THE ROLE OF THE IMAGE OF THE PAST IN ETHNIC MOBILIZATION (CASE STUDY)

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Abstract: *This article is dedicated to the problem of the reflection of the Past in the process of transformation an ethnos into a nation. The mytho-historical tradition is regarded as a part of a mytho-symbolical complex, and its significance depends on correlation with other components which are important for forming and making a nation. The ethnical mobilization of the Gagauz people took place at the background of the economic crisis and multiple political processes caused by the collapse of the Soviet Union and formation of independent state of the Republic of Moldova. The process of building of the nation obtained the features of a cultural project, when the lack of material resources is successfully replaced by the symbolic ones. Despite the fact that the significance of the reflection of the Past became actual in the present, its main features were formed during the whole XX century. At every new stage of its development the mytho-historical tradition obtains new features allowing to solve the new challenges of the building of a nation.*

Keywords: *ethnical mobilization, reflection of the Past, mytho-historical tradition.*

Last two centuries the national question has repeatedly drawn attention to the national liberation movements and theorists of nations and nationalism, including the so-called "engineers of nation-building." The content and evolution of the concept of "nation" were discussed in detail in the works E.Hobsbaum, E Smith, E.Gellner, B. Anderson, G.V.Kasyanova and many others.

Without dwelling on the originality of approach to the interpretation of this concept, it is possible to agree with those researchers, who believe that the term and the phenomenon of nation is the invention of modern times (as does E.Hobsbaum, defining the nation as a "new historical phenomenon" [6, p. 26], and the process of the emergence of nations associated with modernization, with the creation of an industrial or modern, society.

What is important for the formation of nation? First of all we must name the language, culture, territory and what can be called the mythic and symbolic complex. At the same time, the method and conditions of the genesis of different nationalities are different, which explains a variety of definitions of that phenomenon in the works of different authors. This does not mean, however, the "multiplication of entities": in each specific case study examples will clarify the significance and effects of the individual components of the approximate "mandatory set of" nations, as well as help identify common phenomenon in the nation and awareness of trends in its evolution in time and space.

In this connection the study of the process of growth of national consciousness and the Gagauz ethnic mobilization receives the special importance.

What are the circumstances that make the Gagauz case attractive to researchers? Here are some of them: the time of ethnogenesis, "multi-directional" linguistic and religious identity of the Gagauz, who, being the Turkic-speaking, however, are Christians; specificity of the process of nation-building, which emphasizes the value of symbolic elements can compensate for the lack of material elements. A

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favorable combination of circumstances: the collapse of the Soviet Union; sudden interest from new geopolitical players to this place - especially Turkey, to a lesser extent Bulgaria and Azerbaijan, Moldova's aspirations, which has taken a course on European integration as a democratic state, to appear in that capacity; Active and constructive activity of the Gagauz intellectual and political elite, theoretically justify the need for the autonomy that developed the Code and attained its support from the European institutions - contributed the establishing of the Autonomous Territorial Unit Gagauzia in 1994.

Even a very benevolent view would not found in this construct any familiar elements of the nation state: Gagauz-Yeri does not have its territorial integrity, as the Bulgarian villages went to a nearby Taraclia district; the national economy is uncertain, because most of the big companies that recently were the part of the Soviet economic system, ceased to exist, and new businesses are opened mostly by the foreigners - Turks are particularly active; the system of education and a variety of institutions uses Russian language, and gradually expanded the scope of the state language. However, the creation of Autonomous Territorial Unit provides additional opportunities for the development of the Gagauz culture and further growth of national consciousness, and hence the process of ethnogenesis.

The process of nation-building acquired the characteristics of a cultural project, a project in which the lack of material resources to successfully replaced by symbolic resources. This cultural project is related to the modernization of the opportunities it can provide. Media, including the Internet, increases the impact of the mythological and symbolic of the complex, the education system contributes to the development of the Gagauz language, studied as an academic discipline and as a language in which the subject is taught "history, culture and traditions of the Gagauz people." In turn, the success of the cultural project improves the adaptive ability of people who are drawn into a new round of modernization, becoming part of a global economic framework through forced migration.

Creation of such a project would be a strategic goal for the Moldovan state, but instead of a single state there were formed several cultural projects. Gagauz cultural project - the only one of the projects of national minorities is a political resource in the form of the Autonomous Territorial Unit Gagauzia. But it was the image of the past is the basis, which makes the cultural project of the Gagauz holistic and therefore has a special meaning for him. Worth mentioning is the fact that such important elements of the cultural project, as the language of religion and less involved in its development. Language is going through an important stage of development, the formation of literary and scientific tradition. He is not yet ready to become the key to the treasury of the world cultural heritage. Moreover, the intellectual and political elite is fluent in Russian, which was and remains the language of culture and education. Russian language is clear, not only to the elite but to all population, including non-gagauz people, and also in many ways it plays the role of the language of international communication in Moldova and all the post-Soviet space, which is especially important in the context of the scope of labor migration. The Gagauz language is gradually expanding the scope of distribution, strengthening its position but has not yet become the language of education, although studied as a discipline.

The role of religion is also ambiguous. A special combination of religious and linguistic identity is a critical moment of ethnic identity. The last twenty years were a time of growth of religiosity, restoration of religious traditions. If in the Soviet period in Gagauzia (still without its autonomous status) had only two active churches, now

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parishes are in all the settlements in Ceadar-Lunga founded a monastery. But religion is not a factor ethno-differentiating. According to the 2004 census 93 percent of the population in Moldova are Orthodox.[4, p.53]

Image of the past is also the fact that clearly proves the identity of the Gagauz, it is understandable and flexible. The Gagauz failing to maintain the economic legacy of the Soviet era, but they are successful in creating their own cultural project. Gagauz are experiencing at the present time the most important stages of nation-building, have created a project that combines the symbolic legacy of the Soviet era (an idea of the messianic role of the Gagauz), European values (highlighted, for example, a particular tolerance) and the importance of tradition (the significance of Orthodoxy). It is flexible and open to the world. To disseminate it widely used as a resource as the Russian language, which does not diminish the importance of autonomy as a goal the creation of conditions for the development of national culture, including the conditions for the development of the Gagauz language. Carefully designed and shared patriotic symbolic component is designed to compensate for the missing physical elements, such as the absence of an autonomous economy, continuous territory.

Unfolding of this cultural project assumes the character of the cultural staging. It is no coincidence that the value that is currently rather difficult to economically acquire holidays: religious holidays (recovery of tradition), holidays, inherited from the Soviet era, for example, on February 23 and March 8 (maintaining continuity), the Moldovan holidays (integrative processes), holidays, special Gagauz presented as, for example, Kasim and Hederlez (updated identity), “globalist” holidays (Valentine's Day February 14) and a variety of anniversaries, replacing the triumphs in the present. The combination may seem paradoxical. For example, in 2007, the Gagauz celebrated the 50th anniversary of the acquisition of written language, despite the fact that on this basis on the Cyrillic alphabet in the 90s was abandoned in favor of writing in Latin, and the 100th anniversary of the release of the first book in the Gagauz language. But the paradox of not realized that once again demonstrates the importance of myth-that is symbolic of the complex.

Study historiosofic tradition Gagauz allows us to consider it in a very unusual perspective. Present this tradition is beyond doubt. At the disposal of researchers ethnographic material collected by V.A.Moshkov in the late XIX - early XX century., Fixed the virtual absence of the original legendary tradition (with a few exceptions in the form of a story about “Captain Dimitri”, a kind of interpretation of some biblical stories and the story about Alexander Macedonian, who fights with Arab and Tatars, receives a telegram and travels to hell). However, the emergence and evolution of historiosofic tradition alive with sharp turns, reveals not only the connection to the specific historical and cultural processes, but also a certain independence, the logic of development, in which there is a general (appeal to antiquity, building links with the real or imaginary historical events , characters, forms of statehood) and the special continuity not only with the way painted the portrait of the past, but also with the “imperial project” of the recent past and at the same time the inclusion of a democratic gloss “mission Gagauz in the present.” The development of this tradition historiosofic dynamics and intensity of its production is especially noticeable in comparison with the processes occurring in ethnic groups that, unlike the Gagauz, could be called “historical” for example Bulgarians. The relationship processes “state” and the development of mytho-historical tradition is particularly noticeable in relation to differences in the formation of the image of the past in the Gagauz of Moldova, Ukraine and Bulgaria.

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Although most historiosophical concepts and works appeared only in two decades of Gagauz-Yeri, in order to examine the process of becoming a mytho-historical tradition, it is necessary to turn to the end of the XIX century.

By the end of the century, there are not only various versions of the origin of the Gagauz, but also the first concept of ethnic history, priorities, coordinate system "friend or foe" It is a point of reference the history of the ethnic group - the time of the test (temptation, choice of priority), shows a nice act in the form of sacrificial suffering, explains the origin of the ethnonym. In the "Biographical sketch of the genus and families Chakir", written in 1899 by Archpriest Dmitry Chakir. build a hierarchy of identities. The author classifies word 'Gagauz "the Bulgarians-Christians, saying" Turkish "In the period of stay in the Balkans in response to the" Sultan's firman ", according to which it was necessary to" either accept the Islamic faith, and keep your language Bulgarian national, or change its national Bulgarian language to Turkish, and their Orthodox faith firmly and steadfastly maintain "Gagauz chosen faith and, accordingly, have lost the language. Ultimately, the author name Chakir "the Bulgarian nation, the Slavic tribe" [7, p.25]. This version will live up to the XXI century, but remain only in the Gagauz Bulgaria, the attitude of the Gagauz of Moldova will change dramatically.

We must pay attention at Chakirs negative attitude to the Turks, as in the Balkans they "oppressed Christian Bulgarians to the last degree of barbarism" [7, p.25]. In general, the Christian nations of the Ottoman Empire at XIX attracted as much attention and sympathy, as the victims of totalitarianism in the late twentieth century. Worth mentioning the interest to the Gagauzes from the researchers, the interest, that is not disappeared by now. But it was part of the whole: XIX century could be called the century of history (his start due to the representation of Europe's cultural trophies of Napoleon, the end with the time of the "discovery of many cultures" and the success of ethnography. And a special interest in the Turkic world is also determined by many factors: the discovery of the Orkhon -Yenisei inscriptions, the changing of the stereotype of the Turkic peoples (people stopped to see them only as the destroyers), processes of national identity of the Turkic peoples, pan-Turkism.

The important contribution to this was made by V.A.Moshkov, who at the beginning of the twentieth century, published ethnographic materials in the form of a series of essays, "The Gagauz Bender county" in "Ethnographic Review" and in 1904 in the form of folk materials in Russian and Gagauz in the 10th volume W.W. Radloff edition titled "Adverbs Bessarabian Gagauz." V.A.Moshkov already offered two versions of the origin of the Gagauz - "Bulgarian" and "Turk", exposing them to criticism, but does not offer special historiosofic concept.

Analysis of Moshkov's materials shows that at the end of the XIX century was realized the difference between the ethnic stereotypes of the Gagauz and Bulgarians, important cultural center (village Comrat) and at the same time, regional differences remained between the residents of the villages [2]

In the cultural space of Bessarabia not confessional, but linguistic identity became an ethno-differentiating factor. Importance of language was steadily increased, the possibility of its expanded (in 1907, the Synod of the Russian Orthodox Church allowed to translate religious literature on the Gagauz language). Assimilation of the Gagauz, Bulgarians, Ukrainians and other peoples constantly thwarted by external political factors, forced again and again to begin the formation of identities. In the 1856-1878, 1918-1940 and 1941-1944 Bessarabia was part of Romania, and then part of Bessarabia joined the Ukrainian SSR and the rest - in almost as soon as created

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Moldavian SSR. Later Soviet Union collapsed, Ukraine and Moldova became independent states and the formation of identities had to start again and again. Against this background, the Gagauz culture project was the possibility of further development. Like any other national project in the end he had to justify the need for a nation-state. But the company still had a traditional and therefore this project this state in the future should first appear in the image of the state in the past (usual for this type of societies mode of legitimation).

And Archpriest Michael Chakir writed in Gagauz his "History of the Gagauz Bessarabia" (1934). If the historical center of the design of the Gagauz world could be placed in another historic space, currently associated with Bessarabia, which is reflected in the title of labor. The imminent birth of a nation in the future cause concern to the origin of the ethnic group in the past and M.Chakir leads many theories about the origin of the Gagauz and notes that "the Gagauz Turks descended from Uzes, Oguz, from the present Turkic family."l8] Unlike the Bulgarians M.Chakir emphasizes in many ways, including an indication of the different ethnic stereotypes. It is quite advanced assertion, however, obtained by means of a traditional society. The author relies on the opinion of "a very intelligent, a prominent Gagauz the age of 80."l8] M.Chakir called the state of the Gagauz Dobrudja principality, is separated from the Turnovo Principality in the XIV century and lasted for several decades. It is worth noting that the book was published in Romanian period of M.Chakir writings, and Dobrudja - the object of fierce territorial dispute between Romania and Bulgaria.

In the second half of the twentieth century were created important conditions for the next phase of the Gagauz ethnic mobilization: there is a modernization (urbanization, industrialization, collectivization) creates a coherent system of education, which is the most important channel of social mobility, as well as creating conditions for learning a wide variety of symbolic products, including that offers a complex mythological and symbolic, created writing, literature is published in the Gagauz language. Gagauz culture is being actively studied by ethnographers, and in 1987 was found a department of gagauz-studying at the Academy of Sciences of the Moldavian SSR.

By the time of the collapse of the USSR and the presentation of their own cultural projects of the people of Moldova have come up with different starting capital. Gagauz culture project had the least resources. Of course the "nation-building" was a necessary measure. At the end of 80th started the building a cultural project that could have a different shape, and for each variant were already articulated historiosophic concepts and historical tradition.

The most attractive for the creation of an image of the past was a version of the Turkic origins of the Gagauz. And there was also a lot of options, but they do not compete. There was fighting between pechenegofils and kumanofils. Different versions emerged at different times, and at any one time was becoming more influential. This has a positive effect on the integrity and unity of the Gagauz project Gagauz community. In favor of the Turkish version of the Gagauz project had many arguments of the external and internal nature. The Gagauz language is a Turkic, in the public mind the less-modernisation of the language was seen as its archaic) antiquity. Turkic origin of Gagauz in conjunction with their religious affiliation - Orthodoxy - emphasize their uniqueness.

In addition to the emerging "naturally" mytho-legendary tradition of attempts to construct more and "the cult of the Gagauz system." These attempts are very artificial, we can see it in the so-called "cult of the horse."[1]

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Unfolding the cultural project of the Gagauz and the creation of the image of the past has not yet completed a "genetic stage" where critical issues are the issues of ethnic origin. However, the contours are identified for further transformations. One of the areas of a typical emerging nations "imperialist expansion", the expansion of the boundaries. In the spirit of post-modern era, this expansion is symbolic and is updated during the World Congress of the Gagauz (the first Congress was held in 2006, second in 2009, third in 2012). No coincidence that the delegates of the Second Congress within 40 minutes watched the movie "The Gagauzes of Brazil," symbolizing the global spread of the Gagauz culture.

Another trend of the present stage of creating an image of the past is the "development" of the fact of creation Authority (the book appeared on the event), which means the completion of this stage in its history, which can be called "It's Time" - a sacred time of creation, the time from now on will be played in festivals and rituals. The fact that it is now becoming the center of the Gagauz Budjak world particularly the case with the symbolic development of this space, attaching to it by creating stories of cities ("The history of Comrat" and "History of Vulcanesht" by S.S.Bulgar) and the history of villages. It is significant that the photos published by the Second Congress of the Gagauz contains information about each of her village. The symbolic attachment to the land is reflected in attempts enthusiasts, for example, to justify D.F.Uzun connection with the Gagauz people, Budjak inhabited in ancient times, for example, Iranian speaking Scythians.

In general image of the past is divides the intellectual elite and the public Gagauzia. This consistency in the understanding of its history as something very valuable for the Gagauz people, and for humanity as a whole makes the image of the past an important means of ethnic mobilization. In turn, the development of the process of ethnic identity determines the interest in the past, which is manifested in the increase of literature, and widening the circle of those involved in the creation of works of the past, and in the emergence of radical concepts unprofessional "enthusiastic researchers" who are convinced that the lack of direct evidence about the early history of the Gagauz (historians agree that the word 'Gagauz "recorded in the sources only in the XIX century) is the result of hushing up. The thesis of hushing shared intellectual elite. This is reminiscent of the myths about the kidnapping of treasures and returning them by the valiant heroes, and is also linked to the conspiracy theory, which is characteristic of archaic consciousness.

All of these processes indicate that the growth of national consciousness has reached such level of development at which it is possible not only have to a vague sense of their importance and quite archaic wish to find an ancestor, but achieve some growing up, moving the emphasis from mytho-historical deeds of the ancestors to the reflection on their own stories. At the same time, a vast mythological and historical tradition plays an important role in the process of ethnic mobilization and in the development of autonomy, allowing the symbolic resources to remedy the lack of other resources.

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