IBSU Scientific Journal 2009, 3(1), 97-112

Pearls are a girl's best friend: nostalgia and its discontents in the life-stories of two Georgian women

Eleni SIDERI

Abstract

Natela remembers her femininity as an expression of a long Georgian national tradition that seems to be threatened by a new, market-oriented order. On the contrary, Dela is determined to take advantage of the emerging need for luxury goods and fashion trends among the female consumers in modern Tbilisi. My paper will focus on the life stories of these two Georgian women and will try to postulate how the generational differences have affected the perceptions of their past and future in Georgia. Which are the emerging social spaces where they feel included or excluded and why? How do personal or family memories interact with national history? In which ways are these memories materialized though material culture? To what degree do social and economic changes lead to reassessment of the value, economic and emotional, attached to material culture?

Based on a multi-dimensional understanding of memory, the reference to the Georgian past for these two women is not a nostalgic journey to an uncontested time which is often the case in an official national history. They are both culturally aware agents that seem to challenge to different degrees and for different reasons the linearity of time and space, negotiating in this way the idea of a biography. Taking as start point these two life stories, I examine how the theme of nostalgia does not necessarily allude to a frozen in memory past, but it interacts with a real effort of assessing the present conditions of living and articulates complaints or desires for the future.

Keywords: *gender, material culture, memory, nostalgia, Georgia*

Eleni Sideri *is an adjunct Faculty at the Department of History, Archaeology and Social Anthropology, University of Thessaly, Greece*

I. Contested Values

We were watching the news with Natela. She is a university professor in her late 60s with studies in Russian literature and theatre. The living room where we had spent the afternoon was the only room in the large flat where there was some heating. The heaters in the other rooms had been long disconnected and they were now used as shelves for books or plants. The most impressive piece of furniture in the room was the library, made by rose wood and containing all types of books: theatre, poetry, history, literature, old magazines. Opposite the library there was another beautiful piece of furniture, smaller but as impressive. The glass doors permitted me to admire the small china collection of teapots, cups and plates. The china belonged to Natela's family for generations. Natela and I were drinking our sugary, for my taste, turkuli (Turkish coffee) and watching the news. There was a report on the president's Dutch wife. She had attended a gallery opening. She was an impressive young lady, tall, well fit with long brown hair in a stylish but, not loud, blue skirt and a jacket. I was not ready to pay any attention to the report, but Natela's exclamation startled me,

"Look, look at the pearls she's wearing. How big they are! I too have a necklace but my pearls are small. But you know what? I (her emphasis) got it from my parents and my grandparents, whereas hers (her emphasis) were bought with money gained from who knows where".

Natela's exclamation contrasts, I think, not only her pearls to those of the president's wife, but also her past and thus, her country's, to the present and the social conditions she experiences. This comparison between now and before alludes to the metaphor of passage and transition through which all the so-called post-socialist countries have been recently conceptualized in academic accounts of various disciplines. Another issue emerging from Natela's narration is the way material culture becomes the epicenter of a memory and a biography. Natela seemed to contrast in her brief comment the past and present of her country focusing on this particular piece of jewellery. On the one hand, the past was represented through Natela's own necklace, a piece of family history that was cherished and handed from mother to daughter adorned with memories of family moments which Natela so often used to narrate.

On the other hand, there was the necklace of the president's wife, which for Natela's eyes carried no memories. In contrast, Natela's reaction above highlighted that a new social ethos seems to emerge today. Liberalization and market economy have disturbed the social traditions, with which Natela was familiar. In this paper, I will refer to the life stories of two Georgian women in order to try to detect this new social ethos that provoked Natela's particular reaction through its relation to Georgian ideas on womanhood. Furthermore, this paper will explore how the complexities of this relation could be studied in ethnography of memory. In other words, the latter tries to trace and represent how narrators' memories are produced and what kind of claims they might address.

In this paper I will illustrate how material culture becomes part both of auto-biography and of the experience of social transformations that Georgia passes. How does material culture become a central peace of identity-building with different social connotations for different Georgians? Which factors play a significant role in this social attribution of meaning? How does this meaning construe different subject positions? First, I will start with some theoretical points concerning material culture, memory and auto/biography. Second, I will briefly examine, through a historical summary, the interconnections between gender and national identity. Then, I will move to today's meaning of material culture in a different generation of women.

II. Biographies of things and subjects

Pearls become a focal point for the deployment of Natela's family histories but also her critique against the social reality of modern Georgia. Their value seems to materialize Natela's family genealogy. I should state here that I am following Simmel's take on value (1978), according to which value is considered as a judgment made about a specific thing by a specific subject. In this way, the value of the pearls seems inextricably linked to the value of her memories; they wave the uniqueness and singularity of this family treasure, and at the same time, they construe Natela's subjectivity as part of the Georgian society, as I will illustrate. Igor Kopytoff has argued that, “an eventful biography of a thing becomes the story of various singularizations of it, of classifications and reclassifications in an uncertain world of categories whose importance shifts with every minor change in

context" (1986: 90). How did these culturally specific categories re-classify and re-signify the meaning and values of Natela's memories and pearls, and more importantly, what are these categories?

Memory becomes a central factor in the constitution of these categories through the process of narrativization of the experience of selfhood. Trying to study this role, Antze and Lambeck (1996) conclude that when we talk about memory we really allude to the discourse of memory, underlining that our accounts capture and represent memory, but they could not become one. But these accounts come after, as a reflection to what is understood as memory and they rather constitute a meta-memory, a comment on the production of memories but not as a substitute. Antze and Lambeck also state that memory, which is really a discourse on memory, can be studied more thoroughly through three axes: first as the product of various social or political discourses that are produced and reproduced in diverse fields of interpretation (social reproduction). Secondly, memory is called upon different identity discourses so that the former could give evidences and legitimacy to the latter (communicative usage). Finally, the narrativization of memory itself is done through specific and discursively constructed genres, like biography, and as such, they have internalized their own history (narrativity). Let me turn to the third of these three axes in the following paragraphs.

Bakhtin describes biography as a genre with its own history and structure. In his discussion of various chronotopes in European literature he argues that biography as a genre emerged very early in the ancient world postulating the conception of a new time consciousness, biographical time, which depicts "an individual who passes through the course of a whole life" (1981: 130). In this perception of time, the individual seems fully aware of this linear construction that in this genre represents her/his life. This outside, self-reflecting observer/individual emerges from the dualism of body/soul and public/private in western thought. This idea is deeply embedded in the latter from the Cartesian cogito to the bourgeois personhood of the Enlightenment (Comaroff 1992, Bourdieu 2000). In this way, a privileged self-constituting subject is constituted out of a fundamentally dualistic model in which the individual appears to come first over the social (Henriques et al 1984: xv).

Let's consider these issues in relation to Natela's narrative in the introduction of this paper. Natela comes from a bourgeois family of Tbilisi, "supta Tbiliseli" (clear/real inhabitant of Tbilisi), as Natela refers to herself. Her father was a professor at Tbilisi State University, a career that Natela herself followed. Her mother was an art historian. The pearls Natela was referring to, was a necklace her father gave as a gift to her mother. The necklace belonged to his father's family for generations and was handed on to him from his mother as a symbol of acceptance of the new bride in the family. The pearls seem to become another madeleine, like the famous cookie in Proust's novel, for my friend in order for her comparison to unfold. The latter does not contrast two life-stories, though, at least, not in the sense of an individual's linear course of life, as described above.

Instead, the comparison brings to surface two social realities or spheres that interweave and even contradict each other in today's Georgia. These spheres consist first, of radical economic transformations shown in the changing value of pearls and the ways the necklace gains its value. Second, they also consist of political upheavals with the presidential couple being an example, and finally, of social restructuring, the outcome of which is Natela's rancour. At the same time, the pearls become also an expression of a personal experience of these alterations, reminding once again that the distinction between personal and collective is almost impossible. In this framework, I borrow the term life-story in this paper in from Peackock and Holland's interpretation (1993) in which the term life stories postulates a process of shifting from a context-privileging approach (stress on the construction of this life) to a story-focused one (stress on the narrative).

The shift presents a problem and at the same time a choice that involves the researcher more than the narrator. This choice is related to the conditions suggested by the first two axes of Antze and Lambeck definition described above: social discourses and identity construction entailing memory. In other words, it is the dominant and often hegemonic discourses that turn researcher's attention to certain issues, certain memories which on their behalf produce specific identities and subjects. In this framework, Papastergiadis (1998) summarizing the tensions between autobiography and the writing about the Other (allography) argues that they both emerge out of the crisis of the subjecthood: which is the position of the subject today? Is it valid to talk and write about it-Self when the latter is questioned

as a unit and is always mediated by Otherness? Thus, writing about the Other "comes from the problematization of the first person pronoun 'I' " (ibid: 188). In this way, Papastergiadis draws our attention and puts the stress once again on the politics of writing and identity. How is memory recalled, produced and regenerated? In this context, the narration of Natela sheds light on the displacement of identity, its disjuncture with/from the place of familiarity (home-land and its past) and illustrates its existential dead-en, an aporia, from the present. My account of her story pinpoints the production of this disjuncture. The next part will illustrate the historical processes that brought this disjuncture to surface.

III. Family, gender and the nation

As Natela has illustrated above, the pearls reminded her and became a proof of how today Tbilisi seems to have left her behind. The value of her pearls has become smaller, shrunk in comparison to the size of those shown on TV. Their meaning for her, though, has not been diminished. Her pearls belonged to her family for generations. This particular quality transformed the pearls in Natela's memory into something that could not be assessed by the laws of the market. In an old apartment in the heart of old-Tbilisi, where the corridors are covered with photographs and mementos of family moments, Natela seems to mingle these two spheres of social experience, personal and social life. In this context, Natela's pearls, I believe, were not only a family treasure. As Sutton (1998) argues, traditions like inheritance color group identity (family, nation) in a "tangible" way. For Natela, this necklace makes tangible her position both in her family and in Georgia. Besides, womanhood is often connected to nationhood in various ways. The national body is always engendered.

Georgia within the Georgian imagery was depicted as a mother (deda mitsa= mother earth) that protects her children, but also she sometimes needs protection. There was no more revealing moment of this interconnection of womanhood with nationhood than the reign of mepe Tamara (king Tamara) a queen (although she is called a king) of medieval Georgia (12-13th century). She is praised as monarch and as saint from the Georgian history and tradition. Tamara though does not provide an alternative model of womanhood since as the title attributed to her shows, she had to downplay her femininity in order to rule in the same way that

Elizabeth I in the British history was always a virgin. In other words, the male hegemonic tradition of ruling had to consider these two women as exceptional in order to accept them as legitimate rulers. In this context, they both had to rise above their gender constraints and social norms. Only within these exceptional circumstances they were both legitimized as rulers. As a result, they could not easily become role models for ordinary women.

The Russian imperial regime annexed Georgia in 1801. This annexation entailed various transformations within Georgian society involving economic, social and demographic reforms. The reforms had such results that when Tolstoy visited Tbilisi in 185, fifty years after the annexation, he wrote with admiration, "Tiflis is a civilized city, which imitates often with success Saint Petersburg" (Talkashvili 1951: 8, my translation from Russian). In this framework, the modernization of the Russian Empire began to form a space where some privileged families sharing similar education, language and life style could travel throughout the empire feeling "at home".

In the formation of this space, the role of women was important in two ways. On the one hand, women of this class in formation, as Tolstoy described, participated in the intercultural contact of Russian and Georgian intellectuals, as for example, Manana Orbeliani's salon. According to the Russian writer, this salon was one of the most important cultural centres of Georgia during 1840s-1850s. There, he felt free to exchange ideas with the Georgian poets and writers, such Nikolai Baratashvili, Grigor Orbeliani or Grigori Eristavi. As Tolstoy underlined, Manana Orbeliani offered much to the acquaintance of the Georgian society with the Russian and west European literary and social ideas (ibid: 21). For example, she translated Russian and other European writers into Georgian or vice versa. The importance placed on both language and women is a key feature in the work of many Georgian writers of that period, such as Grigor Orbeliani, Akaki Tsereteli, Vazha Psavela (Tsikhladze 1987: 3-6). In this framework, womanhood seemed to balance between the formation of a colonial bourgeoisie and the Georgian national tradition.

On the other hand, these women reproduced the national spirit and soul not only in biological terms but also by their relation to education and

tradition became symbols of the emerging national spirit (Suny: 1994). This strong bond is also reflected in the term that the Georgians use to refer to their national language and their homeland as deda-ena (mother-language) and deda-mitsa (motherland) respectively. The participation of women in education was not paradoxical since as Dragadze underlined (1987: 160) women in the Georgian tradition were considered as guardians of the social order. In this framework, female literacy and education contributed to the highly developed Georgian letters and their transmission to future generations. As a result, the 19th century female participation in the cultural flourishing was not an outcome only of the colonial reforms and modernization, but it was also rooted in Georgian values. In this framework, womanhood seemed to balance between the formation of trans-national class interests and Georgian national traditions, as it is indicated in Natela's ancestral line through the stress the family placed on education. Both mother and daughter belonged to the intellectual circles.

Soviet policies diminished either the importance of gender or that of nation. In Georgia the titular nationality's homogeneity was one of the highest (the second after Armenia). The national element was expressed everywhere, in the party, in education, in society under the pretext of a socialist ideology. In this framework, women tried to keep simultaneously their roles as part of the working force, which was the Soviet ideal, and as mothers or wives according to their traditions. In that sense, women became the moving and lived borders of a nation (Anthias and Davis 1989) that wants to distinguish itself from the enforced and idealized socialist uniformity. Nevertheless, at the same time, socialism encouraged their participation in the labour force and professional life. Under Perestroika the state attempted a reorganization of the economic management. As a result, the state retreated from sectors where it used to prevail hoping that an emerging private sphere would fill the void. This retreat called also for the return of women to more traditional roles, which were for years condemned-at least in rhetoric- by the state. Feminist voices in Russia seemed to welcome this return as celebration of the free choice (Lissyutknina 1993) coming into clash with western feminist movements that reacted to that prospect (Funk 1993).

In a society where the ideology of class equality dominated, social strives had to find another arena in order to unravel. Culture through

education, material culture, gender negotiation, became the space of competition between different social groups. In this context, material culture, like Natela's pearls did not lose their personal and collective significance since national identity was constituent of the Soviet citizenship both at a personal and at a national level. The pearls, as discussed, rather have various meanings for Natela's family: proof of belonging in a long line of ancestors, sign of affection and acceptance in the family circle or evidence of well-being and social success. Each of these connotations relate to different degrees to national belonging provided that nation is represented as the ultimate family, provider and finally, as a nest of social commonality. All these metaphors build a strong bond between the personal and the national making it almost impossible to separate them.

After the fall of the Soviet Union, Georgia started to conceptualize its future by looking at the past. As a professor of international politics told me once in Tbilisi, the most popular slogan of that period was "Back to the Future". Going back meant putting aside the Soviet period and reclaiming openly the national, rebuilding the national discourses in a way that could put forward many new or not so new forms of inclusion and exclusion. In these social transformations, Natela's biography, memories and pearls cause a feeling of exclusion, as I will discuss in the next part. In today's Tbilisi social capital seems to pass from the more informal networks of the past (family, ethnic groups) to more impersonal forms of distinction and social enhancement defined by capitalism. The market economy heavily intervenes in the shaping of new social realities in the Georgian society, as I am planning to discuss below in relation to a fashion show I attended and where another necklace became prominent.

IV. Family and fashion

Early spring my friend Dela invited me to the fashion show she organized. Dela, a 22-year-old Georgian was born in Tbilisi and was raised in a mono-parental family. Her father had left the family in early 1990s in order to find better luck in the West and since then, he had minimal contact with the family and with Dela and her younger brother. Dela's mother, a professor of English literature at the university, was forced to quit her job and started looking for a better paid work in the private sector, whenever this was possible, as a translator. The family was supported to great degree,

by her grandmother who lived in a village in Khevsureti. As Manning (2008) states, this region had great importance for Georgian ethnography since it exemplified the ideas of the Caucasian pride, bravery and resistance.

If Natela's story and family allude a colonial and transnational bourgeoisie, Dela's past referred to the real and unpolluted heart of the nation: the mountains. The family house in the village and their plot of land were their means of subsistence for the difficult years of the armed conflict and inflation. Further research on how gender perceptions were influenced by these urban/rural social condition and mythologies will reveal interesting results. Dela finished the university, English language and literature, but she did not follow the academic career of her mother. Instead, she tried to build a career in the fashion industry, as a designer. The year I stayed in Georgia, her atelier organized their first fashion show. Dela had rented a very trendy bar bowling-centre, which was very popular with the foreigners living in Tbilisi. When I arrived, Dela was at the front entrance checking the invitations. She looked smashing with her satin black trousers and her handmade, silver top leaving her back free to be covered with her brown curly hair. Despite the lack of infrastructure, for example, the catwalk had to take place in the special bowling corridors; the people attending the show did not lack anything in terms of enthusiasm and beauty from similar shows in the West.

Following independence, the industrialized Soviet construction in Georgia seemed to regress, with old-style peasant households becoming increasingly important (Platz 1989, Pine 2001). This transformation was perceived as a change in comparison to the past but not in the same direction as the public rhetoric of transition and change pointed to. It was a regression, a movement backward, not towards the future, as the professor implied. Family networks substituted for much of what, according to the Soviet ideology, should be part of the state/father/provider obligation to its citizens in terms of services and resources. But also, it brought society back to the heart of the nation Within this atmosphere of economic deterioration many social relations and values had to be reviewed. For example, the conflict with the Abkhazians (1992-93) that led to a Georgian defeat had a symbolic and psychological impact (an issue that might need further examination).The men/warriors who had to protect the motherland failed in

two ways: to protect their deda-mitsa and to improve the living conditions of their families.

Women were often those who could manage in an easier and socially less stigmatized way to find some underpaid jobs or combination of jobs either in Georgia or in migration, like in the case of Dela whose mother did not hesitate to sell farming products (cheese and vegetables) in the market. Dela's mother has ambiguous feelings about this period. She is proud of her achievement to raise two children on her own, but on the other hand, she often feels that she had "betrayed" (her choice of words) her ideals for an academic career and that is why her daughter did the same by choosing a career in the private sector. Dela, however, has not any doubts about her mother. "I am proud of her" she says, "She is quite strong and independent. I want to become like her". Dela's career shift somehow imitates her mother's example, not so much in terms of career choice and professional orientation, but more in terms of determination and will.

In this way, Dela too continues family history, which might remind us of Natela. The two women seem to consider their future, if not rooted, at least inspired from the family past, but they put emphasis on different qualities: national continuity and traditions for Natela and women empowerment and social agency for Dela. Besides the latter's family did not share the bourgeois background of the former. However, I do not want to build an opposition between these two approaches (national tradition/social agency). I would like, instead, to underline the difference on the stress which rather alludes to the social transformations the Georgian society faces. Dela's admiration of her mother's attitude emphasizes two things: independence and free will, two ideals that are closely attached to the rhetoric of democratization and westernization. The latter is well embedded in the political discourses of Georgian public life since the Rose Revolution.

Fashion is an industry that presents new challenges and opportunities for Dela. "Georgian women love being elegant. They don't mind staying hungry in order to buy stuff for themselves". For the first time in Georgian history, femininity is turning to something less strictly defined by family and class codes, national traditions or ideology and it becomes more dependent on market rules and global fashion trends. Nevertheless,

the introduction of a market economy in Georgia does not necessarily guarantee emancipation and freedom of choice for Georgian women, which is something to be studied further and in long-term. It rather changes the nature of their constraints. When I asked Dela about the necklace she was wearing in the fashion-show, a golden necklace with three pearls forming a tiny heart in the middle, she said, “Isn't it beautiful? It's fake and cheap but it is in fashion. I got it from the bazroba. No memories are attached to these pearls. Moreover, Dela has rather no hesitation to confess that her piece of jewellery is fake, bought in an open market. What is important for the young woman is that the necklace is beautiful, following the aesthetic norms of our time for the consumers of Dela's age.

Fashion, according to Appadurai (1986: 32), is regulated by the criterion of “appropriateness”, which is defined as the way consumers' choices align with the aesthetics of a certain period resulting to a distinctive social taste. Dela's customers, those attending the fashion show, seem to meet the criteria of the western fashion world, forming transnational aesthetic relations in a way similar to the emerging Georgian bourgeoisie in the 19th century. As Gapova (2004: 85-105), examining the formation of the new elite in post-Soviet Belarus, argued, the interests of this emerging class are often adopted and represented as national goals. The Rose Revolution (November 2003) in Georgia was mainly driven by young people. They had limited experience living during the Soviet period and had experiences from the West (education or work in western countries). These people were baptized by the Georgian and international media as forces of democratization and change. Dela and her friends seem more flexible in changing their lives and making a career choice according to the market's needs where fashion and more western, or at least, more media-driven stereotypes about fashion play significant role in various ways. It is from this context that Natela and her generation probably feel excluded in today's Tbilisi.

V. Exclusions/inclusions in modern Tbilisi

As I discussed in relation to Natela's comments concerning her necklace and that of the president's wife, the former does not only connect us to a physical past, but it also becomes the sparkle that ignites a debate about the future. The exclusion that Natela feels emerges from a

comparison that contrasts in reality older structures of social and economic integration to new mechanisms and discourses of social and national being. As Boym argues the fall of the Soviet Union caused a deep feeling of "loss of some kind of Soviet communality and a unified Soviet cultural text, a Soviet master narrative" (1989:19). However, from the above it seems that this void was soon filled by new social demands following more westernized ideas, images and stereotypes. Democratization and transition emerged as the new master narrative of post-socialism in the public rhetoric and the political programs of many of the new western-oriented governments that rose from the former Soviet Union. Within these discourses the social reproduction of memories might help us understand the emphasis shift between the narratives of Natela and Dela, making the latter more sensitive to social agency, gender empowerment and individuality. However, Natela's comparison does not seem to be generated from the kind of nostalgia, which Boym underlines above, not only for the Soviet, but for any kind of fixed past. Her anxiety and even critique targets not the past, but the social problems and exclusions of the present. In this way, autobiography for Natela becomes allography since the exclusion she experiences from the socio-economic changes of the country leads her to alienation.

In Dela's narrative the past is brought into the discussion as a platform that provides examples and behaviours that she could turn to for inspiration, like that of her mother. Although she seems to forget the reasons that forced her mother to take that action, for example the complete collapse of statehood and the dissolving of social forms of organization. She also translates her mother's behaviour within the social vocabulary of transition. In this way, it appears that both these women of different experiences and generations use different aspects of their family past in order to negotiate their place in the present. In this context, Natela and Dela do not emerge as unified narrated Selves that reflect on a concrete and already written course of life. On the contrary, they stand critically in order to reflect that past and in this way, they seem to change it through their new reinterpretations. Their life stories cannot be seen simplistically as a sign of nostalgia, a feature that is closely attached to the master-narrative of nations through idealization and recollection. Their memories are strongly based on a social subtext within which they are formed and produced. But

at the same time, they do not hesitate to criticize this subtext. In addition, their memories interpellate (I am using, here, Althusser's term) different subject-positions which construct different, even contradictory, senses of identity. Natela feels excluded since the present-time socio-economics of the country seem to surpass her, whereas Dela sees in the same socio-economics opportunity and hope for a better life.

What seems to emerge as the central problem or demand for these two women, therefore, is the need to feel included in the social context of Georgia today. As their stories emphasized there are degrees of inclusion and exclusion, spaces (both real and imaginary) that give us the impression of being "at home". As Gopinah has argued (2005), discussing queer diasporic culture, nostalgia signifies the "means for imagining oneself within those spaces from which one is perpetually excluded or denied existence" (ibid: 280). In this sense, Natela is not nostalgic for a past, but for the ways she used to understand social reality and the ways through which she coped with the latter. She built her solidarities within the ideology of social and national equality. On the contrary, Dela seems more ready to embrace her individuality, to make her own way like her mother did in the years of crisis, to compete and adjust to the laws of the market, according to the experience she built because of her age, education and short professional career. But at the same time, her adoption of these ideals has not improved her family's economic position. Both Dela and her mother are still in quite precarious jobs.

In this context, ethnography of memory can postulate spaces, where inclusion and exclusion emerge without turning nostalgia into a monolithic state of being or of feeling, closely attached to a distant past. But at the same time, it could illustrate the close connections between auto/allo-graphy since it stresses the ways the Self/Other are mediated within the same context of social and political discourses and transformations. It also puts forward the associations or the disassociations that might arise from this mediation. In Natela and Dela's accounts linearity of time or history seems to be challenged and is negotiated in their narratives and their relation to the material culture. Pearls as a sign of family history, class or fashion have a central position in the construction of selves for these women in modern Tbilisi. As Fardon argues (2005: 88), "both treasures and identities are subject to temporal resignification, both may lose as well gain value; both

are materialized in ways that may resist or subvert people's attempts to annex or use them in particular ways". What is important is to explore the ways these resignifications take place both in people's and treasures' biographies through ethnography of memory.

References

Anthias F. & Davis Y.N. (1989). "Introduction" in their (eds) Woman-Nation-State, Basingtoke: Macmillan, p.p.1-15.

Antze, P.& Lambek, M. (1996). "Introduction: Forecasting Memory" in their (eds) Tense Past. Cultural Essays in Trauma and Memory, NY, Routledge, p.p. xi-xxxviii.

Appadurai, A. (1996) "Introduction: Commodities and the politics of value" in his (ed) The social life of things. Commodities in perspective. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p.p. 3-64.

Bakhtin, M. (1981). "Forms of time or the Chronotope in the novel. Notes towards Historical Politics" in Michael Holquist (ed) Mikhail Bakhtin: The Dialogic Imagination. Four Essays, Austin: University of Texas Press, p.p.84-259.

Bourdieu, P. (2000). Practical Reason: on the theory of action. Plethron, Athens. (in Greek)

Boym, S. (1995). "From the Russian Soul to Post-Communist Nostalgia" in Representations 19, Special Issue: Identifying Histories: Eastern Europe before and after 1989, p.p. 133-166.

Comaroff, J. & Comaroff, J. (1992). Ethnography and the Historical imagination, Westview, Press Boulder.

Dragadze T. (1988). Rural Families in soviet Georgia a case study: Ratcha Province, London: Routledge.

Fardon, R. (2005). "Tiger in African Palace"' in W. James & D. Mills (eds) The qualities of time. Anthropological Approaches, Oxford: Berg, p.p. 73-95.

Funk N. (1993). "Feminist east and West" in Funk N.& Mueller M (eds) Gender, Politics and Post-communism. London: Routledge, p.p. 318-31

Gapova, E. (2004). "Conceptualizing Gender, Nation and Class in Post-Soviet Belarus" in Kuehnast, K. & C. Nechemias (eds) Post Soviet Women Encountering Transition. Nation Building Survival and Civic Activism, Washington D.C: Woodrow Wilson Center Press& The John Hopkins University Press, p.p. 85-105.

Gopinah, G. (2005) "Nostalgia, Desire, Diaspora: South Asian Sexualities in Motion" in J.E. Braziel& A. Mannur (eds) Theorizing Diasporas, Oxford: Blackwell, p.p. 261-286.

Henriques J. et al (1998) "Forward" in their (eds) Changing the subject, London: Routledge, p.p. ix-xix.

Heyat, F. (1999). Career, Family and Femininity. Sovietization and Muslim Azeri women. Ph.D. Thesis, London.

Kopytoff, I. (1996). "The cultural biographies of things: commodization as process" in A. Appadurai (ed) The social life of things. Commodities in perspective. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p.p. 64-95.

Lissyutknina L. (1993). "Soviet Women at the Crossroads of Perestroika" in Funk, N.& Mueller, M (eds) Gender, Politics and Post-communism. London: Routledge, p.p. 274-87.

Manning P. (2008). "Love Khevsur style: The Romance of the mountains and mountaineer romance in Georgian Ethnography" in B. Grant &L. Yalcin-Heckman (eds) Caucasus Paradigms. Anthropologies, Histories and the Making of a World Area, Berlin: Lit–Verlag, p.p.23-47

Papastergiadis, N. (1998). Dialogues in the diasporas. Essays and converzations on cultural identity. London: Rivers Oram Press

Peackock, J. L.& Holland, D. C. (1993). "The narrative Self: Life Stories in Process" Ethos 21(4), p.p. 367-387.

Pine F.(2002). "Retreat to the Household: Gendered domains in post-socialist Poland" in C. Hann (ed) Post-socialism. Ideals, Ideologies and Practices in Eurasia. London: Routledge, p.p. 95-114.

Platz, S. (1989). "The shape of national time: Daily life, History, and Identity in Armenia's Transition to Independence, 1991-1994" in D. Berdahl, et al (eds) Altering States. Ethnographies and Transition in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union, Ann Arbor: The University Michigan Press, p.p. 114-139.

Simmel, G, (1978) The philosophy of money. London: Routledge.

Suny R. Gr. (1994). The making of the Georgian Nation. Bloomington: The University of Indiana Press.

Sutton, D. (1998). Memories Cast in Stone The relevance of the past in everyday life, Oxford: Berg.

Talkashvili, G. (1951). Lev Tolstoi. Georgia. Tbilisi: Zarya Vostoka. (in Russian)

Tsikhladze, N. (1987). The Georgian women's work for national culture in the 19th-20th centuries, Tbilisi: Merani. (in Russian)