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## COLLECTIVE TRAUMA IN REFUGEE LITERATURE (BASED ON ALMANACS – 14 GIGABYTES AND HALLELUIAH)

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### ABSTRACT

Theories of traumatic memory are uniquely topical in modern theoretical discourse, Collective trauma is a complex of psychological sensations, which is formed in witnesses or participants of tragic events, who have to deal with psychological stigma.

Theoretical framework about the collective trauma is relevant to events that have taken place in Georgia, as the epochal tragedy has changed ethnic and cultural environment in Abkhazia and Tskhinvali Region.

As the subject of research, we have defined the almanacs reflecting Georgian-Abkhazian and Georgian-Ossetian (provoked by the third force) conflicts: 14 Gigabytes and Halleluiah.

Uniqueness of 14 Gigabytes is reasoned by the concept set by the editor (Nana Gaprindashvili) and the compiler of the almanac (Tea Kalandia) – 14 narrators tell about the Abkhazian episode of Russian-Georgian war. Personal stories create the monumental canvas-reflection of the feelings of youth who have been deprived of childhood.

Authors of the poetic almanac Halleluiah published in 2018, under the editorship of Mzia Khetaguri, are united under refugee stigma, pain caused by losing homes, trauma, which marks each of the texts like an unhealed wound.

It must be emphasized that in none of the researched authors' texts reflects hostility or aggression towards "conflicting sides" or even the main provoking power – Russia.

The presented discourse allows us to confirm the research hypothesis: conflicts provoked by Russia have forced Georgian population of Abkhazia and Tskhinvali Region to leave their homes, to go through the horrors of war. Refugees have to deal with the stigma of being refugees and grave experience of collective trauma, which is creatively transformed, reflexed in the almanacs 14 Gigabytes and Halleluiah.

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**Introduction.** Modern theoretical discourse focuses on many interesting topics, especially important from which are the theories on traumatic memory. Research of the given topic was first launched in American humanitarian studies in the second half of the XX century and covered numerous fields of science. Considering the social and cultural context, interest to traumatic memory was conditioned by post-conflict and post-war psychological outcomes, which, on the one hand meant understanding of traumatic memories and on the other hand, fighting against them.

In his concept, reknown American researcher Jeffrey Alexander claims that “cultural trauma occurs when members of a collectivity feel they have been subjected to a horrendous event that leaves indelible marks upon their group consciousness, marking their memories forever... (Alexander, 2004: 79). Researchers agree that collective trauma is a complex of senses, which develops in witnesses or participants of tragic events, who must not only survive the existing situation, but also to cope with psychological stigma during the rest of their lives (Alexander, Sztompka, Anikin, Golovashina). Piotr Sztompka says that “the term “trauma” relates to social sphere, which has the power of destructive impact on social body” (Sztompka, 2001: 7).

Wars and conflicts underway in the world have forced millions to leave their homelands/homes and to become refugees, which has marked their group consciousness forever. Traumatic memories on the one hand and completely new environment on the other hand, which failed to dispel the stigma caused being refugees, created a completely different, strange situation. Jeffrey Alexander thinks that XX century wars in Vietnam and Korea created the so-called Vietnam Syndrome, which made it necessary to understand the aforementioned traumatic memories and to fight against them (Alexander, 2004: 35).

Theories of traumatic memory and post-colonialism became basis for the French researcher Claire Gallien’s Refugee Theory, which means understanding of the image of a refugee in fiction literature as of a traumatized object. Literary theorists from around the globe focused deeply on one of the most tragic events of the modern world. The topic is studied by Claire Gallien, Marie-Anjela Palladino, Frederic Detue, Melissa Chaplin, Benedicte Letellier, Olivera Jokie, Valerie Anishchenkova, Corina Stan... Foreign researchers establish the constructing Refugee Literature in the theoretical discourse. It must be considered that Refugee Literature and Literature about Refugees are differentiated (Mindiashvili, 2019).

**Theoretical framework** on the collective trauma corresponds exactly with the events developed in Georgia since 1990s. Conflicts provoked by **the Soviet Empire** (1990s, August 2008) in Georgia during the post-soviet epoch, especially in the three regions of the country (Tbilisi, Abkhazia, Tskhinvali Region (so called South Ossetia), had the hardest effect on the spirit and psyche of the country in general and specific people.

Modern literary criticism frequently and seriously discusses the traumatic memory of refugees. It is an indisputable fact that the problem exceeds the boundaries and frames of literature/literary studies and includes/considers also political, economic, psychological and culturological aspects. Slightly later, when “literature, being in the frustration field, under the conditions of powerful public stress regains (Tsipuria, 2016: 127) its social functions, in parallel with fiction, relevant becomes also non-fiction, the hereditary leaders can be found in Georgian Hagiography (The Tortures; The Lives) (Bregadze, 2013).

Interesting theoretical analysis of the literary reflection of armed conflicts is represented in dissertations defended in Georgia during recent years (Ana Imnaishvili, Ana Imnadze, Sofiko Dzneladze, Nino Todua). In her 2021 dissertation (War Paradigm in Modern Georgian Literature) researcher Klara Gelashvili stresses: “Events of the 1990s, which resulted in internal forced displacement of thousands of people, promoted establishment of the new topic in literature – modern authors covered in from different angles the before strange image of the refugee” (Gelashvili, 2021: 10). Paradigm, from absolutely different – philosophical-existential connotation – of course existed in earlier texts too (Guram Gegeshidze’s *Refugee* and Guram Dochanashvili’s *The First Garment* characters (refugee, IDP), but with the ethnic cleansing victim meaning the term – Paradigm appears in fiction texts of 1990s and 2000s. “Refugee paradigm in epochal discourse context” is analyzed in the thesis with the same title (Mindiashvili, 2019:25), focusing on analysis of “ideological-national aspects” of living in exile (refugee).

World literary criticism discourse is projected in Georgia also, therefore, understanding of the “traumatic memory” concept becomes relevant in Georgia also, which has suffered from the tragism of ethnic conflicts provoked by the Empire. Unlike the Soviet epoch, when trauma, for obvious reasons, was reflected only through “the language of Aesop”, the post-Soviet epoch openly analyzes the causes-outcomes of the tragedy. Literary critic Manana Kvachantiradze perceives literature as “the monument protecting the hidden traumatic memory. The trauma keeps emotional images in memory. If consciousness succeeds in overcoming the trauma, it speaks about positive experience of the memory” (Kvachantiradze, electronic address).

Refugee tragic stigma (with numerous other problems) is discussed by literary critic Bela Tsipuria in her research *Post-Soviet Trauma and the End to another Narrative*: “Fiction is often created with function to present certain boundary between the inner and outer worlds and during stressful circumstances to at least protect oneself from outer aggression through describing personal condition or self-fixation” (Tsipuria, 2016: 89).

The above discussed theoretical discourse allows us to define as **the object of our research** the two almanacs giving literary reflection of Georgian-Abkhazian and Georgian-Ossetian (Russia-provoked): *14GB* and *Halleluiah*.

**Methods.** The research is based on interdisciplinary, comparative, and conceptual interpretation methods of analysis; complex literary criticism approach is considered during interpretation of texts.

**Hypothesis.** Collapse of the Soviet Union and conflicts provoked by Russia forced the population of Abkhazia and Tskhinvali regions to suffer from the horrors of war, radically changing their consciousness. Those living exile have to cope with refugee stigma on the one hand and consciousness formed as result of collective trauma on the other hand, which is in detail reflected-receptioned in the almanacs *14 Gigabytes* and *Halleluiah*.

**Reasoning and Results.** One of the conceptual problems of literature is recreation of the destructed connection of times, which is managed only by the “gigabyte(s)” of memory.

In 2019, in Tbilisi, was published the unique book by its format and content – Almanac *14 Gigabytes*. Author-compiler of the book is Tea Kalandia; Head Consultant – Nino Kalandia; Editor – Professor Nana Gaprindashvili. The book was presented in Tbilisi, in NATO Center in fall of 2019.

Significance of the publication is also determined by the fact that the almanac is bilingual – Georgian-English – which makes reflection-receptions of the tragic stories of war to multinational audience of readers (Translator - Trevor George Cartledge and Sofio Totibadze. Uniqueness of the book is reasoned by the concept precisely defined by the Editor and Compiler – 14 narrators tell the story of the Abkhazian war (in reality – the Abkhazian episode of the Russian-Georgian war – “the chronicles of undeclared death”); their personal tragic stories. Separate, personal stories of the *14 Gigabytes* create certain puzzle, monumental painting, which reflects the hardest sentiments of the youth deprived of childhood and homes; those who remember the blurry past and try to recall it through sublimized feelings, at the hope and help from the “gigabytes” of memory.

The book has the lapidary foreword by the compiler and concept author Tea Kalandia. In the one-page prologue, which is read as self-sufficient miniature, the author tells about the hardest impression from August 14, 1992 (day of the start of war in Abkhazia). The date divides Tea’s life (just like of every resident of Abkhazia, despite their nationality) into two – before the war (Paradise) and after the war (perennial hell of a homeless). By the original concept of the compiler and editor, authors of the almanac revive the sedimented past in the gigabytes of memory and transform it not into text or painting (which, by itself, is essential), but also into certain manifest, illustration and lustration of the horrible “laws”, episodes of war. For those who have not seen, suffered from the horrors of war, the book is perceived as a warning, confirmation, reflection, of how the process and results of greatest human crime influence spirits of each human, furthermore of an adolescent.

Editor and Compiler selected fourteen refugee youth as authors of the almanac. Texts by one of them, due to certain reasons, was not included in the final edition of the almanac, although, based on absolutely justified and original decision by the Editor, the fourteenth “gigabyte” was left blank in the publication, with the title “You” – i.e. every reader can put their own story, personal memory in the blank passage of the book-puzzle.

Each of the “children of war” are now accomplished youth – poet, painter, student... One gigabyte is added to the dark-colored puzzle by – Papuna Papaskiri (*House, I do not Remember*), Nino Kalandia (*Aba, Ula*), Anuna Bukia (*Check-In to Home*), Giorgi Esebua (*Home without Me*), Tea Topuria (*Without Reason*), Paata Shamugia (*The Savior*), Winda Folio (Temur Ezugbaia) (*Winda Folio’s Map of Sokhumi*), Kakha Kintsurashvili (*ISuccessor*), Zura Jishkariani (*08.2032*), Lado Pochkhua (*Memory and Landscape, My Satellites in the Sky*), Toma Papaskiri (*Tomorrow*).

Memories tell us better than any historic textbook or journalistic report that war never ends – it goes on eternally and remains in memory forever, as an inerasable, heavy memory; certain stigma which you can try to ignore, but will never forget... neither “manuscripts burn”, nor the “gigabytes” do.

Painter Papuna Papaskiri is represented with the rubric *House that I do not Remember*. Under the rubric “headline” there are five untitled paintings and type of foreword-resume. The expressive paradigm flashes in the memories of a little boy going from Zugdidi to home in Sokhumi on an electric train – “the well”. “Looking down the well” is an excellent paradigm for looking back at the past, understanding it.

The happy mood of the laconic-lapidary foreword – “In just two hours I will be home” – turned into long, grave years of being a refugee; also, into paintings, which reflect the contours of the forcefully left hometown. Dominant color in the palette is blue; the color of Sokhumi – of the sea, of the sky... Blue is also the dominant color in Naira Gelashvili’s poem *Song about the City of Sokhumi*:

“I remember the white city at the Black Sea coast... and the dark blue of the Black Sea shines” (Gelashvili, 2006: 218). Overtones of blue are purple, black; at some points – orange. Silhouette of the palm tree is black (it is noteworthy that in the other passage reflecting Russia-Georgia war – story of Samegrelo “operation” – Zviad Kvaratskhelia paints the burnt-black palm tree as the paradigm image of war N.K., N.M.) Perception of the paradigm may be artificial, but the palm tree is the plant leaves of which the believers put to the feet of Jesus Christ when he entered Jerusalem... Palm trees burnt in Sokhumi and Zugdidi too during the war; people have forgotten the Lord...

Orange, seen as overtone on the paintings does not remind us of the colors of Abkhazia – oranges and mandarins; it is perceived more as the reflection of the fire and flames of war on the cobalt color ground of Papuna Papaskiri’s paintings.

“Small part of the sea can be seen from the bedroom. My bed is on the window side” (14 Gigabytes, 2019: 12) – there is hope in the lapidary passage of the text, just like in the cobalt colors of the paintings – sea could be seen from any point in Sokhumi. Every single gigabyte of the refugee memory keeps (“buries”) the color and scent of the sea and the city and does not only keep it – but also broadcasts it (it is noteworthy that due to the high polygraph quality of the publication the paintings are perceived as complete reproductions; unforgettable fragments of the excellent author’s album).

Next rubric of the Almanac is *Aba, Ula (in Mengrelian: Let’s Go! – in this specific case it is not a joyful call, but it is with tragic connotation – with the meaning of running away.)* Author of the passage is Nino Kalandia. Like Papuna Papaskiri’s paintings, the tiny figures similar to Japanese netsuke have author’s foreword. If the paradigm of understanding the past for Papaskiri is “looking down the well”, for Nino Kalandia “memory is trembling like a wounded bat” (the dark connotation of “the bat” thought about during the pandemic epoch, makes us think about the analogy – war is also a pandemic; spread of the epidemic of recklessness to widest spaces.)

Little girl, dreaming about becoming a ballerina, paints a dancer with olive-color eyes (painting is also there; dated – January 30, 1989. Four years and almost eight months remaining until the start of war.) Contours of mother and father flash in the foreword – mother’s beautiful garden of cactuses and “feet” of the tiny dancer, as Nino is still too little and can only draw the pointes... Gigabytes of memory scratch the soul like cactus thorns. There are figures similar to netsuke on other pages of the almanac. Compositions are different; just like impressions. Installations can be interpreted in as many different ways, as there are perceiver-viewers. One of the interpretations is the orange childhood that has transformed into mud-color; childhood, which has not ended, but has been cut short. War starts and the childhood stops (it is symptomatic that the ballerina of 1989 also wears an orange color dress). However, just like Papuna Papaskiri’s cobalt color is cut through by silver color, we also want to see the orange color in Nino Kalandia’s mud color not as the reflection of the fire of war, but as of the orange (cult plant of Abkhazia)...

In the passage *Check-in Home* is represented the miniature and installation with the same title - I Swam Enguri. Enguri is the river that separates the Georgian land occupied by Russian Empire from the rest of Georgia – Abkhazia, which can be temporarily taken over by the enemy geographically, but can never be erased from the gigabytes of memory – furthermore, from the memory of the child who was exiled from paradise to hell, but they “did not take care” of erasing the memory that has followed as a contraband... Those who have lived in Sokhumi (or any other seaside city of a subtropical zone), will recall myriads of memories after seeing the items-fragments represented in the installation – they will remember their “Ithaca”, “the sweet-spicy smoke”...

“How do I tell you what I am looking for and what I have found?” – the rhetorical question is asked by Anuna Bukia, who categorically states (although she has been restricted to swim Enguri since 1993): “I Swam Enguri!” and this categoricity is not capriciousness of a child still living in the childhood that has been taken away, but it is the position of the local, of the owner, who can never be exiled from homeland by anyone, as the homeland is given by the Lord and not by an occupant, even so cruel and reckless as the present occupant of Georgia.

The poetic-prosaic narrative (*From the Letter, The Flight*) by Giorgi Esebua is another passage, gigabyte of from the *14 Gigabytes*. Poem *From the Letter* is a conceptual text, in which the young man disputes with the “local” living in the house that was burned (before his birth) and asks a rhetorical question: “Don’t you sneak out to the open sea from an open window at night? Can you breathe freely?!” We would like to emphasize the common angle of the vision of the authors; common paradigm – the window to the sea. Dominant color in Giorgi Esebua’s work is also blue (Maybe, it will reflect in your and my sister’s mirror, maybe, writing down poems in diaries, with my mom’s blue earring sparkling as tears?!” (14 Gigabytes, 2019: 56) – Here also we see the image of mother and with the dominancy of blue. Specific mother, in the poem, is perceived as a paradigm image of whole Abkhazia.

Gigabytes of memory recreates the destructed connection of times and the one who understands the imagined (Giorgi was born in 1997, after the occupation of Abkhazia) past, travels to the imagined future; he imagines return to the hometown he has never been to (which, in fact is the first vision). If Anuna Bukia “will swim Enguri”, Giorgi Esebua must fly to his homeland (which was made native to him by stories told by his late grandfather). The stream of consciousness puts together the fragments of time and the unanswered, heaviest question arises from the fabric of the text: “Is there really, somewhere very far, the mysterious city, which no one is able to return to?!” ... “very far” is only 400 kilometers from Tbilisi...

Tea Topuria, one of the distinguished “voices” of the modern Georgian prosaic narrative, tells about the scent of childhood – she hosts us in her memory, in her own “museum of innocence”. The miniature titled *Without Reason*, offers the unforgettable, heavy reflection – the smell of the old drawer: “inanimate things can also say farewell in their own way” (14 Gigabytes, 2019: 70).

According to the concept by the distinguished voice of modern Georgian poetic narrative Paata Shamugia – “To make up something, means to foretell the past... I am unable to foretell exact dates” (14 Gigabytes, 2019: 76) – the fact that impossibility of “foretelling exact dates” is emphasized, makes it clear that the crimes of war are “not dated”, continuous, endless, inerasable – gravest recidivism of the tragedy reappear in each epoch, reflexed into traumatic, tragic memory. When speaking about war, each of the “Gigabytians” chooses amazing tact and laconic narrative. Or maybe they do not even choose it and the tragism of the topic reasons this specific style – lapidary and in fact free from any metaphors?!

Winda Folio (Temur Ezugbaia) creates his own version of the map of Sokhumi. We think about the Map of Yoknapatawpha from Faulkner’s novels or the scheme of the labyrinth shown in Umberto Eco’s *The Name of the Rose*; however, if the chronotypes of the texts by the world known modernist and post-modernist is imaginary, Winda Folio’s is recalled: “I don’t remember much about Sokhumi, just the “candy” tree, which grew at the territory of the “pitomnik” (monkey nursery), which was restricted for entrance – “If you go there, monkeys will eat you” (14 Gigabytes, 2019: 92) (*After September 27, 1993, the day of fall of Sokhumi, the monkeys from the nursery scattered in the abandoned and destroyed city*).

Next “Gigabytian”, actor Kakha Kintsurashvili is also a successor – of both the city and the traumatic memory of war (his memory is titled – *(Me)mkvidre - (I)Successor*. The title is in fact untranslatable, as due to the semantic, the word includes the first-person pronoun (Me – narrator) and noun-verb (mkvidri - local, resident), which has the conceptual meaning (Georgian is a local of Abkhazia and not “resettled there later by Stalin and Beria”, the absurd claimed by some); and the sum of these “memkvidre” (successor) – is a connotation marked with the concept of responsibility. Like Winda Folio or Paata Shamugia (and other Gigabytians), Kakha Kintsurashvili also goes deep into childhood memories and asks the rhetorical question: “Is childhood really just several memories?!” Here also (as if agreed initially), the manner of narration is the same – lapidary, maximally laconic; it is as reading Japanese poetry: “When I was born, grandpa planted a palm tree in the yard. It is now 33 (14 Gigabytes, 2019: 95) – At the age of Christ, the actor does not “act” when recalling childhood – he tells without mask about the sacred; what has been taken away from him and is just “buried” in the memory.

Zura Jishkariani’s fragmental narrative (*08.2032*) takes us for a journey to August 2032. Text is a fantasy – “In several hours Georgian-Abkhazian Confederation Astronauts will leave the earth and join other sons of our planet in reconstruction of the Moon bases” (14 Gigabytes, 2019, 104). Fantasy is also a type of contour of State arrangement and tells about the completely non-fiction routine of not very far future – “reconstruction of Moon bases”. How vulnerable our tiny blue planet appears/will be seen from the cosmic spaces and how absurd are the local wars inspired by empires in that tiny “home”, the results of which are equal to destruction of the universe for the “locals”...

Based on the concept of the main book of Georgians – *The Knight in the Tiger’s Skin* – The Lord “has given to us, humankind, the home with its countless colors”, but the universe of a refugee always lacks the main from the “countless” – the color of homeland – for the refugees from Abkhazia it is cobalt color (or any nuance or overtone of blue, as we have emphasized several times). During war, even the sacred color causes nightmares – “The corpse, blue as a sky, in the neighboring apartment house. If it was not for the lowered esthetic perception due to hunger and stress, we would have kept it in a museum, as the definition of blue...” (14 Gigabytes, 2019: 111).

Tone and overtones permanently change in the text; nightmare is replaced by the light, despair is replaced by hope... In one of the passages, in Zura Jishkariani’s micro-model of the universe, in the new cosmogenic system, “nobody remembers war, apartment houses covered with grass... everything is decriminalized, everyone is happy. This is what happens in Abkhazia, which they even call “the

California of Eurasia” (14 Gigabytes, 2019: 104). In accordance with the canonic of post-modernism or altermodern, the writer presents this phrase not as his own, but “New York Times” quotation.

In response to the pathos phrase written on billboards and banners: “Remember Abkhazia!”, the writer, with a paradox, creates the horribly true facture of the fiction-publicist text – with the gravest finale: “And after, many years later, the time will come when you realize that in order for the war to end, in order for the subtropical scent to win and not the smell of steel, coming from the recently shot Kalashnikov, it is necessary... to forget your deceased, your wounded and your destroyed apartment houses... When the time will come and we stand in front of each other at the boundary of dawn, they will come with their deceased and we will come with ours... It is time let the deceased go. At dawn, we will repeat it as a mantra: I forget my deceased, so that I can love you alive – love you as myself; as my deceased (*the notional focus comes on this syntagma – “my deceased” – N.K., N.M.*), as my sister and brother.” (14 Gigabytes, 2019: 112).

As it was expected, Lado Pochkhua’s painting (*Gagra*) is also dominated by cobalt color. Painter’s vision that he had one month before the start of war, in July 1992: “I saw how enormous purple cloud covered the city; like someone reached up and switched off a shining lamp... black color covered everything. Black clouds slowly swam over the smoky city... I must paint this, I thought...” (14 Gigabytes, 2019: 142). The vision from meditation will become reality in one month (like in Rezo Inanishvili’s miniature – *Confluence of Bzipi*) – beautiful resort area turns into “dark, horrible city” – with horrible fate.

The last gigabyte of the almanac is Papuna Papaskiri’s parabola – *Shoe in the Rain*. After one-week of wandering around, the lost shoe, eventually finds its home... the parabola is transparent...

Besik Kharanauli, the Master of modern Georgian poetry said – “These stories are so true, so inspiring, that they are more than literature” (14 Gigabytes, 2019: 166). Levan Bregadze, one of the distinguished persons in modern Georgian literary criticism also believes that “non-fiction” is the future of literature (Bregadze, 2013). Final phrase of non-fiction-Gigabytes is also true, non-pathos: “Representation of the stories of Abkhazia has started and will by all means continue” (14 Gigabytes, 2019:167), just as of Tskhinvali Region stories, in the literary reception of which can clearly be seen the passages reflecting collective trauma.

Georgian-Ossetian conflict is the reflection of the establishment of Soviet legal heritage in Georgia. Autonomous County of South Ossetia was created with the limits of Georgia, against the interests of Georgian people, on April 20, 1992. Georgian-Ossetian relations tensed starting from the second half of 1980s. In “South Ossetia” (Tskhinvali Region), the conflict appears and deepens against the background of political, economic, criminal and ethnic-national opposition.

In early 1990s, Russian Federation used the grounds prepared back during the Soviet regime and started provoking ethnic conflicts in the autonomies created by the Soviet Government in Georgia, along with the formation of local separatist “elite”. As result, in January 1991, we witnessed appearance of the armed conflict. As result of war, in Tskhinvali Region – at the territories of South Ossetia and surrounding areas were burned and completely destroyed up to fifty Georgian villages. Georgian central government lost control over those lands. Up to 130 thousand, mainly ethnically Georgians were exiled from their homes. 26 thousand of them still remain internally displaced. (<http://www.parliament.ge>). The epochal crisis and political and social background radically changed the cultural environment in the region, and loaded the literary palette with new colors and problematic. Fortunately, in the environment separated into two camps, although, hardly, but it was still managed to reflect Georgian-Ossetian topic in fiction texts. (Mindiashvili, 2018:3) In 2018, under editorship of Mzia Khetaguri, poet from Tskhinvali, was published the poetic almanac *Halleluiah*. Goal of the almanac is clearly stated in the foreword: “The given book serves the only purpose – to express the pain caused by separation of the homeland and despite the bitter reality to take step towards reconciliation, through Christian mutual forgiveness.” (Khetaguri, 2018:3) The almanac represents thirty-seven authors, united under refugee stigma and the pain, trauma caused by losing homeland, changed consciousness, which marks each of the texts like an unhealed wound. Sorrow, mystic, different attitude towards fate, nostalgic mood, nihilism prevail in the texts by the poets who recreate the connection cut by politicians by using the creative threads. From many significant works, for discussion we selected poetic creations by those authors who thematically respond to the topics of Tskhinvali, refugees, broken bridges between Ossetians and Georgians and who share their attitude towards the given problem through poetry. Mzia Khetaguri’s, Shota Darbuashvili’s, Tsitsino Babutside’s, Naira Bepieva’s, Tamar Metreveli’s, Irine Gochashvili’s, Lia Chigladze’s and others’ poetic narrative is full of feeling of greatest pain, sorrow and nostalgia.

Title of the Almanac was selected from the title of Mzia Khetaguri’s poem – *Halleluiah*. The poem is conceptual: “Entrance to Sokhum-Tskhinvali for Georgians is Prohibited! Halleluiah! Our

brotherhood is prohibited there! – Halleluiah, Halleluiah!” (Khetaguri, 2018:7) The clear political mood of the poem is apparent, along with the attitude of the authors towards the “same-religion, brotherly nation”, which she represents with the correctly found, original word-definition “BarbaRussian”: “We look at the border marked with cannons! BarbaRussian is a miracle!” (Khetaguri, 2018:7) Unforgettable are the construction-paradigms: “Heart planted as thorns”; “Flowerless Miracle”; “Judah’s End”. The last line – “Maybe this is the end to hostility? – The end, the end... Halleluiah! – seems to create the feeling of hands reached out to each other and open hearts, carefully, with love and prayers. Mzia Khetaguri’s many other poems reflect the permanent pain caused by separation of the homeland (The Boundary, Childhood – Mourner for Me, Tskhinvaliless Land, Farewell, If we do not get Samachablo back, Has Sokhumi Fallen?! Has Tskhinvali Fallen?!...) Each of the poet’s texts are the nostalgia for the topos/ local, certain confession; together with the poet we travel the streets of the taken away city: “Will cry for me with Tskhinvali Streets/ Today, my childhood wounded by barbed wire!” (Khetaguri,2018:8) The lines are absolutely free of pathos; the words by the poet are true and revealing like the tone of Biblical prophet: “We missed the way to each other, /Let us say no to the road silvered with bullets!/ Has Sokhumi Fallen?! Has Tskhinvali Fallen?! But we all fall even before that!” (Khetaguri, 2018:15)

The hardship of being a refugee, harrowing feeling caused by the loss of homeland, is reflected in the works by another poet, musician and journalist. *Refugee Children, Snowing in Tskhinvali, Until the Return, With the Voice of Ilia* – these are Shota Darbuashvili’s poems, dedicated to Tskhinvali and being a refugee. We believe especially important the poetic text *With the Voice of Ilia*, which clearly shows the conceptual signs of post-modernism: “Is there anyone happier than a Tskhinvalian? They have locked him up in a hotel for ten years, made him crazy, can anyone be happier than those raised in a hotel?!” (Darbuashvili 2018:40) – Intertextualism, double coding, fragmentality, parody modus of narration, irony – these are the techniques used by the author to represent the severity of the epochal crisis, processes underway in refugee’s spiritual world, by unique mixing of the tragic and grotesque.

*Snowing like in Tskhinvali, Following the Trail of Poem, Do you have a Mother?, Song of a Refugee* – are poems by Tsitsino Babutsidze, poet and writer from Achabeti. Her poetic style is characterized with simplicity. Author of the works less loaded with metaphors and epithets, manages with astonishing effort to show to readers in full the emotions of a person who has become refugee in his own country; to make readers feel compassion, to take them by the hand and show the trails of refugee life. Unfortunately, for the time being, the only way to return to Samachablo is through a poem: “I near the road to Tskhinvali by the trail of poem, /I need no boundary or permission,/ through the trail of poem, I have reached the burned down paradise...” (Babutsidze, 2018:61).

Especially interesting is Tsitsino Babutsidze’s poetic creation – *Do you have a Mother?* The author tells us about Kurta – village burned down during the war. There is only one living person left in the village; Georgian mother who cannot leave the grave of her late child. By using the correctly found plot outline, the author creates the greatest emotional field. Culmination of the poem is the “visit” of a drunk Russian soldier to the village. The poet has not lost the hope for the almightiness of kindness and love or tries with all her heart to keep this belief alive: “There was a photo of a young man on the war! /The little woman put her back against the photo/... It is my child, go on, kill me! ... /machinegun froze in soldier’s hands; he put the gun down,/ tears came to his eyes, the ice melted in his heart.../she found the words that found the way to enemy’s heart and made the death with machinegun in hands cry!” (Babutsidze, 2018:67).

Remarkable and inspiring are sad lyrics by woman poet Tamar Metreveli (from Nikozi village) on conflict-destroyed Georgian-Ossetian relations and the enormous pain suffered by both sides equally. The poet remembers the ruins of house, which nettle flourishes in now; she believes that scent of incense is still strong in churches; that hatred can never bring harvest of kindness. “We will return, as that is what the hearts of the brave men want, /in black Chokhas, heads bowing down, they walk in grief. /We will return to Samachablo – the little lagoon,/ as our hearts strive towards peace and prayer.” (Metreveli, 2018:125).

Concepts of collective trauma are clearly seen in the poems by all thirty-seven authors of the Almanac *Halleluiah* (illustrated material expresses the main pathos of the Almanac). Every literary work is nourished by with remorse, kindness, love and thirst for reconciliation, with hope for a better future. Patriotism of the creators apparently expresses the organicity of basic features of the nation – wisdom, kindness, firmness and mercifulness. It is clear that creators of the almanac *Halleluiah* believe deepening of such literary reflections that may create basis for future changing to stage of relations, as the way of saving the deadlocked relations. We believe, raising Georgian-Ossetian topic(s) in fiction texts serves the same goal.

**Conclusions.** It must be emphasized that despite the unsolved conflict ongoing for decades, existing “broken bridges” between Georgia, Abkhaz and Ossetian communities, none of the works by the authors analyzed by us express hostility and aggression not only towards the “conflict sides”, but also towards Russia – the main provoking force of the conflicts. The almanacs analyzed by us are united under the intensity of feelings, refugee stigma of people who have suffered from horrors of war, reflected in the conceptual passage in the text of Gigabyte member Zura Jishkariani (presenting extensive quote): “You are an indivisible part of a catastrophe; one of its thousands of images and you will never be able to change it. While you live, for your own self and others you will always remain as reminder about a catastrophe that has taken place – this is the main mission of refugees, even their main curse. That is why refugees are not liked – they are the living reminder of catastrophe, as of a nightmare... real blood flows into the digital calm... States do not like refugees, as they are the unsolved “errors”, systemic problem, which has suddenly turned into human image and form; they do not have soul, they are just state problems and spams; while spam must be by all means erased before it overloads e-mail and damage the installation code which includes your cultural program” (14 Gigabytes, 2019: 106).

*14 Gigabytes and Halleluiah* are exquisite and refined reflection-reception of the spiritual emotions of people marginalized by the world as refugees; literary works, as result of efforts of the authors of which the unbearable spiritual pain(s) are transformed into fiction texts, paintings, installations. Non-refugee readers will probably finish reading the almanacs with the feeling that refugee is not “spam” that “needs to be erased by all means”; to the contrary – the sublimized pain must be shared by all, so that nowhere, never again will the most heinous crime committed against humanity - war - be repeated. The presented discourse allows us to confirm the research hypothesis: *Collapse of the Soviet Union and Russia-inspired conflicts forced the population of Abkhazia and Tskhinvali Region to go through the horrors of war, which radically changed their consciousness. People in refuge have to cope with and handle both the refugee stigma and consciousness formed as result of collective trauma, which is in detail reflected in the Almanacs – 14 Gigabytes and Halleluiah.*

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