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Reading Sarajevo City[1]

Abstract

In this essay, introducing a new volume considering Sarajevo as a 'multiplex city' – ceaselessly active and perpetually changing, rooted in the existence of a multidimensional and collaborative system composed of separate projects – the author scrutinises Sarajevo's urban space from diverse standpoints inspired by architecture, urbanism, literature, art, anthropology, history, philosophy, social sciences and politics. In the process, he draws expressly on Sarajevo's history allowing people to be one with another. Here examining graffiti and outdoor wall art, which not only structure the urban space but facilitate the city to speak to and of itself, the author demonstrates how outdoor art, and walls, operates additionally as an agent of power to mediate resistance and to contest, subvert and negate violence. In the process, he addresses how 'being with' – co-existence, exposure to each other and hybridisation – is translated into the permanent metamorphosis of a city bonding its past and its future and, in so doing, healing the tragedies, suffering and failures of humanity of its recent past.

Keywords*: Siege of Sarajevo, graffiti, outdoor art, urban space, territorialisation, co-existence, identity*

Graffiti as a breadcrumb trail

They still laugh about it in Sarajevo today. Shortly before the Siege (5 April 1992 – 29 February 1996), a piece of nationalist graffiti showed up on the face of the imposing building of the central post office, asserting: 'This is Serbia'. The reply was not long in coming: 'This is the post office, you idiot'.

This reveals a sense of repartee and comic timing that is typical of the 'Sarajevo spirit' (*sarajevski duh*) and is a fine demonstration of the interactive function of graffiti (Zask 2013). It reproduces, word for word, the mechanisms of exclusion and inclusion specific to that wall at the very moment the city was being disassembled and

1 This is the text only – not the accompanying images – of the author's contribution to *Sarajevo Singular Plural. Contributions in honour of Zdravko Grebo*, edited by himself, Jakob Finci and Wolfgang Petritsch, to be published by Nomos in 2023 as No. 14 in the 'South-East European Integration Perspectives' series. The volume offers a collection of contributions – essays as well as art and high-quality photography portfolios – focusing on Sarajevo as a 'multiplex city'. It commemorates Zdravko Grebo, Professor of Law, civic champion, public intellectual and founder of 'Radio Zid' ('Wall'), whose purpose was to preserve the civic, urban and cosmopolitan spirit of Sarajevo during the Siege, and who died at the start of 2019. A trailer for the volume can be found at: https://christophesolioz.exposed/sarajevo-singular-plural-contributions-in-honour-of-zdravko-grebo/.

reassembled by the logic of war, falling within the epistolary register inaugurated by Dondi White, one of the founding fathers of graffiti (Thompson 2013: 212).

The return receipt was to follow on 2 May 1992: the neoclassical building was set aflame, its graffiti with it.

Effacement sealed the fate of the graffiti-trace just as it bore witness to its 'exposure' – a term that obviously takes on an altogether particular significance in times of war. Just as inscription corresponds to the need to exist and to affirm oneself, effacement leads back to the threat and anxiety of irremediable disappearance. The wall still stands; but the memory remains. The wall as mystic writing pad mitigates the city's failures of memory while its operative mode enables everything to be both removed and preserved, while allowing for a fresh layer of writing (Freud 1925 [2001]). A magical screen on the scale of the city, the wall records the successive layers of the city's speech – words of life and death, love and hate, hope and despair. Multiplex transmission and reading.

On Maršala Tita, at the crossing with Slobodana Principa Selje (today's Kulovića), a block of concrete protecting pedestrians from sniper fire hosts one of the multiple graffiti-palimpsests of the Siege. The graffiti wall is a fine illustration of the interaction between graffiti (successive inscriptions); place (a Sarajevo crossroads, but also Berlin and Los Angeles); and temporality (the war, but also 1989). Its integration depends on a spacing that liberates areas which can then take on new paradoxical functionalities (the walled-off crossroads protects and enables movement, but in one direction only) and is apt to welcome disjunctions in the form of assemblages that are not subordinate to place. Somewhat in the manner of a Richard Serra sculpture, the wall is the agent of disturbance and continuity at one and the same time (Zask 2013: 72-74). Here, graffiti plays with, and frees itself from, injunctions of place and time while pluralising the situation, the place into which it is integrated.

Thus, to 'Pink Floyd' (a piece of graffiti from 1992; the reference to 'The Wall' (1979) being clear), there was later added: 'Skid Row – I Remember you – Sebastian' i.e. the name of the Los Angeles rock band, the title of their 1989 song and the name of the group's singer, Sebastian Bach. Skid Row also happens to be the name of an LA neighbourhood, the US capital of homelessness, the city of fallen angels.

A final touch brings about the wall's metamorphosis into 'outdoor art'. Far from pity or seduction, the painter-poet-photographer Louis Jammes added to the composition a silkscreen print from his artistic work made *in situ* (1993). Now, we enter another dimension. An angel spreads its wings. Is the war stopping the angel or is the angel stopping the war? It fell to the photographer Milomir Kovačević, who lives on Maršala Tita, to capture the magic of the juxtaposed messages.[2]

2 We may also mention in this respect a photograph taken early in 1994 by Gérard Rondeau (1994: 70-71).

But where danger is, grows / The saving power also (Friedrich Hölderlin):

that is, it is the prospect of death that renders life and survival possible (Derrida 2020).

When walls speak of the city

Far from conventional clichés, Bojan Stojčić's work *Hotel Bristol – On Walls of Sarajevo 1996-2019* offers an assemblage of graffiti and murals from after the war alongside texts that invite their decoding. It is also, and above all, a book that bears witness to a militant appropriation of urban space by 'the generation that came after', now grouped in the *Črvena* (Red) Association for Culture and Art. This is a generation that makes a point of its difference, calling openly for a re-appropriation of urban space by citizens and proclaiming loud and clear the *Right to the City* – the right also to make the city different (Lefebvre 2000: 147-159).

From the start of the 2010s, the mural 'I Love this City, I defend this City' pays homage to the city in a state of resistance, both during the Second World War (the star on the helmet) and during the recent Siege – with, to boot, a nod to Dondi (the Kangol hat). A 2019 photograph underlines how the enemy is now the neoliberal world (here, the BMW): the Sarajevo that came after, faced with the perils of economism, clientelism and corruption. The right to the city calls upon resistance and for the safeguarding of ordinary civility and democracy, and urges an overhaul of values.

Damir Nikšić's mural poses the question of the sense of resistance in the world that has come after. A future that is nevertheless compromised by the administrative supervision of the Office of the High Representative (OHR) of the United Nations that is still in place and by an unbending Yugo-nostalgia. This Eldorado is magnified in an abandoned barracks by a piece of graffiti showing Marshal Tito (1892-1980) as a supreme leader, looking like Moses dividing the waters of the Red Sea; in this case, the Neretva river. The allusion is to the Battle of Neretva which sealed the victory of the Yugoslav partisans. It is a commemorative fresco that is the symbol of a new generation appropriating for itself the epic narrative of a past long gone and of the unease created by upheavals brought about by metropolitanisation and globalisation. Here, we are far from the graffiti that transgresses and critiques society. This is 'screen', fixated on the Yugoslav past, the 'golden age' of a confiscated present.

In spite of reconstruction, the many bullet-riddled walls still mark out the urban space today and participate in a re-writing of the text of the city. The bullet holes themselves are sometimes integrated into the composition of the graffiti or become the occasion of a magical transfiguration. For example, Edo Vejselović's installation *Star City* (2010) on a wall adjoining the gallery Duplex10m2: at night, the sprayed bullet holes become stars; the wall a magnificent starry sky. The traces of the past can be preserved by giving them an otherworldly dimension.

The wall does not, therefore, have the sole function of structuring the urban space. It becomes a *res politica* because the city is also a shared space of imaginary projection. Through the intercession of the wall, the city speaks of itself, of its histo-

ry; it draws its own portrait; and it offers its text for deciphering – whether this text is commercial or dissenting like graffiti, the logic is the same (Coccia 2013 [2019]). A screen wall hosting the traces of a collective process of recall, repetition and perlaboration which can also be found on the scale of urban space.

Here, we may recall a dream by Walter Benjamin (1979: 83):

> Sky. – As I stepped from a house in a dream the night sky met my eyes. I shed intense radiance. For in this plenitude of stars the images of the constellations stood sensuously present. A Lion, a Maiden, a Scale and many others shone lividly down, dense clusters of stars, upon the earth. No moon was to be seen.

Frédéric Neyrat picks up this superb text to rethink Benjamin's philosophy from the perspective of his cosmology (Neyrat 2022a); a cosmos which is, however, not only astrophysical:

> Cosmos is, therefore, a term that signifies both a consideration of contemporary sciences and the requirement to show how those sciences are overwhelmed by mythical, artistic and political perspectives obliging us to revisit, from top to bottom, our representations of the universe and the entirety of our perceptions of it. Put in other, more colourful terms: cosmos is what happens to the universe when a dark angel communicates something to it that it is *alien*. (Neyrat 2021: 27)[3]

Reading the city

Jean-Christophe Bailly has underscored the city's relationship with language:

> The city is above all a phrasing, a conjugation, a fluid system of declensions and agreements. It is these phrases and this phrasing that has to be found again: passing from a language that is stocked or stacked to a spoken language, inventing the generative grammar of urban space. (Bailly 2013: 17)

This phrasing is both poetics and politics, and mirrored in the urban fabric.

The 'assemblages' (Deleuze and Guattari 2003: 503) of the urban space and its architecture reflect the syntax of the city as well as its metamorphoses (Grabrijan and Neidhardt 1957). Sarajevo is a 'book city' of history punctuated by four centuries of Ottoman presence (1463-1878), four decades of Habsburg monarchy (1878-1918), a Yugoslav fate that was first royalist (1918-1941) then Titoist (1945-1980), before an independence that became synonymous with a pugnacious transition. From east to west, the full length of the Miljacka river, the phrasing of this city is revealed in an organic network that links together the different neighbourhoods and various temporalities.

This temporal sequence underscores the polysemy of a linear urban grid that is structured in parts that are perfectly identifiable, each characterised by a specific urban form that corresponds to an ideal urban type that tallies with the three ages of urbanism distinguished by Albert Lévy. First, the Ottoman city, Stari Grad, with

3 Author's own translation.

Baščaršija, both a marketplace and a common public space, surrounded by communitarian neighbourhoods (mahala): Vratnik, Muslim; Latinluk, Catholic; Tašlihan, Orthodox; and Bjelave, Jewish (Karahasan 1994). Then, with the first conurbation, the Austro-Hungarian Centar stretched as far as Marijin Dvor, which became the new town centre. Lastly, the outlying town, Novo Sarajevo and Novi Grad, by turns socialist, industrial and Olympic – were boroughs destined to expand and proliferate. Sprawling Sarajevo.

This movement of opening, of extending and thriving, was to evolve much further with trade and the trafficking of humanities, love, money, sport and even gastronomy. Sarajevo spreads, displays itself and exports itself. There is a 'Sarajevo' street in Belgrade, in Baku, in Ferrara, in Forlì, in Milan, in Niš, in Osijek, in Šibenik, in Split, in Tunisia and in Zagreb; 'Sarajevo squares' in Ponte di Piave and in Nantes; and a 'Sarajevo restaurant' in Dieppe, in Düsseldorf, in Berlin, in Frankfurt, in Prishtinë and in Vienna.

It will not be possible here to analyse in detail the diverse registers of urban and architectural forms. For that, we would have to summarise and develop the exceptional work undertaken in the 1950s by Grabrijan and Neidhardt (1957). So, within the framework of this essay, we shall just briefly mention two aspects.

First, the importance of thresholds that signify urban discontinuity and the introduction of a new urban grammar. Alongside the caravanserai, the Hotel Evropa (1881-1882) is characterised by a hybrid architecture – in its construction today as in former times – mixing fin-de-siècle and contemporary architecture. The building lies betwixt and between, on the precise limit between the Ottoman neighbourhood and the Austro-Hungarian neighbourhood. It is a meeting point of two cultures, of two architectures, and is a place of encounter.

Further along, Marijin Dvor deserves special attention. This is the border-crossroads between the Austro-Hungarian architecture and the Sarajevo urbanism of the 1960s to the 1980s, in keeping with the urban plan set out by Juraj Neidhardt, Le Corbusier's collaborator in the 1930s. The work built from the end of the 1970s by Ivan Štraus (Elektropriveda, Unis, Holiday Inn) is not social realism but rather under the influence of Mies van der Rohe and Arne Jacobsen. Additionally, however, Marijin Dvor is the site of a new conurbation. Distancing itself from projects that have been rightly criticised (Daoulas 2017), such as Sarajevo City Centre, the Alta shopping centre (Sanja Galić and Igor Grozdanić, 2010) converses intelligently with the Parliament (Juraj Neidhardt, 1982) just across the street and fits into the area perfectly.

We might also point out, in passing, the approach of Galić and Grozdanić (at Studio Nonstop) who have designed a number of their projects by playing with urban discontinuity: they decompose the urban fabric in order to isolate its characteristic elements which they then juxtapose (Ibelings 2012). This is an original line when it comes to forming a fresh conception of future urban mutations in a city that has been marked by a complex process of re-territorialisation, the main aspects of which it is important to grasp.

Second, we might draw attention to how, while today's urban fabric clearly bears the trace of different periods, each segment has nevertheless incorporated building

styles and components that belong to other eras – a tendency that is sure to become stronger. We can mention by way of example the celebrated National Library, the Vijećnica, a splendid building designed by Czech architect Karel Pařík.[4] Constructed in 1891-1896 in a neo-Moorish style during the Austro-Hungarian period, the Vijećnica stands in Baščaršija where it literally forms the figurehead of the old Ottoman Sarajevo. In this context, we may also mention the Papagajka (parrot): an imposing building (27m x 110m x 25m) in bright yellow and green, sited by the Miljacka between the Ashkenazi synagogue and Bakr-Babina mosque; a fine example of brutalist architecture inspired by Le Corbusier (Stierli and Kulić 2018). The building faces, on its right, the Ottoman area and, to its left, the Austro-Hungarian. This last architectural project from the socialist period (begun in 1982 and finished in 1990) is the work of Mladen Goraždena.

A process of (re-)territorialisation

A crossroads between east and west, Sarajevo has always been a cosmopolitan network-city in which Muslim/Bosniak, Orthodox/Serb, Catholic/Croat and Jewish communities live side-by-side; and the alchemy that this produces deserves to be taken in full measure.[5] Here, it is useful to recall Aristotle's approach:

> And yet it is evident that as [the city] becomes increasingly one it will no longer be a city. The city is in its nature a sort of aggregation, and as it becomes more a unity it will be a household instead of a city, and a human being instead of a household (...). So even if one were able to do this, one ought not do it, as it would destroy the city. (Aristotle 1984 [2013]: 26)

Aristotle insists in particular upon the city differing from an alliance and from a nation (in the sense of an 'ethnic people'), as 'those from whom a unity [at city level] should arise differ in kind' and it is this 'reciprocal equality' that preserves the city.

In his essay for Sarajevo, Jean-Luc Nancy refers precisely to Aristotle's viewpoint:

> The common, having-in-common or being-in-common, excludes interior unity, subsistence, and presence in and for itself. Being with, being together and even being 'united' are precisely not a matter of being 'one'. Within unitary community [*communauté une*] there is nothing but death, and not the sort of death found in the cemetery, which is a place of spacing or distinctness (…). (Nancy 2000: 154)

The abundance of religious sites in Sarajevo ought not to mislead us. Their spacing is the sign of a secular 'commonality' whose dual logic is underscored by Benoît Goetz (in a position not far from that of Jean-Luc Nancy):

4 We are indebted to Karel Pařík for a number of further constructions, including the Hotel Evropa. While Pařík developed the Vijećnica project, the plans are by Alexander Wittek and construction was entrusted to Ćiril Ivekovič.

5 It should be noted that, until the end of the 19th century, Bosnian society as a whole remained foreign to national categories, the population identifying itself until then in confessional terms (Bougarel 2017).

> Secularity maintains dispersal; it prevents the commonality from totalising and unifying. (Goetz 2018: 224)

This paradox of secular space is firmly anchored in Sarajevo, where dislocation does not imply any renunciation of politics, quite the contrary:

> It designates that moment when citizens are no longer brought together except by what separates them, and which is the very thing from which they forge the principle of their coming together: free space unceasingly deployed by their coexistence. (Goetz 2018: 225)

Frédéric Neyrat emphasises this complementarity between the close and the distant in similar terms:

> There is no communism other than from a distance, than related to the other-than-oneself, for the infinitely distant only comes close by remaining distant. (Neyrat 2022b: 64)[6]

The city is the architecture of *being-with*. And this applies to Sarajevo in particular (Lovrenović 2001: 9). Even the Sarajevo grid mirrors this through the manifold presence of public spaces and 'multi-technic' buildings; buildings that therefore came to be specifically targeted during the Siege.[7]

Indeed, during the Siege, the city transformed into a panopticon, the space of a biopower that re-territorialised 'a minority as a state' (Deleuze and Guattari 2003: 291) by creating homogenous communitarian enclaves. The common sphere, such spaces as favour movement and flux and inter-communitarian relations, were systematically taken as targets by the snipers and the Bosnian Serb Army with the aim of dividing the city. This result has been enshrined by the Dayton Agreement (1995). The post-war configuration is set to put the finishing touches to this 're-territorialisation' by accentuating a division between Sarajevo and Sarajevo-East which people too often feign to overlook.

The re-territorialisation process can be observed at different levels.

First, with communitarian structuring – to put it briefly:

> Bosnians have ceased to be just Bosnian and become Bosnian Muslims, Bosnian Serbs and Bosnian Croats (Lovrenović 2001: 209),

to which have been added socio-cultural dichotomies: local/newcomer; urban/rural; 'civilised'/'uncivilised'. The figures speak for themselves: half of the pre-war population has left the city, while newcomers (one-third of the population) are displaced persons from the countryside. Certainly they are Bosnian, but they are 'peasants', 'bumpkins', 'outsiders'. Sarajevo is now a virtual city in exile.[8] This dismissal of refugees from rural areas harks back to an imbalance between rural and urban

6 Author's own translation.

7 See the maps produced by Mirjana Ristic (2018), at p. 13 and p. 76.

8 An observation drawn from my presence in the field (between 1994 and 2021); see also Anders Stefansson (2007).

zones: Bosnian society is, by tradition, predominantly rural and provincial, social and cultural modernisation being a recent and urban process, hence the conflictive logic.

Second, the cleavages and stakes of the conflict, including the post-war period, find their re-transcription in the urban space. As Mirjana Ristic pinpoints:

> While the wartime siege was a violent attempt to create a divided and ethnically cleansed city, this was achieved in the post-war period using different spatial regimes and practices of representation. The barricades have been removed and replaced by names, colours and scripts. They function as tools for the territorialization and stabilization of some forms of ethnic identity and exclusion of others. (Ristic 2018: 147)

The post-war renaming of streets, the (re)construction of religious buildings and memorial monuments – clearly tending to eliminate mixing and merging, and to foster the production of 'ethnically' exclusive identities of place – significantly reconstruct the spatial narrative and order.

The spatial praxis of a society – in this instance, a divided one – is revealed by deciphering its space. Space is 'a social product'. It is not neutral; it is political (Lefebvre 1973 [2000]: 53). And it continues to be so, cf. the gradual reinvestment of the 'common sphere' and the return of Bosnian Serbs, albeit with diffidence, to Sarajevo, having initially sought exile in Sarajevo-East. Often a (better paid) job represents the opportunity to go back to Sarajevo. Conversely, some Bosnian Muslims, while working in the Federation, now live in Republika Sprska, especially in Dobrinja, due to the cheaper property market. This has breathed new life into the city and reconnected it to a past characterised by composite integration and permanent cultural interaction, thus bringing together a multiplicity of complementary perspectives open to new aggregations (Lovrenović 2001: 209, 227).

Walls and outdoor art

From the surrounding heights, both the city and its prospect are unobstructed. From here, one can better see what Sarajevo is made of: its spaces. In the meantime, reconstruction has certainly transformed the face of the city, as will future constructions. On each occasion, it is the spacing – the roads, the squares, the places of passage – which is rearranged. The spacing marks the city's degree of openness, its scope, its breathing space and its excesses too; it is what makes it possible to 'be-there-also-with-others'. In the end, architecture is about space (Boudon 2003), more specifically 'a mode of singularisation of space' (Goetz 2018: 92), and thus the city is an arrangement of spaces, a spatial playfulness and a space of play (*Spielraum*), thus a 'spacing activity' (Goetz 2018: 220).

That these spaces are regularly invested in by 'outdoor art' deserves particular attention. Outdoor art, which is not shown within an urban space framework, interacts with and modifies the space it occupies. Our attention here is more especially drawn to the artistic practices that take possession of those very walls that, to say it again, establish spatiality and spacing, playing with an inside and an outside. Here, art res-

onates with architecture: both of them lay out, set apart, organise and make things possible. This is a proximity that Goetz does not fail to underscore:

> If a sculpture or a painting (in this instance, one thinks of the art of fresco, of course) are conceived of as undetachable from the site of their installation, then one can say, unless they are pieces of architecture, at the least they collaborate in such an intimate manner with the architecture that they create between it and them a zone of indiscernibility. They make a space exist, and not just any space: the space where they stand and to whose existence they contribute. (Goetz 2018: 34)

At this juncture, the work made by Louis Jammes during the Siege of Sarajevo deserves particular attention. Note first of all that Jammes brought together his work made *in situ* under the title 'Sarajevo is in reality the name of nothing that can be represented' (Jammes 1994). Now, this very idea presides over the definition of architecture that Goetz put forward:

> Architecture is what does not allow itself to be represented to the very extent that it presents itself always as something other than itself. (Goetz 2018: 36)

Architecture thus furnishes the 'frame' of representation. Regarding the work of Jammes, it concerns a series of altered photographs that have been silkscreened and pasted on walls around the city.

Far from monumentalisation and the centrality that goes with it – these being characteristic of public art – the work of Jammes is closely knitted to the city, immersed into its urban space (Zask 2013: 20). Places of passage and refuge are particularly favoured, as in the case of the former Red Cross centre in Sarajevo which was adjacent to a particularly dangerous street, not far from 'Sniper Alley'.[9] Executed directly on the walls, the work literally forms one body with the city: it inhabits and clothes the walls of the old tobacco factory in Marijin Dvor, the walls of Hastahana, the walls of Zelenih Beretki (not far from the Hotel Evropa) and the walls of the Vijećnica. The 'angels of Sarajevo' do not interpellate the spectator but rather accompany the passer-by, structuring – and giving meaning to – itinerary and perceptions of space. They are a host of bearings, punctuations, stations of refuge as one moves along. The presence of the angel is a sign of a safe space; one can – as one sees fit – take shelter, pause, discuss, play or go on one's way. It is the exposed angel who comes to the aid of the passer-by exposed to sniper fire.

Unlike certain public artworks, here the passer-by is not caught in a constrictive apparatus. In the context of the Siege, it is the rest of the city that falls within a totalising immersion, the individual being shut into a panoptical device at risk of harm to his or her life.[10]

9 The building, opened on 2 September 1929, was constructed following the plans of architect Helen Baldasar. It is located in Marijin Dvor, at 2 Kranjčevićeva. It formerly housed a famous cinema, the Sutjeska, which was transformed into an art gallery during the Siege.

10 We rely here on Zask's fine-tuned analysis of immersive art (Zask 2013: 130-137).

With the angel, the city finds its space again, restoring to the passer-by subjectivity and freedom of movement.[11] The angel is therefore not only located *on* a site, it *is* the site. This is a site that allows for another perception – of the work, certainly, but also of the space and of displacement across it – whether one moves through it or stays there temporarily or even when it becomes, on occasion, a participatory site, be it celebratory or artistic (we are thinking of the concerts and exhibitions organised during the Siege at the Red Cross centre, Hotel Evropa and even the Vijećnica). One is put in mind of the creation of 'behavioural space' that was so important to Richard Serra:

> My sculptures are not objects for the viewer to stop and stare at. The historical purpose of placing sculpture on a pedestal was to establish a separation between the sculpture and the viewer. I am interested in creating a behavioral space in which the viewer interacts with the sculpture in its context.[12]

The wall effect produces an effect similar to that obtained by the dislocation performed by Gordon Matta-Clark (*Splitting*, 1974): the production of an outside to sites that are generally deprived of it – it is the outside of the inside. The interior is propelled towards the exterior; the wall no longer protects; it explodes and exposes. On closer inspection, it is that exteriority which, in an initial phase, takes possession of the interiority that binds back with its original space, the outside. Hence the relevance of what we might term an 'exology', a science exposed from the outside, as formulated by Frédéric Neyrat to whom we owe the luminescent formula:

> The Outside is the outside-with that transports the inside. (Neyrat 2022b: 81)[13]

The wall no longer being protective, it exposes what architecture usually conceals: a laying bare, therefore, of *being-on-the-outside*.[14] In fact, there is a double laying bare: first, living and being are about being-there, being-in-the-world, among things and thus *outside* (Heidegger 2010: 62 (in the original German edition)); and, second, this world is a shared world, thus: *being-with*. The singular is simultaneously plural, to echo Jean-Luc Nancy:

> The meaning of being [...] can only attest to itself or expose itself in the mode of being-with. (Nancy 2000: 27)

The angel calls to mind how architecture, the city, is a space of coexistence, the site of *being-with*.

11 In Hannah Arendt's view, freedom of movement as well as space is related to politics (Arendt 1961, 2005: 119).

12 From Richard Serra's statement included in the press release of his first American retrospective at the MoMA in 2007; quoted in Yau (2014).

13 Author's own translation.

14 I am borrowing this vocabulary from Benoît Goetz, notably his conception of 'architecturally of existence' (Goetz 2018: 65-66).

The artifices of an apartment that one imagines to have been personalised give way to the angel that exposes another humanity that will ultimately triumph.

> '*Sarajevo će biti, sve drugo će proći* / Sarajevo will be, everything else will pass'.[15]

Outdoor art in its various forms – graffiti, murals, *in situ* art, site-specific art, land art – significantly reframes the narrative of the urban space. Beyond the mere aesthetical values, social and political dimensions are included. Outdoor art thus combines art, politics and urbanism; it also opens a space for new meanings of the existence of the individual and the collective (Dewey 1980).

The examples discussed here illustrate the difference between outdoor art and public art, but they also demonstrate how outdoor art operates additionally as an agent of power to mediate resistance and to contest, subvert and negate violence. Among many others, the artworks presented here are traces of urban facts as well as of the city as an artwork. As recalled by Lewis Mumford, the city fosters art and *is* art:

> The city (...) is also a conscious work of art, and it holds within its communal framework many simpler and more personal forms of art. (Mumford 1938 [1970]: 5)

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15 A well-known song from 1992; words by Đorđe Balašević and Zlatan Fazlić Fazla, set to music by Zlaja Arslanagić. In a telephone interview with Zdravko Grebo, aired at night on Radio Studio 99, the renowned author, composer and poet, Đorđe Balašević (from Novi Sad, Serbia), penned the first two verses of what would later become a hit song.

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