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souběžně také filosemitismu (s. 498).⁷ Nahlédneme-li do vývoje v Chorvatsku již jako člena Evropské unie, pak v letech 2015–2019 evidovala tamní policie přes 24 tisíc zločinů z nenávisti, přičemž 165 z nich mohlo být podle Goldsteina klasifikováno jako antisemitské (s. 524). Domnívá se, že řadu prohřešků se chorvatská policie takto zdráhala kvalifikovat a na výsledcích veřejných průzkumů ukazuje, že stereotypy ve vnímání Židů z tamní společnosti stále nemizí (524–525).

Ivo Goldstein se v předkládané publikaci pustil do teoreticky i metodologicky náročného počínu. Rozhodl se pro výzkum fenoménu antisemitismu v rámci jedné země, přičemž po několik staletí byly chorvatské země zahrnuty do různých státních útvarů, což jistě komplikovalo sběr dostupných materiálů. Obsah značné části publikace je zpracován jako analýza a vlastní interpretace různých literárních zdrojů a dobových periodik. Takový přístup může mezi historiky vyvolat různé vlny kritiky,⁸ ovšem domnívám se, že přínos knihy spočívá právě v tomto postupu, neboť kromě rozboru samotného obsahu dává řadu podnětů k dalšímu bádání. Nabízí náhled historika s mnohaletými zkušenostmi, jeho porozumění předkládaným materiálům a osobní pohled na zkoumaná témata. Předkládané informace jsou zasazovány do kontextu, autor využívá příkladů historicky významných postav a na základě velkého množství údajů a vlastních interpretací ukazuje, jak je neustále důležité se stavět proti různým formám netolerance.

Jindra Lavrenčíková

Shakir M. PASHOV,

History of the Gypsies in Bulgaria and Europe: Roma,

Edited by Elena Marushiakova – Vesselin Popov – Lilyana Kovacheva,

Series *Roma History and Culture*, Vol. 1, Brill – Schöningh 2023, pp. 279,

ISBN 978-3-506-79030-9 (hardback); ISBN 078-3- 657-79030-2 (e-book).

Shakir M. Pashov's book *History of the Gypsies in Bulgaria and Europe: Roma* is the first volume in the book series *Roma History and Culture*. The goal of the recently launched book series is to insert the history and culture of the Roma into the main-

7 Pojem filosemitismus zjednodušeně označuje uznání židovskému národu a zájem o jeho historický význam v „západním světě“.

8 Aleksandar JAKIR, Antisemitizam kao dio nacionalne povijesti, *Radovi Zavoda za hrvatsku povijest Filozofskoga fakulteta Sveučilišta u Zagrebu*, Vol. 54, No. 2, 2022, s. 363-367; Mirjana KASAPOVIĆ, Antisemitizam u Hrvatskoj od srednjega vijeka do danas, *Anali Hrvatskog politološkog društva: časopis za politologiju*, Vol. 19 No. 1, 2022, s. 305-319.

stream of European and global academia, and to contribute to overcoming the practice of confinement of the Roma “into a narrow ethnic box as a kind of academic ghetto” (p. IX). The book series is designed to publish works that “offer innovative, critical, and, above all, reliable insights into the history and culture of the Roma (formerly known as ‘Gypsies’), relying on critical rereading and rethinking of historical sources and existing research” (p. IX). Prevailing academic narratives present the Roma as a marginalized and stigmatized community, and as the passive object of state policies. As series editors Elena Marushiakova, Vesselin Popov, and Sofiya Zahova explain, the books published in this series will make it possible to view the Roma as actors in social trends, with their own views on, and visions of the community they belong to, and “contribute towards making the Roma voices heard and to understanding the Roma views” (p. IX).

The book chosen to open the series was written by a Roma author, and looks at the origins, history and culture of the Roma. The core of the book is a previously unpublished manuscript written by Shakir Pashov (1898–1981), which provides the author’s interpretation of Roma history and culture, and what is far more significant – his version of the social events in which he was not only an active participant, but also instigator and carrier. The book shows in the best possible way how the Roma civil elite was formed over generations within the Roma community itself. The book is testimony to the fact that historical sources on the Roma were not created only by non-Roma, and that the Roma civil emancipation movement is not a product of our time, but is deeply rooted in the history of the community.

In addition to Shakir Pashov’s manuscript, published here for the first time, the book also contains other important texts which bring this author and his work closer to the reader and thoroughly contextualize them. The introductory section consists of a short foreword by the aforementioned series editors (pp. IX–X) and a preface by Elena Marushiakova, Vesselin Popov, Lilyana Kovacheva, and Aleksandar G. Marinov (pp. XI–XX). The editors explain that they received the manuscript from Gospodin Kolev, a Roma activist and prominent member of the Bulgarian Communist Party. At the time when Kolev started working in the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party, the manuscript was in their archive. It is assumed that Shakir Pashov himself submitted the manuscript in the hope that it would be approved for publication. Shakir Pashov’s activity is not well-known to the general public. The intention of the editors is to bring his legacy closer to the audience precisely so that narratives about the history and culture of the Roma can be viewed “from the inside”, from the point of view of members of

the community. They have no intention of offering a scholarly evaluation of his work. The introductory section of the book includes a foreword by Lilyana Kovacheva (author of the first published book on Shakir Pashov) and Aleksandar Marinov (translator of Shakir Pashov's manuscript from Bulgarian), who are representatives of two different generations of the new Roma elite.

Shakir Pashov's manuscript (pp. 1–107) is dated 1957 and consists of an introduction and a number of chapters in which the original homeland is discussed first, then immigration from India, Roma on the Balkan peninsula, and then in greater detail, the Roma in Bulgaria. Pashov discusses religion, language and culture – especially music, as well as the customary practices of the Roma. He also writes about Roma in America. He devotes significant attention to the Roma's struggle for political rights. Those parts of the text where he writes about the organizations he founded or actively contributed to (for example, the theater *Roma*) are of particular importance. The manuscript was written in Bulgarian, and is published here in an English translation, with minimal editorial corrections. The text is accompanied by a short section of Comments (pp. 109–115), written by Elena Marushiakova and Vesselin Popov, in which some historical events, localities, etc. are explained.

After Shakir Pashov's manuscript, comes Annex 1 – “Historical Evidence” (pp. 117–163), offering documents as part of Shakir Pashov's legacy. The first of these is his autobiography, followed by the documents of which he was the author or the main contributor, given that they originate in those organizations that he established. Annex 2 contains the text of Lilyana Kovacheva's book *Shakir Pashov – The Apostle of the Roma*, first published in Bulgarian in 2003, here given in English translation, with some edits by the author (pp. 165–190). Kovacheva writes affirmatively about the life and work of Shakir Pashov, bringing the reader closer to his childhood and youth, the difficult years of deportation and imprisonment, as well as his wholehearted commitment to the emancipation of the Roma. In addition, Kovacheva gives an excellent ethnographic description of weddings, and evokes the atmosphere in the Roma community at the time of Pashov's life.

An extensive analysis by Elena Marushiakova and Vesselin Popov of the life and work of Shakir Pashov completes the book (pp. 191–241). Their analysis is based on sources from the usual historical archives, on documents in Pashov's rich personal archive, which was preserved by his heirs, and on oral history – the recollections of members of the Roma community. Marushiakova and Popov indicate that among the various historical sources, Pashov's manuscript *History of the Gyp-*

sies in Bulgaria and Europe: Roma is a “unique source”, primarily because it “offers a perspective on the historical processes ‘from within’” (p. 191). The authors compare and cross-reference various historical sources, as well as the manuscript itself, in order to assemble the mosaic of Shakir Pashov’s life and actions, and thus also a mosaic of the Roma movement for civic emancipation. Marushiakova and Popov point out that “the history of the Roma movement for civic emancipation in Bulgaria is inextricably linked with the name of Shakir Pashov” (p. 191).

Shakir Pashov was born in the village of Gorna Banya (today a district of Sofia), and belonged to the Roma group Erli, whose members had lived in Sofia and the surrounding villages for centuries. Considering the time in which he lived, as a member of the Roma community, he received a relatively good education, graduating from the school for railway workers. When Bulgaria entered the First World War in 1915, Shakir Pashov was mobilized and sent to the front in Macedonia. Participation in the war was key to his determination to dedicate himself to Roma civic emancipation. After the withdrawal of Bulgaria from the First World War in 1918, and his return home, he initiated the establishment of the Sofia Common Muslim Educational-Cultural and Mutual Aid Organization *Istikbal – Future* in 1919. Marushiakova and Popov consider the formation of the *Istikbal* organization to represent the beginning of a new developmental stage in the movement for Roma civil emancipation. Although formally *Istikbal* was a Muslim charitable organization, in practice, its activities were aimed at Roma civil emancipation. In this phase, the primary goal of members of the Roma community was to achieve an equal position in society. The participation of members of the Roma community in war (the two Balkans and the First World War), along with all other Bulgarian citizens, strengthened their sense of belonging to the Bulgarian civil nation. However, the post-war reality returned them to the old position of “second-class citizens”, which motivated them to fight for equality. The authors point out that this kind of activity was not specific for Bulgarian society, but was a common characteristic of the region of Central and South-Eastern Europe.

Marushiakova and Popov compare and contrast different sources of data in order to shed light on the developmental path and events related to Roma civic emancipation. In this way, they arrive at the insight that, in his manuscript (written in the 1950s and dated 1957, after the end of his political career), Shakir Pashov omitted certain information, in order to conform to the ideological narrative of the then communist authorities. He only sporadically mentions the *Istikbal* organization (which had “Muslim” in its name), in deference to the state policy of limit-

ing the influence of religion, in particular Islam. In different autobiographies, written at different times, he avoided mentioning this organization by its full name, instead referring to it as “the Gypsy Cultural and Educational Organization”. Pashov omits facts or changes certain details concerning his activities. His effort to be accepted and positively evaluated by the ruling communist regime is evident. The manuscript is not entirely Pashov’s original work, but a paraphrasing of a manuscript by Nayden Sheytanov, whose influence Marushiakova and Popov note in other aspects of his work as well. It is interesting that, for the first time in Bulgaria, he used the self-appellation “Roma” in the title of the manuscript, while in the text he uses the term “Gypsies” (in Bulgarian: *cigani*), which was common at that time.

Shakir Pashov was involved in the Communist movement, and was a member of the Communist Party from 1918 or 1919. He became a regular member of the Great National Assembly in 1947, when he began to work vigorously for the Roma movement. In one year, more than 90 Roma organizations were founded in Bulgaria. He actively worked for the unification of the Roma, regardless of their internal heterogeneity. He worked on the education of Roma and on opening schools for Roma children, and was especially proud of the establishment of the Roma theater. He was expelled from the Communist Party in 1949, and spent two years in a concentration camp, after some time he and his wife were expelled from Sofia to a village in the Dobrudža region. He was rehabilitated in 1967, and in 1976 he received the title “Active Fighter against Fascism and Capitalism”, which gave him the right to a special pension as well as accompanying privileges.

The book contains 47 illustrations. Among them photographs of Shakir Pashov from different periods of his life, as well as other photographs and illustrations, documenting the life of the Roma community in Bulgaria at that time.

Shakir Pashov’s manuscript, published for the first time, with supporting documents and texts that explain and contextualize it, allows insight into the development processes of the Roma movement “from the inside”, “first-hand”, from the point of view of an active participant. Shakir Pashov adapted his manuscript in some details to the prevailing narratives of the time, in the hope that it would be approved for publication. And this, among other things, shows how difficult the struggle of the Roma for emancipation and equality was; connected to, and conditioned by movements on the wider social and political level. The book represents a unique contribution to both Romani and Bulgarian modern history studies.

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