

DIARIES AS TESTIMONIES ABOUT THE SIEGE OF SARAJEVO: A BIBLIO- GRAPHICAL OVERVIEW

Nicolas MOLL,
Independent researcher,
Sarajevo

Abstract: Personal diaries are instructive historical sources for learning more about the lives, thoughts, feelings and experiences of individuals, as well as providing insight into the environment, socio-political context and atmosphere in which the authors were living. This also applies to the siege of Sarajevo. This article presents 30 personal diaries written in Sarajevo between 1992 and 1995 which have been published as books during or after the war. The overview provides bibliographical indications about the published version(s) and translations for each diary, short biographical info about the author, as well as information on the months and years covered, the rhythm of diary entries, the content and the editorial apparatus. Short extracts of each diary have been added in order to provide a more concrete idea about their content and writing style and at the same time a kaleidoscope of different but also recurrent topics in the individual experiences related to the siege.¹

Key words: *Diaries – Siege of Sarajevo – Daily life – Testimony - Publications*

¹ I would like to thank the following persons who helped me while I was working on the present overview: Diana Bosnjak Monai, Matija Bošnjak, Edin Bećarević, Ferida Duraković, Zlata Filipović, Simone Ginzburg, Dragan Golubović, Jasminko Halilović, Elma Hašimbegović, Elma Hodžić, Edo Hozić, Ivana Marić, Joshua Massarenti, Peter Münch, Imer Pezo, Dušan Sabo, Maja Sijerčić, Elma Softić-Kaunitz, Ibrahim Spahić, Dragana and Tamara Štraus, Ines Tanović, Mersiha Turudija, Fadil and Admir Vranić, Amela Zec Filipović, and Belma Zulčić, as well as the very supportive colleagues working at the libraries of the History Museum of BiH, of the *Bošnjački institut – Fondacija Adila Zulfikarpašića*, of the National University Library and of the Municipal libraries of Sarajevo.

1. Introduction

The first diary about the siege of Sarajevo I heard about, probably like many others, was the one written by Zlata Filipović who was 11 years old when the war started in 1992. It was first published in 1993 and quickly became an international bestseller, sometimes drawing comparisons with the diary of Anne Frank. Whilst Zlata Filipović's journal is indeed an important testimony about the siege of Sarajevo, it is however not the only one: various other diaries have been published, and each one provides highly instructive insights and individual perspectives on the siege of Sarajevo.

A few years ago, I discovered the voluminous diary written by Dane Olbina, who had been mayor of Sarajevo between 1948 and 1955 and who lived through the 1992-1995-siege when he was a pensioner. In his diary he describes in a very detailed way, day-by-day, his life in the besieged city, and I found a lot of insightful information, especially on the living conditions and on various activities in the besieged town. This stimulated me to begin researching in which ways the lack of water affected the inhabitants of Sarajevo and how they coped with it. Proceeding from this perspective, I started to look also for other diaries, and the more I found and read, the more I told myself to look at these diaries not only as a source, but also as objects of analysis in and of themselves. In this frame, I am preparing currently two more research papers, one on the links between the authors and their diaries, asking both why and how people wrote diaries during the siege. The second paper focuses on the trajectories of a diary from a personal to a public source: how did and do personal diaries become edited publications?

The present text is therefore part of a more comprehensive research I am conducting on the role of personal diaries written during the siege of Sarajevo. So far, I have identified 30 diaries written by individuals between 1992 and 1995, and published during or after the war. As a first step I want to present here a commented bibliographical overview of these published diaries, of which many are barely known to the public. I hope that this overview will be a useful orientation tool for other researchers, and for each reader who would like to know more about life in besieged Sarajevo, as experienced by its inhabitants. Since there are certainly hundreds of diaries which have been written during the war and yet never published, this article will hopefully also be a motivation for some authors (or their surviving family members), to consider whether they would be willing to make their work available for historical research and consider publishing it. Indeed, each new diary will provide another unique perspective and will add pieces to the puzzle to get a more complete picture of the experiences of the siege.

Personal diaries are a fascinating historical source for researchers or ordinary readers: through them, one can learn much about the life, thoughts, feelings and experiences of the author, and about his/her environment and the socio-political context and atmosphere in which the author was writing. Academic research has underlined their importance to better understand historical events and especially how individuals and groups were experiencing and coping

with them, for example during World War One and Two.²

On which criteria did I establish the present overview? As a basis for my research, I follow Andy Alaszewski's definition of a diary as "a document created by an individual who has maintained a regular, personal and contemporaneous record"³. There are of course a lot of other valuable insightful and important testimonies about the siege of Sarajevo which were written and often already published between 1992 and 1995. However, I didn't include them in my overview, because they are not diaries in the strictest sense, even if the word appears sometimes in the title; taking for example, the publications by journalist Zlatko Dizdarević⁴, writer Dževad Karahasan⁵ or the academic Mevlida Karadža⁶. Diary-like publications can also be found in the sphere of photography⁷,

2 See for example Frans Coetzee / Marilyn Shevin-Coetzee, *Commitment and Sacrifice. Personal Diaries from the Great War*, Oxford University Press, 2015, Anne Freadman, *Holding On and Holding Out. Jewish Diaries from Wartime France*, University of Toronto Press, 2020 and Alexis Peri, *The War Within. Diaries from the Siege of Leningrad*, Harvard University Press, 2017. As a general introduction to the role of diaries for social and historical research, see Andy Alaszewski, *Using Diaries for Social Research*, Sage, 2006. The importance of keeping diaries for inhabitants of Sarajevo during the siege is emphasized in Natalie Ornat, "Reading for your Life: The Impact of Reading and Writing During the Siege of Sarajevo", *Open Information Science* 1 / 2, 2018, 44–58.

3 Alaszewski (see previous footnote), 1.

4 See especially his weekly chronicles on besieged Sarajevo that he wrote for *Slobodna Dalmacija* between 25.4. and 5.12.1992, which were then translated in French and published as book: Zlatko Dizdarević, *Journal de guerre. Chronique d'une ville assiégée*, Paris: Spengler, 1993, 208 p. In 1994 and 1995 there followed translations into German, Italian, Spanish, English, see i.e. *Sarajevo: A War Journal*, Fromm Intl, 1994, 193 p.

5 Dževad Karahasan, *Dnevnik selidbe*, Zagreb: Durieux 1993, 100 p., translations during the war in different other languages, i.e. *Tagebuch der Übersiedlung*, Klagenfurt: Wieser Verlag, 1993, 106 p., with descriptions and reflections from besieged Sarajevo in the first year, without a specific chronological order.

6 Mevlida Karadža, *Survivre à Sarajevo. „Mon petit cahier rouge“*, Brussels: Ed. Labor, 1995, 170 p.; *Preživjeti u Sarajevu. Moja mala crvena teka*, Bosanska rijeka Tuzla 2005, 164 p. The author, director of the Institute for linguistics at the University of Sarajevo, took notes between march 1992 and summer 1993, until she left Sarajevo for France; these notes were then published not as chronological diary, but as thematic chapters (such as "Vijećnica is burning", "Hospital", "Culture and art", ...).

7 See for example Miroslav Prstojević, *Sarajevo. Ranjeni Grad*, Ljubljana/Sarajevo, 1994, 308 p., which besides numerous photos includes a chronology of the siege and extracts of the author's war diary. It was also published the same year in English under the title: *The wounded city*, and German: *Die verwundete Stadt*.

documentary films⁸ and comic strips⁹. Also not included in my overview are diaries written during the war but where the siege of Sarajevo is only one topic among others, for example in the diaries of politician and sociologist Ivo Komšić¹⁰ or of French Slavist Paul Garde who travelled to Bosnia and Herzegovina in autumn 1994¹¹.

Finally, I did not include in my overview *autobiographies* or *memoirs*, even if in historical research they are sometimes analysed together with diaries and are also important personal testimonies. The main difference is that memoirs and autobiographies are written *a posteriori*, some or many years after an event or a time-period; they are therefore often deemed less “authentic” and more prone to reinterpretation or to biased perceptions than diaries. However, the distinction is not always easy to draw. On the one hand, the writing of memoirs is sometimes based on diaries or personal notes written in the described times. On the other hand, diaries are also often rewritten, especially when they are being published.¹² This is an understandable procedure. The author or editor might not want to share everything that had initially been written for a private-personal use, or would perhaps like to add something to make some aspects more understandable. The problem is when this is not clearly said within the publication, so that the reader does not really know by whom, when, how and to what extent sentences or sections have been rewritten/edited. Ideally, a diary would be published as a critical edition, making clear to the reader the process of editing, the parts which have been added, deleted or modified. Unfortunately, this does not happen often enough. For the 30 diaries presented in this overview also, it is often not evident to what extent parts have been modified or not, and at least four of them can be considered as *diary-memoirs*, where an existing, original war diary was, in later years, significantly expanded by the authors for publication (as the authors or editors also admit).¹³ As with all historical sources, the reader should read diaries with an open, interested yet critical mind.

8 See e.g., “Dnevnik rediteljja” (Diary of a filmmaker) by Mirza Idrizović, SaGa, January 1994: <https://vimeo.com/groups/560786/videos/74440799>, and the serial “A street under siege”, produced in 1993/4 by BBC2, Point du Jour and SaGa, a sort of collective video diary, showing day by day for two minutes the life of the inhabitants living in the same street in Stari Grad, ulica Muse Čazima Čatića.

9 See especially Joe Kubert, *Fax from Sarajevo. A story of survival*, Dark Horse Comics, 1996, which is based on and reproduces personal letters from Ervin Rustemagić sent by fax between March 1992 and April 1993 to Joe Kubert and other colleagues in the US, where he describes his life and the situation in Dobrinja.

10 Ivo Komšić, *Preživljena zemlja: Tko je, kada i gdje dijelio BiH*, Zagreb: Prometej, 2006, 573 p.; English version translated by Ulvija Tanović: *The Survived Country; Dividing Bosnia and Herzegovina: Who, When, Where*, Zagreb: Synopsis, 2013, 551 p.

11 Paul Garde, *Journal de voyage en Bosnie-Herzégovine : Octobre 1994*, Strasbourg: La Nuée Bleue, 1995, 141 p.; *Dnevnik putovanja u Bosnu i Hercegovinu*, translated by Ana Prpić, Zagreb: Ceres, 1998, 121 p.

12 This has also been the case for the diary of Anne Frank: she wrote a first version between June 1942 and August 1944 (today known as ‘version a’), and then wrote a new version in 1944 in the perspective that it might be published (known as ‘version b’). After her death, the diary was first published as a book in 1947 in Amsterdam, edited by Anne’s father, Otto Frank, who combined versions ‘a’ and ‘b’, and removed certain family and sexual references (known as ‘version c’). It was only in 1986 that the Netherlands Institute for War Documentation published a first critical edition, which presented and analysed the different versions. Following this, the diary was republished in a form which includes and differentiates versions ‘a’ and ‘b’, including the parts which had been censored in ‘version c’. This text, known as ‘version d’, is (since 1991), the only version authorized by the Anne Frank Foundation. For more information: *The Diary of Anne Frank: The Revised Critical Edition*, published by the Netherlands Institute for War Documentation, Doubleday, 2003, 834 p.

13 This is the case for the publications of Saudin Bećirević, Imer Pezo, Jovan Divjak and Mile Jovičić.

2. Diversity and common trends among the published diaries

When analysing the 30 diaries presented in this overview, their diversity is notable, and at the same time, they have some general tendencies. The range of authors is broad, but with a dominance of persons from rather intellectual and upper-middle-class socio-professional milieus. There are four journalists (Hamza Bakšić, Vehid Gunić, Puniša Kalezić, Tihomir Milašin); six writers, translators and/or editors (Jure Galić, Alija Isaković, Željko Ivanković, Mirko Marjanović, Elma Softić, Josip Svoboda); two filmmakers (Dušan Sabo, Sejfudin Tanović), one literature professor (Razija Lagumdžija); one historian (Nusret Sehić); one architect (Ivan Štraus); one cultural advisor (Edo Hozić); two military leaders (Jovan Divjak and Stjepan Šiber); two priests (Ljubo Lucić, Dragomir Ubiparipović); two soldiers (Saudin Bećirević, Imer Pezo); one taxi-driver (Miomir Mile Plakalović); one municipality employee (Emira Ibrahimagić); one airport director (Mile Jovičić); one former mayor (Dane Olbina); one engineer (Fadil Vranić), and three schoolchildren (Zlata Filipović, Nađa Halilbegović, Nirvana Nina Željковиć). 24 of the published diaries have been written by men, and only 6 by women (among them three teenagers). Looking at age groups, three of the authors were between 70 and 80 years old in 1992, eight between 60 and 69 years, six between 50 and 59, four between 40 and 49, four between 30 and 39, only two between 18 and 29 years, and three between 9 and 13 years. Regarding their location in the besieged town, most lived in the municipalities Stari Grad (Old Town) and Centar, and much less in Novo Sarajevo (New Sarajevo) and Novi Grad (New Town) (while actually the majority of the Sarajevo population lived in these two areas).¹⁴

The 30 diaries cover various time spans – the shortest being just five weeks, many last for one to two years, mostly the first two years of the siege, 1992 and 1993 (24 out of 30). Less documented are the years 1994 (12 out of 30), and 1995 (9 of 30). Often the diaries stop after 1992 or 1993, because the author then left Sarajevo and continued to live abroad.

¹⁴ This biographical overview is also an invitation to look especially for additional diaries written by women, “ordinary people”, soldiers and those living in Novo Sarajevo and Novi Grad, in order to get a more complete picture about the different experiences of the siege.

Only one diary – the one from Dane Olbina - covers the entire war period, from April 1992 to December 1995, but others are also covering nearly the entire war, with only some weeks missing at the beginning or the end of the siege (Milašin, Halilbegović, Lucić and Bećirević). Most authors wrote irregularly, sometimes with interruptions of some days to several weeks, and the daily entries vary from one sentence to several pages. The most detailed published diaries, which were also kept most regularly (almost daily) and cover several years, are those of Lucić, Milašin, Olbina, Tanović and Vranić.

Stylistically we can find a diverse range of voices, from sober to emotional tones. Regarding the content, the majority of the authors write mainly about three aspects, mostly in combination, although often with different emphases: 1) reports on the shelling of the city and other military and political events related to Sarajevo and BiH as directly witnessed or heard through media; 2) their own situation, life and activities, including for example relations and conversations with family members, friends, neighbours and colleagues, the experience of violence and loss, and the lack of food, water, electricity and gas; 3) reflections and comments on life under siege, current events, the war, Bosnia and Herzegovina and the attitude of the international community. Nearly all diaries provide more or less detailed information about the everyday life and living conditions during the siege. It is however, different for the two only published diaries which were written by persons who were part of the military-political leadership, Jovan Divjak and Stjepan Šiber: their diaries focus on their professional activities, encounters and conversations. Although all diaries include reflections and comments on experiences and the siege in general, the diaries of Željko Ivanković and of Dušan Sabo can be considered as more “intellectual”, where reflections about life and events are more important than the description as such of these events and of the daily living conditions.

When looking at the publishing history of the diaries, we can also make significant first observations. From the 30 books, 10 have already been published during the war, 16 in the period between 1996 and 2011 (most of them in the ten years after the war), and only four since. Additionally, while only 11 of the 30 books exist also as translations, six of these translated versions were already published during the war, sometimes even before there was a publication in the original language.¹⁵ This indicates an obvious, urgent need and will to testify about the siege, to inform and shake up international opinion. We can also see some other editing trends: prefaces or postfaces to explain more about the diary, the author, the context and the editing process do not exist in all books, and if they do, they are in general rather short; explanatory footnotes (for example for names) are rare, in general they have only been added in some of the translated versions. In several publications, thematic titles have been added for each daily entry or several of them, which can be a helpful orientation tool for the reader, especially when you are looking for specific topics. Helpful research tools are also name-indexes, however they have been included in only 3 of the 30 publications (Lucić, Milašin, Tanović). In general, it seems that for the editors it was more important to publish the diaries as a testimony in a “raw” version, rather than to accompany them by an explanatory and critical apparatus (for which, more time and resources would have been

¹⁵ One diary was published only in translated version, that of Puniša Kalezić, in Italian.

necessary). This doesn't diminish the value and importance of the published diaries as personal and historical testimony; the reader should just be aware that the books often lack a more detailed contextualisation.

3. Overview of published diaries about the siege of Sarajevo

In the following overview, I provide a) bibliographical indications about the published version(s) and translations (if any); b) short biographical info about the author (including his / her place of residence in the besieged city, which will be useful for readers who are interested in the living conditions in specific neighbourhoods of Sarajevo); c) information on the months and years covered by the diary, the rhythm of entries, and comments about the diary content and the editorial apparatus. For each diary, I have also added a short extract in order to provide a more concrete idea about the content and the writing style, being aware that this just offers a glimpse and does not do justice to the richness and range of each the published diaries. I first thought to choose from each diary an extract from the same month or even day, but since the diaries cover different time periods, this was not possible; I therefore chose extracts from all years of the siege, in order to constitute a sort of kaleidoscope of different, but also recurrent topics in the individual experiences of the siege during its three and half year duration.¹⁶

The list is arranged chronologically by the year when the diary was the first time published as a book. It is a first overview which does not pretend to be exhaustive and which will hopefully be completed in the next years; if you as reader know other published - or non-published - diaries please contact me (moll.nicolas@gmail.com) or the History Museum of BiH (info@muzej.ba).

¹⁶ The quotations and excerpts from the diaries were translated into English for this text by Ulvija Tanović, with the exception of those diaries that have been published as books in an English translation. Note: Everything in [] brackets within the excerpts, for example, “[...]” or “[1994]” has been added by me, not by the author of the diary.

1. **Josip Svoboda, *Sarajevo – 1992. Ratni dnevnik. Grad umire – svijet posmatra [Sarajevo – 1992. War Diary. The City is Dying – the World Watches]*, Sarajevo: Namaste, 1st edition 1992, 197 p.**, with a foreword by the author (7-9); 2nd enlarged edition 1993, 335 p.; German version: *Sarajevo: Eine Stadt gibt nicht auf*, translated by Martina Muncic-Körner, Karlsruhe: Loeper, 1994, 330 p., with a foreword by the German editor (9-11), 3 letters from readers to the author (309-316) and an interview he did with Jovan Divjak in August 1994 (317-324); Dutch version: *Sarajevo. De stad sterft - de wereld kijkt toe*, Pax Christi, 1994, 379 p.

→ Josip Svoboda, born 1944 in Travnik, completed German studies in Sarajevo in the 1960s, worked as journalist, explorer-traveller, author, artist, lived partially in Africa and Asia, came back to Sarajevo in April 1992. He stayed in Split from May-July 1992 and again in Sarajevo in July 1992, and in February/March 1993. He lived in Grbavica until end of April 1992. He came back to live in Sarajevo after the war.

→ The book is a combination of report and diary; the first edition covers the first four months of the siege, from 7 April 1992 to 24 July 1992, with 5 to 10 entries per month (which often also look back at previous days). The 2nd edition and the German version include also chapters about January 1993 (while the author was in Croatia) and February 1993 (when he was again in Sarajevo), written as reports. Svoboda writes about the situation in Sarajevo in the first months of the siege, the attacks and the increasingly difficult living conditions, his daily activities, experiences of neighbours, family members and colleagues in Grbavica and other parts of the city, and international reactions. For the periods spent in Croatia, in May-July 1992 and January 1993, he writes about Sarajevo through news he received by newspapers, radio and tv, as well as through phone calls and letters from friends. Photos taken in besieged Sarajevo have been added in the publication, as well as a list of abbreviations and a map of besieged Sarajevo in the German version.

Today is Friday, 24 April 1992: It's been a full three weeks since I lost control of time. Days have disappeared, only mornings and evenings still remain. The time in between is non-existent, it just doesn't register, even though I go out whenever I get even the slightest chance; everything blends into a hyphen between morning – evening / [...] Today was somewhat more peaceful throughout the city, so Duška decided to visit her flat. I went out with my camera to document what I could without exposing myself to danger too much [...] I took photos of everything I'd seen in the past two days: the Energoinvest and Unis buildings, the lines in front of banks, pensioners waiting for their pittance of benefits in front of the Post Office, breadlines, the lucky individuals who managed to get some bread. / I spent the rest of the evening in front of the TV and at my typewriter, with the neighbourhood sniper persistently keeping me company.

2. ***Dnevnik Zlate Filipović / Diary of Zlata Filipovic*, Sarajevo: Međunarodni centar za mir, 1993, 90 p.**, bilingual edition, with English translation by Ferida Duraković. Numerous updated and translated editions in the following years, i.e. *Le Journal de Zlata*, translated by Alain Cappon, Paris: Robert Laffont/Fixot, 1993, 198 p., with preface by the editor Bernard Fixot (7-9); *Zlatin dnevnik*, Zagreb: Znanje, 1994, 220 p., with postface by the editor Ivan

Kušan (215 – 220) ; *Zlata's Diary: A Child's Life in Sarajevo*, translated by Christina Pribichevich-Zoric, London: Penguin Books, 1994, 192 p., with an introduction by Janine di Giovanni (9-14), reedited in 2006 with a new preface by the author (1-8).

→ Zlata Filipović, born on 13 December 1980 in Sarajevo, grew up and lived in Centar (near *Čobanija*) with her parents Alica and Malik (a chemist and a lawyer). She went to school and stayed in Sarajevo until 23rd December 1993 when she left with her parents, first to Paris, then in October 1995 to Ireland. She continues to live in Dublin, where she obtained a MPhil in International Peace Studies from Trinity College in 2004, and where she works as documentary film maker.

→ The bilingual 1993-edition (with original Bosnian text as facsimile) covers the period from 3 December 1991 to 14 October 1992 ; Zlata Filipović continued to write her diary after this, and later editions / translations cover the period from 2 September 1991 to 19 October 1993, plus an epilogue from December 1993, written after her arrival in Paris. Zlata Filipović was 11 years old when the siege started and 13 when she left Sarajevo. In her diary, which she addresses as “Dear Mimmy”, and which contains 5 to 15 entries per month, she talks about her daily life, feelings and moods as a teenager, the attacks on Sarajevo and people who get killed and injured, the deteriorating living conditions, the relations with her parents, relatives and friends (those who left and those who stayed), about music classes, school activities and birthday celebrations, about the first publication of her diary and the sudden media interest in her, about political-diplomatic events and her disappointment in politicians and in the international community. Some short explanatory footnotes for names have been added in international editions.

Saturday, 2.5.92. Dear Mimmy, this was the most, most, most horrible day in Sarajevo. Around noon, shooting started. Mother and I went to the hall. Dad was in his office [below our flat] at that moment. We told him by interphone to run to the house door and we went there. We brought Cicko, the canary bird, with us. There was more and more shooting and we couldn't go over the wall to the Bobars', and we went to our cellar. I was starving and thirsty. [...] When the shooting calmed down a bit, Dad went to our flat and brought us some sandwiches. He said he noticed a burning smell and that the telephones were not working. Soon we brought TV set to the

cellar, and then we heard that the main post office (the pink one) in our neighbourhood was burning and that our President was kidnapped. Around 20,00 we went back in our flat. Almost all windows in our street were broken. Our windows, thank God, weren't. Mum and Dad are very nervous. I have to go. CIAO.

3. Alija Isaković, *Antologija zla, 1992 * 6 travnja * 1993 [Anthology of Evil, 1992 * 6 April * 1993]*, Sarajevo: Ljiljan, Sarajevo, 1994, 432 p.

→ Alija Isaković, 1932 (Stolac) - 1997 (Sarajevo), went to school in Stolac, Zagreb and Belgrade, studied and graduated in Slavic languages and literature at the University Sarajevo. He lived in Sarajevo since the 1950s, working as an author, playwright, lexicographer and historian of language and literature, with numerous publications, especially on Muslim identity and Bosnian language, among them *Rječnik karakteristične leksike u bosanskome jeziku* (1992) and *Rječnik bosanskog jezika* (1995). He was the first president of the *Vijeće Kongresa bošnjačkih intelektualaca*, founded in Sarajevo in December 1992, and one of the initiators of the *Prvi bošnjački sabor* in September 1993 (where the decision was taken to change the national denomination from *Muslims* to *Bosniaks*). He lived with his wife Emina in Centar (Koševsko Brdo).

→ The diary covers the first year of the siege, from 6 April 1992 to 6 April 1993, with roughly 15 to 25 entries per month, only less in April 1992 and from November 1992 to January 1993 (with not more than six per month). Alija Isaković writes and reflects about his personal and professional life, the war and crimes of the “*Savages from Pale*”(6), encounters and conversations with friends and colleagues, the harsh living conditions, his readings and writings, the creation of the *Vijeće Kongresa bošnjačkih intelektualaca* and other aspects of the spiritual and cultural life in besieged Sarajevo. The diary also includes some articles written by other intellectuals as well as cartoons from *Oslobođenje*. The 2nd part of the book (251 - 427) contains 48 texts written by Isaković and interviews with him which were published in media between January 1991 and May 1994 - about the war, the international context, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and the situation of Muslims / Bosniaks.

20 June [1992]. I have a toothache. This always happens when it's a non-working day. I was hoping, with things being as they are, that I wouldn't get a toothache. When I was a young man, I asked this one veteran of the People's Liberation Struggle: Did you ever get a toothache in the Partisans? Never, he said. Who had time for teeth? / In Vezira's building, a mother and three small children dead. The shell came in sideways from Mrkovići and hit the ground floor! [...] Crimes are multiplying like they're on the devil's own film reel. The cemeteries have been filled up and now the dead are laid to rest in parks and sports grounds. / [...] I ran into Prof. S. Janković on Titova Street. He was freshly shaven. We kissed each other on both cheeks, as if we'd just come back from Mars. Every encounter is significant because it may be the last [...]

4. Elma Softić, *Sarajevski dani Sarajevsko noci. Dnevnik i pisma 1992.-'94.*, Zagreb: VBZ Zagreb / Biblioteka Am-brozija, 1994, 291 p., with preface by her sister Ilona Softić (5-7), postface by the editor (290) and short bio about author (291). English version: *Sarajevo Days, Sarajevo Nights*, translated by Nada Conić, Toronto: Key Porter Books, 1995, 200 p., with preface by the translator (1-8).

→ Elma Softić, born 1961 in Sarajevo, studied philosophy and literature at University of Sarajevo, worked as translator, journalist and teacher before the war, and during the war with the Jewish organization *Benevolencija* and as translator with international humanitarian organisations. Her families' apartment was in Stari Grad (Alifakovac), where she lived most of the time during the siege, with her sister Ilona (who left to Zagreb in February 1994). Since 2005, she has served as Secretary General of the Sarajevo Jewish Community.

→ The publication includes diary entries as well as letters Softić wrote to her sister and friends in Zagreb, and covers the first two years of the siege, from 6 April 1992 to 17 April 1994. For the English edition, there are also entries for several months between July 1994 and June 1995. The diary entries are mainly from 1992, with on average 12 entries monthly from April to September 1992. Afterwards, she wrote between 2 and 5 entries monthly, until January 1993 and in March 1993. The letters, which are often much longer than the diary entries, are mainly from July to August 1993 and December 1993 to April 1994, and, in the English edition, also from July to December 1994 and April to June 1995, with one to three letters per month. Softić paints a vivid picture of “*everything that happens here, what Sarajevo looks like, and how we live*” (13.3.1994), with many details about daily life and activities, through her own observations and experiences, conversations with family, friends and colleagues, and reported news from the media, and with reflections and interrogations of her life, what war and nationalism are doing with people, and the situation of Sarajevo and Bosnia and Herzegovina. The English edition, in which some of the original diary entries and letters have been shortened, includes a city map of besieged Sarajevo, a glossary of key terms, and short explanatory remarks, both in footnotes and within the text.

23 July 1992. We still don't know what's become of Sudo. B. hasn't had any news of him for eight days already; Ilona and I, on the other hand, have obtained three conflicting reports

about him: 1. that he's alive and well in his apartment in Grbavica, 2. that they've taken him away, 3. that they've taken him away and returned him. / I haven't said anything to B. What should I tell him, when these are all unreliable reports, any anyhow, there's nothing he can do – he himself has been making inquiries in all sorts of places these last few days. But he hasn't got any concrete reply. / I was back home at Alifakovac. I would love to move back up there, but my family tells me that besides being dangerous, which by now doesn't matter at all to me, it's also impractical – on account of food. I would have to take with me some of our wretchedly meagre rations, which are too small to divide. It's always easier to make something for five, because you can streeeetch out one can of food over three days, and use the leftovers from yesterday, and so on. [...]

5. Vehid Gunić, *Evropo, stidi se: 600 dana u opkoljenom Sarajevu*, Oslo: Micro Trykk Offset 1994, 353 p., with postface by Safet Huseinović (347). There is also another edition with same text and different title: *Evropo, stidi se!: fragmenti iz sarajevskog ratnog dnevnika i Vehidova pisma*, Tesanj: Planjax, 1999, 453 p., with info about the author (443) and postface by Ramiz Brkić (445-6) ; English version: *Shame on you, Europe. Excerpts from a Sarajevo war diary and "Vehid's Letters"*, translated by Saba Risaluddin, Sarajevo, 2001, 375 p., with info about the author (367), translator's note (368-9) and postface by Ramiz Brkić (371).

→ Vehid Gunić, 1941 (Kozarac) - 2017 (Sarajevo), worked as journalist and presenter for RTV Sarajevo and RTV BiH before and during the war. He lived in Novi Grad (Alipašino Polje). His wife Fatima, a school teacher, was killed by a grenade on 9 November 1993. He left Sarajevo for Norway at end of December 1993, later returning to Sarajevo.

→ The diary covers the years 1992 and 1993, from 1 January 1992 to 28 December 1993, with irregular entries, i.e., 4 daily entries per month on average, from January to April 1993, and 18 for May to August 1993. Gunić's diary combines information about his daily life and living conditions, activities and conversations with family members and colleagues, attacks and political events in Sarajevo and elsewhere in the country, especially in his native Prijedor region. He also covers diplomatic and international activities related to Bosnia and Herzegovina. The publication includes 13 open letters addressed mainly to international and Bosnian politicians written by the author between July and December 1993, as part of his tv-broadcast, where he denounces nationalist views on Bosnia and Herzegovina and the attitude of the international community. Some explanatory footnotes have been added to the English version.

3 October [1992]. After a month's break, the airlift to bring humanitarian to Sarajevo is operating again. / It's eight days now since we had water or electricity in Sarajevo. / [...] / Fires are burning on the balconies of the high-rises in our street, Tetovska. It's a surreal sight. People are chopping up anything that will burn. I fear for the stunted trees in Alipašino Polje, whose growth I have watched and encouraged. / [...] Humanitarian flights are again landing in Sarajevo. They bring flour and soap, but there's no water. If I were in Alija's place, I'd ban these flights and put an end to all this farting around, if I had the power, of course, if Izetbegović himself could do what I would do if I were in his place. But I'm not. [...]

6. **Nada Halilbegović, *Sarajevsko Djetinjstvo Ratom Ranjeno*, Sarajevo: Sany-promex, 1994, 105 p.**, with reviews by Velimir Milošević, Alija H. Dubočanin and Alija Musić (3-10) ; English version: Nadja Halilbegovic, *Sarajevo's childhood wounded by war*, Ankara: Ministry of Culture, 1995, 76 p., with the same reviews (1-8), and a foreword by Timurcin Savas (V) ; 2nd part: ***Nesanice sanjalice. Sarajevsko Djetinjstvo Ratom Ranjeno (drugi dio) [A Dreamer's Insomnias, Sarajevo Childhood Wounded by War (Part Two)]*, Sarajevo: Naša djeca, 1999**, with introductions by Velimir Milošević, Alija H. Dubočanin and Ismet Dedić (5-14), and a foreword by the author (15-17). English abbreviated version of both books: Nadja Halilbegovich, *My Childhood Under Fire: A Sarajevo Diary*, Kids Can Press, 2006, 120 p., with a new foreword by the author (7-9).

→ Nada Halilbegović (today: Nadja Halilbegovich), born 29 July 1979 in Sarajevo, grew up in Sarajevo, lived with her parents and her brother Sanel in Novi Grad (Alipašino Polje). She went to music school and was part of the *Palčiči* choir during the siege. She was injured on both legs by a shell on 18 October 1992. She left Sarajevo in August 1995 for the USA where she finished high school and then studied. She continues to live in the USA working as author, speaker and peace activist.

→ The first book covers the period from 31 May 1992 to 21 March 1994, the second from 24 March 1994 to 8 January 1996, with 10 to 20 entries per month, except for the periods June to September 1992, January to May 1993, and September and November 1994, when she wrote less regularly (2 – 6 entries per month). The entries between September 1995 and January 1996 were written in the USA (with 6 entries monthly on average). Halilbegović was 12 years old when the siege started and had just turned 16 when she left Sarajevo in August 1995. In her diary she writes about her life and the everyday living conditions, the shelling of the city, her school and music activities, her moods between despair and hope, her wish for peace and her love for “*my tormented, but never defeated city*” (9.11.1993). She also writes about musical and other cultural activities in besieged Sarajevo, especially with and for young people.

5 November 1993. I have not been writing the Diary for a couple of days, because all days are the same, and I have to admit that I wasn't in the mood to write. We all go through

various moods in these crazy times. However, I have to write today. Today is my grandfather's birthday. I can not go, there's shooting and there's no transport. Unfortunately he doesn't have a phone. We called his neighbours and wished him a happy birthday. I remember how we used to go to Kosevsko Brdo for my grandfather's birthday when there was peace. Daughter, son, son-in-law, daughter-in-law, grandchildren, friends. Now that's gone. We are all scattered somewhere, the war doesn't allow us to be all together. I wish you a very happy birthday, dear grandfather, and may you have many more.

7. Ivan Štraus, *Sarajevo, l'architecte et les barbares [Sarajevo: The Architect and the Barbarians]*, Paris: Ed. Du Linteau, 1994, 211 p., translated by Mauricette Begic, with a preface by François Chaslin (5-16), an introduction by the author (17-19) and an interview with him about his life and work from June 1991 (185-207) ; Bosnian version: *Arhitekt i barbari*, Sarajevo: Međunarodni Centar za Mir, 1995, 147 p, with introduction by the author (5).

→ Ivan Štraus, 1928 (Kremna, Serbia) - 2018 (Sarajevo), studied architecture in Zagreb and Sarajevo, lived in Sarajevo since the 1950s where he worked as architect, with constructions in Yugoslavia and beyond. Among his most famous in Sarajevo are the BH Electric Power Building (1978), Holiday Inn (1983) and Unis towers (1986). He lived in Centar (ulica Čekaluša).

→ The diary covers the period from 1 September 1991 to the last days September 1992, with an added epilogue from 31 December 1993. From September 1991 to April 1992, Ivan Štraus wrote in average 5 entries monthly, and then from May to September 1992, 11 entries monthly on average. *“My guilt is that I am a citizen of this proud and marvellous city, that since 6 April I have been a citizen of this superb and cursed Bosnia and Herzegovina.”* (22.4.1992). His diary includes observations about the war and destruction in Croatia 1991, daily life, living conditions and urban destruction in Sarajevo in 1992, and reflections about his work, the war, architecture and the situation of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Photos and plans of buildings have been added within the text, and, in the French edition, some explanatory footnotes.

10 July 1992. Three months have passed since the start of this hell in Sarajevo, and the likelihood of its end – which sometimes seems so near – keeps getting smaller. Looking at the number of resolutions and decisions by international and European organisations, it should have ended long ago, but unfortunately, it hasn't. Why not? No one knows! / [...] I admit, it has become increasingly difficult to bear this atmosphere of uncertainty, confinement, monotony, having nothing to do, penned in by fear and the walls of the kitchen where our whole life now transpires, or the basement where we spend our nights. It's as if there's no end to this game of hot and cold we're being subjected to by the world's powers, as if we never belonged to Europe, as if we've been sacrificed. [...]

8. **Mio-Mir Plakalović, *Još sam živ, iz ratnog dnevnika taxiste Mileta Plakalovića [I'm Still Alive, from the war-time diary of taxi driver Mile Plakalović]*, Sarajevo: Nimsa, [1994], 128 p.** ; **Mile Plakalović, *Sve za čovjeka [Everything for Humanity]*, Sarajevo: Mediapress, 1996, 135 p.** Both books include several texts and testimonies about the author, i.e. from Jovan Divjak, Avdo Hebib, Gradimir Gojer and Enver Čaušević.

→ Miomir Mile Plakalović, born in 1952 in Sarajevo, grew up in difficult circumstances, without graduating from school, worked as taxi driver in Sarajevo during the war. He drove people injured by snipers or grenades to hospital, brought food, medicaments and clothes to people in need, delivered newspapers, organized and helped in other humanitarian activities. Plakalović quickly became a local celebrity, about whom a first book was already published in July 1992 (Alekselj Nejman, *Taxi zvani čežnja : sto ratnih dana Mile Plakalovića [A Taxicab Named Desire: One Hundred War Days of Mile Plakalović]* [Sarajevo : Oslobođenje]).

→ The first book covers the period from 5 April 1992 to 5 February 1994, with irregular entries, mainly from June to September 1993; the second book encompasses the period from 5 April 1992 to 16 April 1995, with irregular individual monthly entries. Some diary entries are published in both books. “*I’m an ordinary man of the people and I’m helping the people.*” (*Sve za čovjeka*, 37): Miomir Mile Plakalović writes about his activities, encounters, conversations and thoughts as taxi driver and humanitarian helper circulating through many different parts of the city. In both books, photos and other documents related to his activities have been added. “*That Mile is a great man, a great Bosnian and a great Sarajevan.*” (Avdo Hebib, *Još sam živ*, 7)

Friday, 20 August [1992]. [...] At “Sark” Nenad and Faruk help me buy 30 kilos of biscuits I’ll be delivering to my old customers: Mjedenica, Bjelave and the Roma. On my way to Mjedenica, I dropped by to see my friend Senad Bjelak, a taxi driver who was wounded in action as a fighter, and gave him a newspaper and a loaf of bread. I brought Milenko Banović, the director of „Tjestenina“, along to show him and also to try to persuade him to sell me a hundred kilos of pasta that I will distribute to the same addresses... And get this: when I handed out the biscuits to the Roma, Orhan, their president, gave me a kilo of plums from his garden. That made me giddy like a child...

9. **Dr. Razija Lagumdžija, *Biljezi i ožiljci [Marks and Scars]*, Sarajevo: OKO, 1995, 251 p.** with postface by the author (245-248), and extracts of reviews by Ljubica Ostojić and Željko Ivanković on the book cover.

→ Razija Lagumdžija, 1925 (Trebinje) – 1995 (Sarajevo), attended primary school in Trebinje and completed secondary school in Sarajevo, graduated in 1956 from the Faculty of Philosophy in Sarajevo and obtained her PhD at the Faculty of Philology in Belgrade in 1976. She was a Professor of literature in a Sarajevo high school, the Higher Pedagogical School and in the Academy of Performing Arts in Sarajevo, of which she was the dean after its establishment in 1981. She also authored several academic and literary publications. In March 1993, she published the book *Mama, neću u podrum* (Mom, I don't want to go to the basement), a collection of letters and diary extracts written by children from besieged Sarajevo. She lived in Centar (ulica Danijela Ozme). She died of an illness on 26 October 1995.

→ The book is a selection of her original diary and covers the period from 5 April 1992 to 15 August 1993, with irregular daily entries (over 20 in November 1992 and January 1993, between 5 and 9 in April and August 1992 and from March to May 1993, and between 10 and 20 for the other months). “*I am writing down my difficult experiences of war - my fear, hope and defiance*” (250): Razija Lagumdžija does not write about political-diplomatic activities, but about her own moods, about events and people around her – her daughter Sanja, who left with her family to London in May 1992, her son Zlatko, who was injured in May 1993, her neighbours and her colleagues, for example Haris Pašović. She also writes about her favourite author, Meša Selimović, the impact of the war on her and other persons, her own activities, especially in the Academy of Performing Arts, and about the cultural life and resistance in besieged Sarajevo. The book includes texts she published in this period, especially in *Oslobođenje*, and illustrations by Ibrahim Ljubović.

8 March 1993. Today was the promotion for the book “Mama, neću u podrum” [Mum, I don't want to go to the basement]. Cultural workers, mostly writers, gathered at the Literature Museum. There was a sense of quiet celebration, satisfaction because here now were books being printed in wartime Sarajevo. While actresses Miljana Zirojević and Minka Muftić read a few passages, I saw many people with tears in their eyes. While I was working on editing the book, I had no idea it would have such an impact on people. The book, as some have said, could be an important document in support of nominating the children of Sarajevo for the Nobel Peace Prize, something that is being discussed a lot these days, also in the newspapers.

10. **Željko Ivanković, *700 dana opsade [700 Days of Siege]*, Zagreb: Durieux, 1995, 327 p.**, with foreword by the author (written on 28.3.1994). New edition: *700 dana opsade. Sarajevski dnevnik, 1992-1994 [700 Days of Siege. Sarajevo Diaries, 1992 - 1994] / Tko je upalio mrak? Sarajevski pojmovnik [Who turned on the dark? Sarajevo glossary]*, Rijeka / Sarajevo: Ex libris / Synopsis, 2011, 486 p., with additional foreword by Miljenko Jergović (5-9).

→ Željko Ivanković, born in 1954 in Vareš, went to high school in Visoko, and has lived in Sarajevo since graduating from the Philosophical Faculty of Sarajevo University. Writer,

poet, essayist, translator, and specialist in Croatian and Bosnian-Herzegovinian literature, he also (co-)edited various periodicals, in the war-years, especially *Radovi Hrvatskoga društva za znanost i umjetnost*, *Hrvatski i bošnjački tjednik* and *Slovo*. During the war, he was one of the co-founders of the PEN-Centar Bosnia and Herzegovina (in October 1992), and was a leading member in different writers' associations in Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina. Until today, he has published numerous books of poetry, essays and novels.

→ The diary covers a period of nearly two years, from 5 April 1992 to 23 March 1994; the most documented periods are May to July 1992, June 1993 and November 1993 to February 1994, with 16 to 25 entries per month, for the other months, 3 to 10 entries monthly. The diary of Željko Ivanković is “a testimony about a city that has been through (and is still going through) a Golgotha” (14), but not as a chronicle of everyday events; in each of his entries of one to two pages, he notes his reflections in relation with observations about his life and work in besieged Sarajevo, cultural activities, encounters and conversations, readings from newspapers and books, and other significant events, written by someone who “is not one of those who would talk about all this in an impassioned, loud, emotional, dramatic way” (ib.). The 2nd part of the 2011-edition *Tko je upalio mrak? Sarajevski pojmovik* (Who turned on the dark? Sarajevo glossary) (489-663) constitutes a book in its own right, is complementary to the diary, a glossary with key terms related to the siege (for example “eksplozija”, “embargo”, “enterokolitis”, “Europa”) chosen and defined in a witty way.

22/09/1992. I don't know if there's any sense in explaining to anyone how each day is the same, the days resembling each other like eggs. The only difference being whether we have water or not, for instance, or whether we have bread or not, whether we had something good to eat or just the standard rice. Pasta is already premium, and beans even more so. The newspapers are the same every day. You don't even have to read new editions, and yet they all get sold out every day, everyone wants to read the newspaper. Still, we are in a different civilisation, someone wise might say Gutenberg's, if that still means anything to anyone here. And yet, it is bizarre that I found a forgotten old newspaper in my desk. It's worth writing about some forty days later. In the meantime, we have lost the Vijećnica, I was away, I even promised friends Iliđža would be unblocked, and the whole of Sarajevo too by

October. That was the information we had from fighters on the front lines, from people who are to be trusted, from the commanders of our units. [...]

11. Mirko Marjanović, *Živjeti smrt: sarajevski dnevnik, travanj 1992. - prosinac 1994* [Living Death: Sarajevo Diary, April 1992 – December 1994], Zagreb: Naklada Društva hrvatskih književnika, 1996, 140 p., with foreword by the author (5-6).

→ Mirko Marjanović, 1940 (near Gradačac) – 2023 (Sarajevo), graduated in Fine Arts from the Higher Pedagogical School in Sarajevo in 1968. He was a writer, author of novels and literary and art critic, and from 1984 – 1993, editor of the publishing house *Svjetlost*. From 1994 to 1995, he was the first editor-in-chief of *Stećak*, the journal of the Croat Cultural Society *Napredak*, and after the war, editor of the magazine *Hrvatska misao*. He lived with his wife Ljiljana in an apartment in Novi Grad (Alipašino Polje).

→ The diary covers the period from 18 May 1992 to 23 December 1994, with irregular entries; the most documented periods are June 1992, December 1992 to January 1993, October to December 1993 and February 1994, with monthly between 11 and 18 entries, while for the other months there are on average 5 daily entries. Marjanović writes and comments on his and his wife's life, the living conditions in his neighbourhood, encounters and conversations with friends and colleagues, his personal and professional activities, especially in the frame of *Napredak* and *Stećak*, cultural events and activities, the position of Croats in Sarajevo and Bosnia and Herzegovina, and political-diplomatic events.

21 April 1994. Everything happening in this city defies imagination. [...] It's pointless to try to describe all the perversions and morbidity to someone who is not here with us in this concentration camp. Whenever I find myself having to do that, I am met with disbelief, even from those who lived with me, in Sarajevo, for a few war-torn months. Even they cannot fathom the stories born of the reality here under a shower of shells. They come, they listen, they leave with their refugee stories that, they say, cannot be compared to anything [...] / Stećak "helps" me get some distance from the contents of that inferno, then I record things later, in an effort for this diary to preserve the totality of time. At Stećak, I have been without a director, a deputy editor-in-chief, for three months now. [...] How to keep editing this monthly magazine that means so much to the Croats of Sarajevo, that is, for now, the only Croat journal? [...]

12. Hamza Bakšić, *Sarajeva više nema, Sarajevo: Oslobođenje, 1997, 348 p., with a foreword by the author from December 1995 (5-6)* ; English (shortened) version: *Sarajevo is no more*, translated by Igor Knezevic, published as e-book in USA in the 2000s (no precise date mentioned), 189 p., with an additional foreword by Branislav Bujic (4-5), online as pdf: <http://dovla.net/images/2012/07/Sarajevo-is-no-more>

→ Hamza Bakšić, 1939 (Ljubinje) - 2008 (Sarajevo), worked as journalist in Sarajevo since the 1960s, for *TV Sarajevo*, *Oslobođenje* - also during the war - and after the war for *Ra-*

dio Slobodna Evropa. He received numerous awards for his journalistic work. He lived in Centar (Koševo Brdo, ulica Mitra Trifunovića – today, ulica Antuna Hangija)

→ For the publication, the author rearranged his diary entries following months instead of years, „January“, „February“, „March“, „April“, „May“, and then following the years 1992 / 1993 / 1994 / 1995 for the days within each month (for example 1.5.1992, 1.5.1993, 1.5.1994, 1.5.1995, and then 2.5.1992, 2.5.1993, etc.). This is a bit confusing, but reflects the thought of the author that “*time, the calendar, in the siege was meaningless*” (2) and also allows the reader to quickly see what was (not) changing over the years. The time periods covered are 31.12.1991 – 4.5.1992, 31.12.1992 – 4.5.1993, 31.12.1993 – 4.5.1994, 31.12.1994 – 4.5.1995, and additionally 13.6. – 30.8. 1995, with an entry every day. Bakšić writes in a precise and clear way about the living conditions in the besieged city, his daily activities, his moods, events in his neighbourhood and working environment, encounters and conversations with colleagues from the press and other persons, the general situation in Sarajevo and Bosnia and Herzegovina, and political-diplomatic events. Short explanatory footnotes and a map of Sarajevo have been added in the English version.

17th January 1993. Today Sarajevo is in a state that is relatively peaceful. An odd shell hits, suddenly, here and there; but people are in the streets again. / They've announced that water will, finally, arrive. I am so dirty that I'm disgusted by myself. / Humanitarian assistance is being distributed: a kilo of flour each. Queuing up in front of me are two young women whose fathers have both been killed, one last fall and the other a little over a month ago. Not a trace of sadness. Maybe because the loss of one father makes the loss of the other easier to bear? Will they begin after the war, if the war ever ends, to grieve for their fathers? / [...] The Police are warning citizens to avoid large gatherings, because the chetniks are always looking for the appearance of a more wholesome target. Nevertheless, wherever the water cistern shows up, people gather at once and wait until they get their ten or fifteen litres of water. Sometimes there is swearing, fights, but the worst is when everyone is silent. [...]

13. **Stjepan Šiber, *Prevare zablude istina. Ratni dnevnik [Deceits, Illusions, Truth. War-time Diary]*, vol.1: 1992., vol.2: 1993., Sarajevo: Rabic, 2000 i 2001, 350 + 382 p.,** with a foreword by the author in vol. 1 (11-12) and a postface by the author in vol. 2 (291-299).

→ Stjepan Šiber, 1938 (Gradačac) - 2016 (Sarajevo), studied at the Military Academy in Ljubljana, military career in JNA with stations in Sarajevo, Zagreb and Belgrade, left the JNA in April 1992 and became Deputy Commander of the Territorial Defence of RBiH and then of the Army of BiH, until December 1993. In January 1994, he became BiH Ambassador to Switzerland.

→ The first volume covers the period from 9th August 1991 to 31st December 1992, with entries nearly every day from April to December 1992 (and between 1 and 13 entries per month for the previous period) ; the second volume covers the period from 1 January 1993 to 26 January 1994, with entries nearly every day in February and from April to November 1993, and between 11 and 17 entries monthly for the other months (except March 93 with only 2). It is a detailed chronicle about political and military events and activities in which Šiber was involved, about meetings, encounters and conversations with other political and military leaders, the political and military situation in Sarajevo and other parts of BiH. Thematic titles have been added (not for each daily entry), for example “*Sarajevo HVO refuses to be incorporated into the AF RBiH system*”, “*Halilović starts countering Delić*”, “*Talks resume at the airport*”. Both volumes include a list of abbreviations and an annex with 47 resp. 24 facsimiles of original documents (interviews, minutes of meetings, letters to and from Šiber, reports, newspaper articles) (vol.1: 221-347; vol 2: 303-382).

27 September [1993]. Commander Delić is holding a meeting, a meeting that is very important for the future of relations within the Army of BiH leadership, especially the relationship between Rasim Delić and Sefer Halilović [...] An attentive reader may notice that sensitive meetings, such as the ones held in the past two days, do not include Jovan Divjak. I once asked Delić about this. He responded that Izetbegović recommended he should try to avoid Jovo whenever possible. It seems it's true that Izetbegović does not trust Divjak.

14. **Tihomir Milašin, *Iz dana u dan: Sarajevski ratni dnevnik, medijsko izvještavanje o ratu u BiH (1992-1996)* [From Day to Day: Sarajevo War Diary, Media Reporting on the War in BiH (1992-1996)]**, Sarajevo: Mediacentar, 2002, 947 p., with preface by Boro Kantić (5).

→ Tihomir Milašin, 1929 (Oštrej) - 2014 (Sarajevo), studied in Belgrade, worked as journalist and editor for *Radio Sarajevo* from 1952 to 1992, for example as commentator and editor of the Foreign Policy Department and as editor of the informative and political program. Retired in 1992, lived in Centar (ulica Moše Pijade, renamed Bolnička in 1994).

→ The diary covers nearly the entire war period, from 18 May 1992 to 15 December 1995. Very regular entries until January 1994 (short for 1992, longer for 1993), then daily and very detailed entries from February 1994 to December 1995. The diary begins as chronicle of the author's daily life, experiences and living conditions, his interactions with family,

neighbours and friends, and then becomes also and mainly a detailed chronicle about political, military and diplomatic activities related to Sarajevo and BiH, where the author summarizes and comments the daily reports from media, especially radio (*Radio BiH, Radio 99, Srpski radio (SRNA), Radio Slobodna Evropa ...*). Except for the first weeks, the entries are regrouped under time-period-titles, in general covering blocks of ten days, with the main topics being mentioned at the beginning (for example: “*From 21 to 30 June 1993. (No water, electricity, gas or humanitarian aid); Balcony Vegetable Gardens; “Palace Coup” (schism) at the Presidency of RBiH; the three sides in Geneva again [...]*”). The book includes an index of names.

30 August 1995 (Wednesday) [...] At 11:50 we hear another wave of NATO bombers above Sarajevo, this is the fifth one. We hear no detonations this time. Perhaps they're on reconnaissance? The weather was clear and quite sunny this morning, but now it's becoming overcast. / At 12 noon, Radio BiH gives another summary of the developments so far and reports that in this morning's renewed shelling ordered by Karadžić, at around 10 a.m., one citizen was killed and three were wounded. However, at no time during the almost half hour report does Radio BiH broadcast the news that following this NATO air operation, President Izetbegović will be returning to negotiations in Paris for talks with the Contact Group, which was reported previously by Radio 99. [...]

15. Dane Olbina, *Dani i godine opsade (Zabiljeske „Dan za danom“ od 3 marta 1992.- do 13. januara 1996) [Days and Years of the Siege (“Day by Day” Entries from 3 March 1992 to 13 January 1996)]*, Sarajevo: Istorijski arhiv Sarajevo, 2002, 811 p., with preface by the author (5) and by Tonči Grebelja (7), reviews by Dragutin Kosovac, Juraj Martinović and Džemil Šarac (in B/C/S, English and German) (783-802) and info about the author (811).

→ Dane Olbina, 1919 (Krbavica, HR) – 2011 (Sarajevo), moved to Sarajevo in 1932, was a member of the local committee of Communist Party of Yugoslavia and of the Partisans army in Eastern Bosnia during World War II. He served as mayor of Sarajevo from 1948 to 1955 and later several times as member of the Assembly of the Socialist Republic of BiH. Pensioner during the 1990s, he was member of the

Social Democratic Party of BiH and co-founded the (informal) association of former Sarajevo mayors in April 1992. He lived in Centar (Obala Stepe Stepanovića; since 1993 Obala Kulina bana), not far from National Theatre, with his wife Desa Koštan-Olbina, also a Partisan during WW2, who died on 23 November 1994.

→ The diary covers every single day during the entire war period, from 3 March 1992 to 13 January 1996. A very detailed chronicle, written in a sober and fact-oriented tone, it describes his everyday living conditions (weather, food, electricity, gas, water), his life and activities, for example his support of the initiative “Declaration about a free and united Sarajevo” (1994-1995), his and his wife’s health, the relations with their two daughters (living abroad), neighbours, friends and colleagues. He also writes about attacks on the town and political, cultural and military events in Sarajevo and BiH. The publication includes a section of photos (765-780), and a list of abbreviations (807-809).

17 November 1994, Sarajevo. Desa is poorly again. She suffered all day. To eat, but what, and when, and how much. [...] It's evidently taking its toll, living in a besieged city, exposed to Chetnik shelling, snipers and infantry fire [...] Today, Karadžić's Serbs shelled the RBiH Presidency building and the downtown area of Sarajevo. While this was happening, I was in Vase Miskin Street, not far from the Market Hall and I was talking with Džemil Šarac [...] / This new shelling of Sarajevo is as if it's trying to send us a message that we are surrounded by the aggressor's forces and that, as winter approaches, they will keep torturing us more and more, withholding gas, electricity, water and communications with the world. We already know that our lives are more endangered with winter approaching and that the main thing now is to prepare for surviving the next five months. The war will certainly not be over in that time and probably not for at least another year. And until then, who knows who will survive. [...]

16. Sejfudin Tanović, *Sarajevom, dan za dan. Hronika jedne porodice [Sarajevo, Day by Day. Chronicles of a Family]*, ur. Hadžem Hajdarević, Sarajevo: Dokument, 2003, vol. 1: 7.3.1993 - 23.1.1994 (1-458) ; vol. 2 : 24.1.1994. - 21.4.1995) (459-910) ; vol. 3: 22.4.1995. - 14.11.1995 (911-1362) ; vol. 4: 15.11.1995 – 21.8.1996 (1363-1814) ; vol. 5 – 7 cover the period 22.8.1996 – 4.12.1998 (1815 – 3010). Introduction by Hadžem Hajdarević in the first volume, extracts of reviews by Enes Karić, Gordana Muzaferija and Vladimir Premec, as well as biographical note on the author, at the end of all 7 volumes.

→ Sejfudin Tanović, 1926 (Priboj / Sandžak) - 1999 (Sarajevo), lived in Sarajevo since end of the 1930s, was a film director and producer, screenwriter, author and poet, cultural activist, worked also for tv and radio. He, his wife Christel and his daughter Ines lived in Stari Grad (Logavina neighbourhood) during the siege.

→ The diary begins nearly one year after the beginning of the siege, on 7 March 1993, and then covers almost every day until the end of the siege, and even beyond, since Tanović continued to write his diary until 4 December 1998. Only for the period from 22.7.1994 to 11.12.1994 are entries missing in the published version, due to a technical problem before the printing. The diary – “*a daily record of what was within reach of my senses, my soul, my*

heart and my thoughts” (3009) - is a very detailed and comprehensive chronicle about the daily life of the author and his family, living conditions, encounters and conversations with friends, neighbours and colleagues, attacks on Sarajevo, cultural and political events, reflections on the war, Sarajevo and Bosnia and Herzegovina. Each volume includes a names index for the entire publication. In volume 7 are added several texts and poems written by Sejfudin Tanović on the history and culture of Sarajevo (3011 – 3081).

Thursday, 27 April 1995 At exactly 11 a.m. the piercing sirens raise me into a cold, cloudy morning. The earth is wet. It rained last night. Christel has already been down to the market and got back right before the sirens [...] / After lunch (pasta with canned meat), Troka drops by to see Ines and brings her four more boxes of baby formula, but doesn't come in. Says he'll come especially to see the baby. He is kind-hearted, loved by children and brings them happiness, awakens children's imagination and ideas – our Mladen Jeličić-Troka... / At 5:45 p.m. we're jolted by sirens again, announcing general alert. I don't know why they keep turning them on to warn us of danger when in Sarajevo, since the bombardment on the night of 5 April 1992, danger has never ceased for the innocent residents of this city. (God, how much longer?...) / [...] UNPROFOR continues talks with Karadžić's Serbs to open the Sarajevo airport. In vain, because without coercive force, the talks will come to nothing... [...]

17. Nusret Sehić, *Dnevni zapisi o životu u Sarajevu pod četničkom opsadom 1992. i 1993. god. [Daily Journal of Life in Sarajevo under the Chetnik Siege in 1992 and 1993], Sarajevo: Ed. Rabic, vol. 1 [1992] and 2 [1993], 2003, 572 p. + 224 p., with preface by the author (3-4).*

→ Nusret Sehić, 1927 (Tuzla) - 2012 (USA), studied history in Zagreb, moved to Sarajevo in 1964 where he worked at the Institute for History, from 1979 onwards as scientific advisor. Specialist in the contemporary history of BiH. Lived in Novo Sarajevo (Otoka). He left Sarajevo on 28 December 1993 with his wife Senka and joined their son in the USA, where they stayed after the war.

→ The diary covers the period from 1 January 1992 to 28 December 1993, not every day, but very regularly, in general with 7 to 18 entries per month, the most documented and

detailed period being from April to October 1992, with 21 to 31 entries monthly. “*I tried to record everything I heard, saw, found out from people, the radio and TV news, things I went through myself*” (3): Nusret Sehić writes and comments about news and political, military and diplomatic activities and events related to Sarajevo and BiH, with *Oslobođenje* as main source. Furthermore, he writes about his daily life, activities and living conditions in his neighbourhood. Thematic titles have been added at the beginning and within the entries (for example “*Another ‘black’ day for Sarajevo!*”, “*The Geneva conference for peace in BiH ends in failure!*” “*What will the next Sarajevo war morning bring?*”). The book includes also some cartoons from *Oslobođenje*.

8 September 1993, Wednesday. Same old again! Electricity is on-again, off-again. It comes on unexpectedly and gets cut off just as unexpectedly. Sometimes we get two hours a day, and sometimes as much as ten hours at a stretch. There is no rule. The situation with bread is similar. [...] / Today, Senka went to the market where you can get anything from the smugglers for “hard” currency, but you can also trade for cigarettes. She tried to offer the smugglers a new towel in exchange for some vegetables. The smugglers did not care for the offer. / [...] / For days, I have been trying to make it to the Hepok building as early in the morning as possible to get our, for now only newspaper “Oslobođenje”. I’m not alone in this, so a few of us from the apartment building meet early in the morning at the same spot to snatch up those newspapers that are so precious to us. With its wartime editions “Oslobođenje” is once again in its glorious days like at the time of the great antifascist war. [...]

18. Jure Galić, *Sarajevski dnevnik (1992. - 1993. - 1994.) [Sarajevo Diary (1992 – 1993 – 1994)]*, Sarajevo: Savez udruženja boraca narodnooslobodilačkog antifašističkog rata Bosne i Hercegovine, 2003, 329 p., with foreword by the author (5).

→ Jure Galić, 1921 (near Ljubuški) - 2016 (Sarajevo), became member of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia in 1940 and a Partisan during World War II, and studied law in Sarajevo after the war. He worked as a writer and novelist, and was a leading member in writers associations of Sarajevo, BiH and Yugoslavia. He lived in Centar (Mejtaš) with his wife Dragica. Both left Sarajevo for Germany on 4 February 1994. He came back after the war and was elected several times president of the WWII veterans organisation *Savez udruženja boraca Narodnooslobodilačkog antifašističkog rata BiH* (renamed *Savez antifašista i boraca NOR-a BiH* in 2006).

→ The diary covers the period from 10 November 1992 to 4 February 1994, with rare entries between November 1992 and September 1993, and then nearly every day from 15 October 1993 to 4 February 1994. Galić, who was 71 years old when the war started and strongly committed to a common Bosnia and Herzegovina, writes in great detail about his daily life, his moods and the harsh living conditions in winter 1993/1994, about encounters with neighbours, friends and colleagues (mainly writers and former Partisans) and also conversations which he overhears in the streets when he is queuing for food or water, about the war (especially in Herzegovina - where he is from) and the role of Croats. He also devotes space to his activities, for example as member of the Social Democratic Party, the commemoration of Partisan activities from WWII, or related to cultural events.

Saturday, 23 October 1993. No electricity, water or gas. / I am depressed to exhaustion. / My depression and deep bitterness are exacerbated by the fact that we are almost constantly without electricity, gas, water and other basic necessities for life; and we keep hearing every day how there is no bread because there's nothing to bake it in, the ambulances are not working because they have no fuel [...] etc., while at the same time, the municipal president, our neighbour in Nemanjina Street, keeps the generator on, so that he, as opposed to everyone else, always has electricity, and lights, and radio, and television, and god knows what else. [...] / I am trying to adjust to these times. To understand them at least, so that I can bear them mentally and physically, but this is difficult. I keep having more doubts that the blockade will be lifted, because there are too many interests involved and it's hard to imagine anyone could bring them to agreement. [...]

19. Fadil Vranić, *Istina o agresiji i genocidu na Republiku Bosnu i Hercegovinu i Sarajevo : sarajevski ratni dnevnik 1992-1996 [The Truth about the Aggression and Genocide against the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina and Sarajevo: Sarajevo War Diary 1992-1996]*, Sarajevo: autor, 2004, 750 p., with a foreword by the author and extracts of reviews by Ibrahim Bušatlija and Aziz Hadžihasanović.

→ Fadil Vranić, born in 1927, in Podgorica, studied agricultural sciences in Zagreb, moved to Sarajevo end of the 1950s, where he worked as an agricultural engineer. During the siege, he lived with his family between their apartment in Hrasno (Novo Sarajevo) and an apartment of relatives in Bjelave (Centar). Besides his diary, in 2004 he also self-published the book *Ratne pjesme o agresiji na R BiH* with patriotic songs he had written during the siege.

→ The diary covers the period from 6 October 1992 to February 1996; not every day, but very regularly: from October 1992 to spring 1993, with between 8 and 18 entries per month. From summer 1993 on, there are between 20 and 28 entries monthly. The dates are often not specifically highlighted, but appear within the text, i.e. “*Today, 21 October, like every day, I wake up early.*” Vranić was 65 years old when the war started. His diary is, on the one hand, a very detailed, comment-filled chronicle about his daily life, activities and living conditions in the besieged town. On the other hand, he also goes into detail about war-related events in Sa-

rajevo and other towns in BiH, including diplomatic activities, as reported by Bosnian and international media, sometimes combined with reflections about Bosnia and Herzegovina and its history. “*I wrote down everything that was happening in Sarajevo in RBiH during the aggression, genocide, urbicide and culturecide by FR Yugoslavia, i.e. Serbia and Montenegro*” (foreword). Thematic titles have been added, sometimes for several daily entries, e.g. “*Trees cut down in the parks*”, “*RBiH will never fall*”, “*Christmas in Sarajevo coloured in blood*”, “*UN betrayal of BiH*”.

28 December [1994]. The situation in the city is difficult because of the winter and lack of food. We get 0.5 kg of beans per capita and as much rice, 1 bar of soap and one can of meat. This is the world's refuse of food that is also unhealthy, which was determined more than a year ago. / A sniper bullet from the Chetnik side close to Hotel Bristol wounded a woman, as confirmed by UNPROFOR officials, but they “didn't know where the shot came from” – in order to satisfy their stale phrases. [...] / Darja Lebar, a journalist from Slovenia was seriously wounded in Sarajevo. She loves Bosnia and our people. She is most worried about Bosniaks-Muslims, because they want to exterminate them, and the political solutions proposed by the powerful are not looking to protect them, to ensure peaceful life / [...] At the city assembly, the Dutch reporter Jolanda Keesom delivered 10.000 signatures of her compatriots for a united Sarajevo and the Declaration on the Undivided City. [...]

20. Mile Jovičić, *Dva dana do mira. Dnevnik sa Aerodroma “Sarajevo” april-maj 1992., Novi Sad: Autorsko izdanje, 2004, 296 p.*; English version: *Two Days Till Peace: A Sarajevo Airport Story*, Bloomington: Author house, 2011, 332 p., with a foreword, epilogue and postface by the author and a review by Nenad Kecmanović.

→ Milivoje Jovičić, born in 1948 near Rogatica, studied in Sarajevo, in 1985 he became general manager of the Sarajevo airport. He lived in Novo Sarajevo (Hrasno) and served as the director of the airport at the beginning of the war, when it was taken over by the Yugoslav People's Army (JNA). He cooperated with JNA during the following weeks, when many evacuation flights were organized, and left his position and Sarajevo on 9 May 1992 to Belgrade, when the JNA also withdrew from the airport. He has lived in Canada, since May 1993.

→ The book covers the 5 first weeks of the siege, from 3 April to 9 May 1992, with entries for every day. It should be more considered as memoir, not as transcription of the original diary; the author wrote the manuscript in 1994-1995, with “*my memories, still vivid and fresh, and supported by the notes of my diary*”(9). Milivoje Jovičić writes about his work and experiences as director of Sarajevo airport in the first weeks of the war, events and encounters with politicians, JNA, international observers and ordinary people at the airport, as well as daily air traffic statistics and the situation in Sarajevo. Thematic titles have been added for each entry (for example “*Foreigners are leaving, Sarajevans are leaving*”, “*The agreement on the police station*”, ...). The book also includes some photos, a chronology for February-March 1992, a report from UNPROFOR-general MacKenzie from July 1992, and, in the English version, explanatory footnotes for names and organisations, with an overall narrative which widely reflects Serb-nationalist interpretations of the war.

Sunday, April 12 [1992]. [...] In the overcrowded hall, in front of the window of the Bosna Air office, there are many people. There are problems with the tickets. [...] Some flights have been cancelled. The flight schedule does not exist anymore. Now there are not enough tickets. The employees are making lists. [...] Nobody knows which passenger lists are valid. / The army takes passengers following this principle: military families from Rajlovac first, and then the rest of people if there is room on the plane. People wait for hours, but that is the only way. / [...] There are too many people. Many of them want to see me. I tell the guard that if someone asks to see the director of the airport he should ignore it, but if somebody asks to see Jovicic, he should let him in. / [...] / We worked without stopping all day long. I wrote down in my diary: 14 flights of Antonov AN-26, 6 flights of B-707, 4 flights of Bosna Air and 4 flights of business aviation. Altogether 28 flights. In my estimation, 4,200 passengers! [...]

21. Fra Ljubo Lucić, *Između neba i granata, Sarajevski dnevnik 1992-1995 [Between the Sky and Shelling, Sarajevo Diary 1992-1995]*, 2 vol., Sarajevo-Zagreb: Svjetlo Rijeci, 2005-6, vol. 1, 803 p. [4/1992 – 3/1994], vol. 2, 682 p. [3/1994 – 11/1995], with preface by Mons. Pero Sudar (vol. 1: 5-7) and reviews by Mile Babić, Fra Mijo Džolan, Ivan Lovrenović, Josip Mlakić, Senad Pećanin and Mirko Pejanović (vol. 2: 649-657).

→ Ljubo Lucić, 1931 (Prozo-Rama) - 1995 (Zagreb), philosophical and theological studies at the Franciscan school of Theology in Sarajevo in the 1950s, where he then taught as professor from 1961 to 1995. He was ordained a priest in 1957, and during the war lived and carried out pastoral work in the Franciscan Friary and Church of Saint Anthony of Padua (Stari Grad / Bistrik). He was one of the members of the Hrvatski Koordinacioni Odbor in Sarajevo in 1993-1994 which stood for the integrity of BiH and against a conflict between Croatian Defence Council (HVO) and Army of BiH in Sarajevo. Lucić was also active as author and journalist, during the war, especially as editor-in-chief of the Franciscan magazine *Svjetlo Riječi* and as author for *Dani*. He died on 20 December 1995 in a car accident in Zagreb.

→ The diary covers nearly the entire period of the siege, from 5 April 1992 to 19 November 1995, with irregular and short entries between April 1992 and March 1993 (on aver-

age, 8 entries monthly), and then nearly every day (in great detail) from April 1993 to November 1995 (with main exceptions when he was travelling outside of Sarajevo and didn't write, especially July 1994, October-November 1994, January, April-May and July 1995). "I wrote about what I saw or heard"(11): In his diary, Lucić notes his observations and comments about his daily life and living conditions, his work and activities in the religious, political, cultural and humanitarian field, meetings with other religious dignitaries, politicians, international visitors and ordinary people, the situation in Sarajevo and other parts of BiH – in general and more specifically regarding the Bosnian Franciscans, the catholic church, Croat political parties and organisations, and the relations between Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina. The publication includes an index of names.

21 July [1995] – Tuesday. There was no electricity this morning. Intermittent shooting was heard during the night. Vlatka Puškarić called around 12:30 from Šćit and said that a teacher had hit her so she bled, but Fra Živko hit him and the man fell down. They took him to the asylum. He's just one of many who have lost their minds in the war. Sarajevo is full of them. [...] / I had a mass service at 8 o'clock in Dobrinja. None of our people were killed, even though our sacristan Toma (the man who takes care of the keys of the church in Dobrinja) was very close to the shell impact site. Many said they were getting ready to go fetch water. / [...] / There weren't a lot of people at the Provincialate at 6 p.m. Zlatko was complaining that he was rendered deaf from a shell that hit close to the Provincialate on his way to get me. While I was holding mass, we first heard shells being launched and then some infantry fire from Pionirska dolina. They're having another skirmish somewhere. [...]

22. Saudin Bećirević, *Bore oko očiju: dnevnik bosanskog vojnika [Wrinkles around the Eyes: Diary of a Bosnian Soldier]*, Sarajevo: autor, 2007, 465 p., with foreword (7) and postface (457-489) by the author and reviews by Zaim Besović, Damir Huremović, Svetlana Miljković (459-465); **vol. 2: *Na putu u nepoznato: dnevnik bosanskog vojnika [On the Road to the Unknown: Diary of a Bosnian Soldier]*, Sarajevo: Udruženje Urban, 2010, 472 p.,** with reviews by Jovan Divjak, Jasminko Halilović, Nihad Kreševljaković (458-472).

→ Saudin Bećirević, 1973 (near Foča) - 2009 (Sarajevo), spent elementary school in Foča, then high school in Sarajevo, joined a self-organized defence group of the city in April 1992 when he was 18 years old and was a soldier of the Army of BiH during the entire war.

→ The books are based on his war diary, which Saudin Bećirević edited, completed and then first published from 2005 on his blog <https://boreokoociju.blogspot.ba/>, and then again for the two books. The first book chronologically covers the period April 1992 to September 1993, and the 2nd from October 1993 to 1996, however concrete dates are rarely mentioned, and the entries have thematic titles (for example "UN-justice", "The tunnel", "August", "Return to the dark valley", ...). Bećirević writes and reflects about his daily life, activities and living conditions as a soldier, on the frontlines within and outside of Sarajevo, in military barracks and on rest-days in Sarajevo, his relations and conversations with other soldiers, and more generally about the war. In both publications, photos have been added, from Ibrahim Kovačević in vol. 1 and from Milimir Kovačević Strašni in vol. 2.

[29 May 1993] Yesterday we received invitations to attend the Miss Besieged Sarajevo contest. Most of the guys from the unit are going. Some are bringing binoculars to zoom in on interesting girls. We were walking together and soon reached BKC [Bosnian Cultural Center] where we found seats in the back. The hall was soon packed. [...] Inela Nogić won and the girls carried a sign at the end that read: "Don't let them kill us." Incredible applause followed. We were all on our feet and clapping. [...] Then we returned to the Barracks. I'm now on my bed, thinking about what happened today. Incredible, it all reminded me of peacetime and events that just don't fit into this time of war. As if someone had turned back the clock to the distant past when we lived normal lives. [...] Should we be happy about this today or sad? We can be happy that something happened, but also sad because we're coming to realise that we're living thousands of years behind the rest of the world. [...]

23. **Peter Münch, *Der Duft des Lindenbaums. Ein Tagebuch aus Sarajevo* [The Scent of Linden: Diary from Sarajevo], Ravensburger Buchverlag, 2008 and 2012, 202 p.**, translation of the diary by Jasminka Grgić ; Italian version: *Il profumo del tiglio. Diario di Nina, 12 anni, a Sarajevo*, Rizzoli, 2008, 199 p. ; Bosnian version: *Miris lipe : dnevnik iz Sarajeva*, Sarajevo: Kult B i Fondacija Konrad Adenauer u BiH, 2009, 157 p., with foreword by the editor (6-7) and by Peter Münch (8-9).

→ Nirvana (Nina) Zeljković, 1983 (Sarajevo) - 1995 (Sarajevo), lived with her parents in an apartment in Centar (nearby Hastahana park). She was 12 years old when she was killed on 27 August 1995 by a grenade while playing on the street.

→ The diary begins on 13 June 1995 and covers the following three months, with entries nearly every day, except for the period from 13 to 28 July. The last entry is from 26 August 1995, one day before Nina was killed by a grenade. In 2005, the German journalist Peter Münch met Nina's mother who showed him Nina's diary. He then published a book (first in German), which tells the story of Nina as a novel, and which includes the original text of Nina's diary. The book is therefore a fact-based fiction, but the original pages of the diary are clearly distinguished from the novel. In her diary, which she addressed as "Dear Vili", Nina talks about

her daily life and activities, for example her dancing classes, the living conditions of her family and friends, how she meets and plays with her friends in the streets and their apartments, her first love, the shelling in the neighbourhood and the relations with her mother.

22 August 1995, Tuesday

PEACE. / All children love peace. / Then they will play happily / and grow up happy.

HELLO, HELLO, HELLO. I was woken this morning by the general alert sirens. I got up, had breakfast, took Zik [dog] out and went with Belma, Mina and Lejla to our dance practice. It was great. When I got back from practice, I went with Mina and Lejla to Đuro Đaković Street to get water. There was no water. We went to the water supply company. They said the water would come soon. On our way back we saw Alma and Adisa. We played rummy with Alma in the courtyard. Mum got back from work and she got mad at me for going outside without asking. The general alert sirens sounded again. Mum made me go back inside. There was a bit of shooting [...]

24. Edo Hozić (ed.), *Biografija Sarajeva '92-'93 : iz dana u dan: izbor iz sarajevskih novina i magazina [Biography of Sarajevo 1992-1993: From Day to Day: Selection from Sarajevo Newspapers and Magazines]*, Sarajevo: BEMUST - Sarajevo, 2008, 497 p., with foreword by the author (7-8).

→ Edo Hozić, born in 1953 in Knin, studied political science in Sarajevo in the 1970s, and served from 1981-1992 as an advisor in cultural institutions of Sarajevo and BiH. Author of essays and publications, he was from 1992-1994 advisor to the Ministry of Culture of BiH. Living in Centar (near the eternal flame, ulica Vase Miskina, renamed Ferhadija in 1993) with his wife Sandra, he started to work on the present book during the siege, which was then published 15 year later. Member, founder and director of various cultural initiatives after the war. Since 2009, he has been director of the *Project Biennial of Contemporary Art D-0 ARK*.

→ The book covers the first year of the siege, from 6 April 1992 to 5 April 1993. The chapters correspond to the 13 months in this period, each chapter including first the author's diary entries (short entries for every day), and then his selection of reproduced articles published in this month, especially from *Oslobođenje* (between 6 and 20 articles per month). In his diary entries, Edo Hozić mainly writes about daily living conditions and events within Sarajevo during the first year of the siege, his activities and encounters, especially with other persons from the cultural scene, with short mentions of political-diplomatic events related to Bosnia-Herzegovina. The selected newspaper articles written by journalists and other intellectuals are more general reflections on different topics and discussions related to the siege and the war, an expression of the "spiritual resistance" (8) during the siege.

7 February [1993]. Today is a bit more peaceful, but there's still shooting. Rice and beans for dinner. We had visits from Mladen, Novak, then Ferka. Ferka, as is her custom, brought us something: this time it was four lemons. Now Sandra is making jam out of the rind of two lemons. Nothing is wasted. Even toilet paper is collected in bags to be thrown away, for months now, because otherwise it might block the pipes and they could later burst. That's how it's been since Radovan went up on the hill. The cultural festival "Sarajevo Winter 93"

has started in town. Several foreign and local artists are taking part. During the day, one citizen was killed and 17 were wounded.

25. Emira Ibrahimagić, *Razgovor majke s ubijenim sinom u opkoljenoj Sarajevu: dnevnik / Conversation of a mother with her murdered son in besieged Sarajevo*, Sarajevo: Društvo za ugrozene narode BiH, 2009, 241 p. + 267 p., with a foreword by Salih Foco (15-19), introductory words by the author (21-24) and a postface by Fadila Memišević (265-7); bilingual edition, English translation by Amira Sadiković.

→ Emira Ibrahimagić, born in 1939 in Brčko, graduated in law at University of Sarajevo, worked at Novo Sarajevo Municipality, retired in 1992. She lived in Novi Grad (Alipašino Polje) with her husband and her daughter Samra and her son, Samir, who was killed on 20 September 1992 by a grenade.

→ Emira Ibrahimagić's diary is a conversation with her 8-year-old son Samir ; she started it on 5th October 1992, two weeks after he had been killed, and continued to write until January 1995, nearly every day the first months, less regular from February 1993 on, and with monthly entries from November 1993 on. This "*diary about life and death in the besieged Sarajevo*" (24) is a testimony to her grief, where she evokes memories of her son, daily living conditions, relations within her family, events in Sarajevo, especially attacks, military events in other parts of BiH, and the attitude of international community. Thematic titles were added for each entry (for example "*I hear your voice*", "*Samra prays and recites al-Fatiha for you*", "*Massacres in two schools in Novi Grad*", ...)

[21 January 1994.] [...] Life in Sarajevo is terrible and brutal. People have changed a lot. Each person reveals his/her true nature by hitting out on children, who get insulted and sworn at by adults for each little mischief they do. I am disappointed because there are so few true people here. / My beloved Samir, the other day I went to visit aunt Baha and I saw a photo of you that had been taken during Cuni's birthday party. You sat next to the cake which had a golden lily on it. Then I promised you that I would place golden lilies on your birthday cake too. Baha and I cried a lot [...] / Today I write

about dad's 60th birthday, which started with heavy snow. I am sorry that we had nothing to give him as a present except our best wishes, the only gift was another ration of humanitarian aid, which was very poor – 300 grams of cooking oil and 600 grams of beans. Samra (being a child) got 2 kg of milk powder and 200 grams of soya flakes. [...]

26. Dragomir Ubiparipović, *Ratni dnevnik sarajevskog sveštenika [War Diary of a Sarajevo Priest]*, Belgrade: Biblioteka Zakletva životu, 2011, 274 p. [Cyrillic], with a foreword by the author from 25.9.1992 (5-11) and postface from 2002 (270-273).

→ Dragomir Ubiparipović, born in 1953 in Visoko, orthodox priest in Sarajevo where he was in charge of the old orthodox church in Baščaršija and the orthodox cathedral in Centar for the first months of the war, left Sarajevo in late August 1992 and moved to Serbia.

→ The diary covers the first five months of the siege, from 5 April 1992 to 23 August 1992, with entries nearly every day, and some additional entries between 27 August and 24 September 1992, after he had left Sarajevo. Dragomir Ubiparipović remained in Sarajevo in April 1992, despite the SDS led by Radovan Karadžić demanding that all Serbs to leave the city. He writes about his daily life, activities and encounters as an orthodox priest, the living conditions in the first months of the siege and the role of the orthodox church in Sarajevo and BiH. The book also includes some interviews and texts from this time, about his role and the situation of Serbs and of the orthodox church in Sarajevo.

Thursday, 23 July [1992]. I had lunch and then at 15:30 they sent a car around to take me to visit Mayor Kreševljaković. I was very warmly received. We spent more than an hour talking and exchanging opinions. Again, I wasn't being diplomatic, I spoke openly about all the problems affecting me and the people. / [...] My main impression is that Kreševljaković is a realistic man. He too is aware of the importance of Serbs to this city, Serbs who have been here for centuries, but also of the difficulties that are more or less the same as after Saint Vitus Day 1914. I feel encouraged when I see that there are people thinking realistically about tomorrow and comparing historical circumstances where both the positive and negative sides of living together can be seen. Namely, this is a region with a longstanding tradition of coexistence and it will be difficult to make a sudden break with that coexistence in this city. [...] In my efforts, I am only trying to do as much as I can to make things easier for the Church and my people, but now there is again that question of what can I do to make things easier? [...]

27. Imer Pezo, *Ratni dnevnik '92 : priče o raji i papcima [War Diary 1992: Stories of Urbanites and Yokels]*, Sarajevo: Immer, 2015, 324 p., with reviews by Jovan Divjak and Ramo Kolar (320-324).

→ Imer Pezo, born 1966 in Sarajevo, where he also grew up and went to school, founded the private production company *Immer* in 1990. Member of the Military Police of the Army of Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1992-1993, author of books and novels after the war.

→ Imer Pezo's book is a memoir-diary which he wrote after the war, based on notes of his war diary which he completed and expanded for the book. It mainly covers the period from April to December 1992, with daily entries of one to several pages where the author relates his direct experiences as member of the military police unit led by Ismet 'Čelo' Bajramović. "*With each day, the circle around the city took on a dual siege: internal and external*"(109): Imer Pezo writes, among others, about activities, encounters and conversations related to the "inner siege" and his commitment against it; the criminal abuse of power by military and governmental circles; the interactions and rivalries between different groups and warlords of the Sarajevo defence, among them Jusuf 'Juka' Prazina and Mušan 'Caco' Topalović, and the situation of ordinary people facing this "double siege".

6 May 1992. "*Imer, Juka's really angry with you. He said he would shoot both your legs off,*" my school friend Almir, who is now with Kruško in a unit in Alipašino polje, told me. "*Almir, thank you for the heads-up.*" I know he's mad at me because I slapped his deputy and took three mags with ammo off him. / I saw Juka in front of the bakery with his wolves. [...] "*Who do you think you are, you scumbag, to take ammo from my men?*" he asked me with eyebrows raised and his mouth crooked. "*And who are you, you scumbag, to stop me?*" I replied. [...] Hafiz Ismet stepped in front of Juka, "*Kids, this is no time to fight among yourselves.*" The sound of a shell exploding nearby made us part ways. / Ismet Čelo invited me to come with them. "*Don't get into anything with him (he meant Juka): one of his guys might want to prove himself in front of Juka and could shoot us in the back. He likes guys like that and keeps searching them out, encouraging them, egging them on.*" I listened to him in silence. Years spent at the Zenica prison made him skilled at assessing a person's character.

28. Puniša Kalezić / Diana Bosnjak Monai, *Da Sarajevo con amore. Diario dall'assedio [From Sarajevo with love. Diary from the siege]*, Nardò: Ed. Besa, 2017, 248 p., with a foreword, introduction, comments and postface by Diana Bosnjak Monai.

→ Puniša Kalezić, 1912 (nearby Danilovgrad, Montenegro) – 2004 (Sarajevo), high school in Cetinje, graduated in Slavic

studies and French language at the University in Belgrade, worked as teacher in Bosiljgrad, deported in 1941 as prisoner of war to camps in Germany and then Italy, before escaping in 1943 and joining the Partisans in BiH. In Socialist Yugoslavia he graduated in Law at the University of Sarajevo and worked as journalist, author and editor; he was also for many years, president of the BiH branch of the Trade Union of Workers in Education and Science. During the siege, he lived in his apartment in Centar (ulica Kralja Tomislava, renamed Koševo in 1994), with his wife Mir(oslav)a and their daughter Vesna.

→ Puniša Kalezić was 80 years old when the siege started and kept a diary nearly every day from 2nd September 1992 to 23 March 1994, and then again, less regularly, from April 1995 to 22 November 1995. The published diary is a shortened version of the original text, edited, arranged and translated into Italian by his grand-daughter Diana Bosnjak Monai, who was born in 1970 in Sarajevo, lived in Slovenia and Croatia between 1992 and 2000, and since 2000 mainly in Italy (Trieste). The book is organized into 28 chapters, each chapter beginning with an introduction by Diana Bosnjak Monai where she writes about the life of her grandfather, their family, her own experiences and the history of Yugoslavia. The selected diary entries cover the mentioned time span from September 1992 to November 1995 (including a retrospective look on May 1992, written at the beginning of September 1992), with irregular entries (for example 14 daily entries for December 1992, nine for November 1993, and two for September 1995). Puniša Kalezić's diary mainly contains accounts and observations about his everyday life and that of his family, the difficult moral and material conditions they faced, including their efforts to stay in touch with their other daughter Danka (Diana's mother) and her family, who had fled to Slovenia in the spring of 1992, as well as comments on the political situation.

11 April 1993. Today is Easter. Mira got up early to clean the house and prepare something for the festive lunch. We opened the last bottle of wine from our liquor cabinet that used to be full before the war. [...] I was a little sad to open it, but who knows what life has in store for us tomorrow. We should use every day and make it as beautiful as possible. [...] We wished each other happy Easter and started to cry. All three of us. We are split in half on this holiday: far from our daughter, son-in-law, and grandchildren. And they suffer just as much, thinking of us surrounded in this concentration camp. [...] Then Mira said something I will never forget: 'This is the worst Easter I can remember.' [...] For Vesna it is even more difficult. This is her first war. She is very sensitive by nature. [...] Maybe it's the easiest for me. I have already experienced two wars. The First World War brought misery and hunger, especially in its aftermath, with the terrible Spanish flu epidemic when people were dying like flies. The Second World War was terrible, but this one surpasses them all. Without a doubt!

29. Jovan Divjak, *Ne pucaj [Don't shoot]*, vol. 1: *Ratni dnevnik 1992 [War Diary 1992]*, 606 p., vol 2: *Ratni dnevnik 1993 [War Diary 1993]*, 639 p., vol. 3: *Fragments [Fragments]*, 414 p., Sarajevo: *Obrazovanje grada Bosnu i Hercegovinu*, 2022, with introduction by the author (vol. 1: 7-19)

→ Jovan Divjak, 1937 (Belgrade) - 2021 (Sarajevo), attended the Military Academy in Belgrade from 1956 to 1959 and the *École d'État Major* in Paris in 1964-1965 ; he moved

to Sarajevo in 1966, serving in different positions in his military career, becoming Chief of command of the Territorial Defense of the Sarajevo sector from 1989 to 1991. He left the Yugoslav People's Army in 1991, and was Deputy Commander of the main staff of the Army of BiH from 1992 to 1994. In 1994, he set up the NGO "Education builds Bosnia and Herzegovina", devoted to helping child victims of war, which he presided over until his death.

→ The publication covers the period from 6 April 1992 to 1 January 1994, with between 10 and 25 daily entries each month. It is based on his war diary which he reworked and completed later for the publication. Jovan Divjak, known for his humanism, anti-nationalism and proximity to people, mainly writes on political and military events and activities in which he was involved, meetings, encounters and conversations with other military leaders, politicians, journalists, soldiers and ordinary citizens, about the situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina and in the city, for example the position of Sarajevo Serbs. Also included are interviews with him and extracts of documents, for example military reports. Thematic titles have been added above and within each diary entry (for example "Everyone knows about the tunnel but me!", "What did Ejup Ganić want?", "An invasion of foreign reporters", ...). The third volume, *Fragments*, contains various notes and documents on the war, his activities and his life, from 1992-1995 and later.

27 June [1993]. This morning, coming to Headquarters, I ran into Bahrudin Bijedić, who asked me right off the bat, "Colonel, did you know that a single Chetnik shell killed seven children yesterday in Bistrik?" Shocked by this information, that we at the Headquarters, or at least I myself, knew nothing about, I said to Bahrudin, "That is horrific, it's barbaric what the Pale Serbs are doing. They don't understand that killing children will not change anything in military terms, but it will provoke vengeful behaviour of individuals and groups towards Serbs in the city. As has happened so many times." Sad about the children and worried about innocent Serbs, I voiced this opinion to my friend Bahrudin Bijedić. "No, Colonel, that can't happen here," Bahrudin tried to console me. "Wait and see," I thought, but kept quiet. [...]

30. Dušan Sabo, *Sarajevo tih dana... Dnevnik 1991-1993 [Sarajevo in those days... Diary 1991-1993]*, selected and edited by Matija Bošnjak, Sarajevo: Fondacija Ekpa, 2023, 440 p., with postface by Matija Bosnjak (421-439).

→ Dušan Sabo, born in 1951 in Novi Sad, studied at Faculty of Dramatic Arts in Belgrade, moved 1980 to Sarajevo, film and theatre director, critique and essayist. He lived in Centar (Marijin Dvor), and left Sarajevo in April 1993, first to Croatia and then moved to Paris in May 1993, where he continues to live today, working as a writer.

→ The diary begins with some notes from December 1991 and January 1992, and then covers mainly the period from 3 April 1992 to 21 May 1993, with 16 to 25 daily entries per month from April to November 1992, and between 3 and 13 monthly entries from December 1992 to May 1993. “*A diary is not a reportage*” (269): Sabo’s daily entries constitute less a chronicle of events and activities, rather a series of reflections about life under siege, conversations with colleagues and friends, attitudes and events related to nationalism and the war, and the political, cultural and spiritual situation of Sarajevo and Bosnia and Herzegovina, written by someone who is critical towards all ideologies and nationalisms. The editor notes that the published diary represents a selection from the original manuscript, made with the effort to keep the “*internal integrity and coherence of the manuscript*” (440).

2 December [1992]. We ask in jest: who lives in Sarajevo today, but doesn't have to? We agree: fools and optimists. Those who have no choice at least have no illusions, which makes them neither fools nor optimists. Those of us who stayed out of a conviction that civic BiH would survive, which has proven to be naïve, or out of vanity – which we call dignity – that we won't be made to leave by anyone but ourselves, we are not fools because we are optimists, we are optimists because we are fools. / Still, there is some comfort in the fact that by sharing the fate of most citizens, we are documenting (many of us write diaries), tracing a path for the truth. / A man can survive even by eating rotten fruit. A worm only survives in a rotten fruit. What kind of Sarajevo awaits us in the future? Of dissatisfied citizens or of happy worms? [...]

CONTENTS

EDITOR'S NOTE (p. 7)

ARTICLES: MUSEOLOGY, MUSEOGRAPHY AND HISTORIOGRAPHY (p. 9)

JAMES GOW, The siege of Sarajevo in the armed conflict in Bosnia and Herzegovina (p. 32)

DINA MEMIĆ, Portrait of Sarajevo on 5 April 1992 - In Light of the Attack on the SR BIH Ministry of Interior Personnel Training Center (p. 98)

PAUL LOWE, Watch out, Sniper! Sniper alley in the geography and historiography of besieged Sarajevo (p. 160)

KENNETH MORRISON, The International Media Infrastructure in Besieged Sarajevo (p. 188)

IN CONVERSATION WITH (str. 203)

"And then the war, which usually happens to someone else, happened to us...":
ARTISTS IN BESIEGED SARAJEVO (p. 214)

FACTS AND ARTIFACTS: MATERIALS (p. 225)

NICOLAS MOLL, Diaries as testimonies about the siege of Sarajevo: a bibliographical overview (p. 260)

EWA ANNA KUMELOWSKI, Between art and object: reflections on the dual character of the Greetings from Sarajevo postcard series (p. 320)

ELMA HODŽIĆ, Plasticine Figurines: Little Museum Monsters with Big Stories (p. 346)

REVIEWS

TIFFANY FAIREY, RACHEL KERR AND HENRY REDWOOD, Art, Memory and the Museum: Artistic Responses to 'Besieged Sarajevo' (p. 374)

IN MEMORIAM

Paul Lowe (1963 - 2024) (p. 395)

ZBORNİK

RADOVA

HISTORIJSKOG MUZEJA BOSNE I HERCEGOVINE
FAKTI I ARTEFAKTI 14-15



TEMA DVOBROJA: OPSADA SARAJEVA
SPECIAL EDITION: THE SIEGE OF SARAJEVO



THEM KILL US

14
15

ZBORNİK RADOVA
HISTORIJSKOG MUZEJA BOSNE I HERCEGOVINE

SARAJEVO, 2025.