

# DRO

Deakin University's Research Repository

## This is the published version

Lozanovska, M 2014, The Macedonian Review and the invisible cities of the emigrant, *Kyntypa/Culture*, vol. 6, pp. 65-73.

## Available from Deakin Research Online

<http://hdl.handle.net/10536/DRO/DU:30070001>

Reproduced with the kind permission of the copyright owner

**Copyright:** 2014, Tsentar za Kultura i Kulturoloski Studii/Center for Culture and Cultural Studies. Reproduced under a Creative Commons Attribution license

# THE *MACEDONIAN REVIEW* AND THE INVISIBLE CITIES OF THE EMIGRANT

Mirjana Lozanovska  
*Deakin University*

**Abstract:** What is cultural memory in the relation between the nation-state and the emigrant? How is the connection to and communication with the emigrant community continued and developed by the nation-state after emigration? This paper will focus on the role of the *Macedonian Review: History, Culture, Literature, Arts*, a journal that was published by "Kulturen Život" and distributed by Matica, the organisation responsible for the communication with the emigrant community, through the diaspora in Australia and elsewhere. How is the subjectivity and cultural memory of the emigrant as individual and collective represented in the journal? From a study of the issues of the *Macedonian Review* as archival data, this paper will argue that rather than representation, the emigrant, as subjectivity is absent from the essays in the journal. The role of the journal can be interpreted as a form of 're-education' of the emigrant and members of the Macedonian diaspora. While the journal is commendable in terms of scholarship and the portrayal of the cultural legacy of Macedonian history, people and culture, its potential resonance and affect on the diaspora community is limited. Interwoven with this critique will be glimpses of the story of emigration, and how both the individual emigrant and the Macedonian diaspora is critical for capturing the dimension of monumental time in relation to Macedonia.

**Keywords:** material culture, time, emigrant, city, story

## I. INTRODUCTION

One of the anecdotes that migrants tell of their return trips to the homeland is that the place has changed in such a way that they no longer remember it, and sometimes that they no longer feel a part of it, or that they belong there. There are numerous problems with this story but a strange phenomena of migration is the relation between time and space, and in particular the way that space or more precisely distance substitutes for time: by crossing the distance from and to the homeland (accentuated if you are travelling to and from Australia) you have also crossed time and entered your psychic past and memories. In that journey the migrant thus embarks on less conscious travel sometimes called nostalgia.

The approach of the paper is to examine the issues of memory, culture, homeland through theoretical frameworks that include time and space and diaspora. In particular the paper will focus its analysis on the representations of Macedonia and migration in the

*Macedonian Review*, against the data gained from stories of emigrants in Melbourne collected in field-work (Lozanovska 2001).

## II. TIME SPACE MEMORY

In Julia Kristeva's early publication "Women's Time," three different conceptualisations of time are explored: cyclical time through repetition and monumental time linked to ideas of eternity are differentiated from the time of history, characterized as "linear time: time as project, teleology, departure, progression and arrival (Kristeva 1981)." As psychoanalytic theorist, Kristeva focused on language and argued that this linear time is the time of language considered through the sequential enunciation of words. When we speak or write we are already framed by the linearity in relation to time – the word spoken or written has also passed. If memory is articulated through language then it too is also conditioned by linear time. However, Kristeva's effort to explore 'women' in relation to time brought about an emphasis on the multiplicity of female conditions, expressions, tendencies, loops, and an argument that focused less on chronology with more attention on their spaces of signification and articulation. Kristeva differentiated between the two waves of feminism, the first demanding equal rights was equivalent to women's right to a place in linear time; and the second (after 1968) emphasizing a radical female difference outlined the right to remain outside linear time. Her essay provides an argument that all three concepts of time – cyclical, monumental and linear – are significant to women and to feminism, and it is important to analyse their intermingling at any historical moment.

Kristeva's seminal essay serves to remind us that the conceptualization of time is critical to a discussion

on cultural memory. It parallels some of the questions in the theorization of cultural memory and the differentiation between tradition, as long-term continuity of practice, and communication, as short-term exchange of information. It gives a temporal basis to the ways that cultural memory is determined by history and society. The figure of the migrant is prevalent in Kristeva's writing both as the 'stranger within oneself' and as desperate figure who cannot symbolize him/herself out of the field of the abject, and thereby shares the psychic field associated with women's time (Kristeva 1982, 1991). Kristeva's essay also serves to open onto questions about time and space in relation to the migrant and the idea of diaspora. In his seminal work on the male migrant published in 1975, John Berger, proposes that the city is a significant vision and image that lures the sedentary person into becoming a migrant. The city is transmitted through language, it is a story, a narration. The migrant hears stories about migrants' adventures, and imagines the city as if in a dream – it is distant, invisible, and it will take a long time to reach it. The emigrant is thus born through language, through stories about the city: "Everyday he hears about the metropolis. The name of the city changes. It is all cities, overlaying one another and becoming a city that exists nowhere but which continually transmits promises (Berger and Mohr, 1975: 23)."

This perception of the relation between the city and the labour migrant in contrast to the free traveller, the wealthy merchant, or the explorer, provides a kind of 'underneath' – perhaps a buried city – within the monumental time of Italo Calvino's *Invisible Cities*. A brief history of Macedonian migration to Australia will show that this imaginary space of the city is manifested in a very different geography of the self. The Macedonian diaspora is not unified in and through the

nation-state. Considering Australia three waves of immigration have been identified historically. Early twentieth century 'pecalbari' following the nineteenth century travels for work to Greece, Romania or Anatolia, Macedonian male emigrants travelled to France, Germany and even to the United States of America (Jupp 2001). Macedonians started coming to Australia in larger numbers in 1921 and 1924 once US quotas for immigration were introduced. On the whole the first pecalbari were men and itinerant workers. Following the Greek Civil War (1946-1949), after the 1948 evacuation of many Macedonian children under the age of 15, relatives in Australia arranged for family and village members to join them. In this wave of immigration reached its peak in the late 1950s and early 1960s. In the mid 1960s a large influx of Macedonians began as a result of the Socialist Republic of Yugoslavia's decision to allow work emigration. Networks of chain migration meant that the largest groups came from the Bitola and Ohrid regions, and that initially due to these networks the steelworks in Port Kembla and Newcastle became big centres of Macedonian settlement.

### III. CULTURE

Material culture has developed into a significant field for the academic doing research on migration if their interest is on tracing the cultural and social memories, and sense of geographical identity and heritage, within the multicultural landscapes of immigrant receiving societies. This field has evolved because for many of the immigrant communities there has not been formal recording or systematic collections of archival data. Much of the work of Tolia-kelly, a leading researcher in this field, has focused on the home as a

site where memories are traversed and exchanged, stored, encountered and materialized (Tolia Kelly, 2004: 316). The home is also a conceptual operation for the making of home. Transported artefacts operate to materialize or symbolize diasporic journeys connecting distant lives, lands, peoples, producing both a comfort zone around experiences of alienation, displacement and exclusion and a signification of the past as sustenance for the present. The journal, the *Macedonian Review: history, culture, literature, arts* presents an intriguing case of material culture (Višinski 1971-1998).<sup>1</sup>

Paradoxically, it was in the 1970s, after the large numbers of emigrants from the Socialist Republic of Macedonia, then in Yugoslavia, arrived in Australia, that the *Macedonian Review: history, culture, literature, arts*, a journal published by Kulturen Život (Cultural Life) was distributed by the organization established for emigrants, *Matica za Iselinicite* (Centre for Emigrants) (see Figure 1). Migrant families subscribed to *The Macedonian Review* receiving up to three issues annually (in 1971 the annual subscription was 60,000 dinars – equivalent to \$4). The Editor-in-Chief, author, Boris Višinski, drew on the academic members of MANU (Macedonian Academy of Sciences and Arts) and produced a journal that was published in English, impeccably translated from Macedonian, and that covered many subjects on history, culture, literature, and the arts.<sup>2</sup> This was not an artefact that had accompanied the emigrant on his or her journey, that the emigrant selected to take on this journey as a significant memoir in the very limited luggage allowed, or that the emigrant was compelled to search for and initiate on arrival. As a journal it introduces a different type of

artefact than those engaged with or addressed in most of the research on material culture.

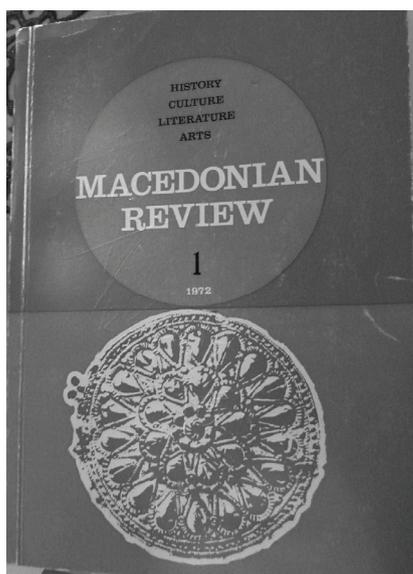


Figure 1: Cover sample of the *Macedonian Review*

Along with two other literary subscriptions – *Македонија* (Macedonia) which came out monthly and *Иселенички календар* which came out annually – the *Macedonian Review*, initiated by the sending society formed a cultural package that developed a continuing form of communication and connection with the Republic's emigrants.<sup>3</sup> The Macedonia represented in the *Macedonia Review* emphasized a rich and cultivated heritage. This was high culture, a world of the written word, print, books, scholarship, formal knowledge, high art and visual representation. Each issue was broadly divided into several categories including a his-

torical section that covered the history of Macedonia as a republic, a region and a people, and that was usually overlapped with a section on political science. The Macedonian language was extensively covered, sometimes in the history/political section or in a separate section if detail of the language was discussed, as was a smaller section on foreign writers on Macedonia. A cultural heritage section that examined Macedonia's traditions in religion, the arts and the artisan crafts followed this. Looking over the issues of the *Macedonian Review* from the first issue in 1971 to the latest issues in the late 1990s, medieval and Byzantine periods were the focus of this section, with texts on the contemporary arts or folk art covered in some issues. While not excluded, examination of antiquity was rarely represented in this journal. Presumably, the medieval 'Slavonic' era that tied all the Slav peoples suited the ideology in the Federal Republics of Yugoslavia and thereby dominated the focus of the journal. A large section on poetry and prose presenting particular authors took up most of the second half of the journal, with reviews of new films, new books and festivals in Macedonia, to close the journal.

The *Macedonian Review* presents a fascinating record of a slice of time/space in Macedonia's post-war formation. Indeed as a residual record of 'Macedonian culture' it may be called 'an archive' and a 'cultural reference memory' such that its revival can be activated according to the interests of a generation or an academic as in this paper (Assmann, A. 2008: 110 cited in Valicu 2011). The interest of this paper is its role in relation to the migrant. It records that the 'emigrants' were hardly forgotten by the Republic, rather, evident in its translation into English and distribution there was an effort to maintain ties with the emigrant communities –

especially in the United States of America and Australia. Tradition is a particular form of cultural memory which is stored in various kinds of artefacts, sites, ceremonies, and also myths, rituals and texts, that can be handed down over a long periods of time. But in order to retrieve, pass on or make sense of these memories, interpretation and attribution of meanings are crucial. How a community relates to its past involves notions and actions such as storage, retrieval, transmission – and connectivity. It has been argued that those able to perform these practices – priests, sages, teachers – constitute a specialized group of memory ‘bearers’ (Valicu 2011). Through this journal migrants were subjected to a ‘re-education’ about their culture and homeland.

However, it has to be asked: ‘To whom’ was this journal directed and what is cultural memory in this context? The predominant perception of migrants as secondary citizens in both the sending and receiving nations continues to dominate engagement, representation, and one could argue, disinterest, especially of the sending nation towards the emigrant communities. This might be further exacerbated in relation to the emigrant communities in Australia as evident in the current representation in the print and news media in the Republic of Macedonia. There is very little interest in the lives of the emigrant, even if the traditions, memories, songs, and skills that were practiced by emigrants might provide a subject about the continuity of Macedonian culture. Economic migrants had never been seen as cultivated, and while they continued or reinvented a world of festivity, ritual, ceremony, food preparation, and songs, this was barely of interest to the *Macedonian Review*, and its representation of formal cultural heritage rather than lived cultural memory.

Interest in the emigrant community from the position of the Republic of Macedonia is directed towards a form

of education. But I think underlying this more cultural purpose, the journal, along with the other forms of communication, was an economic investment that continued to tie the emigrant to the Republic, culturally, psychically and economically. It masks a more fundamental reality that the emigrants were necessary for the economic basis of the Republic. This came in the form of remittance finances to extended family members, for the upkeep and maintenance of property, and in return trips to the homeland. Remittance finance has been acknowledged globally to have made/make enormous contributions to the fragile economies of the places of departure. This economic contribution has been extensive since the 1960s but existed prior to that with the earlier waves of emigration. Recently the economic factor is more blatantly represented in the national media but there has not been a reliable estimate of the diaspora finance in relation to the Macedonian GDP. While the 1960s emigrants from ex Yugoslavia were generally literate and substantially more educated than their counterparts from other southern European nations (post war migration from Italy or Greece, the language style of the journal is at odds with the identity that the emigrant and immigrant nation constructed of the migrants. the *Macedonian Review* plays an interventional role in the cultural memory of the migrant/diasporic subject. The particular individual migrants who were drawn to its literary content encountered a split of subjectivity in the differential between the memory of the homeland constituted through family histories and localized/ specific sites of towns and villages, compared to the cultural legacy and national narrative of the homeland through the *Macedonian Review*. A more effective form of communication and continuity of connection to a larger sector of the emigrant community would have been to organize systematic transportation of

'cassettes' (tape recordings) which provided a major form of extended family communication in the 1970s, and primary school text books that were crucial for lessons in the Macedonian language. Undoubtedly many of the particular migrants that subscribed to the *Macedonian Review* were educated, and educated in English, in order to be interested in its content and to access its written essays.

**Macedonian Review: History, Culture, Literature, Arts**  
 1971 volume 1 issue 1  
 Published by the 'Kulturen život' (Cultural Life), Skopje  
 Editor in chief Boris Višinski  
 Editorial Offices: Rabotnički Dom V, Skopje, Box 85  
 Front Page by Dimitar Kondovski  
 Annual subscription (1971): 60,000 dinars (\$4)

Contents

Boris Višinski	5	With the First Number
Krste Crvenkovski	7	Our National Existence
Mihajlo Apostolski	15	The Affirmation of the Macedonian Nation
Hristo Andonov-Poljanski	19	Goce Delcev and his Views
Blaže Ristovski	27	The Macedonian State
Gane Todorovski	34	Petar Draganov and Macedonian
Done Ilievski	38	The Life and Work of St. Naum of Ohrid
Petar Miljaković Pepek	43	Ohrid Icon collection Further Enriched
Vladimir Mošin	47	Illuminated Manuscripts in Macedonia
Moshé Altbauer	51	Psalterium Sinaiticum
Blagoja Korubin	54	The formation of the Macedonian Literary Language
Tome Sazdov	62	The Macedonian Revival and Grigor Prličev
Haralampie Polenakovik	67	Kiril Tetoec Pejčinovik
Georgi Stalev	70	Jordan Hadži Konstantiv-Džinot
Aleksandar Aleksiev	73	The Dramatist – Vojdan Cernodrinski
Dragoslav Ortakov	76	Živko Firfov
Kiril Penušliski	79	The Folklore Wealth of Macedonia
Duško Nanevski	83	Magic in Macedonian Folk Poetry
POETRY /LITERATURE FOLLOWS	89- 124	
Boris Petkovski	125	Survey of Macedonian Contemporary Art
Blagoj Mihov	134	Macedonian as Seen by Foreign Journalists
	138	Festivals in Macedonia
	141	New Books
	145	Contributors to this issue

Translated from the Macedonian by:  
 Alexa Gjuzel, Branko Petrović, Graham W. Reid, Branislave Stepić, Madge Tomasević, Ivanka Kovilovsk-Popovska, Anđeja Vujović

Figure 2: Contents page of *Macedonian Review*, 1971, Volume 1, Number 1.

The content of the *Macedonian Review* reveals already held divisions in academic interests, scholarship style and methodology of research. The 1970s interest in ethnography and folk culture was partially reflected in the content of the journal. The essays including "Foreign Collectors of Macedonian Folk Art" (IV/1/1974: 52-56), "The Tapestry of Dimče Koco" (II/2/1972: 219-222), and a review of the book *The Complete Edition of Macedonian Folk Creativity in Ten Volumes* (IV/2/1974: 207) cover the subjects of folk tradition and folk culture. It was not until the 1980s that more on folk culture was represented, including "Folk Songs from Macedonia," (XIV/1/1984: 96-101), "Macedonian Proverbs and Sayings," (XIV/2/1984: 214-220), "Macedonian Animal Tales and Fables," (XVII/2/1987: 157-161), all written by Tomé Sazdov. There is thus not a large covering of the folk culture of Macedonia represented in the *Macedonian Review* that may be seen as a missed opportunity to resonate with the diaspora community in two ways. Firstly, the perception and representation of the emigrant community was that it was strongly affiliated with a peasant/folk culture, and while many had lived and worked in the towns of Bitola and Ohrid, they were perceived as first generation urban dwellers. Secondly, it may have invigorated the cultural memory of the emigrant community through the documentation of songs, festivity, ritual and tradition that were practiced in a lived cultural sense; as well as the oral traditions of stories that were narrated by grandparents to grandchildren (even if sometimes the grandchildren had not learnt Macedonian formally). These are significant practices in which cultural memory was produced and activated after migration. Thus the formality of the representation of studied 'folk culture' may have affirmed the

informality of lived everyday culture of the emigrant community as it adapted to its new cultural environment. This however, would have required a readjustment of the purpose and role of the *Macedonian Review* to one that was equally interested in learning about the cultural environment of the diaspora community as much as it was interested in teaching the diaspora community about the legacy of Macedonian culture.

The tensions that emerge from an analysis between the culture represented in the *Macedonian Review* and the culture that may have resonated with the emigrant community is not different from the tensions that are existent with the various contrasting representations of 'what is Macedonian culture'? By stating this I am not suggesting that there is a 'true Macedonian culture' that has not yet been identified, or that the forms that have been represented are not true, but certain contrasting textures appear or recede depending on the political agenda of the era. In contrast to the predominant focus on medieval Slavic foundations represented in the *Macedonian Review*, the current generation focuses on antiquity or prehistoric layers, and emphatically non-Slavic characteristics despite the history of the language.

#### IV. HOMELAND

In migration and diaspora studies the notion of 'homeland' is both constructed as a myth about the original homeland and deconstructed through a discourse that has emphasized transnational trajectories, mobility, rootlessness and hybridity. Tuan's seminal study, amongst others has explored ideas about origins and roots and how connections between home and

notions of homeland are produced and become processes of identity formation and belonging (Tuan 1977). An especially intriguing reminder is that some of the nomadic groups of people have the strongest attachment to homeland as a place of ancestors, and that other groups have had no interest to leave their place (Tuan 1977: 157-159). In contrast, in his influential essay that sets out to track the specificity and blurring of diaspora studies, the anthropologist James Clifford points to the homeland as a question arguing that even quintessential diaspora communities such as the Jewish community may not have been oriented primarily through attachments of a lost homeland and the longing for home may have been equally focused on a city in Spain (Clifford 1997, 248). Secondly, the teleology of return that is a main feature of diaspora might develop into lateral connections through shared and ongoing history of displacement, suffering, adaptation or resistance. Thus Clifford proposes that the non-normative nature of even quintessential diaspora communities might be taken as starting points towards accommodating the globalization and hybridization that current conditions have produced. Diaspora is not simply mobility because crucially dwelling and struggles to define the local are involved. Diaspora discourse thus articulates the dialectic of roots and routes as a process through which the diasporic subject is able to "maintain identifications outside the national time/space in order to live inside, with a difference (Clifford, 1997: 251)."

Diasporas are not equivalent to immigrant communities partly because of the 'double consciousness' of their historical roots and destinies outside the time/space of the host nation. In contrast, the trajectories of immigrant communities are a transition toward

identifying with the host nation. The complications experienced by de-colonised immigrants of colour that are not easily accommodated within assimilation narratives produces another point of contradiction for a clear division between diasporas and immigrant communities: "Diasporic forms of longing, memory, and (dis)identification are shared by a broad spectrum of minority and migrant populations," argues Clifford (Clifford, 1997: 247). More recent increase of travel of '[elderly] immigrants' is largely to a perceived homeland, but can include visiting other family members that have emigrated elsewhere (Lozanovska 2009). Historical memory is not a linear succession of departure, but echos back and forth and is laterally connected through people's association with multiple places.

Nor is the Macedonian diapsora easy to define, as Danforth has found, there are key discrepancies between (private) ethnic identification and (official) national alliance. Even information on 'mother-tongues' is not definitive because it has to cross Nineteenth and Twentieth century nomenclature. The Macedonian homeland includes references and associations to places, peoples and histories in Bulgaria and Greece, sites of origin that are not limited to the borders of the nation-state.<sup>4</sup> However weak as a nation-state, the new Republic of Macedonia, loosened from its Yugoslavian (socialist, Serbian) allegiance, has opened a potential 'symbolic place' for an imaginary homeland of the many versions of Macedonian ethnicity. In the summer of 1988 the First International Reunion of Child Refugees of Aegean Macedonia was held in Skopje, forty years after their tragic exodus at the end of the Greek civil war. From their perspective Aegean Macedonia is

a part of a larger Macedonian homeland, even if it is not part of the Macedonian state (Lozanovska 2007).

Only a very few issues of the *Macedonian Review* touched upon the subject of diaspora or emigration, and even fewer represented in any way the lives, environments, and culture of the contemporaneous emigrant communities. Some of the reports were historical in subject and addressed such topics as migrations prior to 1950 (VII/1/1977) & (XI/1/1981, Pirin Emigrants), Aegean Macedonian migrations (IX/3/1979), Macedonians in Switzerland (XIII/2/1983: 181-182), and Macedonians in Poland (IX/3/1979). Fewer still were the articles that were about contemporary emigrant communities. These included Macedonians in Frankfurt by Petar Boshkovski (X/1/1980), Macedonian Emigration to the USA by Trajan Petrovski (XI/1/1981), Macedonian Association in the USA and Canada by Mile Mihajlov (XII/2/1982: 161), Macedonians in the Harvard Encyclopedia by Vancho Andonov, Publication of the Encyclopedia of the Australian People by Michael Radis (XVI/2/1986: 202-203), Yugoslav names and landscape in Australian Literature by Vladimir Tsvetkovski (XVI/3/1986: 329-332). Even more rare was the inclusion of the poetry by Tom Petsinis, a writer who lives in Melbourne, Australia (XVI/1/1986). A significant activist, academic and member of the Australian-Macedonian community, Michael Radis, with assistance from the Literary Arts Board of the Australian Council and supported by ISKRA Macedonian Cultural Society, published *Misli/Thoughts: An Anthology of creative writing by Australian-Macedonians*, in Adelaide in 1987. Had the *Macedonian Review* or indeed *Matica* been adequately interested in the 'cultural memory' and activity of the

Macedonian emigrant community, this publication may have been a good starting point of representation.

The homeland can be country, nature, village, neighbourhood, house, tree, people . . . and less tangible environments such as sounds, scents, smells, atmosphere, topography, taste of the water, light. The migrant's homeland is conjured through memory that is activated through the practices and artefacts that the migrant has both transported and collected over time. The migrant's home becomes a kind of 'memory-archive' through which everyday life and celebratory festivities bring about the retrieval of artefacts, rituals, songs and dances. This is not formal, specialized history. It may be described as 'memory-history' that counters the absence of migrant representation in the *Macedonian Review* and in the media (both official or informal) of the host-country, and brings about a personal and collective imaginary of the homeland (Tolia-Kelly 2004). It can amend the dominant misrepresentation in the media. Memory-history thus serves to counter the available perceptions of the nation-state(s). Migrants have produced a narrative oral tradition through which this 'memory-history' is communicated and passed onto the descendent generations. Significant signposts in the stories are the names of villages – Dihovo, Srpci, Capari, Ramna villages under the looming Pelister mountain in the region of Bitola, and Velgoshti, Zavoj, and Openica, villages in the Ohrid region, or others like Care Dvor or Resen between the two. Bitola is hardly mentioned, nor are the names of villages in the canonical representation of the *Macedonian Review*. Ohrid is noted in the *Macedonian Review* in relation to the cultural heritage of its monuments. These form canonical history that can be perceived either linearly or as an outline of monumental time if

Ohrid is interpreted memorially against the fluctuation of the canon.

The migrants' homeland is absent from the *Macedonian Review*. Both the journal and the emigrant fabricate the homeland through forgetting, as through memory. Memory is always conditioned through forgetting. Memory is not merely linked to forgetting but in the process of remembering a simultaneous process of forgetting occurs. Whatever is excluded from the articulation of memory is cast either into repressed collection of other pasts, histories, situations, and emotions.

The migrant's anecdote of their return trips to the homeland changed periodically. In considering the economic migration from ex Yugoslavia in the 1960s it is important to note the migrants were represented as unskilled and uneducated and as secondary citizens through their association with the village, agriculture or peasant backgrounds. Large-scale labour migrations were generated by short-term market interests and nation building rather than by a desire to create multi-ethnic societies (Castles et al. 1988). Contrasting this negative categorization, migrants who travelled to the Socialist Republic of Macedonia in the 1970s, 1980s and 1990s narrated their experiences of the cities, infrastructure, small towns and villages as lacking and disorganized (Lozanovska 2001). Modernization and changes in the homeland did not meet the now advanced standards of social order, law and discipline; nor the expectations of service and organization that migrants had become accustomed to in the economically progressive immigrant cities. Migrants were largely young, working families, with mortgages, and their emphasis was on material goods, education and health services.

The homeland was also a space of plenitude and, as Žižek has argued, this was narrated as the way people enjoyed themselves socially (Žižek 1993). Žižek has elaborated on the idea of 'a way of life' as the fundamental distinction between peoples and cultures. More than any other narrative, migrants felt their own loss in relation to how they could no longer enjoy themselves as they used to 'in the homeland'. Thus the plenitude perceived in the homeland ran parallel to the migrant's loss of ways of enjoyment to a memory of 'how we used to enjoy ourselves' as the contour of an altered way of life.

#### V. CONCLUSION: INVISIBLE CITIES OF THE EMIGRANT

In Italo Calvino's *Invisible Cities*, tensions between the real and the fantastic, the new and the distant past, the inside and the outside, the imagined and the seen, the remembered and the documented, provide a texture of time – cyclic, monumental and linear – that Kristeva has outlined. But the book is also about language, about storytelling, speaking and listening. The different dialogues between the two monumental figures Marco Polo and Kublai Khan outline how new and foreign are negotiated and how the map changes over the course of the book. However, in the silences between the two and in the descriptions of the dreamt cities a different dialogue begins, one that is like a psychoanalytic journey of their desires and fears (Chiesa).

We are told by Lacanian psychoanalytic theory "that an [subject] individual will not reach any unconscious truth along the path of reminiscence (delving into the past), but along the path of repetition in the here and now . . . [the] idea that the principle of identity is pre-

cisely that of repetition (Ragland-Sullivan 2008: 111)." Lacan called this *rememoration*, that which "drives human beings to relive unconsciously each instant of their history in the present (Ragland-Sullivan 2008: 111)." Lacan locates repetition somewhere between the unconscious and consciousness. Freud, on the other hand thought that the psychic symptom is "correctable" through excavation and through bringing to the surface a memory which would open the door and release the repressed material. We might recall here the attention that Freud gave to 'excavation', meaning to 'dig up' unpredictable and perhaps un/desirable stratas, not of geology, but of human history.

The excavation of the *Macedonian Review* serves as a memory-history of Macedonian emigration. In this paper it has been used towards a revision of history, albeit unrecorded, of the place of the Macedonian emigrant in the psychic structure of the republic and nation-state. The differential between Macedonia as represented in the *Macedonian Review* and the diaspora communities of Macedonian emigrants reveals that the notion of the 'homeland' is not easily captured. Macedonia as signifier in language is more infinite and less fixed than either the scholarship of linear history and time, or the annually repetitive ritualistic traditions of cyclic time. It is the dimension of monumental time contained within the signifier Macedonia that figures implicitly as homeland in the idealized picture of the emigrant's phantasmatic memory, as it is portrayed between the lines in the pages of the *Macedonian Review*. Such a monumental dimension of time is configured through space and travel rather than as location, region or geography. While not liberated, the emigrant is like the travellers in Calvino's adventures, touched

upon by the invisible cities, both real and imagined, that the emigrant encounters in her/his travels. These are absent from the histories and memories, feared and desired, and yet it is only through them and the tracing or itinerary of a Macedonian diaspora, that Macedonia is narrated as monumental.

#### ENDNOTES

- [1] Boris Višinski, *Editor-in-Chief, The Macedonian Review: History, Culture, Literature, Arts, was published by 'Kulturen život' (Cultural Life), Skopje. Editorial Offices: Rabotinički Dom V, Skopje, Box 85. The first issue was published in 1971 and it ran to 1998 (only one issue). The front page was designed by by Dimitar Kondovski.*
- [2] The precision and eloquence of the translation cannot be underestimated and surpasses many current translations, scholarly, official and touristic. For this achievement I think Graham Reid also needs to be noted as a significant contributor to translations of poetry as well as scholarly essays.
- [3] Hristo Andonovski (with Boris Višinski), *Иселенички календар: Матица на ислениците од македонија и редакција на списанијето македонија, Скопје. Presented a summary of the events of the year presented, and included an Orthodox calendar, and the churches that had been consecrated outside Macedonia.*
- [4] Danforth examines how Macedonians that have not emigrated, 'are members of unrecognised and often persecuted ethnic minorities, they live as exiles in their native land.' Paradoxically, the layered Macedonian communities in the diaspora are more 'free' to express their particular ethnicity (language, culture) than those that have not emigrated (Danforth 1995:84). This picture conjures the phantoms of history of the 1912-1913 Balkan war in which, after an unsuccessful uprising and claim for self-determination, the then region of Macedonia, in the aftermath of the Ottoman Empire withdrawal, was divided into four parts between Greece, Bulgaria, Serbia, and Albania.

#### REFERENCES

- [1] H. Andonovski (with Boris Višinski), *Иселенички календар: Матица на ислениците од македонија и редакција на списанијето македонија, Скопје, 1979.*
- [2] A. Assmann, 'Canon and Archive', in *Cultural Memory Studies: An International and Interdisciplinary Handbook*, eds. A. Erll & a. Nunning, Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2008, cited in A. Valicu, "Cultural Memory between the National and the Transnational, *Journal of Aesthetics & Culture*, Vol. 3, 2011 DOI: 10.3402/jac.v3i0.7246
- [3] J. Berger & J. Mohr, *A Seventh Man: The Story of a Migrant Worker in Europe*, Granta Books in assoc. Cambridge: Penguin Books, 1989.
- [4] I. Calvino, *Invisible Cities*, translated W. Weaver, London: Vintage Books, 1997.
- [5] S. Castles & M. Miller, *The Age of Migration*, London: The Guilford Press, 1993
- [6] S. Castles, M. Kalantzis, B. Cope and M. Morrissey. *Mistaken Identity: Multiculturalism and the Demise of Nationalism in Australia*, 1988.
- [7] L. Chiesa, "Italo Calvino and Georges Perec: The Multiple and Contrasting Emotions of Cities and Puzzles," *The Romantic Review*, vol. 97, no. 3-4: 401-421.
- [8] J. Clifford, *Routes: Travel and Translation in the Late Twentieth Century*, Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1997
- [9] L. Danforth, *The Macedonian Conflict: Ethnic Nationalism in a Transnational World*, Princeton, USA: Princeton University Press, 1995.
- [10] J. Jupp, *The Australian People: An Encyclopedia of the Nation, Its People and their Origins*, London: Cambridge University Press, 2001.
- [11] J. Kristeva, 'Women's Time', *Signs*, vol. 7, no. 1, 1981; reprinted in 1986, *The Kristeva Reader*, ed. T. Moi, Basil Blackwell, Oxford.
- [12] J. Kristeva, *Powers of Horror: An Essay on Abjection*, trans. L.S. Roudiez, New York: Columbia University Press, 1982.
- [13] J. Kristeva, *Strangers to Ourselves* (Leon Roudiez, trans.) New York: Columbia University Press, 1991.