

TRACE MEMORIES

Clothing as Metaphor in
the Work of Doris Salcedo

by Denise Birkhofer

ABSTRACT

ARTIST DORIS SALCEDO PRODUCES EVOCATIVE SCULPTURES AND INSTALLATIONS THAT respond to the culture of violence in her native Colombia. Although often inspired by the individual experiences of specific victims, her works address universal themes of violence and the human condition. This essay considers works by Salcedo that employ articles of clothing as their primary materials, whose intimate associations with the body make them appropriate substitutes for lost individuals. Piles of white shirts stand in for murdered plantation workers in an untitled installation, while the series *Atrabiliarios* uses discarded shoes to represent victims of political disappearance. Salcedo combines clothing with other domestic objects in untitled pieces of cement-filled furniture which function as silent monuments to the dead, or in the series *La Casa Viuda*, whose ambience of abandonment elicits the precarious state of those left behind. These complex pieces address the affects of violent events on the memories of individuals and their societies, offering victim and viewer alike the opportunity to begin to come to terms with such events. The poignancy of Salcedo's mission renders her not only one of the most important contemporary artists working in Latin America, but also a significant contributor to the international art world.

Colombia is a country full of widows. There was one widow, the widow of a political leader, who told me how difficult it was to continue living with objects that are reminders of her husband. Every morning you open the closet and the clothing is there. Every day you sit at the dining table and the empty chair is there, screaming the absence of that person. It can become a very difficult object to live with.

—Doris Salcedo¹

COLOMBIAN ARTIST DORIS SALCEDO constructs sculptures AND installations that address the effects of violence on individuals and societies. These evocations of memory and loss are aided by her choice of domestic objects as her materials; simultaneously tied to personal narratives and universally recognizable, these objects are manipulated to navigate complex characteristics of the human condition. Salcedo's use of articles of clothing is particularly poignant, as these objects provoke the absence of the individuals to whom they once belonged. Clothing defines and distinguishes its wearers; it protects the body and keeps it warm. Moreover, clothing's close proximity to the body indicates intimacy. This intimacy remains even after the individual is gone because the clothing

retains the form of the absent body and traces of this body via smells or stains. Thus, clothes become remnants of lost individuals and markers of personal memory.

Salcedo became interested in the human aftermath of violence upon returning to her native Colombia after attending art school in New York. In November of 1985, a few months after her return, the Palace of Justice in Bogotá was occupied by guerilla forces. The conflict that then ensued took the lives of around 126 people, including most of the Supreme Court, and left the building in ruins.² Salcedo has described how the witnessing and memory of this event left its mark on her and influenced her artistic direction.³ This was not an isolated event, however, but was instead part of an ongoing environment of political violence in Colombia which began with *la Violencia* in 1948. The situation was especially dire during the 1980s, when the practice of "disappearing" individuals became almost common-place.⁴ The disappearance and execution of political opposition is regularly used by oppressive regimes as a tactic to generate fear and uncertainty among the populace, resulting in an effective method of social control.⁵

Salcedo takes up the disappeared and the victims of violence as the subjects of her art. She describes this direction not as a choice, but as the necessary result of the environment in which she lives:

In a country like Colombia, life is constantly interrupted by acts of violence. There is a reality which is intrusive, that disrupts the way you wish to live. In other words, life imposes upon you this awareness of the other. Violence, horror, forces you to notice the Other, to see others' suffering. When pain is extreme there is no way to avoid it...This presence becomes part of the environment, part of the air you breathe. It is always with you. You can't get it out of your mind; there is no way to avoid it. So, having been born in Colombia is what makes me look at the Other. I have no choice.⁶

Despite the central role that Colombian political violence has played in the artist's evolution, it would be incorrect to view Salcedo's works as strictly site specific. On the contrary, they address the most universal of themes despite their local origins. The artist herself has commented on this dual aspect of her art. She addresses the cross-cultural phenomena of war and violence through the example of Colombia not with a nationalist agenda, but because of her familiarity with her

country's situation.⁷ The conditions of violence which Salcedo has observed in the world have equally informed her working methods as well as her subject matter; she presents her selection of materials as predetermined by the violent event to which she responds, rather than as the result of a conscious choice made by the artist, a notion which has prompted Salcedo to claim that "the oft-celebrated freedom of the artist is a myth."⁸

The testimonies of victims and their survivors are key in defining what materials will be employed, and are important instigators in Salcedo's process. At times she collects these testimonies and their corresponding material traces firsthand through interviewing survivors and visiting sites of violence or mass graves. This immediate experience of a site is an important part of Salcedo's process as it helps her to identify with the subject: "Every time I visit a place, there are traces of a violent event. Even two years after a massacre, there's a special feeling."⁹ Other times the narratives come to her secondhand or from the newspaper.

In the process of creating the work, Salcedo attempts to identify with the victims and to become a stand-in for them:

I try to learn absolutely everything about their lives, their trajectories, as if I were a detective piecing together the scene of a crime. I become aware of all the details in their lives. I can't really describe what happens to me because it's not rational: in a way, I become that person, there is a process of substitution. Their suffering becomes mine; the center of that person becomes my center and I can no longer determine where my center actually is. The work develops from that experience.¹⁰

In acting upon these testimonies, Salcedo employs material objects, those “traces of every day life”¹¹ that belonged to the victim, such as clothing, to reassert the humanity of the individuals who have been rendered anonymous by violence: “When I begin a piece I try to understand the victim of violence in the framework of his own history, his surrounding, his family and habits. At that point, the other, the utterly different, becomes a human being in the splendor of a complete life.”¹²

An early work which uses clothing to this aim is the installation *Untitled* of 1989–1993, which consists of piles of carefully arranged, plastered white shirts that have been speared with a black metal pole. [Fig. 1] Leaning against the wall are several iron bed frames wrapped in skins.

The bed frames come directly out of Salcedo's previous work, which consisted primarily of manipulated furniture pieces; the bed and the crib played important roles in these works, as highly charged symbols and domestic receptors for the body.¹³ The introduction of the shirts in the *Untitled* installation marks an increasing emphasis on clothing as Salcedo's domestic object of choice in the works of the next decade.

The installation responds to the massacre of 40 male workers at the banana plantations of La Honduras and La Negra in 1988, in which the men were reportedly dragged from their beds at night and murdered outside their homes in the presence of their families.¹⁴ The white

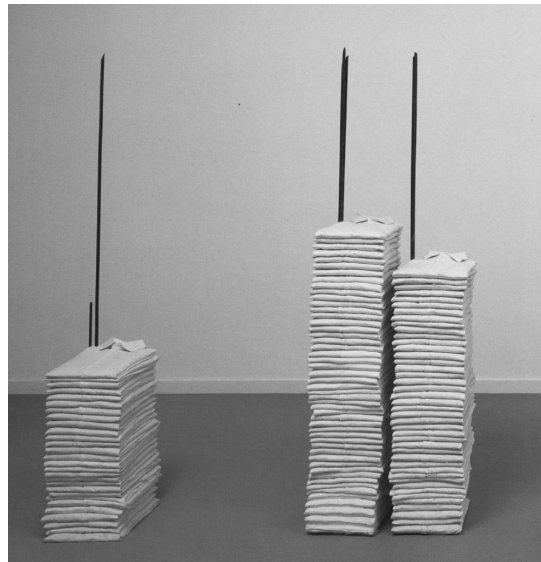


Figure 1

work shirts serve as stand-ins for the men, and the violence of their deaths is reenacted through the piercing of the shirts with the metal rod. In contrast to this violent act is the act of intimacy indicated by the meticulously folded and arranged shirts, which suggests the domestic care offered to these men by their wives in laying out the shirts which were never to be worn.¹⁵ The funereal aspect of the work is underscored by the fact that in Colombia, men traditionally wear white shirts when attending a funeral.¹⁶

While the arrangement of the shirts into piles suggests the sheer horror of the number of deaths inflicted, the varied heights of the piles can also be read as a type of bar graph, as though indicative of the underlying impact of the number of deaths in the fields on the fluctuating price of bananas in the international market.¹⁷ The shirts have also been compared to the “receipts on an old-fashioned office spindle,” or anonymous bits of filed information, an interpretation which is supported by the identical and interchangeable appearance of the shirts.¹⁸

In rendering the massacred workers into anonymous, interchangeable victims, Salcedo is able to make a universal

indictment of the violence that results in such loss. The directness of this work, especially in the recreation of the violent act, differs from many of her later works, in which violence becomes more subtly inscribed through laborious but understated processes of manipulation of the materials. The uniformity and anonymity of the white shirts also diverges slightly from subsequent works in that they do not as readily suggest distinct individuals as do the personal articles she later uses.

The use of actual articles belonging to deceased individuals is found in one of Salcedo's best known series, *Atrabiliarios*. [Fig. 2, 3] The untranslatable term *Atrabiliarios* comes from the Latin term *atra bilis*, or melancholy associated with mourning, which in turn is derived from *atratus* (clothed in black, in mourning) and *bilis* (bile or rage).¹⁹ The works consist of pairs or individual shoes that are placed within rows of recessed niches in the wall. These non-uniform niches are then covered over with sheets of translucent animal skin, roughly sewn around the edges, which obscure the view of the shoes inside. Salcedo was initially compelled to work with shoes after reading a newspaper

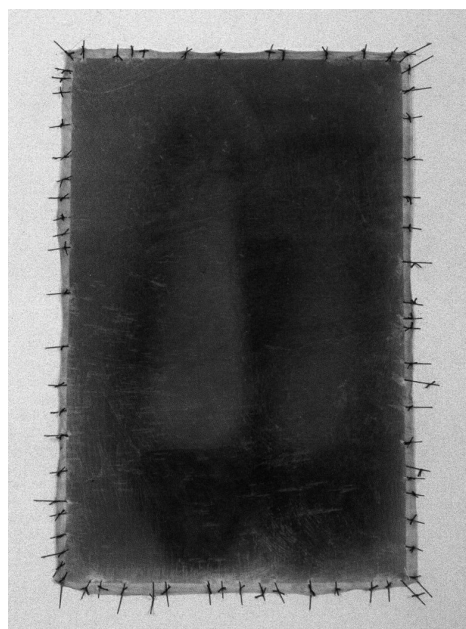


Figure 2 (above), Figure 3 (left)

article which detailed the case of a specific disappearance in 1989, in which a victim was recognized by his loved ones from a list of anonymous victims by a description of his shoe.²⁰ In further research on cases of disappearance, the artist discovered that shoes were often the only elements that could provide for the identification of individuals found in mass graves.²¹ The shoe is a particularly potent representative of the absent individual as an article of daily use: shoes are not only among the most recognizable personal effects, but also seem to endure the longest after their owners are no longer living. Physically accompanying their owners throughout their lives, shoes continue to symbolize these journeys when they have been left behind. The historical importance of the shoe as a symbol in the visual arts lends additional meaning to their incorporation in this piece.

Salcedo's use of the shoe in *Atrabiliarios* was further influenced by her discovery that when women are captured in scenarios of political violence, they are often subjected to long periods of torture and rape before being executed.²² For this reason, the condition of female victims is the primary focus of the series.

In the 1990–1991 version of the piece, all of the shoes included are those of women, except for one men's shoe, which refers to the male victim mentioned in the original newspaper article.²³ Initially, Salcedo worked with discarded shoes that she collected from hospitals in Bogotá. Later, she began to collect the shoes of victims of violence from their families who shared their experiences of loss with the artist. The fact that the shoes employed are actual remnants of the effects of violence lends personal poignancy to each installation, which differs from the uniformity of the earlier starched white shirts. Although the viewer would not be aware of the narratives behind either of these works, the *Atrabiliarios* convey a sense of individual loss, while the *Untitled* shirts suggest undifferentiated mass death.

Despite the personal nature of the shoes, the fact that they are recessed into the wall and obscured by a layer of skin displaces them from the viewer. Their location in an uncertain space evokes the precarious state of the survivors they have left behind, who often have no closure about what has happened to their disappeared loved ones.²⁴ The blurry, indistinct images of the shoes also suggest

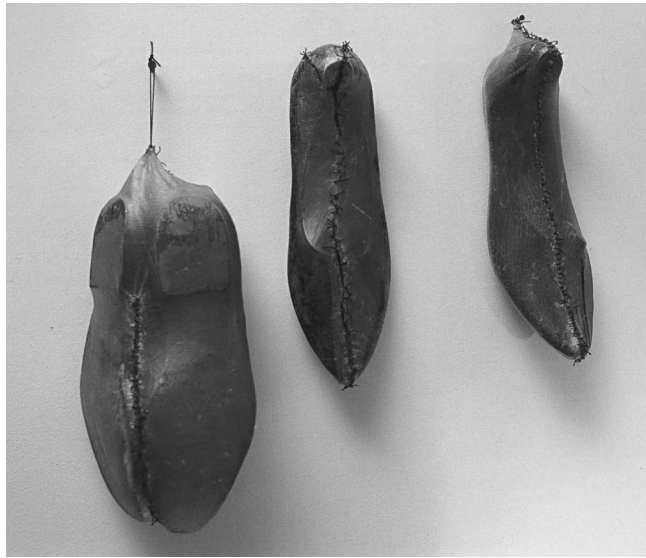


Figure 4

the evasive quality of memory.

While the placement of the shoes in the wall niches is an act of *displacement*, it is also done with the purpose of achieving some type of resolution for the survivors through the ritual burial of the remnants.²⁵ By inserting the shoes, as stand-ins for the bodies to which they formerly belonged, into the loaded space of the museum, the victims are reinserted into collective consciousness.²⁶ Through this ritual process, the victims' families can begin to achieve closure through the symbolic burial of their loved ones, even if their physical whereabouts are unknown.

Similar to the ritual-like burial of the shoes in the wall niches in *Atrabiliarios*, Salcedo's series of untitled furniture pieces are also a type of burial. [Fig. 4] By filling the pieces of furniture with cement and rendering them dysfunctional, they become symbolically interred.²⁷ Often traces of clothing are visible on the shelves of armoires and chests, trapped in the concrete. The warmth of the clothing contrasts with the coldness of the concrete, in a similar way that the plaster shirts contrast with the metal pole in the banana workers piece.²⁸ A similar tactic had been used in a work from 1989, in which a jacket

was enfolded in cement into the shape of a brick.²⁹ In these later pieces, however, each piece of furniture, rather than an individual article of clothing, stands in for the personal narrative of an individual. The trapped clothes represent the various episodes of that person's life, now rendered immobile and cold. The sheer weight of the concrete adds to the emotional pull of these dense works, representing the burden of grief and loss.³⁰

The acts which Salcedo inflicts on the furniture have been likened to the acts of torture to which her suggested victims have been subjected.³¹ That the wounded pieces of furniture are substitutes for the tortured human body is supported by elements of their construction: the physical weight of the pieces requires that the armature of the wood be reinforced with metal rods. Salcedo does not attempt to hide these supports, however, and instead they protrude in places like the broken bones of damaged limbs.³² The organic nature of the embedded clothing furthers this hybridization with the human body, a hybridization that we have already seen in the choice of materials of the animal skins and rough sutures used in *Atrabiliarios*. Salcedo had already been

wrapping domestic objects in similar animal skins, such as with the precursors to *Atrabiliarios*, which also employed shoes, and the wrapped iron bed frames that accompanied the installation of impaled shirts.

In addition to a symbolic act of torture inflicted on the human body, filling the pieces with cement is also an expiatory act which serves to extinguish the suffering and grief of both victims and survivors. The artist has described these pieces as arising out of her "need to silence the screaming nature of domestic objects."³³ In fact, the role of silence is extremely important to Salcedo's conceptions of the function of her art, as she sees in the moment of silent contemplation of a work an intimate opportunity for the victim to share his or her experience with the viewer.³⁴ Rather than giving a voice to the victims of violence, Salcedo allows their silence to speak for itself.³⁵

Although each of the cement-filled furniture pieces could be considered a stand-alone sculpture, they are most meaningful when viewed together as an installation, such as that in the Carnegie Museum of Art in Pittsburgh in 1995. [Fig. 5] The odd configuration of the pieces in



Figure 5

an exhibition space provokes a sense of a disturbed domestic space. The viewer therefore confronts the pieces as though intruding upon an abandoned home whose occupants have disappeared.

This sense of a funereal and domestic spatial configuration is even more pronounced in the series *La Casa Viuda*, or *The Widowed House*. This series is also informed by particular stories of victims and related objects, and furniture and clothing continue to be the predominant materials. The door is another recurring element that stems from one of these stories, which tells of a child who had disobediently opened the front door of

his house, permitting the entrance of assassins who then murdered his father in front of him.³⁶ The recurrence of certain elements in the *Casa Viuda* pieces parallels the repetitive cycle of the boy's traumatic reliving of his father's death.³⁷

Witnesses of violence are known to obsessively return to the memory of the trauma, desperately repeating the moment of loss. Rod Mengham has suggested that for Salcedo, the condition of viduity extends beyond the individual to society as a whole: "For the widowed society, history revolves around the moment of loss which the imagination returns to with obsessive intensity across ever-increasing

intervals of time."³⁸ Mengham compares Salcedo's conception of viduity with that presented in Samuel Beckett's one-act play *Krapp's Last Tape*, in which the protagonist ritually reviews tape recordings he has made at previous times in his life. Within the recordings, Krapp's earlier selves comment on their perceptions of the even earlier selves as reflected in the tapes; thus multiple time periods and experiences converge and diverge,³⁹ a paradigm paralleled by Salcedo's presentation of displaced memories of violence.

In *La Casa Viuda*, the house, formerly a protector and participant in its occupants' lives, remains widowed and abandoned after their disappearance. It seems to cling to or attempt to absorb the traces of their existence.⁴⁰ Here again, pieces of clothing are incorporated into the structure of pieces of furniture in a hybridized fashion. This effect has been achieved by Salcedo in a painstaking manner: *La Casa Viuda I*, [Fig. 6] for example, includes a lacy piece of fabric which appears to bleed from the wood of the chair to which it is attached.⁴¹ Salcedo has returned to the site of contact between the fabric and the wood again and again, fusing them together with glue and paint



Figure 6



Figure 7

until the two surfaces become almost indistinguishable. This hybridization between furniture and clothing is made even more complete in *La Casa Viuda II*, [Fig. 7] in which a zipper has been infused along the wooden joint of a chest. In other places, rows of buttons have been grafted into the seams of the wood. The fusion of the furniture with the vocabulary of the garment renders the pieces fleshlike, evoking the absent human body.⁴² While the row of white buttons functions visually as a skeletal form in *La Casa Viuda II*, in

the fourth version this association with the body becomes more literal through the insertion of a small piece of bone along a ridge at eye level.⁴³ The inclusion of organic matter pursues the reference to the human body that was begun symbolically through the use of garments.

These discreet details are not immediately perceptible to the viewer, but only emerge after a period of close scrutiny. This slowing down of vision is indicative of an integral component of Salcedo's works: delay. This delay is necessary

because of the way in which violence accelerates one's perception of the passing of time: "We are living in a highly complex reality which wipes everything out very quickly. There is vertigo in violence: if one violent element wipes out another, and so on, time gathers momentum and complete chaos ensues. The only way of attempting to check this speed, this chaos, is through the process of the artwork."⁴⁴ Salcedo's sculptures record the ruptures in time that result from violence, which "crushes things into moments."⁴⁵ The artist has used Jorge Luis Borges' 1978 story *The Secret Miracle* as an example of how death can be delayed in the name of art.⁴⁶ In the story, a Jewish writer is able to stop time in the moments before his execution so that he may complete his unfinished book in his head. Similarly, Salcedo has stated that one of her major roles as an artist is to delay death and ritualize life: "This is the gift art can give us, the delay. This is how art is important to society."⁴⁷

This notion of delay also contributes to a comparison of Salcedo's works with Pierre Nora's *lieux de mémoire*. For Nora, memory

...remains in permanent evolution, open to the dialectic of remembering and forgetting, unconscious of its successive deformations, vulnerable to manipulation and appropriation, susceptible to being long dormant and periodically revived... Memory, insofar as it is affective and magical, only accommodates those facts that suit it...⁴⁸

Memory is besieged by the "acceleration of history," which seeks to annihilate memory in the construction of its codified and universal narrative. Nora holds that in order to combat this process of obliteration, memory sites are created by individuals seeking to preserve the material traces of the present that would otherwise be swept away by the flow of history.⁴⁹ The role of the object as a trace is obvious in the *oeuvre* of both artists, whose work becomes somewhat archival through the ordering of materials, as demonstrated most clearly in Salcedo's *Atrabiliarios*.

According to Nora, the preservation of modern memory is increasingly taken over by private individuals, or memory-individuals, as these processes fail to happen collectively on their own.⁵⁰ He writes, "An order is given to remember, but the responsibility is mine and it is I

who must remember.”⁵¹ Salcedo takes on the function of a memory-individual in her art, returning private memories to the public sphere by bringing trace narratives to the sanctuary of the museum. Resonant of Nora’s own statement on responsibility, Salcedo has often quoted Fyodor Dostoevsky’s *The Brothers Karamazov* in regards to this artistic function: “We are all responsible for everyone else—but I am more responsible than all the others.”⁵²

The works of Salcedo also become *lieux de mémoire* in their exclusion of the event; rather, they are about sites of meaning.⁵³ She rarely references the acts of violence which inspire her works, but rather recreates spaces of domestic anxiety, employing the objects that were witnesses to the event and its aftermath. For Nora, “the most fundamental purpose of the *lieu de mémoire* is to stop time, to block the work of forgetting, to establish a state of things, to immortalize death, to materialize the immaterial.”⁵⁴ We have seen that this notion of delaying death is essential to Salcedo, as well. Her works also exemplify Nora’s memory sites in their ability to “capture a maximum of meaning in the fewest of signs,” and their “capacity for metamorphosis,” resulting

in infinite number of interpretations of lasting relevance.⁵⁵

Salcedo is certainly not alone in choosing to work with clothing in her art. Many other artists from Latin America have employed articles of clothing to address themes of displacement and the anxiety of exile, including Tony Capellán and Ernesto Pujol.⁵⁶ The artists represented in the 2006 exhibition *Los Desaparecidos* share a similar interest in domestic objects as tools to convey the effects of political violence and oppression.⁵⁷ Artists on the wider international scene have also worked with clothing. The German artist Anselm Kiefer has included abandoned shoes and ashen dresses in his dense, monumental canvases in reference to the articles left behind by victims of the Holocaust. Like Salcedo, Kiefer also includes organic matter in his compositions, such as teeth and hair, as a means to further emphasize death and the absent human body. Even more poignant are the parallels between Salcedo and French and Jewish artist Christian Boltanski, who has also adopted clothing as the paramount material for representing the precariousness of the human condition.

Salcedo does not denounce violence or its perpetrators in her art. Rather, she creates complex sites of dichotomies that reference both universal and specific themes, that invite and displace the viewer. The clothing and material objects she uses are traces which evoke lost individuals and the variable nature of memory. Because of their multivalent meanings, Salcedo’s sculptures, like Nora’s conception of the *lieu de mémoire*, will indeed continue to have lasting relevance as works which represent the precariousness of the human condition.



Notes

- 1 Doris Salcedo, quoted in Anastasia Aukeman, "Doris Salcedo: Privileged Position," *ArtNews* 93 (March 1994), 157.
- 2 Doris Salcedo, "Traces of Memory: Art and Remembrance in Colombia," *ReVista: Harvard Review of Latin America* (Spring 2003), 28.
- 3 Carlos Basualdo, "Interview with Doris Salcedo," in Nancy Princenthal, Carlos Basualdo, and Andreas Huyssen, *Doris Salcedo* (London: Phaidon Press Limited, 2000), 14.
- 4 Laurel Reuter, ed., *Los Desaparecidos*, exh. cat. (The North Dakota Museum of Art, in collaboration with Edizioni Charta, Milan, 2006), 20.
- 5 Charles Merewether, "Naming Violence in the Work of Doris Salcedo," *Third Text* 24 (Autumn 1993), 35.
- 6 Basualdo, "Interview," 13–4.
- 7 *Unland/Doris Salcedo: New Work*, exh. material (San Francisco: The San Francisco Museum of Modern Art, 1993). Interview of Doris Salcedo by Charles Merewether, translated from Spanish by Charles Merewether and Sylvia Korwek, n/p. Doris Salcedo artist file, the Museum of Modern Art, New York.
- 8 Ibid.
- 9 Olga M. Viso, "Doris Salcedo: The Dynamic of Violence," in *Distemper: Dissonant Themes in the Art of the 1990s*, exh. cat., 86–95 (Washington D.C.: The Hirshhorn Museum and Sculpture Garden, 1996), 86.
- 10 José Roca, "Ana Mendieta's *Nile Born*, José Leonilson's *34 with Scars* and Doris Salcedo's *Untitled*," in *Latin American and Caribbean Art: MoMA at El Museo*, exh. cat., 148–154 (New York: El Museo del Barrio in collaboration with The Museum of Modern Art, 2004), 150.
- 11 Salcedo, "Traces of Memory," 29.
- 12 Ibid., 30.
- 13 *Sleeper*: Katharina Fritsch, Robert Gober, Guillermo Kuitca, Doris Salcedo, exh. cat. (San Diego: The Museum of Contemporary Art, 1995), 6.
- 14 Ibid., 11.
- 15 Dan Cameron, "Absence makes the Art: Doris Salcedo," *Artforum* 33 (October 1994), 89.
- 16 *Sleeper*, 11.
- 17 Viso, 87–90.
- 18 Nancy Princenthal, "Silence Seen," in *Doris Salcedo* (London: Phaidon Press Limited, 2000), 45.
- 19 Edward J. Sullivan, *The Language of Objects in the Art of the Americas* (New Haven and

London: Yale University Press, 2007), 227.

- 20 Viso, 87.
- 21 Basualdo, "Interview," 17.
- 22 Viso, 87.
- 23 Ibid.
- 24 Madeleine Grynsztejn, *About Place: Recent Art of the Americas*, exh. cat. (The Art Institute of Chicago, in cooperation with Distributed Art Publishers, New York, 1995), 14.
- 25 Merewether, "Naming Violence," 42. Merewether has compared Salcedo's wall niches to those found in Colombian cemeteries.
- 26 Ibid., 43.
- 27 Roca, 151.
- 28 Ibid.
- 29 Merewether, "Naming Violence," 39.
- 30 Carolyn Christov-Bakargiev, "Abyss: Notes on the Art of Doris Salcedo," in *The Pantagruel Syndrome*, exh. cat., 140–161 (Torino Triennale Tremusei, in cooperation with Skira Editore, Milan, 2005), 140.
- 31 Viso, 94.
- 32 Princenthal, "Silence Seen," 70.
- 33 Viso, 94.
- 34 Merewether, "Interview," n/p.
- 35 Charles Merewether, "To Bear Witness," in *Unland/Doris Salcedo*, exh. cat. (New York: New Museum of Contemporary Art, 1998), 16–17. This silence has prompted Merewether to dub Salcedo's furniture pieces "countermonuments." Coined by James Young, the term countermonument applies to those contemporary monuments that seek to "negate 'the illusion of permanence traditionally fostered by the monument,' enabling us to recognize the interdependence between time and memory." For Merewether, Salcedo's version of the countermonument addresses the inability of memory to accurately recall a violent event and the impossibility of expressing in physical form this sense of loss caused by violence. Rather than commemorating events as do traditional monuments, Salcedo's sculptures represent the "discontinuity between the event and its experiencing."
- 36 Viso, 90.
- 37 Ibid.
- 38 Rod Mengham "'Failing Better': Salcedo's Trajectory," in *Neither*, exh. cat. (London: Jay Jopling and White Cube, 2004), 9.
- 39 Ibid.
- 40 Dan Cameron, "Inconsolable," in *Unland/Doris Salcedo*, exh. cat. (New York: New Museum

of Contemporary Art, 1998), 14.

41 Viso, 90.

42 Princenthal, "Silence Seen," 60.

43 Ibid., 63.

44 Basualdo, "Interview," 35.

45 Viso, 94.

46 Natalia Gutierrez, "Conversation with Doris Salcedo," *Art Nexus* 19 (January/March 1996), 50.

47 Viso, 94.

48 Pierre Nora, "Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Mémoire," *Representations* 26 (Spring 1989), 8.

49 Ibid., 12.

50 Ibid., 16.

51 Ibid., 15.

52 Merewether, "Interview," n/p.

53 Nora, 22.

54 Ibid., 19.

55 Ibid.

56 Sullivan, *Language of Objects*, 229–232.

57 The curator of *Los Desaparecidos*, Laurel Reuter, communicated to me that she intended to include Doris Salcedo in the exhibition, but was unable to due to the availability of the artist's work.