević-Polja žene jecaju,	Women sob from Konjevic Polje,
Za sudbinu svojih milih ne znaju.	Not knowing their loved ones' fate.
Nema više mog sina jedinca,	My only son is gone,
Tužno zbori majka iz Bratunca.	Sadly says a mother from Bratunac.
Trebalo je vidjet svako lice,	Each face needed to be seen,
Da li Žepe ili Vlasenice.	Whether from Zepa or from Vlasenica.
Posebno je bila tužna slika	Especially sad was the image
Kad se našle sestre iz Zvornika.	Of two sisters from Zvornik finding each other.

Kigen's claim that both the war and Srebrenica happened because Bosniaks are Muslims, mentioned above, is also part of the Poem. Here, it is formulated as a question and answer, with which he provides the reasoning behind the genocide. It is performed in the nasal style of *ilahija* and features the sound of kudum drums.

Šta je tome svemu razlog najveći,	What is the biggest reason for all of that,
Da se pokolj nije mog'o izbjeći?	That the massacre could not be avoided?
Svi su oni zvjerski ubijani	They all were savagely killed,
Samo zato što su muslimani.	Only because they are Muslims.

After this verse, the Poem switches from the genocide to its aftermath, describing the displacement of the Srebrenican population to both Bosnia and the world; the work of the International Criminal Tribunal for Yugoslavia in Hague; the formation of women's non-governmental organizations; their search for the remains of their relatives; exhumations and DNA identification; and the final common burial of the victims at the Memorial Center in Potočari. With this, the Poem completes a full circle from the mass killing, through the search for the remains of those killed, to their final burial in Potočari, which signifies rest for the dead and

for the living who were looking for them. In regard to Kigen's narrative of the genocide's aftermath, an especially interesting point is his reflection on the representation and treatment of the genocide by others outside of Bosnia, especially by the world powers. While he does not address the genocide denial by Bosnian Serbs, he is very critical of the relativization of genocide victims and perpetrators advocated by those outside of Bosnia. He also pointed to this critique during our conversation, stating that his goal in writing the Poem was to say what really happened despite attempts to "minimize" it. In his work, Kigen voices his position primarily through a critique of the International Tribunal in Hague, with these verses being declaimed to piano accompaniment that employs the interval of an augmented second:

Tribunal se formirao u Hagu	Tribunal was formed in Hague
Da pokaže jedinstvo i snagu.	To show unity and strength.
Al' suđenja i kazne malene,	But the trials and sentences are small,
Svi već znaju da nisu pravedne.	Everyone knows they are not rightful.
Žalosno je pravo što sprovode	Sad is the law they advocate
Kad žrtve na klupu dovode.	When they bring the victims to trial.
Terete ih od ubica jače	They charge them more than the killers
Da sve strane tako izjednače.	To equalize all sides.

Kigen's Poem clearly offers a generalized take on Srebrenica that is deeply influenced by the mass-mediated genocide metanarrative. In fact, all the main points that form the basis of the Poem (mass killings; deportation; displacement; the search for remains and DNA analysis; the Tribunal in Hague; the relativization of genocide; and the common burial in Potočari) are well known to the people of Bosnia thanks to their emphasized presence in the country's mediascape. Kigen voices both the official view of Srebrenica as the symbol of suffering of all Bosnian Muslims and the official critique of the relativization of genocide. Official Bosniak politics in relation to Srebrenica become Kigen's personal view and interpretation of the event; the official

chronological narrative of genocide and its aftermath become Kigen's truth of what happened. In his own words, this truth needs to be "frozen" for generations to come.

Summary

In Part I of the dissertation, I explored the development of the Srebrenica genocide metanarrative as the official history and collective memory of the genocide and claimed that this metanarrative influences commemorative music about this event. In particular, this Part focused on genres of classical and religious music to demonstrate the ways the metanarrative shapes and is reinforced by this music, promoting in that way a specific rendition and understanding of the events in Srebrenica.

After establishing a history of the development of the Srebrenica genocide metanarrative in Bosnia in Chapter 2, in Chapter 3 I traced the creation of the "official" music of the genocide, the "Srebrenički Inferno," analyzing its role in the annual genocide commemoration and communal burial, as well as its contribution to the establishment and dissemination of the metanarrative. On the other hand, I discussed how other works that do not comply with the existing metanarrative are excluded, marginalized, and even condemned by the Bosnian public through the case of the one-act opera-attraction "Srebreničanke." Examining the ongoing trend of "authentication" of particular commemorative works dedicated to the memory of genocide, Chapter 3 demonstrated how genocide survivor-activists have an important role in this process. Their role in the process of authentication makes these survivor-activists significant framers of the Srebrenica genocide metanarrative, at the same time making "appropriate" commemorative works, such as the Inferno, part of this narrative. Furthermore, Chapter 3 concerned the Inferno's role in the commemoration and burial in Potočari as related to Bosnian Islamic tradition and

music's role in Islam more generally. I addressed the complexity of the Srebrenica genocide commemoration as an event with private and public, religious and secular, and national and international purposes. Analyzing the performance and position of the Inferno within the official commemoration showed how these often opposing purposes are negotiated. The final section of Chapter 3 focused on differing stances about the purpose and significance of the Inferno among actors of different societal profiles in Bosnia and St. Louis, demonstrating how different social backgrounds and relationships to the Inferno's performance contexts affect individual perspectives on the meaning of "Srebrenički Inferno" and the genocide commemoration in general.

Chapter 4 focused on genres of religious music – *ilahija*, *kasida*, and religious pop – demonstrating the reinforcement that is accomplished through these genres of the religious perspective on the Srebrenica genocide found in the metanarrative. Considering the mutual relationship between the leading Bosniak political party, SDA, and the Islamic Community of Bosnia-Herzegovina, and their shared propagation of a religious interpretation of the Srebrenica genocide, this perspective was embraced by many religious Bosniaks. Musically speaking, this perspective is propagated in *ilahije*, *kaside*, and religious pop compositions that are most often written and performed by individuals close to SDA or the Islamic Community, or by those who are Islamic priests themselves. The majority of commemorative religious works feature the element used by the SDA and the Islamic Community at the beginning of the 1990s to Islamicize Bosniak victims and their commemoration: the designation of all Bosniak victims as šehidi. The prominence of this perspective in today's Bosnia conditions the process of meaning-making of the war and genocide, contributing to the premise that Bosniaks were victimized because of their religion. A concluding analysis of the Srebrenica Poem demonstrates not only the far-reaching

influence of this stance and its consequences for the interpretation of the Srebrenica genocide, but also the profound effects of the Srebrenica genocide metanarrative on popular understandings and renditions of this tragedy in contemporary Bosnia even beyond the official sphere. In the second half of this dissertation, I take my analysis of the commemorative repertoire a step further by examining works that belong to the spaces of genocide survivors.

PART II
NARRATIVES OF SURVIVORS

Chapter 5: Trauma and Narratives of Survivors

In Part I, I explored the way that public commemorative music on a national level both reinforces and is shaped by the existing metanarrative about the Srebrenica genocide. In Part II, I focus on personal narratives found in acts of commemoration performed by genocide survivors themselves through an examination of a commemorative repertoire of neo-traditional music called *izvorna* (from the source). Furthermore, I discuss the way that genocide survivors utilize this genre beyond commemoration to assist them in the process of post-genocide meaning-making of themselves and the world in which they live. In doing so, I continue my discussion of the Srebrenica genocide metanarrative, but now I relate it to individual narratives of the genocide and the narratives that genocide survivors, as members of a community of memory bound by the same traumatic experience, tell about themselves within their community and to others. It is important to note that these narratives do not only involve stories of personal experience of the genocide, but also stories that reflect on the consequences of the genocide in survivors' present lives.

The relationships between a metanarrative, or the official, publicly recognized "truth" that constitutes collective memory and history, and individual narratives, or personal "truths" about what actually happened, are mutually dependent. It is important to remember that official memory can influence popular collective memory; individual memories can be represented through official collective memory; and official collective memory can influence the shape of individual memories (Kligman and Verdery 2011: 13). In this vein, the Srebrenica genocide metanarrative influences the way genocide survivors' individual narratives are constructed; at the same time, individual narratives are represented in the metanarrative. This is primarily accomplished through the prominent role that activist genocide survivors, particularly

Srebrenican women, play in the reinforcement and legitimization of the metanarrative (as I have shown in Chapters 2 and 3). These individual survivors, as representatives of all genocide survivors, are, to paraphrase Ashplant et al. (2000: 49), seen as the ultimate authorities and the legitimate voices for expressing the memory of the genocide, whose truth claims "monopolize meanings" of the Srebrenica genocide at the official level. At the same time, the emplotment of the official metanarrative is reflected in the content of individual narratives of the genocide; that is, in those elements of the story that genocide survivors choose to include and/or highlight. This corresponds with Jeffrey Prager's claim that what is remembered is directly conditioned by the present in that, by choosing a particular narrative of the past, the rememberer situates herself in "a particular kind of living in the present" (1998: 5).

Scholars of trauma agree that those who survived a traumatic event often define themselves as not being the same people they were before (Brison 1999; Langer 1995). Primarily, this change is related to survivors' post-traumatic conceptions of self and the world in which they live, and it accompanies a complex process of transforming traumatic memory into a coherent narrative. Notwithstanding the physical trauma that is often caused by a traumatic and life-endangering event, surviving a trauma ultimately causes "the wound of the mind," which, according to Cathy Caruth, represents "the breach in the mind's experience of time, self, and the world" (1996: 3-4). In other words, trauma profoundly alters survivors' perceptions of who they are, and of the world that surrounds them (see also Tuval-Mashiach et al. 2004).

Existing scholarship on trauma and memory usually distinguishes between traumatic and narrative memory (Caruth 1996; Brison 1999). Traumatic memory is often described as a "flashback," a disruptive moment in the human mind that is not intentional or recalled, but sudden and unwanted. Traumatic memory provokes strong emotional responses (Brison 1999)

and is not fully available to human consciousness; it is an "unclaimed experience" (Caruth 1996). According to scholars of trauma, traumatic memory is hard to articulate, and "the imperative to tell" is "inhibited by the impossibility of telling, and therefore, silence about the truth prevails" (Laub 1995: 64). At the same time, the transition from traumatic memory to narrative memory (which is most often represented through the form of testimony) signals the survivors' intention to "claim" a traumatic event and, therefore, to begin the process of healing. Through the act of narration, the survivor is able to "remake" himself (Brison 1999), and to integrate a traumatic event into "a life with a before and after" (ibid: 46). However, to remake oneself does not mean to restore the sense of self and the surrounding world in the same way they existed before the trauma occurred, but instead to claim trauma as part of one's life story and to acknowledge that being a survivor adds an important layer to the other multiple identities a person possesses. Testimony, as the most common form of the transition between traumatic and narrative memory, is also a widespread means of recording and documenting traumatic events of the past, not only for the purposes of memory preservation, but also for reconciliation. For example, the 1990s were marked by an endeavor to collect and record testimonies of Holocaust survivors and to give them voice (some of which are today archived at the USC Center for Genocide Studies). The Truth and Reconciliation Commissions that operated in different countries, including Peru and South Africa, represent a different opportunity to give voice to survivors and, through sharing their stories of the past, to come to terms with that past and reconcile with their perpetrators.

In the following two chapters, I approach *izvorna* songs as genocide survivors' individual narratives that produce knowledge about the Srebrenica genocide and express survivors' being in the world in the context of genocide's aftermath. Through *izvorna* songs, genocide survivors

make sense of what happened and is happening to them. These songs provide them with an opportunity to remake themselves, to narrate their memories, and to integrate the experience of the genocide and the effects this event has had on their lives (for example, emigrating and building a new life for themselves and their families) into their sense of identity. If we remember Brockmeier's claim that narratives, as performative actions, aim to *do* something, then *izvorna* songs can be seen as survivors' claiming a truth about the genocide that acts directly against genocide denial (a point that I take up in Chapter 6). Even though not all audiences in Bosnia are willing to hear and acknowledge what survivors have to say, the very fact that survivors' narratives are shared within their community of memory via *izvorna* songs provides them with a therapeutic experience of sorts, through which they are able to rework their experiences and to make sense of their post-genocide way of being in the world. In this way, the Srebrenica genocide survivors exercise another common practice performed by those who do the remembering: when appropriating a particular "frame of meaning" about their traumatic experience, they make themselves part of those groups that can confirm such frames of meaning (Prager 1998: 5). To put it differently, they seek out an understanding listener. In addition, narratives performed through *izvorna* songs act to negotiate ambiguities of belonging among those survivors who resettled either inside or outside of Bosnia, which is discussed in Chapter 7.

The case of *izvorna* songs utilized by genocide survivors brings to the fore the social dimension of narratives, as these songs are always in dialogue. The narrators featured in these songs, be they musicians, lyricists, or genocide survivors who commission *izvorna* songs, always direct their narratives to their audience, to the listener. In this way, performed narratives are shared and collected, constituting part of a common account of the experience of the Srebrenica genocide and life in its aftermath, which is distributed among members of the same community

of memory.

Narratives found in *izvorna* songs are framed according to the Srebrenica genocide metanarrative, which is accepted as the official "truth" about what happened in 1995. The interdependence of the metanarrative and individual narratives is clearly audible in commemorative *izvorna* songs about the genocide, whose content more or less follows the plot found in the metanarrative. This is especially true for those commemorative *izvorna* songs that narrate the Srebrenica genocide as a collective event, and not necessarily in relation to its individual victims. References to the genocide as the great Bosniak tragedy, to the orphaned children and bereaved mothers of Srebrenica – all essential elements of the metanarrative – make up the content of these songs. In addition, they are used to voice survivors' opinions regarding genocide denial and their position in a conflict-divided Bosnian society, or to critique their own culture of memory as the community of survivors.

In the second chapter of Part II, Chapter 6, I approach commemorative *izvorna* songs dedicated to the Srebrenica genocide as performative narratives that aim to give meaning to what happened, and to state individual truths that act against genocide denial. In Chapter 7, I discuss three types of post-genocide *izvorna* songs differentiated according to their content – songs of belonging, songs of defiance, and songs of new beginnings – not only in terms of narrative's performativity and goals, but also in terms of its understanding as an ontological condition. In this way, I hope to illuminate how narratives performed through *izvorna* songs demonstrate genocide survivors' ways of being in their post-genocide worlds.

Chapter 6: On Truth, Remembrance, and Genocide Denial: Commemorative *Izvorna* Songs

From my field notes: *I was sitting with an old* izvorna *musician and his family in his tiny apartment in the St. Louis suburbs. Surrounded by relics of his past life back in Bosnia, S. showed me all his recordings, posters, and the song lyrics he had written during a career of more than thirty years. "I wrote a song about Srebrenica, you know," said S. He picked up the phone to call his son, also a musician, after I asked him to perform the song for me. Soon, the son came by, and after a few minutes of practice, S. told me, "Now you can record this." So, they started singing:*

Srebrenico, tebe proda Gali,	*Srebrenica, you were sold by Ghali,*[1]
I Akaši, njegov vojnik mali.	*And Akashi,*[2] *his little soldier.*
Prodaše te Mladić generalu,	*You were sold to General Mladić,*[3]
Radovanu, a i Slobodanu.	*To Radovan,*[4] *but also Slobodan.*[5]
I to sve uz pomoć Unprofora,	*All of that with the help of UNPROFOR,*[6]
Srebrenica, braćo, pasti mora.	*Srebrenica, brothers, needs to fall.*
To je bilo 11 jula,	*That was on July 11,*
Kad je Jugo vojska napadnula.	*When the Yugo army attacked.*[7]

[1] A reference to Boutros Boutros-Ghali, the former Secretary-General of the United Nations who held office from 1992 to 1996, at the time of the war in Bosnia.

[2] A reference to Yasushi Akashi, the UN Secretary-General's personal representative for the wars in Yugoslavia.

[3] A reference to General Ratko Mladić, who was in charge of the Republic of Srpska military unit that took over Srebrenica and committed the genocide.

[4] A reference to Radovan Karadzic, the wartime President of the Republic of Srpska.

[5] A reference to Slobodan Milošević, the Serbian President at the time of the break-up of former Yugoslavia and the wars in Croatia and Bosnia.

[6] The United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) was the UN peacekeeping force for the wars in Bosnia and Croatia. One of the units, the Dutch Battalion, was in Srebrenica at the time of the city's takeover by Bosnian Serb forces, but failed to prevent the genocide.

[7] A reference to the Yugoslav National Army (JNA) that dissolved in 1992 after the Yugoslav dissolution, which was reformed as the army of the newly formed Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. However, it was

Bšs u utorak, u četrnaest sati,	*It was on a Tuesday at 2 pm*
Srebrenica morala je pasti.	*That Srebrenica had to fall.*
Agresori upali, pa kolju,	*Aggressors entered [the city], slaughtering,*
Da bi svoju ispunili volju.	*To do as they will.*
Takve ih je odgojila mati,	*They were raised by their mothers,*
Ubijati, pucati i klati.	*To kill, shoot, and slaughter.*
Bježi narod i ostavlja kuće,	*The people ran away and left their homes*
Samo živu glavu da izvuče.	*Only to save their lives.*
Krenuli su i do Unprofora,	*They went to UNPROFOR,*
Misle da ih zaštiti mora.	*Thinking they will protect them.*
Kad su stigli svi na jedno mjesto,	*When all of them gathered at one place*
Svaki tračak nade im je nest'o	*They lost all their hope.*
Unprofor Jugo vojska skupa,	*UNPROFOR and the Yugo army together,*
Zvali su se zajednička trupa.	*They were united troops.*
Jadni narod nista ne utjesi,	*There was no comfort for the poor people,*
Krvavi se Mladić na njih smiješi.	*Bloody Mladić smiles at them.*
"Ko god želi, ovdje ostat more,"	*"Anyone who wants, can stay here,"*
Krvav plan je riješio do zore.	*He executed [his] bloody plan by dawn.*
Sve muškarce odvojio za se,	*All the men were separated,*
Žene se i djeca da se spase.	*So the women and children were saved.*
Malu djecu miluje po kosi,	*[Mladić] touched the heads of young children,*
I krvave poklone im nosi.	*Carrying them bloody gifts.*
Poklone im podijelio džabe,	*He gave them gifts for free,*
Al' su zato ostali bez babe.	*But they were left without their fathers.*
Kol'ko ih je silovano žena,	*How many women were raped,*
Ostale su curice i nena.	*Only girls and grandmothers were spared.*
U životu nije bilo teže,	*There was no worse time in life,*
Jadni ljudi i kroz šume bježe.	*Poor people were running away through the woods.*
Mnoge ih je raznijela Drina,	*Many were taken by the Drina [River],*
Jadne majke ostaše bez sina.	*Poor mothers were left without their sons.*
Neka jednog, neka pet sinova,	*Some without one [son], and others without five,*
Pri kraju je tužna pjesma.	*This song reaches its end.*
Sesnaesta je godina nastala	*It has been sixteen years*
Otkad je Srebrenica pala.	*Since Srebrenica fell.*
Pogleda se, čeka i traži,	*It's been looking, waiting, and searching.*
U svijetu još se krivac traži.	*The world still looks for the culprit.*

By the end of the song, all those present were crying. For one woman, the song triggered her worst memories of the fall of Srebrenica and the atrocities she had witnessed while being held

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not the JNA that attacked Srebrenica, but the Army of the Republic of Srpska. Here, the author probably refers to the role of Serbia in the events in Srebrenica.

with others at the UN base in Potočari. Concluding her disturbing story and still crying, she said, "This is a personal story, the story from my life that I won't forget while I am alive. Because we had everything [before the war], then I survived the war while in the best years of my life, and then we were left with nothing and I went into the world with no one of my own. These songs are very good, and they should not be forgotten. They are instructive to all of us. They are the truth. These songs contain lyrics based on true events. We would have forgotten many things if it weren't for these songs."[8]

In the essay "Truth and Testimony: Process and the Struggle," psychiatrist and Holocaust survivor Dori Laub states: "There is, in each survivor, an imperative need to *tell* and thus to come to *know* one's story, unimpeded by ghosts from the past against which one has to protect oneself. One has to know one's buried truth in order to be able to live one's life" (1995: 63, emphasis in original). Indeed, many Srebrenica genocide survivors did share their personal narratives, but many others have remained silent. Still, considering the current existence of genocide denial in one part of Bosnia-Herzegovina, this *imperative to tell* one's story reveals itself in many levels of survivors' activism, ranging from their testimonies to ICTY to compulsive demands for justice and recognition of their experience. Affecting remembrance and commemoration of the Srebrenica genocide since 1995, the rhetoric of genocide denial resulted in increased endeavors by genocide survivors to state a "real truth" about what happened in Srebrenica, exemplified through the work of non-governmental victims' associations. Besides this, there are multiple ways through which claims about what happened in July 1995 are made in today's Bosnia, and they mostly coincide with those means utilized by deniers: official politics; nationalized media; national commemorations; scholarly literature and conferences; and others. While all these means of stating a truth about the Srebrenica genocide are publicly visible

[8] From personal field notes, November 2015.

and relatively well-established in government and non-government structures, questions remain about the way ordinary survivors – that is, those not present or visible in the public – deal with the negation of their experiences. What means do they employ to express their own truth about the genocide? How do they communicate their experiences to other survivors? How do they share their stories with those who do not share this experience, fulfilling the need to transmit this "truth" to younger generations?

This chapter addresses these questions by focusing on a particular genre of neo-traditional music called *izvorna* ("from the source"), which is presently used by a number of ordinary survivors to narrate their experiences of the genocide.[9] Commemorative *izvorna* songs form the largest part of the repertoire of commemorative music dedicated to the Srebrenica genocide. At the same time, these songs are its most personal corpus. In a context in which the truthfulness of genocide survivors' experiences is questioned and negated, commemorative *izvorna* songs, as *performative narratives* of this experience, represent an expression of survivors' own truth, giving voice to those denied and negated memories. According to sociologist Margaret Somers, "it is through narrativity that we come to know, understand, and make sense of the social world, and it is through narratives and narrativity that we constitute our social identities" (1992: 600). In this sense, commemorative *izvorna* songs are the stories genocide survivors tell about themselves, through which they make sense of their tragic experiences. In this chapter, I trace the emergence and development of a repertoire of commemorative *izvorna* songs dedicated to the Srebrenica genocide and its victims, addressing two subdivisions: 1) non-commissioned commemorative songs about the Srebrenica genocide

[9] I would like to emphasize that I do not, by any means, claim that *izvorna* songs represent the only possible way of offering the answer to the questions listed above, nor do I claim that they are the only means employed by survivors to express their "truths," and to share their experiences with others. Other such means, however, are beyond the scope of my research.

composed by *izvorna* musicians on their own initiative; and 2) commissioned commemorative songs about specific genocide victims contracted by genocide survivors. Examining the work of three of the most representative Bosniak *izvorna* groups with a large repertoire of commemorative izvorna songs – Sateliti [Satellites], Zvuci Podrinja [Sounds of Podrinje], and Raspjevane Meraklije [Singing Enthusiasts] – I analyze the content and significance of this repertoire, the active role genocide survivors have in its creation, and the potential of this repertoire to share and transmit personal truths about the genocide.

I do not simply focus on commemorative songs as bearers of memory (which is, as this chapter shows, self-evident through both their content and purpose), but as arenas or spaces in which genocide victims "advance claims for the recognition of their specific war memories . . . for whatever other benefits they seek to derive from such recognition" (Ashplant et al. 2000), and in which they portray their post-genocide lives in the context of genocide denial and the current political climate in Bosnia. Participation in this arena, which takes place through the commission, composition, consumption, and dissemination of these songs, results in the creation of what historian Jay Winter calls "fictive kinships" (2000: 40), or the bonding of particular groups of survivors who then form families of remembrance. In this way, "the bonding initially created by living through a trauma extends, with time, to those for whom remembrance of that trauma acts as a key oriental force for their lives and public actions. What underlies that bonding, though, . . . is a shared . . . meaning given to the experience itself (Irwin-Zarecka 1994: 48-49). Following this line of reasoning, I demonstrate how commemorative izvorna songs, as an arena for the expression of the survivors' truth about the genocide, participate in the communal process of meaning-making of their tragic experience, reinforce the existence of a family of

remembrance, and represent the stories of their everyday lives and actions conditioned by the genocide and its denial.

As I will demonstrate through analysis of the content of *izvorna* commemorative songs, these songs are shaped by the Srebrenica genocide metanarrative, and they are primarily the product of the present circumstances with which survivors are faced today. Like other commemorative works discussed previously, commemorative *izvorna* songs employ the most common elements of the metanarrative: the mothers and orphans of Srebrenica. However, being created and performed by survivors themselves, this *izvorna* repertoire does not merely reference elements of the metanarrative, but uses mothers and orphans to personalize the experience of the genocide. What commemorative *izvorna* songs do (and most other commemorative works do not) is to act directly as survivors' testimonies, their truths about what happened. The framing of these truths and the elements included in survivors' narratives found in *izvorna* songs are related to their present positioning within Bosnian society, in which being a survivor is their dominant identity, and in which that very identity is challenged by those who deny that the genocide ever happened.

The existence of differing official narratives about Srebrenica in the two parts of contemporary Bosnia-Herzegovina (the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina and the Republic of Srpska), as well as continuing genocide denial by the Bosnian Serb government, determines the way that Srebrenica survivors identify themselves and describe their experiences of the genocide. The community of genocide survivors is the group that is most affected by these circumstances, in which genocide negation is "used to constitute the present political community in a manner that undercuts the authority of the survivors' voices" (Wagner and Nettelfield 2013: 275). These effects are exemplified by the denial and relativization of survivors' accounts, with the most

obvious example being the unwillingness of local governments in the Republic of Srpska to prosecute specific individuals reported to authorities by survivors for war crimes (Subašić interview, 2015). Wagner and Nettelfield note that these effects are also seen in the unwillingness of Bosnian Serb authorities to give information about missing victims to their surviving relatives, adding that, "If Srebrenica's crimes never really occurred, then returnees' demands for schools, healthcare, reconstructed homes, and maintenance of the memorial center could be easily rebuffed, fulfilling the initial aims of the perpetrators" (2013: 275), which would be an ethnically cleansed Republic of Srpska.

As participants in the tragedy that very much defined postwar Bosniak nation-building, but also as individuals who are faced with the inability of non-Srebrenicans to understand the extent of their tragic experience and with the denial of that experience by Bosnian Serb authorities, genocide survivors tend to succumb to various ways of dealing with the past, and of making sure their voices are heard in spite of genocide denial. The most prominent example is the case of Hasan Nuhanović, a genocide survivor who worked as a translator for the UN in wartime Srebrenica. Because he was a UN employee, Nuhanović was among a few other Srebrenican men who were protected by the UN corps. However, his parents and brother, whom he had hidden in the UN base in Potočari after the fall of Srebrenica, were eventually turned over to Bosnian Serb forces by the UN. All of them were killed. After the war, Nuhanović became a passionate advocate for the truth about Srebrenica, publishing full accounts of the happenings there in his works (Nuhanović 2007; 2012), and leading activist work, including oral testimony sessions, all over the world. Nuhanović is also a unique example of an individual who successfully sued the state of the Netherlands for failing to prevent the genocide in Srebrenica (see The State of the Netherlands vs. Hasan Nuhanović 2013; The Hague Justice Portal nd;

Bowcott 2013). Other survivors have also shared their stories through testimonial literature (see, for example, Suljagić 2005; Hodžić 2013). It is in this context that *izvorna* commemorative songs became an arena for voicing individual narratives of the genocide.

Izvorna: A Short History

The musical genre called *izvorna* is characteristic of eastern and northeastern Bosnia and has never spread in popularity to other parts of the country. It is present in Bosnian Podrinje, Posavina, and some parts of Bosnian Krajina, where it is performed by all three national groups in Bosnia: Bosniaks, Bosnian Croats, and Bosnian Serbs.

Izvorna is based on traditional two-part singing characterized by the intersection of voices forming a major second. This two-part singing was always unaccompanied. According to ethnomusicologist Dimitrije Golemović, instrumental accompaniment was later "inoculated" onto the old "musical core," which is visible in introductions and interludes that are thematically not related to the song's content, as well as in instrumental accompaniment that mostly plays a role of "intonational support" (1987: 74). *Izvorna* songs became accompanied by the šargija (a long-necked lute) during the first half of the twentieth century. Since the šargija traditionally accompanies a circle dance called *kolo* [lit. "circle"], the performance of these first vocal-instrumental *izvorna* songs established *izvorna* music as fast-paced, repetitive, and related to dance. Another typical instrument in today's *izvorna* music, the violin, was added in the 1960s. An ensemble of one or two violins and the šargija has become the typical izvorna accompaniment. Recently, the *izvorna* music scene has seen the emergence of new, contemporary types of instrumental accompaniment, namely the addition of keyboard combined with either the šargija and the violin, or with the violin only. In more extreme cases, *izvorna*

songs are accompanied solely by the keyboard. *Izvorna* groups feature three to four members, one or two of whom sing. These groups can be male or mixed (a female singer accompanied by male instrumentalists), though male groups predominate. The reason for the predominance of male groups may be the lifestyle that is associated with *izvorna* – late-night performances, mostly male audiences, the presence of alcoholic beverages, and sometimes even physical conflicts between audience members. In this regard, *izvorna* performances in some ways oppose the newly religious lifestyle embraced by parts of the Srebrenica genocide survivors' community, both in its performance contexts and in that it is a secular genre used to commemorate death. Hence, commemorative *izvorna* songs speak to the tradition and local identity shared by genocide survivors.

The emphasis in *izvorna* songs is on textual material rather than musical setting. The melodies lack variation and mainly serve as setting for the lyrics. The following are examples of a typical vocal style and instrumental interlude in *izvorna* songs (Figures 14 and 15):

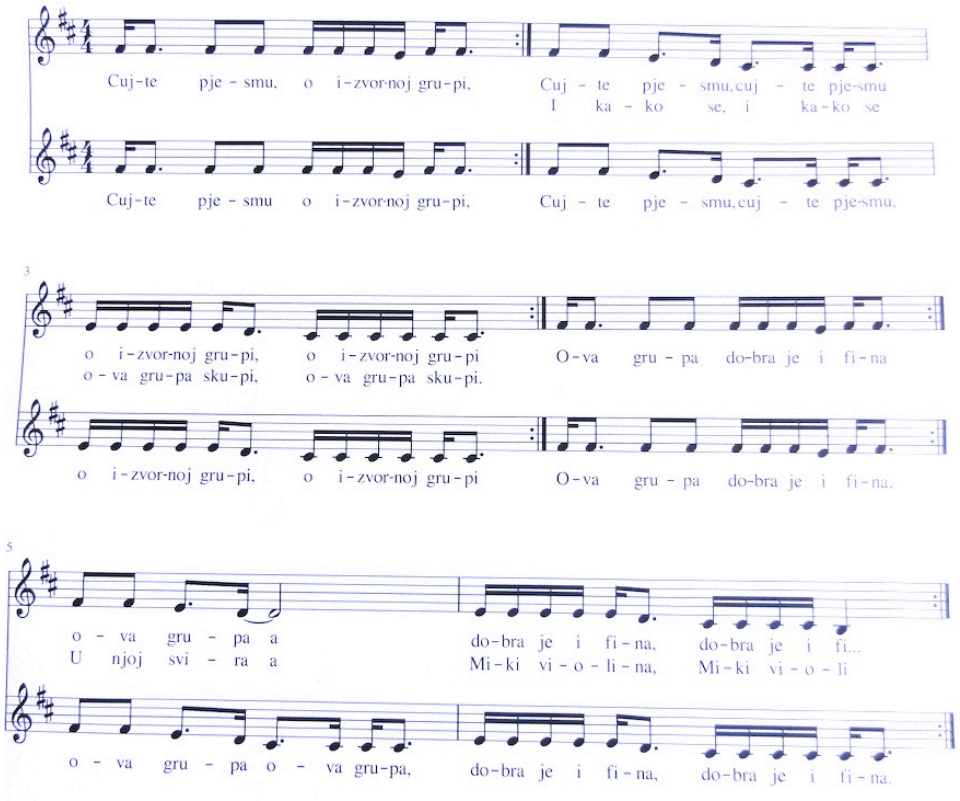

Figure 14. Vocal part of the 1989 Satelti song "Grupa Sateliti" ("Sateliti Band"). Transcribed by the author.

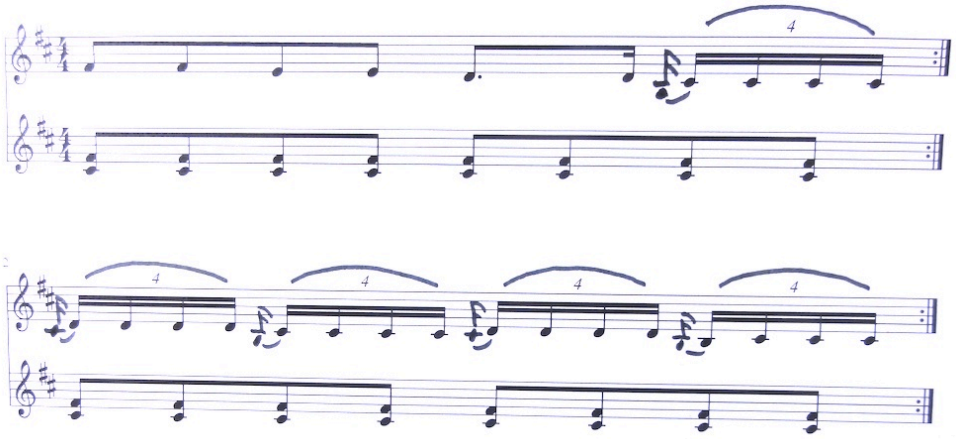

Figure 15. Instrumental interlude played on violin and šargija from the 1989 Sateliti song "Grupa Sateliti." Transcribed by the author.[10]

[10] The vocal part, as represented in figure 13, remains similar in style throughout the majority of *izvorna* songs, while the instrumental accompaniment varies by instrumentation. This particular example belongs to a more "classic" type of *izvorna* performance, featuring two violins and one šargija. The quality of this recording prevents a more complete transcription. More recently, with the addition of new instruments and the replacement of the šargija by the keyboard, *izvorna* songs have begun to sound more similar to newly composed folk music genre.

The vocal part, as represented in figure 14, remains similar in style to the majority of *izvorna* songs, while the instrumental accompaniment varies by instrumentation. As the example shows, two voices sing in unison, except for the ending phrases, where they form an interval of major second. This particular example belongs to a more classic type of *izvorna* performance, featuring two violins and one šargija. More recently, with the addition of new instruments and the replacement of the šargija by the keyboard, *izvorna* songs have begun to sound more similar to the newly composed folk music genre.

The majority of these songs are narrative in character, and the most common form is a ballad (poetry and/or songs that narrate a story**).** *Izvorna* songs feature rhyme, but lines can be organized variously: as sequence of couplets; as quatrains (abab); or even iambic pentameter that is also common for epic poetry. Before the Bosnian war, lyrics were typically related to everyday experiences or love. Some songs also contained more explicit erotic content, which was usually expressed through extensive use of metaphors, making these songs humorous. *Izvorna* songs were performed for various occasions including village fairs, weddings, and family sendoffs for young men joining the army, and were usually performed outdoors. At a typical traditional *izvorna* performance, there is often a tent installed in the open, with an improvised sitting area. Musicians are usually located under the tent, with attendees sitting nearby and having food or drinks. The rest of the crowd either listens to the music outside the tent, or engages in a kolo dance that accompanies the majority of the songs. The kolo can take place either inside or outside of the tent, depending on the size of the tent and the number of dancers (Figure 16).

Figure 16. *Izvorna* performance under a tent by the group Mirsada i Jarani ["Mirsada and Friends"] in Čevljanovići, August 2015. Photo by the author, August 2015.

Today, *izvorna* continues to be performed at weddings and village fairs, but also at local clubs and restaurants, humanitarian concerts, and annual gatherings of the Bosnian diaspora in Europe and the United States.[11] Its venues range from village tents in the open to modern clubs in small towns and even the outskirts of Sarajevo.

Recently, *izvorna* has started to spread to some parts of central Bosnia due to the large number of Bosniak people from Podrinje who now, as internally displaced persons, live there. The reason for *izvorna's* limited presence in Bosnia might be that this neo-traditional genre has its roots in the much older rural vocal traditional music of Posavina and northeastern Bosnia. Unlike in eastern and northeastern Bosnia, no vocal tradition in other parts of the country served

[11] *Izvorna* is particularly performed at the so-called Podrinjska and Posavska sijela ["Podrinje and Posavina gatherings"], which are visited by the population of eastern and northeastern Bosnia. For more on these gatherings, see chapter 7 of this dissertation.

as a foundation for the creation of a contemporary vocal-instrumental practice that retained the qualification of rural. In addition, because of its dissonant and loud sound, *izvorna* music has, throughout its history, elicited very negative reactions from audiences that are not from these parts of the country. This prejudice related to *izvorna* remains and is a considerable component in the process of "othering" eastern and northeastern Bosnians, for whom izvorna has become an important expression of their local identity.[12] The perceptions of *izvorna* as backward is a source of embarrassment for many eastern Bosnians who actually listen to and enjoy this music. For example, my interviewees often stressed that many of their friends are ashamed of *izvorna*. In other instances, interviewees claimed that they openly demonstrate their fondness for *izvorna*, regardless of what others think, because "there is nothing to be ashamed of" since it is the music of the place they come from. However, as ethnomusicologist Kim Burton notes, embarrassment related to *izvorna* has been transformed into "a positive means of reproducing the intimacy and warmth of family, village and small town relationships through the medium of a shared musical understanding" (2015: 113). In other words, for eastern Bosnian, *izvorna* opens up a specifically local space of intimacy shared only by those who understand and appreciate the genre. This relationship between *izvorna* and local intimacy is one of the reasons why this particular genre, and not some other, has been chosen by genocide survivors as an arena for the narration of their personal stories of loss and trauma, as well as for the expression of their truth claims.

Izvorna's local popularity is not a recent phenomenon, as this music had already become popular in Eastern Bosnia by the 1970s. This was the period of the emergence of some of the genre's main representatives, such as Braća Begić ["Begić Brothers"] and Kalesijska Trojka

[12] For more on *izvorna* and the local identity of Eastern Bosnians living at home and abroad, see Chapter 7.

["Kalesija's Trio"], and the entrance of this music into the Yugoslav recording industry.[13] Being broadcast and popularized through a Sarajevo radio show called "Selo Veselo" ["Joyful Village"], *izvorna* became a favorite musical genre in this part of Bosnia. Bosnian ethnomusicologist Dragica Panić Košanski (2012) distinguishes between five historical periods in the development of *izvorna* on recordings.

1) Old-time *izvorna* (1969-1989)

The old-time *izvorna* period is divided into first (1969-1979) and second (1979-1989) sub-periods. The sub-period between 1969 and 1979 was marked by the work of the first famous *izvorna* musicians, including Braća Begić. Only a few newly created lyrics had been added to the repertoire, while the musicians still performed traditional songs from their own home regions and songs that dealt humorously with the rural/urban dualism. The ensemble of two violins and one šargija was established as a norm during this period. The second sub-period (1979-1989) was marked by the mass-production of *izvorna* songs and the addition of many, often trivial and lascivious, newly created lyrics and new instruments.

2) Pre-war *izvorna* (1989-1992)

Next in *izvorna's* development is the period of so-called pre-war izvorna (1989-1992), which was marked by the emergence of songs about social changes in the former Yugoslavia that

[13] In addition, in 1992, the British recording company Globestyle issued an *izvorna* recording by the famous *izvorna* group Kalesijski Zvuci titled *Bosnian Breakdown: The Unpronounceable Beat of Sarajevo*, with the aforementioned ethnomusicologist Kim Burton as the main initiator and the author of the liner notes. However, I believe that the album's title is misleading with regard to the source of *izvorna's* presence in Bosnia. For more about this recording and the relationship between its marketing and exoticism in world music, see Burton 2014.

urged people to cherish the Yugoslav ideal of brotherhood and unity. The *izvorna* scene of this period was dominated by the emphasized sexuality of its female performers.

3) Wartime *izvorna* (1992-1996)

The third period, wartime *izvorna* (1992-1996), was marked by the emergence of songs that commented on the wars in Bosnia and Croatia, which sang of war heroes, respective national presidents, and battles.

4) Postwar *izvorna* (1996-2006)

The fourth period, postwar *izvorna* (1996-2006), was marked by songs that commented on everyday life in postwar Bosnia and songs that continued commenting on wartime events. During this period, the *izvorna* scene became more cosmopolitan, experimenting with other musical genres and employing more contemporary visual effects (such as the replacement of traditional clothing by modern fashion in music videos and during live performances).

5) Contemporary *izvorna* (2006-present)

Finally, the contemporary *izvorna* period (2006-present) has continued in the tradition of postwar period.[14] *Izvorna* lyrics have continued focusing on topical themes from everyday life, sometimes addressing real events and persons.[15]

[14] Panić Košanski calls these songs *izvornjaci* instead of *izvorna*, which does not change the term's English translation. Panić Košanski's derivative *izvornjaci* (coined as a relative to *narodnjaci*, or roots music, which mostly refers to *newly composed folk music*, a pop-folk hybrid) distinguishes between this newer genre and the original use of the term *izvorna*, which he reserves for traditional music related to a particular local community. Although I acknowledge the existence of this distinction, I use the term *izvorna* only, as this is the way musicians and audiences refer to this music.

Izvorna songs place strong emphasis on topographic descriptions of particular villages, inspired by the nostalgia of many villagers who have moved to towns. Similarly, many contemporary *izvorna* songs express the nostalgia of those who moved outside Bosnia-Herzegovina during and after the recent war.[16] These nostalgic *izvorna* songs are usually composed on musicians' own initiative to cater to their large audience in the diaspora. However, some of these songs are commissioned by Eastern Bosnians living abroad, often on the topic of their new life abroad and their longing for home. As living conditions changed throughout the aforementioned periods of *izvorna* development, so too have *izvorna* lyrics changed, especially during the pre-war, wartime, and postwar periods. Today, *izvorna* musicians methodically choose themes for their songs according to particular circumstances and current trends, because the popularity of their songs largely depends on whether they speak to the audience at a specific moment. Not all commemorative *izvorna* songs are equally accepted (which is true of all commemorative works, as the cases of "Srebrenički Inferno" and "Srebreničanke" suggest). One characteristic of *izvorna* that remained present throughout the periods of its development is the practice of paid requests made by audience members during live performances. Thanks to this practice, *izvorna* groups do not have a predetermined repertoire for their performances, and the

[15] In addition, before the Bosnian war of the 1990s, there were already a small number of patriotic *izvorna* songs related to WWII. One of these, called "Kad Ibro Pođe Zemlju da Brani" ["When Ibro Goes to Defend the Country"] by Kalesijska Trojka was among the first and most popular *izvorna* songs of all time. The song was recorded in 1969 during the first period of old-time *izvorna*, and was accompanied by a violin and šargija (Đedović 2013: 141). The subject of World War II, in particular, is more related to another genre of traditional music characteristic of Eastern Bosnia called *pjevanje "uz debelu žicu"* ["singing 'on a thick string'"] (Malkić interview, November 2015), which is based on singing accompanied by the violin. According to Golemović, this type of music represents a newer practice typical of Bosnian Muslims, due to the fact that the violin came relatively late to this part of Bosnia, probably only after WWII (1987:72). "Uz debelu žicu" represents an imitation of traditional epic singing accompanied by the gusle (a two-string fiddle), which means that songs performed in this manner are narrative in their character. However, epic songs performed "on a thick string" are relatively rare and are usually related to events from the recent past, such as WWII, while ballads (with tragic endings) are much more frequent (Golemović 2006: 201-218).

[16] For more on these songs, see Chapter 7.

audience plays an active role in the choice of their repertoire. This has proven to be important for the practice of commissioned *izvorna* songs, which will be discussed below.

Three *Izvorna* Groups: Sateliti, Zvuci Podrinja, and Raspjevane Meraklije

In this chapter, I discuss the commemorative *izvorna* repertoire of three contemporary *izvorna* groups: Sateliti ["The Satellites"]; Zvuci Podrinja ["The Sounds of Podrinje"]; and Raspjevane Meraklije ["Singing Enthusiasts"]. Although there exist a number of other *izvorna* groups who have dedicated one or more songs to the Srebrenica genocide, these three groups have the largest repertoire of commemorative *izvorna* songs. Zvuci Podrinja and Raspjevane Meraklije, in particular, have composed an extended number of commemorative *izvorna* songs commissioned by genocide survivors. Furthermore, the leaders of all three groups are Srebrenica genocide survivors who lost family members in the genocide. They all learned from or were influenced by their fathers, who were musicians. Both Sabahudin Hasanović from Sateliti and Mirsad Dizdarević from Zvuci Podrinja have included their sons in their groups, which suggests the presence of traditional hereditary transmission. The works of Hasanović (b. 1968), Dizdarević (b. 1974), and Fahrudin Salihović of Raspjevane Meraklije (b. 1982) reflect three considerably different styles of *izvorna* performance. Hasanović's Sateliti is the closest to classic *izvorna*, at least in terms of instrumental accompaniment, since his group still often features the combination of šargija and violin, with added keyboard. On the other hand, Fahrudin Salihović's Raspjevane Meraklije perform on the violin and the keyboard, while Mirsad Dizdarević of Zvuci Podrinja most often performs solo on the keyboard. All three groups are male only, and all three perform (or have performed) both in Bosnia and abroad.

Sabahudin Hasanović Muto formed the group Sateliti in 1984. Sateliti released their first album *To je pravi život* [*That's the Real Life*] in 1989 with the former-Yugoslav record label Diskos, which specialized in folk music (sevdalinka) and newly composed folk music. During this initial period, Sateliti had four members: Sabahudin Hasanović, Edhem Hasanović, Miki Džananović, and Rade Popović. However, the group's original configuration was disrupted by the war when one member was killed while trying to flee Srebrenica in 1995 and another member relocated to Germany. By the beginning of the war in Bosnia, Sabahudin Hasanović Muto and Miki Džananović remained at the core of the group and were joined by one other member. Sabahudin Hasanović remained in Srebrenica throughout the war as the main carrier of the group's existence. With the fall of Srebrenica in 1995, Hasanović decided to flee the city through the surrounding woods, following the example of thousands of other men. Unlike the majority, Hasanović was lucky to survive and came away from the woods wounded after an arduous seven-day ordeal. After living with his family in two small cities in northeastern Bosnia for a few years, Hasanović finally settled in Srebrenik, in northeastern Bosnia, in 2002, where he lives and performs today. As the cradle of the *izvorna* scene, Srebrenik was the best choice for Hasanović to try to make a living from his work. He reconstructed Sateliti in 1996, remaining their driving force since the group frequently changes members. Recently, Hasanović's son has also joined the group, as it is Hasanović's desire for him to continue his legacy. Sateliti released their first postwar album in 2002, called *Selam Podrinju* [*Greetings to Podrinje*]. Since then, they release at least one album per year, with the latest being *Žena zove, a švalerka piše* [*Wife is Calling, Mistress is Texting*], released in July 2016. Sateliti dedicates at least one song on each album to the suffering of Bosniaks in Eastern Bosnia, including the Srebrenica genocide. This practice began with their 2004 album *Kad bi žena švalerka bila* [*When Wife Would be a*

Mistress], on which there are two songs dedicated to this theme: "Dođi, oče" ["Come, Father"], addressing the loss of a father, and "Pjesme Veliću" ["Songs for Velić"], which thematizes the death of a person named Hasan Velić. In addition to albums, Sateliti also releases singles that are posted on YouTube. Sateliti often performs at village gatherings, fairs, and restaurants in eastern and northeastern Bosnia, including traditional village fairs in Puračić and Osmače, and an annual bullfight and fair in Čevljanovići. In addition, they often tour in Europe, especially in Switzerland, and they toured America in 2009.

The group Raspjevane Meraklije, like Sateliti, was formed during the second period of old-time *izvorna*, in 1986. The founder of Raspjevane Meraklije was Mevludin Salihović, who was killed in the Srebrenica genocide. Besides him, the group included three other members. Before the beginning of the war in Bosnia, Raspjevane Meraklije released one album in 1988, *Bijela Lada* [*A White Lada* (a Yugoslav era small car)], which is in the classic *izvorna* style featuring šargija and violin. Fahrudin Salihović, Mevludin Salihović's son and now the group's leader, often performed with his father when he was a child. Although the members of the group remained in Srebrenica during the war, they did not actively perform as Sateliti did. In 1993, Fahrudin Salihović fled Srebrenica as an eleven-year old, together with his mother and sister. After the war, he and his family settled in Ilijaš, a small town near Sarajevo, where he lives today. After finishing his studies in mathematics, Salihović started working as a high school teacher. However, according to Salihović, he started having frequent dreams about his father and uncles, and he felt that he should continue their legacy. These dreams led him to reestablish his father's group in 2001 and to keep its original name (interview, August 2015). Raspjevane Meraklije released their first postwar album in 2002, called *Hej, Drino, teci, teci* [*Hey, Drina, Flow, Flow*], featuring Fahrudin Salihović and Hamza Mehić on violins, Nezir Bećirović on the

keyboard, Hodžić Nevlus on the šargija, and Vehid Alić and Salihović on vocals. Out of this configuration, only Salihović and Alić are part of the group today; they are joined by Elvir Mehić on the keyboard. A few numbers from this album, such as "Vratiću se iz tuđine" ["I Will Return from a Foreign Land"] and "Hej Podrinje" ["Hey, Podrinje"], address nostalgia for a home in Eastern Bosnia and emigration to other countries. Raspjevane Meraklije released their next album, *KP Dom Zenica* [*The Prison in Zenica*], in 2006, featuring a few songs about war suffering, including "Siročići" ["Orphans"] and "Sanjao sam brata" ["I Dreamed of my Brother"]. Since 2006, Meraklije has released albums either annually or every other year, in addition to the many singles they post online. Meraklije are currently probably the most in-demand group on the *izvorna* scene, mostly performing in restaurants and local clubs in Eastern and central Bosnia. Unlike Sateliti, they do not play many village fairs but are more active abroad, touring frequently in Europe and the United States.

Finally, the group Zvuci Podrinja was formed after the war, in 1998. The group's founder and leader, Mirsad Dizdarević, is, like Sateliti's Hasanović, a Srebrenica genocide survivor. Dizdarević also lives in the town of Ilijaš, near Sarajevo, where he most frequently performs. Initially, Zvuci Podrinja comprised three members (vocals, violin, and keyboard). Currently, the group is mostly a one-man show, with Dizdarević accompanying himself on the keyboard. Until 2008, Zvuci Podrinja generally released only singles, including a number of songs dedicated to the Srebrenica genocide, such as the 2003 song "Poletio Soko sa Planine" ["The Falcon Flew from the Mountain"]. In 2008, they released their first album, *Srebrenica da se pamti 5* [*Srebrenica is to be Remembered 5*], titled after one of the songs featured on the album. The number five here signifies the fifth in a chain of the songs with the same title, which were previously released as singles. Despite having the same title, each of these songs is different and

is dedicated to the Srebrenica genocide. Zvuci Podrinja released their most recent albums in 2014, titled *Zvuci Podrinja 1* and *Zvuci Podrinja 2* ["Sounds of Podrinja 1 and 2"]. Unlike Sateliti and Raspjevane Meraklije, Zvuci Podrinja does not have a wide presence at gatherings and village fairs in Bosnia. Rather, Dizdarević mostly performs at weddings and local gatherings in Ilijaš and its surroundings. However, a major part of his activity is based on the performance of *izvorna* songs that are commissioned by genocide survivors, which he posts online as singles.

The Emergence of the Commemorative *Izvorna* Repertoire

During the period between 1989 and 1992 preceding the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina, the entire country witnessed the rise of inter-ethnic tensions and ethno-religious nationalism. Considering the topical themes that have characterized *izvorna* throughout its historical development, *izvorna* songs of the pre-war period featured lyrics that focused on social and political changes of the time. In her analysis of pre-war *izvorna*, Panić Košanski points out that *izvorna* songs of this period reminded people to cherish the Yugoslav ideal of brotherhood and unity, described the political situation in the country marked by the establishment of nationalist political parties, and commented on the war in neighboring Croatia that broke out in 1991. According to Panić Košanski, a short period before the beginning of the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina in April 1992 saw the creation of prophetic *izvorna* songs that portended the unfortunate future of Bosnian people (2012:135).[17]

With the beginning of the war, Srebrenica, like the rest of Eastern Bosnia, was subjected to continuous attacks by the Republic of Srpska Army (VRS) due to the region's geographical proximity to neighboring Serbia, from which it is divided only by the natural border of the Drina

[17] Although Panić-Košanski refers to one such example in her work, few details are provided and I was unable to locate any similar songs at the time of my research.

River. During this period, small community gatherings served as one of the rare sources of entertainment and temporary relief for people in Srebrenica. In such occasions, *izvorna* was performed alongside other genres such as sevdalinka and popular music. However, unlike these other genres, *izvorna* soon assumed an important role in the reinforcement of patriotic feelings, especially for the encouragement of the Srebrenica War Brigade and the civilian population. The role and impact of music during those hard days is recalled by one of my interviewees:

> We used to gather in groups to listen to these songs during those hard days, and this helped us cope with all that suffering. With songs and music, we used to forget everyday life and those problems we encountered, especially those of us who worked extra to provide basic living conditions for the population. (Dautbašić interview, August 2015)

An *izvorna* group that proved to be crucial for the wartime repurposing of *izvorna* was Sateliti. During the war, Sateliti were the most active performers of patriotic *izvorna* songs, playing regularly in Srebrenica and the surrounding area. Hasanović and two other group members were active as "morale-ists" (Bos. *moralisti*; i.e., morale boosters), meaning that their main purpose during the war was to raise the morale of the Srebrenica War Brigade and the civil population in the city. During the war in Bosnia, many army brigades had their own musical morale-ists, or established Bosnian singers would sing patriotic songs for soldiers to raise their morale. Sateliti accompanied the Brigade on their battles, often playing for soldiers while they relocated from one location to another. Hasanović recalls:

> When ours [the Brigade] were going to a battle, or when there would be some talk of us being attacked, we would play that night and no one would sleep. When we were going into a battle or to prepare an ambush, we would also go and play (the three of us, on šargija, violin, and drum). It happened that those who were wounded also asked that we

sing for them. People were dying, we were singing. I was not much of a soldier, but I was a strong morale-ist, maybe even better than some elite fighters. (interview, August 2015)

Sateliti also performed on other occasions in Srebrenica during 1993 and 1994, such as informal gatherings, weddings, and organized shows. Below is an excerpt of a war song performed by Sateliti that was recorded in Srebrenica in 1993. On this recording, Sabahudin Hasanović Muto sings in front of the Srebrenica Elementary School, accompanied by three musicians who play šargija, violin, and accordion.[18] The performers are surrounded by a crowd of men and young boys (Figure 17). After they finish, the performance switches to another song, which begins with the line: "Ako padne Srebrenica, biće i smak svijeta" ["If Srebrenica falls, there will be the end of the world"] (Appendix III).

Da ratujem, želju imam,	I have a wish to wage war,
Da ratujem s četnicima	I have a wish to wage war with Chetniks[19]
Zato zelen fesić nosim,	That's why I wear a little green fez
A četnike s puskom kosim.	And mow down Chetniks with my rifle.
. . .	. . .
Četnika se, badzo, bojim,	I am afraid of Chetniks, brother,
Al' uz svoju ipak stojim.	But I stand with my own.

[18] Ibro Zahirović, 2010. "Srebrenica 3. maj 1993 – Sateliti." YouTube video. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jZGzB5UFMcM.

[19] "Chetniks" refer to a Serbian WWII movement in Yugoslavia led by Draža Mihailović. Chetniks were both anti-Axis and their consistent collaborators throughout the war, committing numerous crimes against Croat and Bosniak populations. Over time, this term came to be used in Bosnia to refer to Serbian nationalists, and especially referred to Bosnian Serb forces during the recent war.

Figure 17. Sateliti performing in Srebrenica in 1993. YouTube video screenshot.

Sateliti's wartime songs spoke of famous battles, war commanders, heroes, and the suffering of the city's civilians. In addition, the group began contributing their first songs commemorating fallen soldiers and war commanders during this period. These first commemorative *izvorna* songs were mostly related to fallen soldiers and war commanders who were known for their courage or had died a heroic death. In these cases, the songs tended to name the deceased, praise his courage, and describe the conditions of his death, laying a foundation for the structure of postwar commemorative songs.

The realization of the commemorative potential of *izvorna* cannot be solely attributed to the war, though the war is arguably its most powerful trigger and the main reason commemorative songs make up a large portion of the contemporary *izvorna* repertoire. Still, the nature of *izvorna* lyrics throughout its historical development – that is, *izvorna's* narrative character – enabled the possibility of employing these songs for commemorative purposes even before the war in Bosnia. For example, Sateliti's tendency for individual memorialization through music was already present on their first album from 1989, *To je pravi život* [*That's the*

Real Life]. A song from this album called "Nemam oca svoga" ("I Do Not Have My Father") describes a son's mourning for his dead father, who died in a work-related accident. Performed in the classic *izvorna* style with the accompaniment of two violins and a šargija, this song's lyrics already present a model for Sateliti's and other groups' future commemorative songs by describing the place and manner of death, the mourning of the deceased's relatives, the grave as an extension of the deceased's earthly presence, and the consequences of this death for those who remain alive.

Nemam svoga oca jedinoga,	I don't have my only father,
Da me uzme i stavi na krilo.	To take me and put me on his knee.
Pogin'o je radeći u Jadru	He was killed while working in Jadar
Kad je meni tri godine bilo.	When I was three.
Svakog dana kad pođem u školu	Every day when I go to school
Pored groba oca jedinoga	Next to the grave of my only father
Sagnem glavu i proljevam suze.	[I] bend my head and shed tears.
Crna zemljo, što mi babu uze?	Black soil, why did you take my father?
Svakog dana kad prođem kraj groba	Every day when I pass next to the grave
Zovem svoga oca jedinoga.	I call my only father.
Ustaj, babo, zemljica je hladna,	Get up, father, the soil is cold,
Sirotinja i gola i gladna.	The poor are naked and hungry.

The creation of the first wartime commemorative *izvorna* songs was mainly spontaneous. Many soldiers felt obligated to dedicate a song to their fallen comrades and war commanders. Music was among the few remaining ways to spread the word about such happenings because other media, especially print media, were not available, and the existing radio broadcast was reserved for the most important and shortest reports (ibid.). For example, extended families that stayed in wartime Srebrenica would occasionally record their gatherings accompanied by *izvorna* music. These gatherings were purposely organized and recorded as video reports on the well-being and living conditions of those who stayed in the city. Such recordings were later sent as VHS cassettes to Srebrenicans who left Bosnia as refugees. In these video reports, *izvorna* songs were often used to tell about particular events. One such video was posted on YouTube by the

online community Srebrenica Dani Sjećanja [Srebrenica Remembrance Days].[20] The video dates to June 1994, a year before the genocide, and was intended as a video report for family members in Switzerland. It was recorded in the historic Old Town above Srebrenica, showing a group of Bosniak soldiers from Srebrenica accompanied by three unknown musicians. After a short report on conditions in Srebrenica, the group gathers to perform a commemorative *izvorna* song dedicated to two killed brothers of a soldier present at the gathering, which suggests that this song, and not an oral testimony, was used to inform the family about this event.[21] The following is an excerpt from this long song:

Od kako je Bosna zaplakala,	Ever since Bosnia has been crying,
'vaka pjesma nije otpjevana.	There has not been such a song.
O sudbini četvorice braće,	About the fate of four brothers,
svako srce tužno zadrhtaće.	Every heart will sadly tremble.
Kao što je drhtala olovka	Like the pen has trembled
u rukama Seje autora.	In the hands of Sejo the author.
Struke cvijeća, sva četiri ruže	Garlands of flowers, all of them four roses,
Mirisom je mirisalo grožđe	The grapes smelled fragrantly.
U tom . . . kameničkom kraju	In that . . . Kamenica plain
i zlatinom . . . junačkome sjaju.	[and] with golden . . . heroic shine.
Bosni našoj oni bili dika,	They were the pride of our Bosnia,
četiri brata, četiri vojnika.	Four brothers, four soldiers.
I puškama njezno rukovali,	They operated their rifles gently,
Kamenicom cijelom ratovali.	And fought throughout Kamenica.
Ovdje Bego sa trojicom braće,	Here present Bego with three of his brothers
zakleše se, Bosni život daće.	Swore to give their lives for Bosnia.
. . .	. . .
Momci pravi, iz devetog voda,	Real fellows, from the ninth division,
borili se za pravo naroda.	Fought for the rights of the people.

[20] Srebrenica Dani Sjećanja. 2014. "Druzenje uz pjesmu na starom gradu iznad Srebrenice '94". YouTube video. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=oQ5XeIJhbco. Accessed December 2015. I would like to thank Mr. Lutvo Selimović for informing me about the existence of this video.

[21] During my fieldwork in St. Louis, I came into possession of another similar recording, also dated a year before the genocide, which shows an extended family gathering in Srebrenica accompanied by the live performance of *izvorna* songs by Sateliti.

Više puta ranjavani bili,
sa ranama u borbu hitili.
Stare majke četiri ptića siva,
dva šehida, a dvojica ziva.
U akciji ranjen Enver pade,
za tijelo mu niko i ne znade.
. . .

Pa ga braća kao dijete žale,
naći ćemo tebe mili brate.
Makar tvoje zakopati kosti,
zaplakaće za te majki dosti.
Poljubi mi četnike u čelo,
što su došli da nam pale selo.
. . .

Kući Fadil pozdravi vojnike,
pa se vrati u guste rastnike.
Na polasku svojoj braći reče,
vratiću se kada padne veče.
Kamen, drvo, počelo plakati,
ode život za svog brata dati.
Nije bracu ni vidio svoga,
otrovom je ranjena mu noga.
. . .

Vrijeme teško prolazi u tugi,
od četiri pogide i drugi.
Ništa ne zna stara majka mila
za Enverom izgubi Fadila.
Treći braco svoj mitraljez stego,
za Fadilom otrč'o i Bego.
Od četnika nigdje se ne skriva,
da Fadila makar nađe ziva.
Da ne plaču četiri sirote,
srce mu se trese od strahote.
Ali nada u tugi se gasi,
svoga brata ne moze da spasi.

They were wounded many times,
But hurried to battle with their wounds open.
Four gray nestlings of their old mother,
Two šehidi, and two alive.
Enver fell wounded in a battle,
No one knew about his body.
. . .

So the brothers mourn him as a child,
"We will find you, our dear brother.
At least to bury your bones,
Many mothers will cry.
Kiss the Chetniks on their forehead,
Because they came to burn our village."
. . .

Fadil saluted the soldiers at home,
And returned to thick meadows.
On his way out, he told his brothers
"I will return by dark."
The stone, the wood, started crying,
He went to give his life for his brother.
He did not manage to see his brother,
When his leg was wounded with poison.
. . .

The time passes slowly in grief,
Out of four, the second was killed.
The old mother does not know anything,
She lost Fadil after Enver.
The third brother readied his machine gun,
Bego ran after Fadil.
He does not hide from the Chetniks,
In order to find Fadil alive.
So his four orphans do not cry,
His heart trembles from fear.
But hope disappears in grief,
He cannot save his brother.

As mentioned above, songs dedicated to fallen soldiers were at first created spontaneously. Most often, the person who wrote the lyrics personally knew the deceased and wanted to commemorate him, after which he would look for musicians willing to put the lyrics to music. In other cases, musicians themselves initiated the creation of such songs. During this formative period of commemorative *izvorna* music, these songs were created for free, unlike today, when each of the groups discussed in this chapter has its own pricelist for song orders according to the type of order. Usually, the price for recording a dedicated commemorative song ranges between 200 and 1000 Bosnian marks (approximately 100 to 500 US dollars). The price is higher if the commissioner wants the song to be included on a published album, or if she orders a music video as well.[22]

Wartime commemorative *izvorna* songs mostly glorified and idealized the person about whom they sang. Melodies in these songs remained unvaried and simple, like before the war, and were performed at a relatively fast tempo. A significant change occurred during this wartime period: commemorative *izvorna* songs became much longer than pre-war songs that memorialized someone's unfortunate or untimely death, which remains the case today. The reason for this change is the lyricist's attempt to portray the life of the deceased in as much detail as possible. This practice is comparable to the lament tradition found among Christians in the Balkans and elsewhere (see, for example, Kerewsky-Halpern 1981; Racy 1986; Auerbach 1987; Shehan 1987; Kligman 1988; Tolbert 1990). In most of the cases, it is women who sing laments, which can be performed during funeral rites and commemorative events, and sometimes in other contexts such as weddings (Auerbach 1987). Laments are usually in octo- or decasyllabic verse

[22] This is not a small amount if we consider the fact that the average monthly pay in Bosnia is around 800 Bosnian marks (400 U.S. dollars). These commissions, along with earnings made from tickets from live performances and/or on-site paid orders (an average of 10 Bosnian marks per song), represent the main sources of income for *izvorna* musicians today, although some of them have a daily job.

and are unrhymed. Some have more elaborate melodies, but in most cases, melodies are kept in a rather narrow range. Laments are often interrupted by extramusical sighs and phrases, and their verses are mostly created on the spot by professional lamenters. They are also characterized by rhetorical questions performed by the lamenter, often asking the deceased for the reason of his or her final departure. Commemorative *izvorna* songs share some of the characteristics of the lament tradition, namely the emphasis on details of the life and death of the deceased, but they do not share the poetic form. However, the major similarity is the cathartic nature of both laments and commemorative *izvorna* songs. Still, commemorative *izvorna* songs differ from laments in the context of their performance and in the fact that it is men, and not women, who perform these songs.

Some wartime commemorative *izvorna* songs continued to be performed after the war. Although they served as a foundation for the creation of postwar commemorative songs, there is a clear distinction today between wartime patriotic and commemorative songs and postwar songs that commemorate the genocide and genocide victims. This distinction is maintained by *izvorna* musicians, for whom these two types of commemorative *izvorna* songs not only differ according to the time of their creation (wartime and postwar), but also according to their purpose. The former glorify fallen soldiers; the latter memorialize genocide victims.

Commemorative Songs about the Srebrenica Genocide (2003-Present)

The first *izvorna* songs commemorating the Srebrenica genocide emerged in the early 2000s (more precisely, in 2003), which corresponds to the opening of the Srebrenica-Potočari Memorial Center and the beginnings of more official genocide commemoration. This suggests that the creation of commemorative songs dedicated specifically to the Srebrenica genocide was

triggered by the emergence of public discourse about the event, which until that point had been confined to the domain of grassroots activism by genocide survivors. As I described in Chapter 2, 2003 was a crucial year in the commemoration of the genocide, when Bosniak politicians and members of the international community spoke publicly for the first time about this event. These circumstances inspired *izvorna* musicians to start singing about the genocide as well, in the same way they inspired other commemorative artistic initiatives of that period.

Commemorative *izvorna* songs are divided into two main types: 1) non-commissioned songs (created on musicians' own initiative) and 2) commissioned songs (ordered and paid for by genocide survivors). Both non-commissioned and commissioned *izvorna* commemorative songs feature a "generalized narrative form" (Wertsch 2008) containing what Russian folklorist Vladimir Propp (1968) calls "recurrent constants," that is, elements that are repeated throughout the narrative(s) and that demonstrate the influence of the Srebrenica genocide metanarrative on survivors' individual and group narratives about their traumatic experiences. There are several recurrent constants in *izvorna* commemorative songs, the most prominent of which are: toponyms, primarily Srebrenica and Potočari, as geographical markers of the genocide; mothers of Srebrenica as postwar symbols of the genocide; orphaned children; and the notion of šehid as the symbol of the Srebrenican sacrifice for Bosnian Muslims and for Bosnia. All of these, with the exception of toponyms, are part of the established metanarrative. Although the majority of *izvorna* commemorative songs, especially commissioned songs, relate specific, individual experiences of the genocide, their narrative form is schematic and dominated by two underlying patterns: 1) the grief of those who have survived, especially the mother; and 2) a chronological rendering of the life and death of a particular genocide victim. While the grief of the mother is a

significant element of the metanarrative, chronological descriptions of the life and death of individual genocide victims is a commemorative practice exclusive to the *izvorna* repertoire.

Non-commissioned commemorative *izvorna* songs focus on the Srebrenica genocide as an event and not in relation to its victims. The grief of those who have survived is a recurring theme in the majority of non-commissioned songs, which, instead of dealing with those who were killed, deal with those who survived, primarily women and children. Each one of the three *izvorna* groups discussed in this chapter has more than ten such songs, and they are usually included on their albums or published as singles before and after the annual commemoration taking place on July 11. Since these types of songs are more general in their approach to the genocide, they are more frequently performed at concerts and village gatherings because everyone can associate with them. Their general appeal is further bolstered by their correspondence with the Srebrenica genocide metanarrative, in that they rely extensively on its main elements, such as the symbolism of grieving mothers (as, for example, in Sateliti's 2014 song "Srebrenička mati" ["Srebrenica's Mother"], Appendix IV).

Although Sateliti laid the foundation for commemorative *izvorna* songs about the genocide during their wartime activity in Srebrenica, this group did not start the trend of performing genocide commemoration songs after July 1995. The first song to appear on the *izvorna* scene dedicated to the genocide was 2003's "Poletio soko sa planine" ["The Falcon Flew from the Mountain"] by Zvuci Podrinja. The song was an instant hit, and it is still performed today not only by Zvuci Podrinja, but also by other *izvorna* groups such as Raspjevane Meraklije. "Poletio soko sa planine" is performed in a much slower tempo than is typical of non-commemorative *izvorna* songs, and even many commemorative songs. It is accompanied by violin and keyboard, imitating the sound of a šargija. As in other *izvorna* songs, the melody is

simple, repetitive, and in a narrow range, and the form is strophic. The main character in this song is a falcon. This is not accidental, as the falcon is one of the most typical symbols in Bosnian oral literature, in which it symbolizes either a hero or an observer/messenger (Abdulahović 1934: 126-128).[23] Hence, the songwriter relies on this traditional motif, using allegory and giving human qualities to the falcon. Throughout the song, the falcon, renowned for its amazing eyesight, is "an eye from above," a creature capable of grasping the proportions of the Srebrenica genocide at a single glance. It observes the myriad graves located in Potočari ("within the field lies grave upon grave; within the field lies tombstone upon tombstone"), and mentions the first and one of the biggest collective burials of the remains of genocide victims exhumed from mass graves at the Memorial Center in Potočari in 2003. The lyrics also include specific toponyms, a technique characteristic of *izvorna* songs, which clearly situate the genocide geographically. In addition, the song introduces one of the crucial recurrent constants of commemorative *izvorna* songs: the role of grieving mothers as living symbols of the Srebrenica genocide. All subsequent commemorative *izvorna* songs about the genocide as a collective experience feature this element of survivors' immeasurable grief, primarily of women – mothers – and children.

Poletio soko sa planine	The falcon flew from the mountain
S kake vode,	From the water,
Iznad rijeke Drine.	Above the Drina River.
Kad je bio iznad Potočara,	When it was above Potočari,
Sam sa sobom soko razgovara:	The falcon said to himself:
"Šta to vidim, il' me pogled vara,	"What do I see, or my sight is wrong
Usred polja mezar do mezara	Within the field lies grave upon grave,
Usred polja, nišan do nišana,	Within the field lies tombstone upon tombstone,
Kraj svakoga majka uplakana."	Next to each, a crying mother."

[23] This is also true for much South Slavic and Albanian oral poetry, in which the falcon usually symbolizes a hero (for example, see Skendi 1953; Lord 1960 [2000]; Popović 1988).

Gledajući, zaboli ga duša,	Seeing that, its soul was in pain,
Pa odleti soko do Čauša	So the falcon flew to Čauš
Da osmotri . . . Drinu	To see . . . Drina
Pa se opet u visine vinu.	And then he flew high again.
Vedro nebo, sunce jako grije,	Clear sky, the sun is shining,
Sivi soko to vidio nije	The grey falcon did not see
Da je blato kraj svakog mezara	The mud next to each grave
Sve od suza majki i sestara.	From the tears of mothers and sisters.
Od Bratunca do Žutoga mosta,	From Bratunac to the Yellow bridge,
Gleda soko, pa mu čudno posta.	The falcon looks, and it becomes strange to him.
Gleda soko, pa misli da sanja,	The falcon looks, but thinks he's dreaming
Đe najveća dženaza se klanja.	That the biggest burial is taking place.
Iskopano šesto mezarova,	Six hundred graves are excavated,
Ispisaće istorija nova.	A new history will be recorded.
Ode soko povijenih krila,	The falcon went with broken wings,
Žalosna je to dženaza bila.	That was a sorrowful burial.
Ovu pjesmu napis'o je Memo	This song was written by Memo[24]
I moli vas da se zakunemo	Who asks you to promise
Da pamtimo i da se sjećamo	To recall and remember
Svih šehida što ostaše tamo.	All the šehidi who stayed there.
Što ostaše u našem Podrinju	Who stayed in our Podrinje
Da ih majke žale i spominju.	To be mourned and remembered by mothers.
Tog je dana cijeli svijet plak'o,	The whole world cried on that day,
Srebrenico, umireš polako.	Srebrenica, you are slowly dying.

This remains one of the most popular commemorative songs. According to Dizdarević:

> "Poletio soko sa planine" probably sold so well that Lait Music [a music production company] immediately asked me to record my second album for them only three months later. That was the first song for Srebrenica in Podrinje. After that, I sang a song about Potočari, Srebrenica, and the genocide on all my future albums. (interview, August 2015)

[24] Naming the authors of songs is not a schematic feature of *izvorna* commemorative songs, though some authors do include their names in the text. Commissioned commemorative *izvorna* songs regularly feature the names of their commissioners and the deceased's relatives.

After 2003, many *izvorna* groups, including Sateliti and Raspjevane Meraklije, began performing songs about the Srebrenica genocide. According to Fahrudin Salihović from Raspjevane Meraklije, after the success of "Poletio soko sa planine," recording songs about Srebrenica became a fad among *izvorna* groups (interview, August 2015). However, not all of these songs were equally well received by the people of Eastern Bosnia living at home and abroad, depending on the lyrical quality and their appeal to listeners.

Although non-commissioned *izvorna* commemorative songs are better known among the audience and are more often performed in public, commissioned commemorative songs form a much larger part of the commemorative *izvorna* repertoire. Unlike non-commissioned *izvorna* songs, the practice of composing commemorative songs dedicated to specific genocide victims and commissioned by genocide survivors is a much more recent phenomenon, perhaps explained by a considerable temporal distance from the genocide and the significance of the twentieth anniversary of the genocide in 2015. My research has shown that these songs started appearing on the *izvorna* scene in 2013, while their number significantly increased in 2015, suggesting that the emergence of both non-commissioned and commissioned commemorative *izvorna* repertoire was triggered by important events related to the Srebrenica genocide commemoration (the opening of the Memorial Center in 2003 and the twentieth anniversary of the genocide in 2015, respectively). These songs are commissioned and published as singles, usually on YouTube, at any time of the year. Since they are concerned with specific victims, commissioned commemorative songs are rarely performed at public gatherings.

Commissioned songs are related to the well-established practice of paid audience requests, which are traditionally a regular part of all live *izvorna* performances. These paid requests are at the root of the practice of commissioning songs, but they are not to be confused

with it. While requests for a particular song to be played at a performance were always paid, the commissioning of songs was free during the war and only became a paid practice recently. While paid requests enable audience members to hear their favorite songs performed, commissioned songs enable them to actually initiate the creation of songs that deal with topics of personal importance to them. Since *izvorna* traditionally deals with themes from everyday life, this makes it a perfect medium for recording events and feelings in the aftermath of the genocide, which is marked by a heavy emotional toll.

Izvorna musicians are paid for all commissioned songs they perform. These songs are rarely released on albums, but they are regularly recorded in home-studios and published on YouTube and bands' Facebook pages. Most often, commissioned songs lack official titles; they are usually titled as dedications from a particular person to her murdered relative(s), most often a father or a brother, or in reference to the deceased (for example, "Pjesma o Izetu Omeroviću" ["The Song about Izet Omerović"]). Unlike non-commissioned *izvorna* songs, commissioned songs feature specific names, places, periods, and events, mostly describing chronologically the life and death of a specific individual. For this purpose, commissioners choose the *izvorna* group they prefer to listen to on a regular basis.

For all three *izvorna* groups discussed here, the process of commissioning a song is similar. Usually, a commissioner makes contact with the groups' leaders, commissions a song, and provides them with the story details. Musicians then pass on those details to their lyricists, who write the song's lyrics. The lyrics are verified with the commissioner before setting them to music. In some cases, customers provide *izvorna* groups with a finalized text written by someone they know or by them personally. Sabahudin Hasanović from Sateliti summarizes this process:

> If someone calls me now and says: Muto, can you make me a song about my brother who was killed in Srebrenica or during the fall of Srebrenica, he gives me details [about that]. . . . Let's say, [someone] has left Srebrenica. He was in a place called Buljin. He passed through Konjević Polje [and] Kamenica. He was alive until then; after that, he was gone. He [the commissioner] gives me something like that, details. . . . I make a song out of that: how he [the deceased] was alive while in Srebrenica, how he was killed with the fall of Srebrenica. . . . I recently worked on one [such] song. It is called "Wounded Soldier Moans in Podrinje," [about] how [the soldier] was wounded during the fall of Srebrenica, while he was helping [others]. (interview, July 2014)

According to Fahrudin Salihović from Raspjevane Meraklije, the process of creating a commissioned song takes twenty to thirty days, depending on how long it takes for the lyricist to satisfy the customer. As he explains,

> When someone contacts us [to commission a song], [he] describes and tells [his story] briefly. We propose [that] to the lyricist, or he [the customer] arranges that earlier with the lyricist. Then the lyricist has to write the text. When he writes the text, he passes it to us to compose music. Then, for fifteen days or so we sit in the studio, rehearse, decide, [and then we] send a recording to that mister or misses to hear. When they give the green light that [the song] is okay with them, that they like it, then we finalize it, mix it, arrange it, and publish it on YouTube and Facebook. Details are the most important [factor] in this, and they are most important for the lyricist. The lyricist makes a story about that, and then I, if there is a need, correct some of it. Sometimes there is some correction, but, in essence, the lyricist is the one who needs to narrate. (interview, August 2015)

These types of songs are commissioned by genocide survivors living in Bosnia and abroad, although those living abroad predominate. This can be interpreted from two perspectives: 1) economic, in that genocide survivors living abroad are generally in a better financial situation than those living in Bosnia; and 2) emotional, in that genocide survivors living abroad are exposed to feelings of nostalgia and must deal with the consequences of the genocide differently from those who remain in Bosnia. This second point is related to the fact that genocide survivors living abroad do not have direct reminders, or *lieux de memoire*, of the genocide, as those living in Bosnia do. Such reminders include memorials, relatives' graves, and proximity to places related to the genocide. Commissioners of *izvorna* songs are both men and women, and they vary in age and social status.

Although some commissioned songs are well received by a general audience regardless of the specificity of their content, commissioned songs are rarely part of *izvorna* public performances, and are performed only when the song's commissioner or another relative is present at an event. In these cases, audience members request a song that is of great importance to them, as in the following description provided by one of my interviewees:

> Recently I had a chance to attend a party, a wedding, and one of my friends, now a Ph.D. and the director of a school in Sarajevo, but a former medic in Srebrenica during the war, was there. One of his friends and the commander of his brigade had been killed. While music played at this wedding, he continually tried to request a song [about this person] who means so much to him. It took a while to convince the musicians to perform this song. And when they finally played it, he broke everything on the table, even though he was not drinking. I got goosebumps, and he cried. (Dautbašić interview, August 2015)

All commissioned songs about the genocide and its victims begin with a spoken dedication containing the name of the deceased person to whom the song is dedicated and the names of the commissioner(s), as in this example: "Specijalno, da se ne zaboravi, nova pjesma posvećena Mevli Osmanoviću sa Bunje kod Skelana, koji je nestao padom Srebrenice. Pjesmu posvećuje njegov sin Adnan sa porodicom" ["(Something) special, so we never forget, a new song dedicated to Mevlo Osmanović from Bunja near Skelani, who disappeared in the fall of Srebrenica. The song is dedicated by his son Adnan and his family"]. Such dedications are often followed by the platitude "so we never forget," once more reflecting the relationship of this phrase first to the Holocaust and then to all other great tragedies. Recently, Sateliti, unlike Raspjevane Meraklije and Zvuci Podrinja, has started recording commissioned songs with an accompanying music video recorded at the grave of the deceased. Hasanović from Sateliti is paid extra for creating these videos, which are usually filmed at the Memorial Center in Potočari. In other cases, commissioners provide the bands with photos of the deceased from old family albums and photos of the family visiting the Memorial Center and the deceased's grave, which are then used in YouTube vidoes. These videos also frequently include images of Srebrenica, the Memorial Center, the Drina River, and other locations associated with the genocide. In this way, commissioned songs include both sound and visuals, becoming sonic memorials to the deceased that complement their physical tombstone. One such song is performed by Raspjevane Meraklije, entitled "Opet priča je iz Srebrenice" ["Again, a Story from Srebrenica"]. This song was commissioned by a young couple from Sweden, Amina and Sanel Avdić, for Amina's late father, who was killed while fleeing Srebrenica through the woods.

Opet suze krenut će niz lice,	Again, tears will flow down the cheeks,
Opet priča je iz Srebrenice.	Again, a story from Srebrenica.
Sad Sanelu, dragom prijatelju,	Now, from Sanel, [my] dear friend,
Pišem pjesmu da ispunim želju.	I write a song to make a wish come true.

A želja je Sanelu Avdiću
Svojoj dragoj posvetiti priču
O njenome babi Teufiku
Zbog kog nosi tugu preveliku.
Draga moja, voljena Amina,
Znam da će te boljeti istina.
Ne bi da ti diram osjećaje,
Sasvim druga moja namjera je
Za tvog babu, tebi za sjećanje,
Mora vječni trag da ostane.
Nek se pamti, nek ne zaboravi
Gdje padoše svi šehidi pravi.
Koja mu je zadnja želja bila,
Saznao sam, draga, od Halila:
"Jedan majstor izlazi iz grada,
Da preživi pojavi se nada.
I brine se i blista od sreće,
Jer ka Tuzli u pohode kreće,
Tamo gdje su misli svakog dana,
Tri kćerkice i Zineta draga.

On razmišlja, uske staze gazi,
Uz put Halću ahbaba nalazi.
Na prokletoj kameničkoj ravni,
Gdje će pasti ovaj borac slavni,
Zemlju oru proklete granate,
Strahota je to vidjeti, brate.
Mnogi ljudi ležaše u krvi,
A do mene b'ješe Tefo prvi.
Dok je im'o i glasa i snage,
Spominj'o je osobe mu drage.
'Zineta je sa tri moje kćeri
Oko Tuzle, negdje ti provjeri.
Prenesi im, Halćo, prijatelju,
Da je babo im'o jednu želju
Prije nego što bitku izgubim,
Da ih jako izgrlim i ljubim.
Da dodirnem malene ručice
U Amine, moje djevojčice.
Ali, Halćo, dobri prijatelju,

And Sanel Avdić's wish is
To dedicate a story to his darling
About her father Teufik
For whom she carries heavy grief.
My dear, beloved Amina,
I know that the truth will hurt.
I don't want to hurt your feelings,
My intention is only
For your father, for your memory,
To leave a permanent mark.
To remember, to never forget,
Where all real šehidi fell.
His last wish
I discovered, dear, from Halil:
"One master leaves the city,
There is hope for survival.
He both worries and glows from happiness,
Because he goes toward Tuzla,
Where his thoughts are every day,
Where his three daughters and dear Zineta are.
He is thinking, going through narrow roads,
And finds [his] friend Halćo.
On the cursed Kamenica plain,
Where this great warrior will fall,
The soil is plowed by cursed grenades,
It is terrible to watch that, brother.
Many people lay in blood,
The first beside me was Tefo.
While he had a voice and strength,
He mentioned his dear ones:
'Zineta is with my three daughters
around Tuzla, check that somewhere.
Tell them, Halćo, friend of mine,
That [their] father had one wish
Before I lose my fight,
To hug them hard and kiss them.
To touch the tiny hands
of Amina, my little girl.
But, Halćo, [my] dear friend,

Ja tu neću dočekati želju.	I won't make it to do that.
Mene snaga izdaje polako,	My strength leaves me slowly,
Valjda, brate, suđeno je tako.	I guess it is meant to be, brother.
Znam da će im vrlo teško pasti	I know it will be hard for them
Što će morat' bez svog babe rasti.	To grow up without their father.
Tebi sretno dalje putovanje.'	Good luck on your further travel.'
A onda mu pogorša se stanje.	And then his condition got worse.
Zadnje što je meni reći htio	The last word he wanted to tell me
Selam, ali nije završio.	[Was] selam, but he did not finish.
Samo težak bol i grč sa lica	Only a hard pain and a cramp on his face
Propratiše zadnji kucaj srca.	Followed the final beat of [his] heart.
Niz obraze meni suza krenu,	A tear went down my face,
Predah rahmet svome prijatelju.	I blessed my friend.
Pa nastavim dalje putovati,	So I continued my trip,
A Zineti poruku ću dati	And I gave the message to Zineta,
A kćerkama babini salami,	And the father's selam to [his] daughters,
Teufiki, Amini i Hajri.	Teufika, Amina, and Hajra.
Da ih voli Teufik najviše,	That Teufik loves them most,
Da je junak prestao da diše.	That the hero stopped breathing."
Eto tako, moje ljepotice,	That is it, my beauties
Iz Jagodnje, blizu Srebrenice,	From Jagodnja, near Srebrenica,
Uspomenu čuvajte do groba	Keep the memory until death
Na svog babu i na ratno doba.	Of your father and the wartime.
Posjetite često mezar babin,	Visit your father's grave often,
Učite mu Fatihu i Ja'sin.	Chant Fatiha and Ja'sin for him.[25]
I budite ponosne na njega	And be proud of him,
Svog šehida, babu najboljega.	Of your šehid, the best father.

The main commissioner of this song was Amina's husband, Sanel. He wanted to keep the memory of her father alive through song because Amina left Srebrenica as a child with her mother and sisters prior to 1995, and she does not remember her father well. As the song's lyrics suggest, and my interview with him confirms, Sanel asked people who knew Amina's father, the late Teufik Bećirović, about his fate after he fled Srebrenica in July 1995. Teufik was among those killed in the column of men that fled Srebrenica through the woods. The conversation

[25] Prayers from the Qur'an.

between Teufik and his friend Halil is reconstructed based on some scattered details and the lyricist's imagination. However, the line "da dodirnem malene ručice u Amine, moje djevojčice ["to touch the tiny hands of Amina, my little girl"] is a direct excerpt from a letter Teufik wrote to Amina's mother prior to his death (interview, August 2015). The music video for this song includes photos of Amina's father with the dates of his birth and death, the Memorial Center in Potočari, and Amina herself as a grown woman and as a little girl with her family. It also includes footage of her father's burial at Potočari after his exhumation, with Amina and her mother and sisters carrying the coffin and later crying with their hands around his tombstone.[26]

Izvorna Songs: Arenas for Remembrance, Solidarity, and Recognition

Both non-commissioned and commissioned *izvorna* commemorative songs are arenas for the expression of survivors' truths about the genocide, commenting on survivors' post-genocide lives in the context of genocide denial and reinforcing the solidarity of common experience that allows survivors to become a family of remembrance. Non-commissioned and commissioned *izvorna* commemorative songs become arenas both directly and indirectly; both their content and their very performance makes them tools for claims-making on behalf of the genocide survivors. While non-commissioned commemorative *izvorna* songs focus more on contemporary circumstances in Bosnia, commissioned izvorna songs are more concerned with telling a faithful story about a specific individual.

Non-commissioned *izvorna* songs are often inspired by contemporary commemorative events. They also express common opinions about the genocide, including a critique of genocide

[26] As I mentioned briefly in Chapter 3, the absence of living Srebrenican men has forced women to take part in their relatives' burials. This is not common in the burial practices of Bosnian Muslims, in which only men attend the burial and perform the burial prayers. Women typically stay at home and perform rituals for the dead, especially a women-only religious ceremony called *tevhid*.

negation by the Bosnian Serb government or a self-critique of genocide survivors' negligent attitudes toward genocide remembrance. Zvuci Podrinja's recent song, "Srebrenica da se pamti 8" ["Srebrenica is to be Remembered 8"] (2015), for example, critiques forgetfulness and token memorializing of Srebrenica in contemporary Bosnia. In particular, it addresses the widespread habit of remembering and discussing Srebrenica only during the month of July, at the time of official commemorations, or when the genocide is coopted by divisive Bosnian ethno-national politics. For the rest of the year, as this song implies, Srebrenica and its people are forgotten:

Srebrenico, rano naših rana,	Srebrenica, the wound of all our wounds,
Spominju te u godini samo dva-tri dana	You are mentioned annually for two or three days.
Obećanja ista godine su svake,	Promises are the same every year,
Dok polako umiru srebreničke majke.	While the mothers of Srebrenica are slowly dying.
11 jula svako dođe tebi,	Everyone comes to you on July 11,
poslije, moja Srebrenico, svako ode sebi.	After that, everyone goes home.
Ti ostajes tužna, puna mezarova,	You remain sad, full of graves
I majki što plau zbog svojih sinova.	And mothers who cry for their sons.
Ti ostajes tužna, puna mezarova,	You remain sad, full of graves
I djece što plaču zbog svojih očeva.	And children who cry for their fathers.

On the other hand, Sateliti's "Genocid" ["Genocide"] from 2008, which is often requested by the audience at their performances, comments on the issue of Bosniak return to the Republic of Srpska. The song portrays the absence of life in Srebrenica and the surrounding area, the grief of those who survived, orphaned children, and people afraid to return to their pre-war homes. Most powerfully, the song makes a specific statement that the "people are not returning, not because of shame, but because of genocide." This alludes to the present circumstances of the Bosniak return to Srebrenica, in which genocide survivors must encounter on a daily basis those

who committed the genocide, but have not been prosecuted (Subašić interview 2015).[27] Survivors are also subject to deliberate malfeasance by the local government, and fear for their safety. One example of malfeasance against Bosniak returnees in the Republic of Srpska is the case of the "grandmother" Fata Orlović, who returned to her pre-war home in the village of Konjević Polje to discover that an orthodox church had been built on her property. Orlović sued the authorities of the Republic of Srpska (see AlJazeera.com 2012). In 2015, the *izvorna* group Zvuci Podrinja recorded a song about the Orlović case, "Pjesma o Jadru i Crkvi" ["Song about Jadar and the Church"], addressing the issue of Bosniak return to this part of Bosnia (Appendix V). Consequently, many genocide survivors choose not to return to their pre-war homes because they are directly exposed to genocide denial, as exemplified by the lack of justice for its perpetrators and open advocacy for a different version of the past in which the genocide never occurred.

Što su pusta srebrenička sela,	Why are Srebrenica's villages deserted,[28]
zašto nema igranke i sijela?	Why are there no dances or parties?
Što se tuga nadvila nad Drinom,	Why has sorrow fallen over Drina,
što se babo ne igra sa sinom?	Why does the father not play with his son?
Zna se, zna se,	It has been known, it has been known,
narod ne vraća se,	People are not returning,
ne zbog stida,	Not because of shame,
već zbog genocida.	But because of genocide.
Što je pusta srebrenička prica,	Why is Srebrenica's story empty,
zašto nema više teferiča?	Why are there no more parties?
Šta to tuga moje srce para,	Why does sorrow break my heart,
šta se b'jelo usred Potočara?	What is white in the middle of Potočari?[29]

[27] Subašić notes that many survivors who returned to Srebrenica reported to local police those whom they are certain were involved as executioners, but these individuals were regularly cleared of charges.

[28] The song's lyrics vary from performance to performance. This transcription is the version recorded during my fieldwork in Bosnia in 2014.

Zna se, zna se,	It has been known, it has been known,
narod ne vraća se,	People are not returning,
ne zbog stida,	Not because of shame,
već zbog genocida.	But because of genocide.

Beyond referencing genocide denial, genocide survivors use commemorative *izvorna* songs songs as an arena for voicing their frustration with this ongoing denial. For example, in the fall of 2013, during a demonstration by Bosniaks returnees to the Bosnian Serb area of Srebrenica, protestors sang *izvorna* songs about the genocide in front of the Office of the High Representative in Sarajevo.[30] Parents also protested against the Republic of Srpska school curriculum's exclusion of the Bosniak national course cluster (language, history, and geography), whose absence negates the presence of Bosniak returnees. The use of songs about the genocide during these occasions suggests that protestors viewed these battles as directly related to genocide denial. For genocide survivors, performing these songs asserts their experiences of the genocide in the face of Bosnian Serb officials' negation of war crimes. In this sense, it is both the songs' lyrical content and their rhetorical use in performance that act against genocide denial.

While non-commissioned commemorative *izvorna* songs comment directly on the survivors' present reality, commissioned *izvorna* songs are based on facts that commissioners have gathered from conversations with first- and secondhand witnesses of their relative's death. The detailed accounts of their relative's death, as in "Opet priča je iz Srebrenice," speaks to the need for authenticity and truthfulness in rendering actual events. Insistence on the truth is not only characteristic of song commissioners, but also of the musicians who create and perform

[29] White refers to a cemetery located at the Commemorative Center in Potočari.

[30] I would like to thank Dr. Mirsad Avdić for this valuable information and the field material he kindly shared with me.

these songs. In interviews, Hasanović (Sateliti), Salihović (Raspjevane Meraklije), and Dizdarević (Zvuci Podrinja) all insisted on truthfulness in their songs. As Dizdarević states,

> There are many things related to Potočari and Srebrenica that will be remembered. But, then, [the songs] are also one part of it, so we know that [the genocide] happened, that so many people were killed. [The songs] are one part of the proof, at least I think so. It is one part of the proof that people want this to be known, because [the genocide] is negated. Some negate that [the genocide] happened, and people prove [it happened] through different ways. Each one of these songs is one hundred percent true.

The above statement confirms *izvorna* songs' role as arenas for claims-making about the truthfulness of genocide survivors' memories. Dizdarević's statement indeed coincides with similar statements made by many genocide survivors, who often claim that commemorative *izvorna* songs are "related to the truth about the genocide, to the way someone was killed or the way he was while alive" (Malkić interview, 2015), and that they tell "a true story" (Mustafić interview, 2015) about "true events that happened" in 1995 (Kardašević interview, 2015). These statements suggest that, among other means such as oral testimony and survivor activism, commemorative *izvorna* songs declare survivors' truths about what happened in Srebrenica. These truths directly oppose the Bosnian Serb rhetoric of denial, which makes it even more important for these narratives to be shared.

Non-commissioned commemorative songs are performed at the majority of live *izvorna* performances, while commissioned *izvorna* songs are performed only when the deceased's relatives are present. I witnessed a number of live performances featuring non-commissioned *izvorna* songs. Although these performances were shaped by on-site audience requests, musicians showed considerable discretion in deciding when to perform these songs, if at all. For

example, during a performance on the second day of Muslim Eid at a restaurant located in the Sarajevo's outskirts in 2015, Raspjevane Meraklije was careful to balance commemorative songs requested by the audience with their non-commemorative *izvorna* repertoire, so that two or more commemorative songs were performed approximately every half an hour. Among the most frequently requested commemorative songs was 2003's "Poletio soko sa planine" by Zvuci Podrinja – the first song written about the genocide. While the atmosphere at the restaurant was lively throughout the four-hour set, with people socializing and dancing kolo, when Raspjevane Meraklije performed a commemorative song everyone would return to their seats and conversation would usually stop. This oscillating atmosphere seemed natural to everyone present, not precluding the musicians from performing these songs or audience members from requesting them. In other performances I attended, such as the New Year's Eve celebration in St. Louis, *izvorna* songs about the genocide were completely absent because of the celebratory atmosphere.

The virtual dissemination of commemorative *izvorna* songs is probably even more important than their live performance. All three *izvorna* groups discussed in this chapter post their commemorative songs (both commissioned and non-commissioned) to YouTube and Facebook. Their Facebook pages are public sites, meaning that they can gather considerable fan bases there, mostly made up of fellow Eastern Bosnians living in Bosnia and elsewhere. When posting these songs, then, *izvorna* groups reach directly to their audience. In return, their audience gives them feedback by "liking," "sharing," and commenting on their songs. YouTube and Facebook comment threads provide a particularly poignant space for the articulation of people's thoughts. Comments on commissioned songs, for example, regularly express solidarity and sympathy with the family of the deceased to whom the song is dedicated. Sometimes,

individuals share their knowledge of the deceased or the fact that they knew him. Most often, however, the audience praises the *izvorna* group in question for preserving the memory of the Srebrenica genocide. Through virtual spaces created by *izvorna* songs, then, genocide survivors share their stories and listen to stories told by others, expressing solidarity based on the common experience of genocide and reinforcing their family of remembrance.

"Keepsakes"

Stating the truth is a crucial factor in commemorative *izvorna* songs, and these songs are created (and commissioned) so that individual experiences can become part of a collective narrative about the genocide and, even more importantly, assume a public life. However, commissioned songs are also created in memory of the deceased, and they are considered to be a "keepsake" (Bos. *uspomena*) by those who commission them. Commissioned commemorative songs dedicated to specific individuals are, therefore, something to be brought out in times when living relatives wish to remember the deceased. In this sense, these songs entail what I term a externalization of memory, through which the memory of the deceased and the story of his life are transformed into something that exists outside the human mind, and that has the capacity to exist long after human carriers of that memory are gone.

Commissioning a keepsake in the form of a song is an individual choice, and it is important to emphasize that not all genocide survivors choose to do so – and not all survivors approve of this practice. While commissioning commemorative songs occurs both in Bosnia and the diaspora, commissioned songs about the dead are sometimes controversial due to the common Bosniak belief that music and death do not belong together (see Chapter 3). This belief stems from the absence of music in Bosnian Muslim death rituals, in which music never

accompanies customs surrounding death and is avoided during the time of mourning. In this context, *izvorna* songs dedicated to genocide victims point to the collision of religion (Islam) and tradition in Bosnia.[31] In other words, the tradition of *izvorna* songs as comments on everyday life and their post-genocide role as performative narratives about the dead sit in opposition to Islamic death rituals in Bosnia. This explains why some genocide survivors characterize commissioned commemorative songs as "inappropriate" and emphasize that they personally would "never commission a song" about their dead relatives. The gravity of their grief and suffering makes these songs additionally "inappropriate." Still, those who do commission commemorative *izvorna* songs justify doing so by appealing to the fact that the practice of narrating through music is part of their local culture and tradition, making it a legitimate mode of remembrance and the expression of sorrow. Genocide survivors who oppose the use of *izvorna* music for commemorative purposes may view survivors who embrace these songs as lacking in piety. In other words, the tension surrounding this musical genre stems from the fact that it primarily represents local identity and tradition, without recognizing the identification with the broader Islamic world embraced by parts the survivor community.

The use of *izvorna* to express individual genocide narratives is often conditioned by pre-existing "metaphors" (Rice 2003), or uses and understandings of this genre. As the history of *izvorna* suggests, two central metaphors related to this music in the pre-war period were entertainment and symbolization of local identity. In particular, the widespread individual and collective understanding of *izvorna* music as entertainment has caused many genocide survivors

[31] Bosnian scholars note the blending of Islamic and pre-Islamic practices among Bosnian Muslims. This blending is exemplified through folk customs and beliefs; that is, through "folk religion" that sometimes contradicts what is prescribed by "normative religion" (Karčić 2006:51; see also Hadžijahić 1980). When it comes to death rituals, some Bosnian Muslim practices do not correspond with what is prescribed by "normative" Islam. For example, certain customs involving the use of water and fire are related to folk beliefs (for more on the role of folk customs and beliefs in death rituals among Bosnian Muslims, see Softić 2016).

to oppose the postwar use of this music for commemorative purposes, and has even resulted in the almost complete absence of *izvorna* from the lives of many survivors. Again, this relates to some survivors' feeling that they are no longer the same person as before the war. A Srebrenican immigrant to the United States elaborates:

> Personally, after Srebrenica, I am not fond of songs anymore. I sang more while in Srebrenica, in the middle of all that suffering, than after all of that. Actually, I experienced more evil after that. And then, when I came here [to the States], I became a different man. After all of that, I am not that old person anymore. And those songs of entertainment are no longer for me. Life now has no more joy left. (Čivić interview, November 2015)

For other survivors, avoiding *izvorna* because of its association with entertainment proved to be only temporary. As in the aforementioned example, the shock caused by the traumatic experience of genocide made them unable to listen to any kind of music in the immediate aftermath of the event. However, for some, the eventual return of desire to continue one's life also involved returning to music, as in this example:

> After the fall of Srebrenica, I was not able to listen to music. There was too much grief. I could not listen to music for about a year after that. But, as time passed, I felt the need to relieve my soul. When I moved to Sweden, I felt the need to listen to music. (Osmanović interview, November 2015)

The postwar use of *izvorna* as a mnemonic device dramatically changed survivors' understanding of this music. *Izvorna* ceased to be merely a source of entertainment and became a medium for making claims about the truth of their experience of the genocide, resulting in a large and growing repertoire of commemorative *izvorna* songs. However, this phenomenon has

also caused tension between survivors' insistence on using *izvorna* to express individual narratives (either through a direct contribution to the repertoire through commissioned songs or through the support and awareness of its significance) and the actual emotional effect commemorative *izvorna* music has on survivors. In other words, despite survivors' insistence on commissioning, knowing, and hearing these songs, they remain powerful triggers of traumatic memories that cause serious emotional disturbance. Nonetheless, survivors recognize that *izvorna* songs are important for preserving memories of the genocide and for testifying to the experience that permanently altered their lives and the life of their community. This tension is captured in the following statement:

> I lost my brother. He was only eighteen years old. So, when something like that is mentioned in a song, I freeze. It is not simple. And, sometimes, I cry. So, sometimes I avoid that, so I do not hear. I do not feel well, you know. I am not up for music. I avoid gatherings and events because my heart is not joyful, especially when something like that is mentioned. There are those songs that mention a crying mother. All of that is very, very disturbing. There are those that sing, like Sateliti. [The lead singer] is from my home village, where I am from. I know many of those people that he mentions. So, that disturbs me a lot. *I intentionally want to hear when something new is released. You yearn to hear, but you do not feel well once you do*. (Malkić interview, November 2015, emphasis added)

In the following chapter, I extend the discussion of *izvorna* beyond its use for commemorative purposes, considering it as an expression of survivors' post-genocide ways of being and the ambiguities of their belonging in Bosnia and the diaspora.

Chapter 7: Relocating Village Gatherings in Bosnia and its Diaspora: Songs of Longing, Defiance, and New Beginnings

The war in Bosnia caused massive displacement of the country's population. As of 2005, approximately 500,000 Bosnians out of a pre-war population of over four million now live in other countries (Valenta and Ramet 2011). In addition to this globally dispersed Bosnian diaspora, thousands of Bosnians have permanently resettled in new places within Bosnia and approximately 100,000 people remain internally displaced, still waiting to return to their pre-war homes (Walicki 2014).[1] The Srebrenica genocide, in particular, caused major emigration and internal resettlement of the Bosniak population from Eastern Bosnia. These Eastern Bosnian emigrants and internal resettlers have formed small and large communities, as in the cases of St. Louis, MO, and Lausanne, Switzerland, and Sarajevo's suburbs of Vogošća, Ilijaš, and Hotonj. In addition to a common place of origin and the shared experience of forced displacement and, in some cases, genocide, these communities share a local culture that distinguishes them from surrounding communities. While they actively participate in the lives of their adoptive societies in Bosnia and abroad by integrating and "reinventing" themselves there (Halilovich 2013: 182), Eastern Bosnians still maintain their local culture and their relationship to their pre-war homes.

In this chapter, I contend that *izvorna* is today one of the most widely used mediums for maintaining local Eastern Bosnian culture and translocal ties, and for performing Eastern Bosnian subjectivities in communities of internal resettlers in Bosnia and emigrants scattered in Europe and the United States. Over the last four decades, *izvorna* has become an index of local culture in Eastern Bosnia through its almost exclusive presence in this part of the country. Thanks to the central role this music played in everyday life in Eastern Bosnia before and during

[1] Throughout this chapter, I distinguish between Bosnian internal resettlers who do not intend to return to their pre-war homes and "internally displaced persons" who remain in refugee camps throughout Bosnia and who have been unable to return to or rebuild their homes or to resettle permanently in another place.

the war, *izvorna* today remains vital to communal gatherings of Eastern Bosnians living in other parts of Bosnia and the United States. As such, *izvorna* actively contributes to the reproduction of pre-war ways of life, fostering social relationships and a sense of shared community and maintaining Eastern Bosnian culture among internal resettlers, international migrants, and their children. Since *izvorna* circulates among Eastern Bosnian communities in Bosnia and the United States, and since *izvorna* musicians perform both at home and abroad, *izvorna* constitutes a transnational practice. It parallels other ways people maintain their relationship with home through periodic visits, verbal communication, involvement in matters at home, and economic remittances. In addition to the fact that this practice occurs transnationally (from Bosnia to the United States and vice versa), *izvorna* helps maintain a relationship to specific locales, primarily to individuals' places of origin in small towns and villages. Thus, it also is a translocal practice. The translocal relationship propagated through *izvorna* is based in intimacy between the specific locale one resides in and the specific locale of one's origin. While transnationalism encompasses only the relationship between Bosnia as a general notion of homeland and the United States (or other host country) as a notion of adopted country, translocal relationships occur within Bosnia. Indeed, just as Bosnian immigrants in the United States maintain their transnational ties through regular visits to Bosnia, so too do internal resettlers maintain their translocal ties by keeping new and old homes, vacationing in their places of origin, contributing to the community there, and so on. *Izvorna* songs, as performative narratives that emphasize topographic descriptions of specific places in Eastern Bosnia such as the Drina river, represent a way to perform and nurture these intimate attachments to distant places in the course of everyday life. *Izvorna* songs also allow for the narrative performance of subjectivities; that is, the way internal and international Eastern Bosnian resettlers feel about themselves such as: 1) a local community bound by a common

region of origin; 2) a community bound by persecution and genocide; and 3) individuals caught in between their current and former home(land)s. Each of these categories is expressed through different themes present in *izvorna* narratives, which can be divided into 1) narratives of longing, 2) narratives of defiance, and 3) narratives of new beginnings. In this chapter, I discuss the interaction between Eastern Bosnians' local culture and their new ways of life as it manifests in *izvorna* performances in Bosnia and St. Louis, MO, by examining the ambiguities of genocide survivors' belonging.

Transnational Diaspora and Translocalism

In this chapter, I rely on three concepts that are interrelated but distinct: diaspora, transnationalism, and translocalism. I use each concept in reference to a particular set of experiences of Eastern Bosnians living in Bosnia and abroad. It is important to note that the concept of transnationalism often overlaps with the concept of diaspora. However, in distinguishing between transnationalism and diaspora, Thomas Faist defines diaspora as "religious or national groups living outside a (imagined) homeland" and transnationalism as "migrants' durable ties across countries" including "not only communities, but all sorts of social formations, such as transnationally active networks, groups, and organizations" (2010: 9).[2] In this sense, not all diasporas are necessarily transnational as when their members do not maintain

[2] The concept of transnationalism was first defined as "the processes by which immigrants forge and sustain multi-stranded social relations that link together their societies of origin and settlement" (Basch et al. 1994: 6). More recently, Peggy Levitt and B. Nadya Jaworsky have noted that, today, many scholars accept that these social relations are not solely limited to the country of origin and resettlement, but may also include multiple sites occupied by both migrants and non-migrants connecting them to their "conationals and coreligionists" (2007: 131). Following this scholarly consensus, Steven Vertovec defines transnationalism as "sustained linkages and ongoing exchanges among non-state actors based across national borders - businesses, non-governmental organizations, and individuals sharing the same interests (by way of criteria such as religious beliefs, common cultural and geographic origins)" (2009: 3). Transnationalism involves a broad spectrum of social activities that take place across borders, including "both informal and formal social, cultural, and religious practices" (Levitt and Jaworsky 2007: 132).

active relationships with their home countries. Thus, I refer to Bosnians living abroad as members of the *transnational Bosnian diaspora*, because its members maintain various types of relationships to their imagined homeland. I do so to emphasize the active maintenance of these relationships, for which the concept of diaspora alone is not sufficient.

The transnational Bosnian diaspora does not include those Eastern Bosnians who are now permanently resettled within Bosnia in places other than their pre-war homes.[3] To include their experiences of postwar displacement, I employ the more recent concept of translocalism. Translocalism is defined as:

> multiple local-to-local connections and the performative enactment of embodied identities embedded – or imagined to be embedded – in particular locations . . . [where] a specific locale (or territory) remains the most powerful motif, a 'symbolic anchor' of displaced communities, for keeping their distinct local identities alive." (Halilovich 2012: 168)

I likewise apply the concept of translocalism to Eastern Bosnian communities within the transnational Bosnian diaspora, because "migrants' everyday social practices are informed by their localised experiences" (Greiner et al. 2013: 374). As anthropologist Hariz Halilovich notes, migrant perceptions of homeland do not "necessarily refer to a nation-state and its structure, but more often refer to a quite specific place and local community" (2012: 165). Although they may occur on a transnational level, relationships maintained by migrants across multiple sites are

[3] Emphasizing the relationships and flows (whether cultural, financial, informational, or otherwise) that migrants construct and maintain across national borders, transnationalism largely ignores the question of internal migration. However, this type of migration outweighs international migration in terms of its "share of global migration dynamics" (Greiner et al. 2013: 374). Furthermore, "displacement may be felt as strongly by someone travelling to the capital of their own country or to a neighboring country as by someone moving around the world" (Baily at al. 2006: 170).

primarily "trans-local" (Halilovich 2012; 2013); that is, they occur either between multiple locales, or between the specific locale of one's origin and the specific locale of one's residence.

In this chapter, I employ the concepts of transnational diaspora and translocalism complementarily to include both internally and internationally displaced communities of genocide survivors and those affected by the genocide. I argue that *izvorna* is one of the most crucial components of translocal networks, contributing to the sense of a shared community that spans multiple sites, and reinforcing a local particularity with important resonance for the construction of Eastern Bosnians' subjectivities. I contend that, through the performance of translocal ties, internally and internationally displaced communities share an essentially similar experience of *izvorna*.

In dealing primarily with the first generation of internal and international emigrants from Eastern Bosnia, I am concerned with the revitalization of existing genres and not necessarily the creation of new genres. This community has not yet created new forms (such as the hybrid musics typical of second- or third-generation migrants), but it has enriched the existing *izvorna* repertoire by adding themes that "are indicative or symptomatic of the issues facing the immigrant" (Baily et al. 2006), such as longing for one's old home and adjusting to the new one. In addition, I am concerned with translocal musical flows that take place both in physical space, through live performances of *izvorna* in Bosnia and the United States, and in virtual spaces, through the local-to-local flow of *izvorna* through media and the Internet.[4] I address the way these multi-sited musical flows demonstrate the mutual influence of resettled Eastern Bosnian communities in Bosnia and the United States.

[4] For another ethnographic example of this process by a Balkan community, see Jane Sugarman's (1997) ethnography of Albanians from the Lake Presa region of Macedonia.

Eastern Bosnian Internal Resettlers and the Transnational Bosnian Diaspora

After the war, many Eastern Bosnians resettled permanently in other parts of the country. According to the Ministry of Internally Displaced Persons of the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina (ibid.), a number of resettled families live in alternative accommodations, such as with extended family or in rented apartments, but many also built new homes in the places of their resettlement. The reasons for choosing to resettle permanently are diverse, most commonly economic issues and fears for personal safety. Anthropologist Stef Jansen notes that many displaced people may at some level want to return to their pre-war homes, but that radical wartime transformations have caused them to question whether these places "may or may not be '*home*'" anymore (2007: 16, emphasis in original). In addition, Jansen observes that part of this "transformation of '*home*'" is "an increased preference for urban residence" (ibid.: 23).

Much of the population from Srebrenica and its surroundings today lives in or around two major urban centers in the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina: Sarajevo and Tuzla. In Sarajevo, the Srebrenican population has mainly resettled in the suburbs of Ilijaš, Vogošća, Blagovac, Osijek, and Hotonj. In Tuzla, Srebrenicans mostly reside in the nearby town of Srebrenik. In all of these places, the Srebrenican population is fairly concentrated, with families populating large sections of particular neighborhoods. In some cases, Srebrenicans live in flats previously occupied by non-Bosniak residents who left Bosnia during the war or resettled to other parts of Bosnia where they now make up a majority of the population. This is related to the trend of postwar population exchange in Bosnia, where "Bosniaks and Croats ethnically cleansed from their home towns during the war [exchanged] their houses (if they still existed) with Serbs who felt obliged or more comfortable to live in Serb-dominated Republika Srpska" (Halilovich 2013: 58). In other cases, Srebrenicans live in houses that they have managed to build over the years.

Many families, however, maintain "dual residency" (Halilovich 2013: 112), meaning that they spend time between their old and new homes through regular visits and vacations to their birthplace, maintaining in that way a strong translocal relationship to their place of origin.

A considerable number of those who were initially internally displaced in Bosnia migrated to Europe and the United States in the first five years after the war. For example, a number of individuals I interviewed in St. Louis, MO, reported that their families and their friends' families migrated to St. Louis through chain-migration from Sarajevo's suburb of Vogošća and from Srebrenik, near Tuzla.[5] Many families now residing in St. Louis have relatives who are resettled in Vogošća and Srebrenik, with whom they maintain regular contact. Other families who came to St. Louis in the early 2000s have helped family members migrate from Bosnia to St. Louis as recently as 2013.

The Bosnian population in St. Louis can be classified according to the time of their resettlement and the conditions of their migration. According to Susan E. Hume (2015: 1), the first Bosnian refugees started coming to St. Louis in 1993 through the resettlement program conducted by the U.S. Department of State. The second wave of refugees resettled in St. Louis in the late 1990s, after those who had previously settled in Europe were forced to return to Bosnia or migrate to secondary countries. The third wave of Bosnians immigrated to the U.S. after the Srebrenica genocide (approximately during the period between 1996 and 2003). In addition, many Bosnians who initially resettled in other American cities, such as Chicago and New York, subsequently moved to St. Louis because of lower living costs (Hume 2015: 2). Today, approximately 70,000 Bosnians live in St. Louis, representing the largest Bosnian community

[5] Chain-migration is a term used in diaspora studies. It refers to a type of migration in which early immigrants sponsor the migration of friends or family members. Much of the Eastern Bosnian diaspora in Europe and the United States has been the result of chain-migration.

outside Bosnia (Gilsinan 2013; Haliovich 2013; Hume 2015). Of these 70,000, approximately four or five thousand St. Louis residents are Srebrenica genocide survivors (Hume 2015: 3).

The St. Louis Bosnian community is mainly located in the southern part of the city, in and around the neighborhood called Bevo Mill, though a considerable part of the population has recently moved to neighboring suburban areas. The geographic center of the Bosnian community in St. Louis is Gravois Avenue, a large street that diagonally crosses the neighborhood, on which most of the Bosnian businesses are located. These businesses include insurance companies, butcher shops, small grocery stores with Bosnian products, salons, cafes, restaurants, and nightclubs. As Hume notes, "the concentrated availability of these and other diverse businesses, in addition to Bosnian-language print and broadcast media, mean[t] that people [can] lead their daily lives in this Bosnian bubble with only minimal English (2015: 6). This Bosnian bubble was still very much alive in 2015, at the time of my fieldwork: upon entering into Bosnian businesses (whether a grocery store or a restaurant), one is surrounded by the spoken and written Bosnian language, Bosnian products, and Bosnian music. The atmosphere is one of local intimacy: customers all know each other, and business owners know them in return. For members of the Bosnian community, the availability of almost all services provided by and for Bosnians in relatively close proximity means that they rarely need to look for other, outside services. This reproduction of highly local, small-town (and yet urban) way of life similar to that in Bosnia contributes to the formation in St. Louis of a rather cohesive ethnic community (see also Hume 2015).

Another factor that contributes greatly to this cohesion is religion, a marker of identity among Bosnians that supersedes all other cultural distinctions from other ethnic groups. At the time of my fieldwork in 2015, the Bosnian community in St. Louis counted four different

džemati (congregations, sing. *džemat*), of which three were acknowledged by the Islamic Community in Bosnia, while the fourth was considered unofficial. There are two Bosnian mosques in Bevo Mill (one complete and the other presently under construction) with Turkish-style minarets, as is typical in Bosnia. *Džemati* gather and mosques are most populated on weekends and during official gatherings or religious holidays. The older generation of Bosnian women wear headscarves on a daily basis – something they practiced before they migrated – and a number of middle-aged married women and teenage girls born in the U.S. wear a headscarves, which are the most obvious marker of their religious identity.[6] The majority of my interviewees stressed their Muslim identity as the main differentiating factor between them and their host communities.

Several scholars have written about transnational and translocal behaviors among Bosnians in the United States (see Coughlan 2011; Halilovich 2013), for example sending remittances to relatives in Bosnia and visiting Bosnia on a semi-regular basis. My interviews with Srebrenica survivors in St. Louis confirm this trend, as all of them maintain regular contact with their families in Bosnia (on the telephone and through Skype, social media, and Internet chats) and visit Bosnia at least every two to three years, depending on their incomes. A considerable number expressed a desire to return permanently to Bosnia some day (usually, upon retirement). Some have maintained dual citizenship and have rebuilt their homes back in Bosnia. All my interviewees were well informed about events in Bosnia, especially the political situation, through the media, both television and the Internet. Most of the households I visited had cable television subscriptions with over thirty local and national Bosnian stations. In this way, media

[6] However, none of the women I encountered were completely veiled in the sense of wearing a *burqa*, with their faces covered. Middle-aged women typically wear long dresses and a colorful headscarf, with their faces and hands uncovered, while younger women wear a headscarf in a more stylish way, often combining their religious attire with more modern, urban looks (for example, jeans and stylish tunics).

technology provides Bosnians, like other ethnic diasporas in the United States (see Zheng 2010), an opportunity to have "synchronously shared multilocal experiences" (ibid.: 205). In addition, the dispersal of Eastern Bosnians within Bosnia-Herzegovina and their resettlement in St. Louis initiated the creation of local television stations and radio programs that cater specifically to this audience. In Bosnia, an example of this is the so-called "Izvorna TV," a station that broadcasts *izvorna* throughout the day. In St. Louis, a local Bosnian radio station, interchangeably called Daily Bosnian Radio and MRadio Mensur, broadcasts an hour of *izvorna* every Sunday. A local radio-television station from Sapna, Bosnia, called Glas Drine [The Voice of Drina], connects the transnational and translocal community of Eastern Bosnians on yet another level by providing specifically local news from Eastern Bosnia. More importantly, Glas Drine regularly records and broadcasts public gatherings of Eastern Bosnians both in Bosnia and abroad. In particular, Glas Drine covers gatherings of the Eastern Bosnian diaspora in Europe and the United States, commonly called Podrinjska Sijela [Podrinje Gatherings], which often feature concerts of *izvorna* musicians from Bosnia. Recently, Glas Drine accompanied the *izvorna* group Raspjevane Meraklije on their month-long tour in the United States. Glas Drine recorded all the performances and put them on their YouTube channel for general audiences. In this way, even those Eastern Bosnians who cannot attend such gatherings are able to participate virtually in the community event.

These community gatherings, which are regularly accompanied by *izvorna* music, are certainly among the most important public manifestations of both Eastern Bosnian local culture and the continuation of local lifestyles beyond their original home. In both Bosnia and St. Louis (and other places with large concentrations of Eastern Bosnians), community gatherings reinforce the sense of community through socialization, recreating a sense of "home."

Community gatherings allow Eastern Bosnians to participate in events with which they feel comfortable, but that are separated from their new ways of life (as what I call "rurbanites," that is both rural and urban, in Bosnia, and as Bosnians elsewhere).[7] Because these community events are not staged for the wider society but are attended primarily by community members, communal gatherings also provide an opportunity to express Eastern Bosnians' subjectivities. In the following pages, I describe two such gatherings in Bosnia and St. Louis that fostered translocal and transnational networks.

Eid Celebration in Sarajevo's Suburb and St. Louis New Year Celebration

In Bosnia, *izvorna* is performed regularly at local restaurants in areas with significant concentrations of resettled Eastern Bosnians. Near Tuzla, some of these restaurants include Istanbul in Devetak, next to Lukavac, and Sunce in Živinice. *Izvorna* musicians also frequently perform at the restaurant Izvor Bosne in Ilidža, on the outskirts of Sarajevo. In September 2015, I attended and recorded a performance of the *izvorna* group Raspjevane Meraklije at this restaurant during the celebration of Kurban Bajram (Eid-al-Adha). This celebration was the result of a Bosnian trend of celebrating both Eids (Eid-al-Fitr and Eid-al-Adha), the most significant annual Islamic holidays, outside of one's home – at restaurants, nightclubs, and concerts of popular singers. These celebrations are attended by young people and often involve heavy alcohol consumption, which is against both the Islamic prohibition of alcohol and the Bosnian Muslim tradition of celebrating these two religious holidays in the intimacy of one's home and together with one's extended family. Although this practice has received criticism

[7] With the term "rurbanite," I refer to Eastern Bosnians who moved to urban centers from small, rural places and are transitioning from rural to urban lifestyles.

from the Islamic Community in Bosnia, it is a widespread form of entertainment for young Bosnians and an important source of income for musicians and businesses.

The performance I attended was structured as a concert, with paid entrance and a stage for the musicians. Raspjevane Meraklije performed in their standard group of three: Vehid Alić and Fahrudin Salihović sang vocals and played violin, and Elvir Mehić played keyboard with amplification. Drinks and food were sold, and the audience sat in groups of two to ten at tables on both sides of the stage. The space in front of the stage was left clear for the traditional circle dance, kolo, which usually accompanies *izvorna* performances. The audience numbered approximately one hundred and fifty people of all ages. Many audience members knew each other and generally mingled around the room during the course of the performance. As is often the case with *izvorna* concerts, Raspjevane Meraklije began their performance at about 9:00 pm with a medley of kolo tunes, prompting the first audience members to start dancing. Usually, the women danced while men stayed at their tables. After the medley, which lasted about ten minutes, Meraklije started performing songs requested by audience members. As I described in the previous chapter, *izvorna* performances never contain a predetermined repertoire, but are entirely based on on-site audience requests accompanied by a small payment. Usually, a single order for one song costs ten Bosnian marks, and ten dollars in the United States. However, many audience members are more generous, demonstrating in that way their appreciation of musicians. These exchanges are generally causal, and audience members approach musicians with their orders (usually written on a piece of paper) any time during the performance. At this concert, the performance of audience requests was always preceded by a spoken dedication to the family of the person requesting the song and to "all the people of [the town of] Vlasenica" or "all the people of [the town of] Žepa." In this way, those requesting songs identified themselves as

members of specific local communities in Eastern Bosnia. These dedications and the songs themselves targeted those who share the same relationship with that specific place. Requested songs ranged in content from hometowns to wartime patriotic songs, to commemorative songs, to humorous songs with light content. One audience member paid for a long set of songs thematizing the life of Eastern Bosnians in the United States, making his request by theatrically sticking one- to ten-dollar bills in the musicians' clothes and instruments and implying his own diasporic belonging. Many audience members eagerly danced to these songs and some of them sang the lyrics. Whether resettled within or outside Bosnia, then, all present could relate to the feeling of longing for home and making a new life elsewhere, be it in Bosnia or the United States. Raspjevane Meraklije continued to perform audience requests throughout the evening, and the concert concluded in high spirits at around 2:00 am.

The attendance of diasporic Eastern Bosnians at *izvorna* performances in Bosnia is not unusual. For example, at a performance by Sateliti in the village of Osmače, near Srebrenica, the majority of the audience were diasporic Bosnians visiting their homes over the summer. This is because Bosnian Serb forces occupied Osmače, a Bosniak village, at the beginning of the war, and the population was forced to resettle elsewhere. After the war, many homes in Osmače were rebuilt and a number of families have returned to live there permanently. However, much of the surviving population left Bosnia and now visits their home village only occasionally from abroad. An *izvorna* performance is held there annually as part of the traditional Osmačka Sijela [Osmače Gatherings], one of the occasions for which this population comes together.

Raspjevane Meraklije's New Year's performance in St. Louis very much resembled the one in Sarajevo described above, except that it took place in a large gymnasium sports hall with a huge American flag hanging from one of the red-brick walls. This paid-entrance concert was

held in the Czech Hall, located in the Bevo Mill neighborhood where many Bosnians live. As in Sarajevo, the hall featured a centralized stage with long tables on both sides and a cleared space in front for kolo dancing. Food and drink were included in the ticket price. Although many tables at the St. Louis concert remained empty, there were approximately two hundred people present. Later, the manager of Raspjevane Meraklije attributed this relatively low attendance to poor publicity and hefty ticket prices ($100 per person), as, apparently, many fewer attended than the band had hoped.

The performance unfolded in much the same manner as the one in Sarajevo. The audience sat in large groups, usually among friends and family. Raspjevane Meraklije opened the concert around 9:00 pm with a medley of kolo tunes, accompanied by dancing from the audience (mainly women again), followed by the performance of requested songs. While the requested songs included a similar set of themes including longing for hometowns, wartime patriotic songs, and humorous songs, in this case commemorative songs were conspicuously absent from the program, perhaps due to the celebratory nature of the event. In addition, *izvorna* songs were performed in combination with *narodna muzika* (folk music), especially during the last hour before the New Year's countdown.[8] As it happened, the same person who requested a set of songs about Bosnian life in the United States at the Sarajevo concert also attended the St. Louis event, and made the same request.

This coincidence, along with the fact that Raspjevane Meraklije performed at both concerts and that the same songs were sometimes requested by the audience, suggests mutually influential connections within the transnational community of Eastern Bosnians. These

[8] Raspjevane Meraklije may perform both *izvorna* and narodna music at their concerts depending on the audience. In general, this combination seems to be more common for performances in the diaspora than for those in Bosnia. For example, they mostly played narodna music at a concert in Atlanta, GA, in January 2016.

connections are fostered by the exchange of *izvorna* across borders and by people's translocal relationship to their birthplaces, maintained through songs about their homes (among other means). Additionally, both the Sarajevo and St. Louis performances clearly resembled traditional performances of *izvorna* held in the villages and towns of Eastern Bosnia, with a few small differences. While these two performances took place indoors, traditional pre- and postwar village performances usually take place in the open, under a tent, where musicians hold a central position surrounded by improvised tables, with a space in front always reserved for dancing. This reproduction of local types of entertainment and socializing suggests that when Eastern Bosnians relocated to places in Bosnia and the United States, *izvorna* relocated with them. Maintaining this practice in their new settlements, Eastern Bosnians maintain a relationship to their birthplaces by recreating these gatherings and by performing songs that foster existing translocal and transnational networks.

Songs of Longing, Defiance, and New Beginnings

The most frequently performed *izvorna* songs at local gatherings among internal and international resettlers focus on three themes: longing, defiance, and new beginnings. Songs of longing for particular locales in Eastern Bosnia are often requested at *izvorna* concerts in Bosnia and the United States. Most of these songs date to the postwar period, and they express nostalgia on behalf of those who were forced out of their birthplaces. If they do not focus on a particular town or village, such as Vlasenica or Bratunac, these songs feature more general toponyms such as the Drina River or the region of Podrinje, both of which mark a sense of Eastern Bosnian belonging. These songs usually praise the natural beauty of Eastern Bosnia, and they also thematize the issue of postwar Bosniak return to Eastern Bosnia alongside the nostalgia of those

who no longer live there. The dominance of this type of song in the diaspora suggests that the notion of place, nurtured by translocal ties, takes precedence over other themes for Eastern Bosnians living abroad. Memories shared through these songs are primarily evoked visually, and they are linked to specific places, things, and people. In this sense, *izvorna* songs of longing, as performative narratives, are literally *lieux de memoire*, or places of memory.

One of the most frequently performed songs of longing is "Bratunačke Dimije" ["Bratunac's Dimije"] from 2006, by Raspjevane Meraklije. *Dimije* are baggy trousers that came to Bosnia with the Ottoman Turks and were subsequently incorporated into Bosnian women's fashion as typical clothing worn by rural Muslims. The song uses dimije as a metonym for Bosniak women (and the Bosniak people in general), thereby addressing ethnic cleansing and the return of Bosniaks to Bratunac after the war. At the same time, it expresses love and longing for this small Eastern Bosnian town.

Oj, Bratuncu, sto sam tužan bio, Dugo nisam dimija vidio. Bijela bluza, dimije od svile, Vijekovima tebe su krasile.	Oh, Bratunac, I grieved so much For not seeing dimije so long. White blouse, dimije made of silk, Decorated you for centuries.
Bez dimija svilenih i curica rumenih, I bez . . ., na srcu mi rana.	Without silk dimije and blushing girls, And without . . ., my heart is bleeding.
Moj Bratuncu, moje mjesto milo, Jel' ti teško bez dimija bilo? Kao ptici kad izgubi jato, Bez njih nisam mogao nikako.	My Bratunac, my dear place, Was it hard for you without dimije? Like for the bird that loses its flock, I could not do without them.
Bez dimija svilenih i curica rumenih, I bez . . ., na srcu mi rana.	Without silk dimije and blushing girls, And without . . ., my heart is bleeding.
Moj Bratuncu, moj najljepši kraju, Opet tobom dimije šetaju. Od Zvornika pa do Višegrada, Šetaju se k'o što su nekada.	My Bratunac, the most beautiful place, Dimije walk through you again. From Zvornik to Visegrad, They walk through like once before.

Bez dimija svilenih i curica rumenih, I bez . . ., na srcu mi rana.	Without silk dimije and blushing girls, And without . . ., my heart is bleeding.

This song suggests that, despite the war and the ethnic cleansing of Bosniaks in Bratunac, Bosniaks continue to reestablish their presence there through postwar return. "Bratunačke Dimije" can also be interpreted in terms of postwar Bosniak defiance, especially with the lines "My Bratunac, the most beautiful place. Dimije walk through you again. From Zvornik to Višegrad, they walk through like once before." Zvornik and Višegrad are places notorious for war crimes against Bosniaks, a direct reference to the failed ethnic cleansing of Bosniaks from Eastern Bosnia and their defiant return there. This is probably why this song is so often requested at *izvorna* performances, especially those in Bosnia. For example, "Bratunačke Dimije" was performed at least five times at the concert in Sarajevo described above, and at another performance by Sateliti in Čevljanovici. Still, not all songs about home convey such defiant and optimistic messages. For example, another frequently requested song, "Žepo moja" ["My Žepa"] by the duo Nećko and Hari, captures the feeling of deep sorrow for a lost home and ends with the hope for return. The different moods expressed in the lyrics of these two songs are also illustrated musically: while "Bratunačke Dimije" is a fast-paced, kolo-like tune in a major key, "Žepo moja" is slow-paced and performed in the "na debelu žicu" ["on thick chord"] style mentioned in Chapter 6, with the lyrics sung in a minor key interspersed with instrumental interludes in a major key.

Još te voli dusa iznemogla I za tebe ovo srce bije. Još te sanjam i na čistoj javi, Žepo moja, mjesto najmilije. Još bolujem u ranama ljutim Koje liječe zavičajne rose. Svako jutro sumorne me misli U naručje moje Žepe nose.	This tired soul still loves you And this heart beats for you. Awake, I still dream of you, My Žepa, my dearest place. I still suffer the deepest wounds That are healed with the dew of home. Every morning, my gloomy thoughts Carry me to my Žepa's arms.

Još te želim, varošice mala,	I still long for you, my little town,
Kao majka što poželi dijete.	Like a mother who longs for her child.
I u suton kad prolazim ovdje,	In the sunset, while walking nearby,
Misli opet mojoj Žepi lete.	My thoughts still fly to my Žepa.
Još čekati neću izdržati,	I cannot wait any longer,
Dolazim ti, caršijo malena.	I am coming back to you, my little bazaar.
Da se divim tebi, Žepo moja,	To admire you, my Žepa,
Moja zeljo srcu ostvarena.	My dream come true.

Evoking the local places that many internally and internationally displaced Eastern Bosnians still think of as their true homes, songs of longing reinforce an important aspect of displaced communities: the wish to return to the home(land). This feeling is especially emphasized among Eastern Bosnians in St. Louis. As one of them put it to me:

> All of us came here to find a better life. Most of these songs about the return, about Podrinje, and everything that happened to us [the war and genocide], reminds us of the places where that happened. We all live here, but long to go back one day. (Malkić interview, November 2015)

Similarly, many of my interviewees claim that *izvorna* songs about Podrinje maintain their emotional relationship to Bosnia, reinforcing the desire to return: "These songs remind me of Bosnia. They make me wish to go back. I constantly wish to go back, but I have nowhere and no one that I can go back to" (Memić interview, November 2015). For some, however, the very sound of *izvorna*, regardless of its lyrics, is capable of transporting them back to Bosnia and their local homes, contributing in this way to the sense of multi-locality:

> There are days when I listen to loud *izvorna* music while driving my truck. If it happens that my wife calls me at that moment, she hangs up once she hears the music. She knows that I am in Srebrenica at that moment. (Salihović interview, November 2015)

Finally, the relationship between *izvorna* and home is also present in performances by amateur Eastern Bosnian musicians living abroad for their personal fulfillment. An example is the duo of Dževad Malkić and Jakub Hasanović, who live in St. Louis and play *izvorna* together on violin and šargija. These genocide survivors, who work as auto mechanics, gather regularly either at their automotive garage or in a local park and play izvorna "to fill their own soul," as they say.

While *izvorna* songs that thematize home are popular at gatherings in the Eastern Bosnian transnational diaspora, another group of *izvorna* songs is more prevalent among Eastern Bosnian internal resettlers: songs of defiance. This difference in subject matter suggests differing social and political circumstances. More precisely, the varying prevalence of songs of home and songs of defiance reflects the issues that are of greatest concern for these two types of Eastern Bosnian communities. For Bosnians in St. Louis, nostalgia for home and the desire to return there remain a constant of their new lives, causing songs of longing for home to dominate there. For Eastern Bosnians resettled in Bosnia, on the other hand, constant reminders of persecution and the genocide, as well as the ever-present rhetoric of genocide denial (especially in the Republic of Srpska), fuels the popularity of songs addressing Bosniak survival in spite of the genocide and songs expressing politically charged, nationalist defiance.

Songs of defiance are primarily related to the surviving war commander of Srebrenica, Naser Orić, who has over time acquired the status for Bosniaks of living legend and defender of the Srebrenica population. He is also a controversial figure due to his wartime activities and his actions against the Bosnian Serb population.[9] Orić was and continues to be the symbol of

[9] Controversy around Naser Orić stems from his wartime activities, which some view in light of alleged connections to the black market and a wartime prostitution ring in Srebrenica, as well as his domination of the town's political structures during the war (Rhode 2012: 63, 107). This controversy is also related to the fact that Naser Orić was not present in Srebrenica during its fall in 1995 because he was recalled to Sarajevo by the government of the RBiH, which significantly weakened the Bosniak defense. This combination of circumstances also caused a division in the perception of Naser Orić by the Srebrenica

Bosniak resistance to Bosnian Serb aggression against Srebrenica during the war. In this sense, he has become an ideal figure to sing about in order to express feelings of nationalistic defiance.[10]

Songs about Naser Orić first started emerging during the war. The group Sateliti, whose work has been described in the previous chapter, was among the first to create and sing songs about him. These wartime songs portrayed Orić as a legendary and heroic figure, and also described some of the wartime attacks against Bosnian Serbs that he led.[11] Sateliti's "Nije majka rodila mladića" ["No Mother Gave Birth to (Such) a Man"] is an example of a wartime song about Naser Orić, which was performed in Srebrenica during the war and recorded after the war. Musically, this song is typical of *izvorna*: fast-paced and in a major key, accompanied by violin

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population, with some questioning his allegiance to Srebrenica. Although there is no evidence that questions Orić's role in the genocide, this discourse continues to exist within informal networks and even came to bear on a concert by Svetlana Ražnatovic Ceca, the widow of the late Serbian paramilitary leader and war criminal Željko Ražnatovic Arkan, whose forces were involved in the genocide. Namely, some Bosnian newspapers reported that Orić attended Ceca's concert in Bosnian Serb-dominated Eastern Sarajevo, which was viewed as a scandal that brought Orić's true allegiance into question. In response, Orić denied that he was present at the concert and stated that the only music he listens to is that of the *izvorna* group Sateliti (Dnevni Avaz.ba 2014).

[10] Naser Orić led the Srebrenica army brigade during the war in Bosnia. The identification of Orić with Bosniak resistance to Bosnian Serb aggression against Srebrenica had already begun in 1992, at the very beginning of the war. David Rhode, the Pulitzer-awarded journalist covering the war in Bosnia, wrote that: "Soon after fighting broke out in April 1992, nationalist paramilitary groups from Serbia seized control of Srebrenica with the aim of expelling the town's Muslims as they had throughout Bosnia. Muslims fled to nearby forests. Three weeks later Muslims led by Naser Oric, a charismatic twenty-six-year-old policeman, retook the town. The heavily armed Serbs had suffered one of their major defeats of the lopsided war, but they still surrounded the town. Oric then led Muslim forces from Srebrenica to a series of stunning victories in 1992, which more than doubled the size of the island of Muslim territory. By January 1993 the enclave was only five miles from linking with Muslim-held central Bosnia" (2012: xix).

[11] One such song is Sateliti's infamous "Kravica" or "Ko 'no sinoć u Kravicu dodje" ["Who was in Kravica Last Night"], which recounts the attack on the Bosnian Serb village of Kravica in 1993 on Orthodox Christian Christmas Eve. The Republic of Srpska and Serbia's government brought charges against Naser Orić for this and other attacks he led during the war. Naser Orić was also tried for these attacks by the ICTY, but was released of all charges. However, the song continues to be performed to this day and is often requested by audience members at *izvorna* performances in Bosnia and abroad.

and keyboard and, in some cases, the šargija. Usually, this song is performed as part of a kolo medley.

Nije majka rodila mladića	No mother gave birth to [such] a young man
K'o što rodi Nasera Oricć.	As [his mother] gave birth to Naser Orić.
Naser ide i pomalo pjeva,	Naser goes and sings a bit,
Mitraljez mu u rukama sijeva.	A machine gun flashes in his hands.
Naser ide i pomalo pjeva,	Naser goes and sings a bit,
84 mu u rukama sijeva.	84 flashes in his hands.

During the war, the purpose of *izvorna* songs dedicated to Orić was twofold. On the one hand, these songs were created to glorify Orić, while, on the other, they aimed to raise the morale of other soldiers, with the hope that they would identify with Orić's bravery and adopt his courage in battle. One of my interviewees from St. Louis summarizes the purpose of these songs:

> These songs have, in a way, raised the morale of soldiers. . . . People did not know what Naser had done there, on the tenth wing, but when they sing that song, sing that he had destroyed something, a tank, moved the line – then the people got to know that. When you hear this song, your morale is raised, so you can also be a soldier like that. And those songs meant a lot in this way. (Malkić interview, November 2015)

A number of songs about Naser Orić were created during the war but recorded afterwards. However, many more songs about Orić have been created in the postwar period. The group Sateliti is notorious for creating and regularly performing songs about Orić, which can be attributed to their history of performing in wartime Srebrenica. One of these recently created songs is 2014's "Gazija sa Drine" ["The Warrior of Drina"], which was among the most requested songs at Sateliti's live performances in Bosnia in 2015:

Oj Podrinje, zavičaju mio,	Oh, Podrinje, my dear home,
U tebi se gazija rodio.	A warrior was born in you.
U Podrinju rodila je majka	In Podrinje the mother gave birth
Ponos Bosne, gaziju, junaka.	To the pride of Bosnia, the warrior, the hero.

Sateliti pjevaju opet pjesme fine,	Sateliti sings nice songs again
Za Nasera Orića, gaziju sa Drine.	For Naser Orić, the warrior of Drina.
Dok budemo živi, pjevaćemo za te,	We'll sing for you while we live,
Selame te Sateliti, stari komandante.	Sateliti greets you, old commander.
U Podrinju, kuda teče Drina,	In Podrinje, where Drina flows,
Rodi majka svog gaziju sina.	The mother gave birth to her warrior son.
Rodi majka Nasera Orića,	The mother gave birth to Naser Orić,
Komandanta o kom svijet priča.	The commander the whole world talks about.
Ponosi se s Naserom Podrinje,	Podrinje takes pride in Naser,
Cijela Bosna Nasera spominje.	All Bosnia talks about Naser.
Svi Bosanci ponose se s njime,	All Bosnians take pride in him,
Naser Orić, to je slavno ime.	Naser Orić, that is a famous name.

In 2015, songs about Naser Orić were especially in demand among audiences in both Bosnia and the diaspora. Orić was arrested by Swiss authorities in May 2015 during his trip to Lausanne, Switzerland, where he was about to attend the commemoration of the twentieth anniversary of the Srebrenica genocide. He was arrested on charges brought by the Republic of Serbia for war crimes. Orić was held in prison for two weeks and then transferred to the Bosnian authorities for trial (AlJazeera Balkans.net 2015b; Klix.ba 2015). The public expressed support for Orić by requesting *izvorna* songs about him – an act of nationalist defiance, I would argue. Many genocide survivors, including the members of victims' associations, interpreted Orić's arrest as yet another attack on the Srebrenica population (Sinanović interview, August 2015). In addition to frequently performing songs about Orić, Sabahudin Hasanović Muto (the leader of Sateliti) stated in our interview that, during the weeks when Orić was incarcerated, he composed a song about Orić intended for the moment when he would be released. Apparently, a genocide survivor living in Lausanne, Switzerland, commissioned the song and instructed Sateliti to release it once Orić himself was released. Orić was released on June 26, 2015, and Sateliti duly uploaded this commissioned song to YouTube the next day with a dedication to the Swiss

commissioner and to Naser Orić. The song is called "Na nogama cijela Bosna moja" ["My Whole Bosnia is on Her Feet"]:

Oj, narode podrinjske doline,	Oh, people of Podrinje valley,
Opet hapse . . . nevine.	Again, innocent . . . are arrested.
Opet kuju, račvaju nam lice,	Again, they conspire, scar our faces,
Diraju nam rane Srebrenice.	They dig into the Srebrenican wounds.
Na nogama cijela Bosna moja,	My whole Bosnia is on her feet,
Očekuje Nasera heroja.	Expecting Naser, the hero.
Ovu pjesmu za Refu pjevamo,	We sing this song for Refa,
Dok Nasera Orića cekamo.	While we wait for Naser Orić.
Nasera opet uhapsiše,	Naser was arrested again,
Dokle misle mrcvarit' nas više.	Until when will they think to torture us.
Zašto kad i Hag je svoje rek'o	Why, when even the Hague has said it all[12]
Oslobodi! – presudu izrek'o.	Release him! – was its final judgment.
Na nogama cijela Bosna moja,	My whole Bosnia is on her feet,
Očekuje Nasera heroja.	Expecting Naser, the hero.
Ovu pjesmu za Refu pjevamo	We sing this song for Refa,
Dok Nasera Orića čekamo.	While we wait for Naser Orić.
Naser Orić u Švicarsku ode,	Naser Orić went to Switzerland,
Tamo su ga riješili slobode.	Where he was incarcerated.
Srbijanske vlasti odma' slave,	The Serbian government already celebrates,
Mislili su doći će mu glave.	Thinking they got rid of him.
Na nogama cijela Bosna moja . . .	My whole Bosnia is on her feet . . .
Al' ne dade Mijović Vasvija	But Mijovic Vasvija did not allow it,[13]
Uzalud je Srbija slavila.	Serbia celebrated for nothing.
Shvatili su napokon, dušmani,	They finally realized, [our] enemies,
Da je nevin Naser Orić slavni.	That famous Naser is innocent.
Na nogama cijea Bosna moja . . .	My whole Bosnia is on her feet . . .

Reflecting the sentiment expressed by many genocide survivors about the meaning of Orić's arrest, this song interprets the incident as a continuation of wrongdoings against the Srebrenican people. Like other *izvorna* songs that relate true events, this song is a detailed journalistic report that describes Orić's arrest and release and the involvement of the Serbian

[12] This refers to the International Criminal Tribunal for Yugoslavia in Hague.

[13] Vasvija Mijović is the Bosnian attorney who represented Naser Orić.

government. Still, the song's emphasis is on Orić's innocence and heroism, continuing the theme of defiance in songs about him. On another level, the creation of this song exemplifies the existence of a transnational cultural flow between Eastern Bosnians living in Bosnia and those living abroad, illustrating that their relationship is reinforced by *izvorna*. In this particular case, a person from the diaspora reacted to events closely related to homeland by commissioning a song that was composed and performed by an *izvorna* group resident in Bosnia, which was eventually directed toward the entire community of Eastern Bosnians, no matter their location.

The third group of songs that are frequently performed at *izvorna* concerts, especially abroad, is the group I refer to as songs of new beginnings. Songs of new beginnings describe the new life in the diaspora, mainly in the United States, and the common struggles related to it, such as nostalgia for home and common ways of earning a living, like truck-driving. Although these songs are clearly related to Eastern Bosnians living abroad, they are performed by *izvorna* groups in Bosnia. Similarly, although songs of new beginnings are more frequently requested at *izvorna* performances in the diaspora than in Bosnia (indeed, songs of new beginnings were among the most frequently requested songs during Raspjevane Meraklije's 2015-2016 American tour), it is not uncommon for them to be performed in Bosnia. This is most likely due to the fact that, notwithstanding their specific relation to diaspora, these songs capture elements of Eastern Bosnian internal resettlers's postwar lives as well, such as their longing for a previous life while struggling to establish a new one. In addition, almost all Eastern Bosnians who resettled within Bosnia have relatives living abroad.

Songs of new beginnings are created by *izvorna* musicians to cater to their large audiences in the diaspora, and they are typically commissioned by Eastern Bosnians living abroad. Often, they express dissatisfaction with the new way of life, as in the following example

by Raspjevane Meraklije, "Ameriko, Čemeriko" ["America, (My) Woe"], from 2005. "Ameriko, Čemeriko" tells the story of a poor refugee who works day and night to feed his family, but does not spend time with them in return. Comparing ways of life in Bosnia and the United States, this song speaks of grief and disappointment, and the wish to return to the old way of life back in Bosnia.

Ja preletjeh pola svijeta preko okeana,	I flew half of the world over the ocean,
Kažu da je Amerika zemlja obećana.	They say America is the promised land.
U Bosni je mojoj ljepše nego u Americi,	It is better in my Bosnia than in America,
Teško je svakoj jadnoj izbjeglici.	It is difficult for every poor refugee.
Ameriko pusta, preko vel'ke bare,	Poor America, over the big pond,
Prokljinjem ti zelene dolare.	I curse your green dollars.
Ti si gora od Golog Otoka,	You are worse than Deserted Island,[14]
Ameriko, čemeriko gorka.	America, [my] bitter woe.
Danju, noću, moram radit', tuga srce para,	I need to work day and night, the grief tears my heart apart,
Niti ženu, niti djecu viđam zbog dolara.	I do not see my wife and children because of dollars.
Žena prvu, a ja drugu smjenu odrađujem,	The wife works the first, and I the second shift,
Nekad mjesec, nekad dva-tri, ženu ne milujem.	I do not caress my wife for a month, sometimes two to three.
Ameriko pusta, preko zelene bare . . .	Poor America, over the big pond . . .
Otkad dođoh, ja ne skidam radničko odijelo,	Since I arrived, I don't take my work clothes off,
Nisam ni ja, Ameriko, tvoje ruke djelo.	You have not made me, America.
Vratiću se svojoj Bosni, svojoj staroj majci,	I will return to Bosnia, to my old mother,
Nisu 'vako naučili patiti Bosanci.	Bosnians are not used to suffer like this.
Ameriko pusta, preko zelene bare . . .	Poor America, over the big pond . . .

[14] Goli Otok (or Deserted Island) refers to a small, unpopulated island in the Croatian part of the Adriatic Sea, which served as a political prison in former Yugoslavia.

Songs like "Ameriko, Čemeriko" are frequently requested at *izvorna* performances in the diaspora, and receive among the most enthusiastic audience reactions.

Similarly, *izvorna* songs about truck drivers are very popular in the diaspora and are often part of *izvorna* performances held abroad. This is because many Eastern Bosnian men in the United States and Europe work as truck drivers, so truck-driving is often used as an example of life abroad. The truck drivers I interviewed told me that they regularly listen to *izvorna* on long routes. This connection between Eastern Bosnian truck drivers and *izvorna* music is also exemplified in the attention given to this matter by Raspjevane Meraklije on their American tour, when they posted several photographs of themselves posing in front of a truck painted with the Bosnian flag on their Facebook page. Similarly, one Eastern Bosnian truck driver posted a video to Raspjevane Meraklije's Facebook page of himself driving on a U.S. highway while listening to *izvorna*.

Izvorna songs about truck-driving combine descriptions of the life of a truck driver with nostalgia for home, incorporating two important features of diasporic life: the hardships of demanding jobs and longing for the "true home." One such song that was frequently requested during Raspjevane Meraklije's 2015-2016 American tour is "Daleko je moja Bosna" ["Far Away is My Bosnia"], which was originally recorded by Sateliti in 2008:

Daleko je moja Bosna,	Far away is my Bosnia,
Daleko, pa šta?	Faraway, so what?
Daleko, al' na vrijeme	Faraway, but I left
Krenuo sam ja.	On time.
Preko Danske i Njemačke,	Through Denmark and Germany,
Slovenije, Austrije,	Slovenia and Austria,
Još malo pa evo Bosne	For a bit more,
moje najmilije.	And there will be Bosnia.
A ja vozim, vozim, vozim,	I drive, drive, drive,
Vozim, ne stajem,	Drive, and never stop,
Svojoj kući idem, brate,	I am going home, my brother,

Pa se radujem.	So I celebrate.
Tamo su mi najmiliji,	My dearest ones are there,
I otac i mati,	Both father and mother,
Kad me vide, k'o da gledam	I know, they'll cry
Da će zaplakati.	When they see me.
Preko Danske i Njemačke . . .	Through Denmark and Germany . . .
Godinama nisam bio	I have not been for years
U rodnome kraju,	In my birthplace,
Pa se pitam dal' će moći	So I ask myself,
Da me prepoznaju.	If they will recognize me.
Preko Danske i Njemačke . . .	Through Denmark and Germany . . .

Songs of new beginnings are not only performed by *izvorna* groups in Bosnia, but also by musicians living abroad such as the duo of Halćo and Osman Tambura, who performed in St. Louis until recently. Unfortunately, one member of this duo, Halil Mehmedovic Halćo, died in a car accident a few years ago, after which Osman Ahmetović Tambura stopped performing. Ahmetović declined to be interviewed for this reason. Apparently, this duo primarily acted as club or event musicians hired for particular occasions at local Bosnian clubs and events in the St. Louis area. In addition to *izvorna* music, the duo also played narodna (folk) music. Osman Tambura released two albums in 2000 called *Tamnica Kafana* [*Dungeon Café*] and *Nije Rakija Kriva* [*It's Not Brandy's Fault*], both of which featured *izvorna* and narodna songs. The song "Ljuljaj Gara" ["Dance, Dark Woman"] from the album *Tamnica Kafana* is one of Osman Tambura's best known. It describes the life of a Bosnian living in the United States. Unlike songs of new beginnings performed by *izvorna* groups stationed in Bosnia, "Ljuljaj Gara" goes a step further by expressing the Bosnian-American duality both textually and visually within the space provided by the song.[15] In the song's music video, lyrics about the narrator and his "dark woman's" life in the United States are visually accompanied by Osman Tambura walking

[15] This duality is, in fact, also expressed by Raspjevane Meraklije's song from 2011 called "Bosanski Amerikanac" ["Bosnian American"], which describes the joy of visiting home but also the sense of feeling like a stranger there.

through the St. Louis suburbs and downtown, together with an African-American woman dressed in Bosnian-style dimije. At the mention of Bosnia, a map of Bosnia appears between Tambura and his companion as they stand in the middle of a snow-covered St. Louis street. Musically, this song belongs to the contemporary style of *izvorna* performance, showing major influence of narodna music both in terms of accompaniment (via extensive use of accordion) and singing style (via use of ornamentation and falsetto). Characteristic *izvorna* elements include the violin part (especially in the introduction) and the way the vocalists end melodic phrases on a major second.

Evo mene i garave moje, Amerikom šetamo oboje.	Here we are, me and my dark woman, Both of us walking through America.
Ljuljaj, gara, i ne žali tijela, Nek se trese Amerika cijela.	Dance, dark woman, do not be ashamed of your body, Let all of America shake.
Evo mene i garave moje, Daleko smo od Bosne oboje.	Here we are, me and my dark woman, Both of us far away from Bosnia.
Ljuljaj, gara, i ne žali tijela, Nek' se trese Amerika cijela.	Dance, dark woman, do not be ashamed of your body, Let all of America shake.
Da je meni samo Slovenije, Da te lola išiba ko prije.	I wish I could reach Slovenia at last, So this bachelor can spank you like before.[16]

In addition to "Ljuljaj Gara," the duo recorded other songs with a similar topic, one of them being a narodna song called "Ameriko" ["America"] from the album *Nije Rakija Kriva*. Shortly before Halid Mehmedovic Halćo's tragic death, the duo recorded their last video together for the song "Od Bostona pa do Washingtona" ["From Boston to Washington"]. The song is about a

[16] This kind of portrayal of women in *izvorna* songs is not uncommon. Many songs in this tradition have historically contained sexually explicit or sexist references (for example, the song "Imam pušku, mala ima zolju" ["I Have a Rifle, My Sweetheart Has a Wasp"].

Bosnian truck driver in the United States, and the (amateur) video was appropriately shot inside a truck, with Osman Tambura and Halid Mehmedovic Halćo driving on the freeway and posing in front of the truck.

These three types of *izvorna* songs – songs of longing, songs of defiance, and songs of new beginnings – tend to provoke strong emotional responses from the audience, which is another parallel between *izvorna* commemorative songs and the lament tradition. These responses range from outright joy and ecstasy accompanied by vigorous kolo dancing to the utmost sadness and even anger. These latter responses usually emerge toward the end of *izvorna* performances, when audience members are already relaxed and in some cases under the influence of alcohol. For example, a minor incident occurred at Sateliti's performance at a rural fair and bullfight in Čevljanovici, Bosnia, in 2015, shortly after Naser Orić's arrest in Switzerland. One inebriated attendee persistently requested a series of songs about Orić, probably as a way of expressing his defiance and anger. When musicians began cutting his requests short so as not to oversaturate the rest of the audience, this attendee protested angrily. In another instance, during Raspjevane Meraklije's concert in Bowling Green, KY, in 2016, one woman was so touched by their songs of longing that she began crying, but ultimately joined the kolo dance.

No matter the topic of the songs, what *izvorna* music ultimately accomplishes is to bring dispersed Eastern Bosnians, far away from their homes, together. *Izvorna* performance provides both a physical and emotional space for coming together. It reminds audiences of, and indeed recreates, the homeland, providing an opportunity for the expression of Eastern Bosnian subjectivities and local Eastern Bosnian identities. Accompanied by the sounds of *izvorna*, Eastern Bosnians maintain a sense of community beyond the imagined homeland. They maintain

personal relationships; they celebrate, yearn, and grieve together; and, above all, they consistently reinforce the common set of life experiences that binds them together: experiences of war, loss, longing, and survival.

Coming Together in the Virtual World

Eastern Bosnians resettled in Bosnia have many more opportunities to hear *izvorna* live than those living in the United States. *Izvorna* musicians tour less frequently in the United States due to administrative issues related to obtaining visas and hefty travel expenses. Even when *izvorna* musicians do perform in the United States, not all Eastern Bosnians can afford to attend their performances, as the St. Louis case suggested, or may miss performances for other reasons. Considering this fact, the main medium for listening to *izvorna* is the Internet, particularly YouTube and Facebook. Eastern Bosnians in St. Louis confirmed that both they and their children (especially males) listen to *izvorna* on YouTube, and that this global video-sharing website is the main channel to learn about the newest releases of their favorite *izvorna* groups back in Bosnia. They subscribe to *izvorna* groups' YouTube channels and receive new suggestions from YouTube algorithms based on user search habits.

Although *izvorna* musicians in Bosnia continue to release records, their print runs are very limited, and they represent neither a significant source of income nor a major way of popularizing and disseminating their music. In addition, not all newly composed izvorna songs find a place on these limited records, but instead are released as "virtual singles" on the Internet only. This is especially true of commissioned *izvorna* songs about the genocide, as discussed in the previous chapter. This is why YouTube has become an important space for mass dissemination of *izvorna* both in Bosnia and abroad. For young men, in particular, YouTube is

the primary window into the world of *izvorna*, especially for wartime songs (Mujkanović interview, September 2015).

Another way for Eastern Bosnians in St. Louis to participate in the izvorna world is the official Facebook pages of *izvorna* musicians, where fans can establish a personal relationship with musicians in Bosnia and express their opinions about the songs posted on these pages. Here, Eastern Bosnians, no matter their current location, express shared sentiments in regard to specific topics featured in posted songs. Finally, as I mentioned above, live *izvorna* performances in the diaspora also gain extended life through their presence in the virtual world.

Recently, the launch of "Izvorna TV" in Bosnia and its presence in Eastern Bosnian homes in St. Louis has provided an opportunity for (especially older) Eastern Bosnians to listen to *izvorna* whenever they please. For some Eastern Bosnians in St. Louis, this has had great emotional importance: "I feel the best when I listen to *izvorna* music. Now we have this Izvorna TV. I tend to listen to that all night long" (Hasanović interview, November 2015). Izvorna TV is equally significant for internally resettled Eastern Bosnians, especially the older generation that tends not to attend live *izvorna* performances. In a number of cases, internal resettlers (including female genocide survivors) noted the pleasure of listening to *izvorna* on this TV station (Orić and Avdić interviews, August 2015), stating that *izvorna* reminds them of their previous life.

Izvorna's presence in the virtual world, and the Internet's role in disseminating and popularizing *izvorna* music, then, provides a space for connecting the transnational and translocal community of Eastern Bosnians both in Bosnia and abroad. This connection is established through a shared soundscape, lyrical content describing common struggles, interactive Facebook pages, and community participation via song commissions.

Summary

Part II has focused on *izvorna* songs and the personal narratives of Srebrenica genocide survivors in Bosnia and St. Louis, MO. *Izvorna* has become an important medium for survivors to communicate traumatic experiences and the issues that most affect their lives in the aftermath of genocide. I demonstrated that *izvorna* is an arena for the expression of survivors' claims to truth about the genocide, and that it expresses the ambiguities of survivors' belonging that result from internal and international displacement. Although I concentrated on *izvorna* songs primarily as personal and group narratives through which survivors remake themselves and make sense of their past, I also argued that these narratives reflect and influence the Srebrenica genocide metanarrative.

Chapter 6 traced the emergence of the repertoire of commemorative *izvorna* songs through the wartime and postwar periods in Bosnia. Focusing on the work of three *izvorna* groups, I analyzed this repertoire's role in the postwar process of meaning-making and its use as an arena for survivors' claims to truth in the face of current genocide denial. In addition, I discussed the meaning of this repertoire for genocide survivors.

In Chapter 7, I expanded my discussion of *izvorna* to include songs that refer to the realities of post-genocide life for survivors resettled in St. Louis and within Bosnia. I suggested that izvorna songs are one of the primary mediums through which survivors maintain translocal and transnational ties and express their subjectivities as survivors, internal resettlers, and emigrants. I also demonstrated how *izvorna* goes beyond commemoration to comment on some of the markers of survivors' post-genocide lives: 1) their longing for home; 2) their defiance of ongoing persecution and genocide denial; and 3) their perseverance in making new lives in new places.

Chapter 8: Conclusion

Throughout this dissertation, I approach the repertoire of commemorative music dedicated to the Srebrenica genocide as a form of collective memory that includes both aggregated individual memories and memories that speak in the name of collectivities. Understanding popular and official collective memory as interrelated, I claim that the commemorative repertoire reflects both psychological and political uses of genocide survivors' popular memory, as well as the effects of official memory on personal interpretations of the past. I treat works of commemorative music as *performative narratives*, or specifically organized and meaningful texts that not only describe a particular rendition of the past, but in fact perform real actions. Such actions include accomplishing political goals, strengthening national identity, recognizing genocide, preserving memories, remaking senses of self, and making past traumas coherent and communicable. Depending on the performer of these narratives – that is, whether they speak on the individual or collective (official) level – I observed commemorative musical works as mutually dependent individual and official narratives. My approach to the repertoire of commemorative music dedicated to the Srebrenica genocide through the prism of official and personal narratives seemed a natural choice in light of the way this repertoire is used by both political elites and individual genocide survivors. The multiple functions of this repertoire indeed stem from the multiple meanings and interpretations of the genocide: as a personal and collective trauma; as a formative symbolic event in postwar Bosniak nation-building; and as a rhetorical touchstone for Bosniak elites' political activity.

Throughout this dissertation, I highlight two major factors related to the memory of the Srebrenica genocide and, therefore, to the commemorative musical repertoire. The first factor is the ongoing politicization of this event, which has powerfully influenced the nature of its

commemoration. As I showed in the first part of this dissertation, the past twenty years have been marked by deliberate shaping of the memory of the Srebrenica genocide in Bosnia. This shaping occurred in official Bosniak politics, national media, academic scholarship, educational curricula, and diverse memorial projects, including commemorative music. Promoting a particular meaning and interpretation of the recent war and of Bosniak suffering, this deliberate shaping of memory plays a central role in Bosniak nation-building and in reinforcing a specifically Bosniak ethno-religious identity. This explains why particular elements of the story of the Srebrenica genocide have come to the fore in its commemoration: the genocide's interpretation as religious persecution against Muslims; the representation of genocide victims as religious martyrs (šehidi); and the emphasis on the suffering of Srebrenican mothers and orphans to highlight the power of moral claims to innocence and victimhood. This shaping of the memory of the Srebrenica genocide through multiple channels creates the official public metanarrative, or grand story, of the genocide. The genocide metanarrative permeates all public spheres in today's Bosnia, influencing perceptions and interpretations of the events in Srebrenica on both collective and individual levels. In this regard, I have shown how the metanarrative shapes works of commemorative music that speak in the name of collectivities, namely, classical or official music of the genocide commissioned by the government and religious commemorative songs framed by the rhetoric of Islamic officials. Importantly, the metanarrative also shapes the personal and group narratives of genocide survivors found in commemorative *izvorna* songs. In this case, individual tragedies are organized around the metanarrative tropes that speak most directly to individual survivors: the emphasis on Srebrenican mothers and orphans and the characterization of all genocide victims as šehidi. This emphasis on mothers and orphans – which at times suggests the absence of men, the principal victims of the genocide – particularly suggests the

influence of individual stories and popular memory on the genocide metanarrative. This is primarily due to the fact that Srebrenican women established themselves as the principal seekers of justice in the aftermath of the genocide, and that their role in the story of the genocide thus remains central.

In short, in the first part of this dissertation, I discuss how the genocide metanarrative influences and is influenced by classical and religious commemorative music. While classical commemorative music – represented by the official music of the genocide, the oratorio "Srebrenički Inferno" – performs a specific function in the official commemoration of the genocide, religious commemorative works support the interpretation of the genocide as a Muslim tragedy and emphasize the designation of genocide victims as religious martyrs for their faith and their country. In the second part of the dissertation, I explore the metanarrative's effects on individual renderings of the genocide found in commemorative *izvorna* songs.

The second major factor related to the Srebrenica genocide and its commemorative repertoire is genocide survivors' insistence on the acknowledgment of their suffering and their need to share their stories of trauma. While the impulse to communicate traumatic experiences is a widespread phenomenon among survivors of great atrocities, Srebrenica genocide survivors' insistence on the acknowledgment of their experience is primarily related to the current rhetoric of genocide denial propagated by Bosnian Serb political elites. As I demonstrate in the second part of this dissertation, commemorative *izvorna* songs are an important medium for the expression of survivors' experiences, which act directly against the rhetoric of genocide denial. These songs additionally preserve, share, and transmit the memories of those who perished in the genocide. In this sense, commemorative *izvorna* songs, as *performative* narratives, are literal *lieux de memoire* – places and markers of memory. Such *izvorna* songs are related to the lament

tradition in their capacity to provoke emotional catharsis and to allow genocide survivors to come to terms with the past and share it with others.

Finally, I show how music expresses genocide survivors' longing for home, their defiance of ongoing persecution, and their remaking of new lives in the aftermath of genocide. As one of the essential ways of maintaining the translocal ties of genocide survivors to Eastern Bosnia from elsewhere in Bosnia and from the diaspora, *izvorna* songs unite this transnational community and play a crucial role in preserving their local identity. In this way, *izvorna* expresses survivors' ways of being in the world after the genocide.

Epilogue

In the year that has passed since the end of my fieldwork, "Srebrenički Inferno" was again included in the official commemoration of the Srebrenica genocide on July 11, 2016, after not being performed the previous year. For the first time, the Inferno was performed by children from the Srebrenica Elementary School and by the Mostar-based mixed choir Mostarske Kiše [Mostar's Rains]. The children from Srebrenica, all young girls dressed in white with their hair covered by headscarves, stood at the front of the stage, continuing the established emphasis on Srebrenican orphans and the innocence of genocide victims. In the weeks prior to July 11, 2016, the religious choir Rejjan's song "Cvijet Srebrenice" was also aired frequently on Sarajevan TV stations. Genocide survivors continue to commission commemorative *izvorna* songs, which is especially evident in the work of Zvuci Podrinja. The other two *izvorna* groups discussed in this dissertation, Sateliti and Raspjevane Meraklije, released a number of songs in 2016 thematizing loss and mourning for the dead. For example, Raspjevane Meraklije recorded songs titled "Izgubila Hanka pet sinova" ["Hanka Lost Her Five Sons"] and "Šest sestara babu ukopaše" ["Six Sisters Buried Their Father"], among others. Similarly, Sateliti released songs commissioned by genocide survivors living in Bosnia and abroad, such as "Pjesma Amiru iz Pirića" ["Song for Amir from Pirići"]. These activities suggest that music continues to be an important tool for the preservation and transmission of the memories of genocide survivors. At the same time, performances of commemorative music at official events, like at the commemoration, continue to be deliberately framed in ways that conform to and reinforce the metanarrative; that is, the official collective memory and history of the Srebrenica genocide.

This Bosniak-established metanarrative is once again implicated in a new political crisis that is currently unfolding in Bosnia. A referendum held in the Republic of Srpska in September

2016 sparked this crisis and escalated ethnic tensions. Initiated by the Srpskan government, this referendum aimed to institutionalize January 9 as the official Day of the Republic of Srpska, in that way representing this entity within Bosnia-Herzegovina as a separate and independent polity. Although the international community (including the European Union, the government of the United States, and the governments of several neighboring countries) opposed the referendum, Bosnian Serb voters successfully backed January 9 as the official day of Srpska. They also expressed harsh critiques against the Bosnian Serb government, while the Constitutional Court of Bosnia-Herzegovina declared the referendum unconstitutional and in violation of the Dayton Peace Accords. In addition, the referendum was publicly interpreted as the latest in a series of secessionist moves by the Republic of Srpska Prime Minister Milorad Dodik. For this reason, some commentators interpreted the referendum as a form of coup.

The decision to hold the referendum provoked strong opposition from Bosniaks in the Srebrenica municipality as soon as it was announced. Bosniak local government representatives led by Ćamil Duraković, then mayor of Srebrenica, threatened to hold a counter-referendum to demand the city's secession from the Republic of Srpska, where it is currently located according to the borders drawn in the Dayton Peace Accords. Milorad Dodik responded to these claims with a statement that Srebrenica belongs and will remain within the Republic of Srpska (Alo.rs 2016). In turn, the Bosniak member of the Bosnian presidency, Bakir Izetbegović, stated that it is impossible for Srebrenica or any of the places of great Bosniak suffering currently located in the Republic of Srpska to be part of anything but Bosnia-Herzegovina (Mondo.ba 2016).

Ethnic tensions further escalated, especially in Srebrenica, during local elections in Bosnia-Herzegovina in October 2016. For the first time since 1995, Srebrenica elected a Bosnian Serb mayor, which provoked reactions from both the Bosniak political establishment and

representatives of the Srebrenica genocide victims. As a result, Bosniak politicians increasingly reference the Srebrenica genocide and Bosniak suffering in public discourse during times of the year beyond the July genocide commemoration. These responses were rooted in concerns about previous public statements made by the newly elected Srebrenican mayor, Mladen Grujičić, in which he refused to acknowledge that the 1995 events in Srebrenica constituted an act of genocide (Sito-Sucic 2016). A number of news portals reported on the Srebrenica genocide victims' dissatisfaction with the election results, as well as their fears about the consequences of the election on their continued presence in Srebrenica and the future of the genocide commemoration, which has in previous years been organized by the mayor of Srebrenica (see, for example, McLaughlin 2016).

As a response to these political developments, the Bosniak political and cultural elite in Sarajevo initiated a new project regarding the genocide, one that would expand its focus beyond the Srebrenica genocide to incorporate all Bosniak war suffering under the umbrella of the genocide. Titled "Genocid nad Bošnjacima 1992.-1995. izvršen u svrhu podjele Republike Bosne i Hercegovine i stvaranja velike Srbije" ["Genocide of Bosniaks 1992-1995 Committed for the Purposes of the Division of Bosnia-Herzegovina and the Creation of Greater Serbia"], the project was announced on January 12, 2017, with an artistic performance held at the National Theater in Sarajevo. The project is sponsored by the Bosniak member of the Bosnian presidency, Bakir Izetbegović, and the Rijaset (organizational committee) of the Islamic Community of Bosnia-Herzegovina. According to the announcement, the project will have a multimedia platform culminating in the release of a website on July 11, the anniversary of the Srebrenica genocide. The artistic performance at the National Theater on January 12 featured performances by the Sarajevan inter-religious mixed choir Pontanima, the children's choir Princes Krofne, and

members of the Sarajevo Philharmonic Orchestra. The last group performed Tomaso Albinoni's "Adagio in G Minor" as a string quartet while two actors read the names of all known mass graves in Bosnia-Herzegovina and the number of bodies exhumed from these graves. On February 23, 2017, the Bosniak political elite went a step further and filed an appeal against the 2007 International Court of Justice judgment that cleared Serbia of responsibility for genocide in Bosnia.

Considering these new developments, the Srebrenica genocide will doubtless once again assume prominence in official Bosniak political rhetoric. And, the "Genocide of Bosniaks" project demonstrates that music continues to serve as a crucially important medium for performatively narrating the events in Srebrencia. It remains to be seen what influence current events will exert on the nature of the Srebrenica genocide commemoration, and how genocide survivors and other Bosnians will respond musically to the changing political climate.

APPENDIX I:

"Srebrenica," by Hanka Paldum

Srebrenice, nježna ljubavi,	Srebrenica, gentle love
Suze majke ne zaboravi.	Don't forget the mother's tears.
To ne plače ona što je duša boli,	She does not cry because her soul hurts,
Već što svoga sina čeka,	But because she awaits her son,
Već što svoga sina voli.	But because she loves her son.
Ref.: Sve planine, i sve rijeke,	Refrain.: All the mountains, and all the rivers,
Sad su nama predaleke.	Are too far away from us now.
Srebrenice, u smiraju tiha,	Srebrenica is silent in her peace,
Jedna majka, a deset Fatiha.	One mother, but ten Fatihas.
Srebrenice, ti što ječiš sad,	Srebrenica, you who suffer now,
Kad izađe sjajni mjesec mlad,	When the young moon comes out,
Sakrij suze svoje što liju k'o kiše,	You hide your tears that flow like rain,
Zbog sinova kojih nema,	Because of the sons who are gone,
Kojih nema, nema više.	The sons who are gone, gone forever.
Ref. Sve planine, i sve rijeke . . .	Ref.: All the mountains, and all the rivers . . .

APPENDIX II:

"The Srebrenica Poem," by Vehbija Ibrahimović Kigen

Koliko je vode Drinom poteklo, nije došlo tako vrijeme prokleto, kao juli devedeset i pete, kad su crne v'jesti svijetom pronijete.	Since the waters of Drina started to flow, There was not such a cursed time, As July of ninety-five, When the harrowing news spread around the world.
Srebrenicu da su okupirali, sve muškarce zvjerski poubijali, žene, djecu, a i starce prognali, sveg' njihovog vlasnici su postali.	That Srebrenica was occupied, All men were brutally slaughtered, Women, children, and old people were exiled, The occupiers became the owners of everything they had.
Osam, kažu, hiljada je najmanje Ubijeno, što ne pamti Podrinje. Zajedno su očevi i sinovi pred streljačkim vodom mrtvi ležali.	They say that at least eight thousand Were killed, which Podrinje never remembers [happening before] Fathers and sons lay together In front of the firing squad.
Jedanaesti juli dan je najcrnji, svijet je gled'o tad u oči istini, kao sl'jepom nazad kad se vrati vid, sve se češće spominjao genocid.	July 11th is the darkest day, When the world looked into the eyes of truth, As though the blind could see again, Genocide became a common word.
SPOKEN:	SPOKEN:
Zaštićena zona do tad bila je, mirovne je snage nisu branile, holandski je bataljon se predao i najveću tragediju gledao.	It [Srebrenica] was a safe zone, But the peacekeeping force did not protect it, The Dutch battalion surrendered, And watched the greatest tragedy.
Dušmani su ubijanje slavili, bili sretni šta su sve uradili, mrtva t'jela ljudi što su stradali u masovne grobnice su bacali.	Villains celebrated the killing, They were content with their doing, They were throwing dead bodies Into mass graves.
SUNG:	SUNG:

Iskopali mnoge jame duboke
da sakriju sve zločine velike.
Ruke su im svima žicom vezali,
ni od čega mračnog nisu prezali.
Što tog dana nije pobijeno,
drugi dan je bilo nastavljeno.
Niko nije smio da preživi,
tekla Drina crvena od krvi.

SPOKEN:

Da svjedoci živi ne bi ostali,
kaznene su svud vodove poslali,
kao da se ne radi o ljudima,
hladnokrvno život se oduzima.

Da su vjere barem malo imali
i da su se dragog Boga bojali,
nikad ne bi tako nešto radili
i tuđim se bolom ne bi sladili.

O kakvoj se tragediji radilo,
da je cijelo čovječanstvo saznalo,
kamioni starih majki i djece
vozili su izvan Srebrenice.

Konvencije sve su pogažene,
majke, nene, sestre ponižene,
takve slike obišle su svijet,
je l' moralo tol'ko ljudi umrijet?

SUNG:

Još su majke svojima se nadale,
dok istinu nisu brzo saznale
da se živi nije moglo ostati
a za silne dželati su poslati.

Čak i djeci sve je bilo jasnije,
Da im babo neće doći kasnije,

They dug deep holes
To hide their huge crimes.
They bound their hands with cord,
They were not afraid of anything dark.
Whomever was not killed on that day,
Was killed on the next.
No one was allowed to survive,
The Drina ran red as blood.

SPOKEN:

To eliminate all witnesses,
They sent punishing squads throughout.
Like these were not people,
Their lives were taken in cold blood.

If they had at least a bit of faith,
And if they were afraid of God,
They would never do such things
And enjoy others' suffering.

This was such a great tragedy,
That all humankind knew about it.
Trucks full of old mothers and children
Drove away from Srebrenica.

All conventions were violated,
Mothers, grandmothers, sisters humiliated,
Those pictures traveled the world,
Why did so many people need to die?

SUNG:

Mothers still hoped for their relatives,
Until they found out the truth
That no one was allowed to stay alive
And executioners were sent after many.

Even children started to realize,
That their fathers wouldn't come later.

A neka su u tom času rođena,
Kad od kuće daleko su vođena.

SPOKEN:

Kamioni k'o da robu prevoze,
Ljude svuda s rodne grude odvoze,
Prema Tuzli kolona se zaputi,
Kao roblje, žene, djeca rasuti.

SUNG:

Jednoj majci nema sina Hasana,
Drugoj majci Mirsada i Adnana,
Treća žali Enesa i Emira,
Nema živog koga ovo ne dira.

Gdje si dragi, mili sine, Nermine,
Osta l' iko iz naše rodbine?
Dok se Mujo kroz planine probio,
Jutros rano i sin mu se rodio.

SPOKEN:

Kad prognani u Tuzli se nađoše,
Od umora i od tuge padoše.
Za utjehu falile su riječi,
Svi su znali, a niko da spriječi.

Stare nene, unuke i unuci,
Sve dječica, sve mahom osnovci,
Suze vrele liju se niz obraze,
A minuti kao vječnost prolaze.

Neko naglas svu Cersku proziva,
Al' se na to niko ne odaziva.
Kamenicu jedan dedo spominje,
Potom čuješ gotov' cijelo Podrinje.
Iz Konjević-Polja žene jecaju,
Za sudbinu svojih milih ne znaju.

Some children were born on that day,
When they were taken from their home.

SPOKEN:

Trucks drove and carried things,
People were taken away from homes.
The column moved toward Tuzla,
Dispersed women and children, like slaves.

SUNG:

One mother was left without her son Hasan,
The other without her Mirsad and Adnan.
A third grieved for Enes and Emir,
There is no soul untouched by this.

Where are you, dear son Nermin?
Is there anyone left from our family?
While Mujo was going through the mountains,
His son was born early in the morning.

SPOKEN:

When the exiled came to Tuzla,
They fell from fatigue and grief.
There were no words of consolation,
Everyone knew, no one prevented it.

Old grandmothers and grandchildren,
All of the children,
Hot tears fall on their cheeks,
While minutes last an eternity.

Someone calls for Cerska out loud,
But no one responds.
One old man mentions Kamenica,
And then you hear all of Podrinje.
Women from Konjević-Polje sob
Not knowing the fate of their relatives.

Nema više mog sina jedinca,
Tužno zbori majka iz Bratunca.

Trebalo je vidjet svako lice,
Da li Žepe ili Vlasenice.
Posebno je bila tužna slika
Kad se našle sestre iz Zvornika.

SUNG:

Svaka priča gotov' isto završi,
Hoće tuga naprosto da uguši,
Neće srce, ne može da prihvati,
Da se niko nikad kući ne vrati.

Šta su djeca ikom' mogla skriviti
I kako će s dječjim bolom živjeti?
Izgubiše svoje najmilije,
Šta to tjera čovjeka da ubije?

Šta je tome svemu razlog najveći,
Da se pokolj nije mog'o izbjeći?
Svi su oni zvjerski ubijani
Samo zato što su muslimani.

Oni što su u životu ostali,
Robovi su vječne tuge postali.
Valja živjet, othraniti djecu
I da pamte svoju Srebrenicu.

SPOKEN (woman):

Iz Tuzle se na sve strane selili
I tu su se mnogi bliski rastali.
Neki došli u Bosni do stana,
Mnogi prešli preko okeana.
Još i danas javljaju se gdje su,
Ostavljaju svojima adresu.
Po sv'jetu su svuda raseljeni,
Ali znaju gdje su korijeni.

My only son is gone,
Sadly says a mother from Bratunac.

Every face needed to be seen,
Whether from Žepa or Vlasenica.
Especially sad was the image
Of two sisters from Zvornik finding each other.

SUNG:

Every story ends the same way,
Grief simply wants to strangle you.
The heart does not want to accept
That no one will ever return home.

What have these children done wrong?
And how will they live with the child's pain?
They lost their loved ones,
What forces a man to kill?

What is the biggest reason for all of that?
That the slaughter could not be avoided?
All of them were brutally slaughtered,
Only because they are Muslims.

Those who stayed alive,
Became slaves of eternal grief.
One needs to live and raise children,
And to remember his Srebrenica.

SPOKEN (woman):

They migrated elsewhere from Tuzla,
And many loved ones separated there.
Some of them settled in Bosnia,
And others migrated over the ocean.
They are still in touch today,
They let their relatives know their addresses.
They are dispersed throughout the world,
But they know their roots.

SUNG (with saz):

Djeca rastu daleko sa strancima,
Al' se, srećom, smatraju Bosancima.
Bosanski se još u kući spominje,
Draga Bosna i najdraže Podrinje.

Svako svome kol'ko može pomaže,
Nazor se umrijeti ne može.
Pružit ruku bratu u nevolji,
Zlo i dobro sa njim da se pod'jeli.

U Bosni su ruke ljudi pružili
Napaćenom sv'jetu da bi služili.
Na stotine naselja je pravljeno,
Muhadžira tu je mnogo zbrinjeno.

SPOKEN:

Tribunal se formirao u Hagu
Da pokaže jedinstvo i snagu.
Al' suđenja i kazne malene,
Svi već znaju da nisu pravedne.
Žalosno je pravo što sprovode
Kad žrtve na klupu dovode.
Terete ih od ubica jače
Da sve strane tako izjednače.

Da sud nema ni kursa ni smjera,
Hapse, bolan, Orića Nasera.
Štitio je žene, starce, djecu,
Branio je svoju Srebrenicu.

Kriv je što je u životu ost'o,
To je, barem, zaključiti prosto,
Jer ni njega poštedjeli ne bi,
Raspravljati o tome ne vrijedi.

SUNG (with piano):

SUNG (with saz):

Children grow up far away among strangers,
But, luckily, consider themselves Bosnians.
Bosnian is spoken in their homes,
Dear Bosnia, and dearest Podrinje.

Everyone helps if they can,
You can’t die by force.
Help your brother in bad times,
Share the good and bad.

People offered their hands in Bosnia,
To help the suffering people,
Hundreds of houses were built,
And many homeless were taken care of.

SPOKEN:

The Tribunal was formed in Hague,
To show unity and strength.
But trials and punishments are small,
Everyone knows they are not just.
It is sad what they do,
When they bring the victims on the bench.
They charge them more than the killers,
To equalize all sides.

The court has no direction,
They arrested Naser Orić.
He protected women, elderly, and children,
He defended his Srebrenica.

He is guilty of staying alive,
That is easy to conclude.
Because he would not have been spared,
There is no point in discussing that.

SUNG (with piano):

Majke svoja udruženja prave
Da za pravdu one se izbore.
Za njih samo jedna želja ima:
Da o svemu sazna se istina.
Kad u svojoj državi su gosti,
Žele, barem, da se mrtvih kosti
Ukopaju tamo gdje su živjeli,
Kako bi se živi malo smirili.

SPOKEN:

DNK se analize vrše,
Da se dođe do istine brže,
Identitet da se mrtvog sazna,
Da ne budu obećanja prazna.
Da se želja majkama ostvari
Izabrano mjesto Potočari,
Mjesto gdje će mrtve ukopati
Gdje će moći mezar prepoznati.

SUNG (with tarabuk):

Dženaza je žalosna i velika,
Stigli ljudi maksuz iz daleka,
Što iz Bosne, a što iz tuđine,
Da bi korak bili do istine.
Kraj svakoga mezara je neko
Što je kosti najmilijeg ček'o.
Na prozivci niko se ne javlja,
Samo tabut u mezar se stavlja.

Godinama znali da ih nema,
Al' bol ništa nije umanjena.
Baš naprotiv, kao da je sada,
Svud se lakše u nesvijest pada.

Svako svoga po imenu zove,
Upućuje Fatihu i dove,
Mada srce od tuge se kida,

Mothers establish their associations,
To fight for justice.
They have only one wish:
To reveal the truth about everything.
Since they are guests in their own country
They want, at least, to bury the bones of the dead
In those places where they once lived,
So those alive can find peace.

SPOKEN:

DNA analysis is performed,
To find out the truth,
To recover the identity of the dead
To realize all spoken promises.
To make mothers' wishes come true
Potočari is the chosen place
Where they'll bury the dead
And be able to recognize a grave.

SUNG (with tarabuk):

The burial is sad and big,
People came from afar,
From Bosnia and foreign lands,
To be a step closer to the truth.
Someone is beside each grave,
Those who waited for their loved one's bones.
No one responds to the calling,
Only coffins are put into graves.

They knew they had been gone for years,
But the pain did not diminish.
Quite contrary, it is like it's happening now,
Everyone fades away easily.

Everyone calls their own by name
They chant Fatiha and prayers,
And although the heart falls apart,

Znaju mezar svojega šehida

SUNG:

Mnogi nisu punoljetni bili
Kad su mladi život izgubili.
Datum nisu gledali dželati,
Oni znaju samo ubijati.

Potresno je biti svjedok toga,
Mrtvi ljudi jedan do drugoga.
O zločinu ljudskome svjedoče,
A zločini mir u Bosni koče.

Na stotine već je ukopano
Što je do tad bilo pronađeno.
I dalje se traže mrtva tijela
Samo da bi se kući pren'jela.

SUNG (solo and choir):

Potočari, mjesto vječne kuće,
I ko nije, već za tebe čuće
Jedna želja u mislima samo,
Da sve mrtve ukopamo tamo.

Još će teći suze niz obraze,
Klanjaće se još mnoge dženaze
Neka Allah džennet im podari,
Opomena svima Potočari.

They now know the grave of their šehid.

SUNG:

Many were not adults,
When they lost their lives.
Executioners did not check ages,
They know only how to kill.

It was disheartening to witness that,
Dead people next to each other.
They witness the human evil,
And crimes prevent peace in Bosnia.

Hundreds are already buried,
Those who were found.
They are still searching for dead bodies,
Only to finally take them home.

SUNG (solo and choir):

Potočari, the place of eternal home,
Everyone will hear about you one day,
Only one wish is in our minds:
To bury our loved ones there.

More tears will flow down more cheeks,
Many burials will take place.
May Allah grant them Heaven.
Potočari, a reminder to everyone.

APENDIX III:

“Ako Padne Srebrenica, Bit će i Smak Svijeta” [“If Srebrenica Falls, It Will Be the End of the World”], by Sateliti

Ako padne Srebrenica, bit će i smak svijeta.	If Srebrenica falls, it will be the end of the world.
Ako padne Srebrenica, bit će i smak svijeta.	If Srebrenica falls, it will be the end of the world.
Ni tamnica, ni grobnica, Neće biti Srebrenica.	Neither a dungeon, nor a grave, Will Srebrenica ever be.
Nikada te ne bi dali Naser, Zulfo, i ostali.	Never will we give up on you Naser, Zulfo, and the rest.
Kad u borbu Naser pođe I povede miša, Mrtvi leže i padaju Četnici k’o kiša.	When Naser goes into a battle, And brings his mouse, The dead lie down and fall Chetniks like the rain.

APENDIX IV:

“Srebrenička Mati” [“Srebrenican Mother”], by Sateliti

Doletjela rajska ptica	A heavenly bird
Sa onoga svijeta	Flew from the other world
I donijela haber majci	And brought news to a mother
Od njenog djeteta.	From her child.
Refrain: Sva radosna stara majka	Refrain: In delight the old mother
Usta sa namaza.	Left her prayers.
Dragi Allah dao joj je,	Dear Allah gave her a gift,
Sin joj se ukaza.	She had a vision of her son.
Sleti ptica na pendžere,	The heavenly bird flew to the window,
Majka sabah klanja,	While mother made her morning prayers,
Digla ruke, moli Boga,	She raised her hands, and asked from God,
Da joj zora bude zadnja.	That this dawn is her last.
Ref.: Sva radosna stara majka . . .	Ref.: In delight the old mother . . .
Stare ruke brišu suze,	Old hands wipe the tears,
Uplakano lice,	From the crying face,
Vidje sina na pendžeru,	She saw her son on the window,
‘mjesto rajske ptice.	Instead of the heavenly bird.
Ref.: Sva radosna stara majka . . .	Ref.: In delight the old mother . . .

APPENDIX V:

"Pjesma o Jadru i Crkvi" ["A Song about Jadar and the Church"], by Zvuci Podrinja

Zelen Jadar kroz Milićе teče,
Tu žubori pred zoru i veče.
Jadar krasi cijele Milićе,
Grehota je posle . . . .

Tužan prođe Jadar kraj Šušnjara,
Sam sa sobom mutan razgovara:
"Da sam ikad htio zaobići,
kroz Milićе ne bih htio ići.
Zato što me ne vole i gaze,
peru rudu, na mene ne paze.
Nikome ja neću halaliti,
sve do Save neću izbistriti."

Kad je Jadar poš'o u Kasabu,
Slabo iko tudi zove majku, a i babu.
Nema vise kasabskih ribara,
Dva-tri djeda možeš vidjet' stara.

Škola radi, premalo je đaka,
Slab povratak ovdje je Bošnjaka.
Nekad bila puna je Kasaba,
Sad nafaka potekla je slaba.

Kad je Jadar u Tekiji bio,
Tu zastade, pa se začudio:
"Otkud crkva na raskršću, tudi?
Da ja nisam zalutao, ljudi?
Ja prolazim tuda svakog dana,
Samo čujem tu odjek ezana."

Na stanici čekaju putnici,
Sarajevu, Tuzli, Srebrenici.
Pumpa radi tude svakog dana,
Crkva stoji, piše "zaključana."

Green Jadar runs through Milići,
It murmurs there at dawn and night.
Jadar decorates all of Milići,
It is shame after . . . .

Sad Jadar passes near Šušnjari,
And converses with itself:
"If I ever wanted to avoid anything,
I would never want to go through Milići.
Because they do not love me there and step in me,
They wash coal, not looking after me.
I will not forgive anyone,
I'll be unclean all the way to the Sava river."

When Jadar goes to Kasaba,
Hardly anyone there calls mothers and fathers.
There are no more Kasaba's fishermen,
You can see only two or three old men.

The school is open, but there are not many students,
Bosniaks do not return here much.
Kasaba was once full,
But now bad luck has settled down.

When Jadar was in Tekija,
It stopped there in wonder:
"Since when is the church at this crossing?
Did I get lost, people?
I pass through there every day,
I only hear the sound of ezan."

Travelers wait on a station,
To Sarajevo, Tuzla, and Srebrenica.
A gas station is open there every day,
The church remains, but now it says "closed."

Sam’ otvore tu ponekad vrata,
Napravljena tu je iz inata.

Protiv crkve nismo, bogomolje,
Al’ na vašoj zemlji bolje joj je.
Ne pravi se crkva za ukrasa,
Već od Boga da se traži spasa.

U prolazu samo crkvu vide,
Dragog Boga kako se ne stide?
Božja kuća – ljudi se igraju,
I narode tuda zavađaju.

Od Fate je tu zemlja oteta,
U dvorištu Fati puno smeta.
Al’ sabura u nasa će biti,
Crkvu neće Fata porušiti.
Ko je pravi, neka je i ruši,
I gr’jehove nek’ nosi na duši.

Dodik vel’ke Fati pare daje,
Da tu crkva zauvijek ostaje.
Sirotinja gladna i tuguje,
Dodik zemlju od Fate kupuje.

U tom kraju zavađaju ljude,
Bolje crkvi da ne bude tude.

“Nos’te crkvu iz avlije moje,
džaba tebi, Dodik, pare tvoje.
Ne prodaje Fata ni vjere ni duše,
Bit’ će sretna kada crkvu sruše.”

Hiljadu selama našoj majki Fati,
Niko nema para da to plati.

They open the door once in a while,
It was built there out of spite.

We are not against the church, a house of God
But it is better if it is on your own land.
Churches are not to be built for decoration,
But to ask for God’s salvation.

They see the church only from afar,
How are they not ashamed before God?
The house of God – and people play,
And alienate people here.

That land is taken from Fata,
And Fata does not like it in her yard.
But we will remain patient,
Fata won’t destroy the church.
Let those who built the church destroy it,
And carry their sins on their souls.

Dodik offers a lot of money to Fata,
So the church can remain there.
The poor are hungry and suffering,
Dodik is buying the land from Fata.

They alienate people in that place,
It is better that the church is gone.

“Take the church out of my yard,
I do not care for your money, Dodik.
Fata sells neither her faith nor her soul,
She will be happy when the church is destroyed.”

We send thousands of selams to our mother Fata,
That is something no one can buy.

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