

PHILANTHROPY AND EMANCIPATION AMONG SEPHARDIC WOMEN IN THE BALKANS IN TIMES OF MODERNITY

Jelena Filipović

University of Belgrade

Ivana Vučina Simović¹

University of Kragujevac

1. Introduction

In this paper, an attempt is made to shed some additional light on the role of Sephardic women in social history of their communities in the Balkans as well as in the states they lived in from the second half of the 19th century till the Second World War. By investigating the role and relevance of benefactor female associations, the first one among them being the *Association of Jewish Women* (1874), the first organization of its kind not only among the Balkan Sephardim, but in territories of Serbia in general, we postulate that this and other organizations and associations of this type can be viewed as ‘pre-feminist’ feminist associations:

“Women’s movement was not created as an organized, and particularly not as a mass movement, but many women became engaged both individually as well as together with other women (and with some men), as borders between private and public became blurred and less defined, which meant that they could be crossed more easily (...) (Bock 2005: 176)

“For many women of middle and higher social class (...) efforts to help the poor and the underprivileged (became) the first phase and the initial means of asserting their role in favor of their own gender” (Bock 2005: 180; translation of the Serbian version of the text by J.F.).

¹ This paper was completed within the project 178014: “Dynamics of structures of contemporary Serbian,” financed by the Ministry of Education and Science of the Republic of Serbia.

We will not go as far as to claim that Sephardic women of Belgrade were directly inspired and encouraged by the contact with female literary, social and political history of Western Europe (such as English and French female writers or female participants in social and political upheavals of the 19th century), as we do not have any direct evidence of such impact. Furthermore, from what could be read about the social history of the Balkans with its patriarchal organization strongly supported by the external political and military presence of the Turks, Austrians, Hungarians, etc., in this territory, which led to serious linguistic and cultural ghettoization of various ethnic and religious groups, it is highly unlikely that Sephardic women in this first phase of emancipation had had serious contacts with new world views other than those provided by the above cited role-models present in their immediate geographic and cultural surroundings. However, our findings do support Bock's (Bock 2005: 181) claim that, European female *caritas* towards the poor, and particularly towards children and other women which required extreme personal courage and strength played a crucial role in the formation of Jewish female social movements (just like American Jewish women at the dawn of the 20th century "have been in the vanguard of every twentieth-century social movement, from civil rights to the feminist movement" (Brasher 2010: 110). Such courage "was in direct collision with the vision of female helplessness and timidity (and it) became the source of female activism all over Europe". European Jewish women (see Bock 2005; Quintana 2009, for further information) were among the first to become active agents of social change. As stated by Bock (2005) there was a large number of Jewish women from Germany, Netherlands, Italy, and Great Britain who actively fought for female access to education and professional training, as well as for the right to offer charity and support to the poor and the deprived. In conclusion, female philanthropy went hand in hand with female emancipation which made European and American women relevant in overall social movements as well (Bock 2005: 183-187).

Of course, similar female activism was present in other continents as well, regardless of the fact that it is absent from official historical sources:

"Jewish women have played critical roles in Argentina and its sizable Jewish community, the largest in Latin America and the third largest in the hemisphere. They helped create communal organizations, farm settlements, labor unions, and human rights groups. However, Argentine Jewish women are virtually absent from the

secondary historical sources. Studying them is vital for its own sake, to recover the voices and tell the untold stories of the unheard half of the Jewish population” (McGee Deutsch 2004: 49).

2. Sephardic women's identity, modernity and emancipation

“For most Jewish women, identity has been a blend of opportunities and traditions, as intersection that could reconcile their multiple loyalties – as Jews, women, and Americans – but often in a manner that was painful, inconsistent and equivocal. Jewish women have lived ‘braided lives’ as Marge Piercy titled one of her novels. (...) Yet, Jewish women have frequently found it impossible to straddle the different components of their identity. These women felt like strangers in their cultures, outsiders to either Jewish or the American world, or to both. (...) The necessity of moving from one cultural environment to another caused displacement, fragmentation and conflict, not only for immigrant Jewish women early in the century, but for their descendants. (...) Ironically, this spiritual homelessness has existed despite Jewish women’s successful assimilation and manifold achievements in American society.” (Antler 1997: xii)

Unlike the way that Antler describes the Jewish women’s identity in the West, particularly in the USA, our reading and interpretation of the female writings from the Balkans indicate that the Sephardic women face the challenges of modernity with much more enthusiasm, and far less (if any) sense of living fragmented and not fully developed internal lives. This may be possibly accounted for if a general history of women’s lives in the Balkans is taken into account. Women in these lands had for centuries been treated as a multiple minority, ghettoized and kept silent in public life, regardless of their ethnic or religious background and affiliation. Therefore, when emancipation starts knocking at their doors, they embrace it just as readily and eagerly as women belonging to all social and ethnic communities in the newly founded nation-states. Social isolation which was their closest and most determined companion for centuries was beginning to loosen up and the social power of men became less direct and easier to challenge.

As educational and public domains became more and more accessible to Sephardic women (whose role models can be found among Jewish women of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, as well as among the more progressive Serbian women), they decided that the time came for them to start asserting their public social roles and the old ways of gathering in homes and yards

took up a new form in accordance with the models adopted from the Western world: women associations, benefactor and cultural institutions led by women who were with a heightened degrees of self-consciousness, assertiveness and awareness of their newly acquired and publically recognized social importance. This new kind of gathering was actually an entry for the women in the public spheres and the beginning of their social emancipation, not only among their own group, but also among the Serbian majority.

This change in world ideology and accompanying shift in social practices of middle and higher social class Sephardic women was not welcomed without friction among their male counterparts, as we read in Quintana's article on the image of Sephardic women in the magazine *La Alborada* from Sarajevo:

“(S)egún Amor Ayala [2006: 48], (...) la actitud de estas mujeres tuvo un eco muy negativo entre los hombres sefardíes que llegaron a percibir la adaptación de la mujer al mundo moderno como un hecho profundamente negativo, pues sus comportamientos, ciertas costumbres y la entrada de la mujer en ámbitos sociales no deseados, convertían su modernización en sinónimo de decadencia social. Sefardíes como Yosef Abraham Basat [Ayala 2006: 58-65](...) (1899), consideraban que la nueva mujer judía burguesa-urbana ya no vivía según las normas tradicionales del judaísmo porque éstas no estaban de moda, tampoco se ocupaba de la casa ni de sus hijos personalmente, pues tenía criadas que lo hacían por ella, (...) y además frecuentaba ambientes públicos como los bailes, el teatro, las veladas, etc. Frente a la irresponsabilidad con la que se acusaba a mujeres de la clase burguesa estaba el “dolorioso espectáculo” en que se encontraban las mujeres de las clases pobres, “enterradas en una profunda ignorancia i miseria [...],” [Ayala 2006: 61] (...) situación que había empeorado en la sociedad moderna.” (Quintana 2009: 118)

Along the above cited lines, these same men believed that philanthropy was an acceptable way of introducing women to the public sphere of social life:

“Para una repartición más homogénea de las dos necesidades básicas de la mujer judía, una sólida instrucción y una seguridad económica, tanto

Basat como otros hombres sefardíes, *proponían la redefinición de los ámbitos de actuación de la mujer en los espacios públicos llamando a la organización de instituciones filantrópicas, siguiendo los modelos de las mujeres europeas y americanas.*” (Quintana 2009: 118-119, italics ours)

However, the emancipation of Sephardic women in the Balkan states cannot be viewed as a homogenous and instantaneous process. Its dynamics varied significantly from one Jewish community to the next, as it stands in direct proportion to the overall economic and social evolution and development of the majority communities the Sephardim lived in. Consequently, as will be shown very briefly in the continuation of this section on the examples from former Yugoslavia, there were significant differences between the Sephardic communities in Belgrade, Sarajevo, Skopje and Bitola.

Belgrade. In the second half of the 19th century, the creation of the Serbian nation-state brought along tremendous political, economic, cultural and social change to Belgrade, following the overall Western European wave of modernity, whose ideology was largely accepted among the Belgrade inhabitants, regardless of their ethnic or religious background. Consequently, the tide of modernity affected the Sephardic community of Belgrade as well. Prior to this large shift in lifestyle, economic, educational and interactional patterns of social organization, the Sephardic women used to be dominant only in private, family life of their homes and in the domain of Jewish neighborhoods, where their social influence was exercised in female communities of practice created in the *juderías* created through constant and intensive contacts with their fellow-women². Nevertheless, the public domain, as all the other domains of social life, belonged almost exclusively to the territory of male authority and influence (Filipović & Vučina Simović 2010: 264-265).

The emancipation of Sephardic women in Belgrade started in the 1860s, boosted by the above described social and economic changes that enabled them to enjoy a different position in the society. The crucial role in this process was played by

² For more information on Sephardic women in the Oriental time, see Filipović & Vučina Simović, 2010.

the introduction of the public primary school for girls' in Dorćol (a Belgrade neighborhood where the Jews used to live) in 1864 where Sephardic girls were taught together with Serbian girls and in the "same spirit" (De Majo 1924: 54, 60). At the same time, Sephardic women started to enjoy a greater freedom of movement; for instance, around 1865 they were to be seen at their "first dancing parties". (De Majo 1924: 59-60)

However, the above winds of change did not affect all Sephardic women equally. Poorer women, without any schooling or training, who had to earn their living, were had no other choice but to work under very difficult conditions in homes of the more fortunate families. (De Majo 1924: 53)

It took a few more generations before women succeeded in achieving some equality with men in the professional domain. In 1924, Jelena de Majo announced proudly the professional advancement of the women of her time:

"Today we can see that a fair number of Jewish women attend not only high schools, but universities as well. Besides female teachers, we have also female professors, doctors, lawyers, (and) in literature, the figure of the eminent Paulina Lebl-Albala, (...). However, the vast majority of women (still) work as clerks in public and private offices. (De Majo 1924: 60, translated by...)

Sarajevo. The position of Sephardic women in Sarajevo changed significantly after the Austrian occupation. Prior to that historical event, they almost never went out alone, and after 1878 they used to do it on regular basis and were even seen taking drinks in coffee shops. Even though it could be said that the overall modernization of the Sarajevo Sephardic community started during the 1880s, the female emancipation did not start before 1900, when Sephardic girls entered an organized educational system (A. Pinto 1987: 82) A slower pace of female emancipation in Sarajevo compared with that of Belgrade can be easily explained by the more conservative nature of the Sarajevo community in general, which was reflected in the Sephardic community as well. (Vučina Simović 2010: 152-153)

Bitola and Skopje. While Sephardic women of Belgrade and Sarajevo already worked very hard on their emancipation, the position of their fellow-women in Bitola and Skopje stayed very much the same as in the earlier times of the highly patriarchal

Ottoman period. Sephardic communities in those cities were much more reluctant in abandoning the traditional, patriarchal way of life, which was particularly limiting for the position of elderly women. (Rothmüller 1932: 4-5, 12) In Buchwald's article *Through the Jewish quarters of South Serbia*, published in Zagreb in 1936 in the magazine *Židov*, we can find a very vivid description of Sephardic women in Macedonia of the time:

“Jewish woman of South Serbia are a community of its own. Forty or fifty years ago, in the times of the Turkish rule, Jewish women were still covered with ZAR, just like Turkish women. They were forbidden to show themselves in front of strangers. Even today a Sephardic woman is still carrying the burden of the ghetto, as a mother and as a housewife. The father has all the power and public recognition. The mother remains in his shadow, pushed to the background. The traditional education for centuries had been oriented only towards male children. This has changed thanks to Zionist youth movement. Woman, although illiterate and primitive, coordinates and controls the education of her children. She is religious, but her faith is filtered through religious doctrines and superstition. A woman told me that there still exists a strong belief in “Shedim“ (the demons), the power of the evil eye, and that amulets, RUTA (a herb), as well as written pieces of paper are used as medicines.“ (Buchwald 13th November 1936: 9, translated by...)

During his stay in Bitola in 1927, the philologist Max Luria also concluded that Sephardic women in that city lived in ignorance and isolation. In the preface to his study about Bitola/ Monastir variety of Judeo-Spanish he lamented on the fact that he had difficulties in interviewing women:

“The women of the past generation were doomed to live a life of obscurity and ignorance. Little or no liberty was allowed them; and it has proved almost impossible to get any linguistic material from them because of the social and moral fence which the oriental male draws around them.” (Luria 1930: 8)

At the same time Luria points out that even under those harsh social conditions, the things were slowly changing for younger generations of Jewish women in Bitola:

“Some of the younger women of the wealthier class are following to a moderate degree the examples set by their more progressive brothers. At present we find a goodly number of girls around the age of 16 and younger attending the public schools.” (Luria 1930: 8)

It was through the presence and the influence of the *Alliance Israelite Universelle*, that the girls from wealthier families were given the opportunity to attend the first schools for girls, operating from 1888 (Bitola) and 1902 (Skopje) till the First World War. In between the two world wars, Sephardic girls in those two cities continued their education within the Yugoslav school system or in the schools of Christian missionaries.

In the continuation of this paper, we will turn to the analysis of the relevance of the female associations from the above cited three Sephardic communities (Serbia, Bosnia and Herzegovina and Macedonia) to the emancipation and modernization of Sephardic women in general.

3. Associations of Jewish Women in the Balkans

3. 1. Jewish female associations at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century

At the end of the 19th century, the emancipation of women was not yet seen as a positive phenomenon in Sephardic society, which was slowly freeing itself of patriarchal bonds. The establishment of numerous women’s philanthropic associations in the Balkans at the end of 19th and the beginning of the 20th century, not only among the Sephardim, but also in the majority communities, can be interpreted as a proof that women found a way to be present in the public sphere, and be accepted by the society at the same time. This kind of involvement was a chance for them to step out of their small

private circles and become active agents of public life outside of their homes and neighborhoods³.

In 1874 the Belgrade Sephardic women succeeded in founding the first female association in the territory of Serbia. From what we could find in the existing data, it appears to be the first Sephardic women society in the Orient as well. This fact in itself is a testimony to the great cultural and social advancement of the Sephardic community in Belgrade and to the endeavor of its women to change their social status. The *Association of Jewish women from Belgrade* devoted itself to charitable, cultural and educational activities, directed towards poor girls, mothers with babies and children. It also gave significant support to the overall educational and cultural development of the community⁴, as well as to raising the level of sanitary awareness among women. (*Jevrejsko žensko društvo u Beogradu 1874-1924. Na dan pedesetogodišnjice od osnivanja* 1924: 25)

The founding of another female society, *La Umanidad* in 1894, is a proof that Sephardic women of Sarajevo were also determined to join their efforts in order to assure a better life and a more visible position in their community and the Sarajevo society at large. And just like the *Women's association* of Belgrade, this one was also mostly engaged in philanthropic activities geared towards providing care of children and women. (Kruševac [1966]: 92; A. Pinto 1987: 147)

The Sephardic women of Skopje also had their association. Giménez Caballero, a Spanish poet, annotated in 1930, among his impressions from Skopje, that *Sociedad de Beneficencia de Damas Judías* had the following goals:

„Arrecoxen cotizaciones de sus adherentes dos veces por año. En la fiesta de Hanuká esparten shuhes (zapatos) a los poveros stibaletos. Y en el verano en el Pesah, vestimientos.” (Giménez Caballero 1930: 364)

³ Unlike American Jewish women who have, as already stated, always been at the frontlines of social change, but who almost never have had enough resources to fund those social movements (Brasher 2010: 110), the Jewish women from the Balkans have managed to claim their independence not only in social, philanthropic, and educational terms, but, to a certain extent in financial terms as well.

⁴ Jewish Women's Association founded in 1919 the Trade School in Belgrade in order to support the presence of Jewish girls in the domain of work. (*Jevrejsko žensko društvo u Beogradu 1874-1924. Na dan pedesetogodišnjice od osnivanja*, 1924: 25)

3. 2. *A new role of women in Jewish communal and social life*

The inclusion of women into the social and public life of Sephardic communities and majority communities in former Yugoslav lands was a long-lasting process. Women's initiative was slow and timid at first and it had to conform to the standards acceptable to their male counterparts. For instance, in the Bylaws of the Belgrade association *Kupat Shalom* (1889), it was postulated that women could become its members, but without a possibility to vote or to be elected into the governing bodies of the association:

“Todas las damas ke pagan a dita sosyeta gozan todas las derečedades igual kon los ombres solamente boz no tyenen ni menos pueden ser myembras de la direkçyon.” (La hevra 'Kupat Šalom' de Belgrado January 1889: 14-17, transcription A. Štulić Etchevers⁵)

From the anecdote published in *Jevrejski život* in Sarajevo, signed by “Bepo“, *Pasando por la Sulejmanova... (Passing by Sulejmanova Street...)*, it can also be seen that even in 1924 the women were still not allowed to vote in the communal elections for the Sephardic community's leaders in that city: “No estamos ansi adelantados, ke i las mužeres tengan boz, aunke Zagreb, ni un poko longie de aki, ja tieni.“ (Bepo 1924: 3)

Although women did not have the same rights as men, their voices started to be heard in the public domain in Belgrade when the *Association of Jewish Women* initiated organized publically visible activities. The president of the Association, submitted to the editorial board of the magazine *El Amigo del Pueblo* in December of 1888 a letter that states the following:

“Onorado S. Redaktor!

Me tomo la libertad de rogarle aki aga un čiko lugar en su estimado folyo ami artikulo ke kontyene un raporto del režo de la sosyeta «Hevrot Našim» una sosyeta ke su misyon es muy

⁵ We are very grateful to our colleague Ana Štulić Etchevers for providing us with transcribed materials from the magazine *El amigo del pueblo*.

onorada i eskopo es de azer byenvolyensa kon la čente de muestra sivdad – En el prezente artikulo kero publikar algo de los reżos de muestra sosyeta, porke las S. myembras sepan loke se reže tanto i mas por konyamar a munčas de muestras *yahidot* ke non son myembras de muestra sosyeta kero despertarles sus korason i ke se abonen por myembras i ke ayuden a muestra kompanya (...).” (Levi 1888: 18, transcribed A. Š. E.)

3. 3. *Becoming modern and emancipated*

In her essay on Sephardic woman in Bosnia, Laura Papo Bohoreta, describes the pride with which the Sephardic women adapted to different social and historical conditions:

“Estudiemus una mużer ke ja paso los sesenta! Mientras su čikez ea bivio en un ambiente turko – en el mas puro Orient(e). Vino a la mucačez, le vino el austriako, elemento evropeo ke le abolto entera la vida i su modo de entenderla! I komo no? De harenka, kalio si kižo o no ke se adapte a los uzos ke trušo el konkistador nuevo, el renado nuevo. – Por esteso lo izo i la mużer serba. Vino a los añjos de ser nona, delivro el serbo la Bosna, i ea, la čika Jahudinka de šahariko duspues feređe, i mas tarde el čapeo, se adapto a todos los reżimes kon la elasticidat de su rasa! En medio siglo (50 anjos) vido trokar se tres reinados, tres rasas – oriental, germana, i slava! I ea supo siempre jir kon el tiempo. No se kere maestria para esto?” (Papo Bohoreta 2005[1931]: 64)

Belgrade Sephardic women wrote about their feeling of emancipation and liberation in the commemorative volume which the *Association of Jewish Women* published in 1924 on the occasion of fifty years of its existence. In the same volume, the president of the *Association*, Jelena de Majo, celebrated the female initiative and capability of becoming the true leaders in the Belgrade Sephardic community:

“The (activities of the) Belgrade *Association of Jewish Women* are an accurate indicator of the gradual advancement of Jewish women

in Serbia. The *Association* has been a leader in all aspects of our social life. If we compare Jewish women who founded the *Association* 50 years ago in *Jevrejska Mala* (Jewish neighborhood), which was practically a ghetto at the time, to the women from the generations that followed (who expanded their social and benefactor activities), and to the women of our times, who lead this *Association* with open minds and hearts and who are well under way to unite all Jewish female associations in the Kingdom, we can draw a pleasant conclusion that Jewish women have always been the true daughters of their times in the most positive meaning of that word. If, in turn, we view and interpret the capacity to adapt to modernity as a symbol of culture and continuous advancement, than we can conclude that the mentality of Jewish women is absolutely ready to carry out this important task". (De Majo 1924: 60-61)

4. Conclusions

"Women's history has (...) altered our understanding of the nature and definition of community among Jews and has revealed hitherto unrecognized complexities in the issue of assimilation." (Hyman 1995: 5-6).

We believe the above statement to be an excellent summary of a new scientific paradigm which is being developed in an attempt to further develop our understanding of the social, psycho-emotional and linguistic history of Sephardic communities in the Balkans. Academic research from the last 50 or 60 years has shown us that women have been actively present in historical and social changes that affected the communities they lived in, but also, in more general terms, the much more comprehensive and overarching changes worldwide. Directly or indirectly they have acted as agents of change, and their gender identity has proven to be just as powerful impulse in this process as their ethnicity, religion, education or social class (Melman 1993: 6). This article presents one additional attempt to view women as historical subjects in the construction and maintenance of Sephardic Jewish identity in times of modernity which led to a very a quick assimilation of Sephardim into the majority communities in the Balkans of the late 19th and early 20th century:

“Their extraordinary devotion to their families has been the subject of much comic treatment, yet behind the criticism stands the reality of the Jewish mother’s strength, nurturance and competence. (...) Jewish women have worked in their communities, synagogues and homes; their temple sisterhoods played a key role in supporting Jewish institutional life while also helping to promote necessary change. Jewish women also established local, regional and national organizations that have been among the most active and numerous women’s groups in the country.” (Antler 1997: xii)

As Hyman (1994), Bock (2000) and Quintana (2009) point out, philanthropy was the founding concept in the construction of the female awareness for the need to integrate into the public sphere of their own ethnic communities, which allowed them to step out of the shadow and become actively engaged in the public domain without igniting rage or oppression by their male companions. Educational and professional domains were to follow in a slow and long process which brought Sephardic women closer to their fellow-women from the majority communities. It is our strong belief that due to the fact that all women in the Balkans (particularly prior to the Austrian occupation) were considered a silent and ghettoized minority, regardless of their ethnic, religious or economic status, that Sephardic women in these lands turned to modernization with such eagerness and open hearts, if not as leaders of female emancipation (as in the case of the *Association of Jewish Women* from Belgrade which was among the first benefactor associations in the Balkans), then as equal partners to their non-Sephardic counterparts (especially in Serbia, but also in Bosnia and Herzegovina and in Macedonia). As Hyman (1994: 99) accurately observes, Jewish associations and their presence in public educational systems in the communities she and her colleagues studied could be recognized as factors which “served not only as agents of acculturation but also as institutions that cushioned the most traumatic aspects of secularization because of their Jewish social ambiance”. We believe the same to be true for the Sephardic communities in the Balkans. Regardless of the fact that acculturation and assimilation brought about,

among other things, language shift in favor of the majority languages⁶, a process in which women were also recognized as leaders (see, Vučina Simović & Filipović 2009; Filipović & Vučina Simović 2010), their sense of ethnic identity remained intact. Philanthropy and the idea that they were working for the public good of their fellow Sephardim as well as the idea that their work was making lives of the younger generations much more prosperous kept these women in direct contact with their Sephardic heritage and enabled them to grow emancipated, modern, but still Jewish.

⁶ Language shift is often viewed as one of the key elements in the loss of ethnic identity.

5. Bibliography

- Antler, Joyce. (1997). *The journey home: Jewish women and American Century*. New York: The Free Press.
- Ayala, Amor. (2006). «La mujer moderna» por Y. A. Basat (*La Alvorada*, Russe 1899): La mujer sefardí y sus deberes en la nueva sociedad, *Miscelánea de Estudios Árabes y Hebraicos* 55, Granada: 45-67.
- Bepo. (1924). Pasando alhad por la Sulejmanova..., *Jevrejski život* 36, I year, Sarajevo: 3.
- Brasher, Brenda E. (2010). Roundtable: Jewish women and philanthropy. *Nashim, A Journal of Jewish Women's Studies and Gender Issues*, 20: 109-110.
- Bok, Gizela. (2005). *Žena u istoriji Evrope*. Beograd: Clío. (Title of the original: Bock, Gisela. (2000). *Frauen in der Europäischen Geschichte Vom Mittelalter bis zur Gegenwart*. München: Verlagsagentur EULAMA.)
- Buchwald, R. (13th November 1936). Kroz jevrejske mahale Južne Srbije, *Židov* 46: 9.
- De Majo, Jelena. (1924). Kulturni razvitak jevrejske žene u Srbiji, in: *Jevrejsko žensko društvo u Beogradu 1874–1924. Na dan pedesetogodišnjice od osnivanja* (1924), Belgrade: Izdanje Uprave Jevrejskog ženskog društva, pp. 50–61.
- Filipović, Jelena & Ivana Vučina-Simović. (2010). La lengua como recurso social: el caso de las mujeres sefardíes de los Balcanes, in: P. Díaz Mas & M. Sánchez Pérez (eds.). *Los sefardíes ante los retos del mundo contemporáneo. Identidad y mentalidades*. Madrid: CSIC, pp. 259-269.
- Freidenreich, Harriett Pass. (2001[1979]). *The Jews of Yugoslavia: A Quest for Community*. Skokie, Illinois: Varda Books.
- Giménez Caballero, Ernesto. (1930). Monograma sobre la judería de Escopia, *Revista de Occidente* 27: 364-376.
- Harding, Suzen. (2003). Žene i reči u jednom španskom selu, in: Papić, Žarana & Lydia Sklevicky (eds.), *Antropologija žene*, Belgrade: XX vek, pp. 268-291.
- Hyman, Paula E. The Dynamics of Social History. En: Frankel, Johnathan (ed.). (1994). *Studies in Contemporary Jewry Vol. X: Reshaping the Past: Jewish History and the Historians*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 93-111.

- Hyman, Paula E. (1995). *Gender and assimilation in modern Jewish history. The roles and representations of women*, Washington State: University of Washington press.
- Jevrejsko žensko društvo u Beogradu 1874–1924. Na dan pedesetogodišnjice od osnivanja*. (1924), Belgrade: Izdanje Uprave Jevrejskog ženskog društva.
- Kruševac, Todor, Društvene promene kod bosanskih Jevreja za austrijskog vremena, in: Kamhi, Samuel. (1966). *Spomenica 400 godina od dolaska Jevreja u Bosnu i Hercegovinu 1566-1966*, Sarajevo, pp. 71-97.
- La hevra 'Kupat Šalom' de Belogrado, (January 1889), *El amigo del pueblo* 4: 14-17.
- Levi, Luča. (December 1888). Korespondenčya partikular de el « Amigo del puevlo ». Onorado s. redaktor!, *El amigo del pueblo* 3: 18-19.
- Luria, Max A., *A study of the Monastir Dialect of Judeo-Spanish Based on Oral Material Collected in Monastir, Yugoslavia*, New York, Paris. [Reprinted from: *Revue Hispanique* LXXIX, 1930, pp. 323–583.]
- McGee Deutsch, Sandra. (2004). Changing the landscape: The study of Argentine Jewish women and new historical vistas. *Jewish History*, 18: 49-73.
- Melman, Billie. (1993). Gender, History and Memory: The Invention of Women's Past in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries. *History and Memory*, 5 (1): 5-41.
- Papo Bohoreta, Laura. (2005[1931]). *Sefardska žena u Bosni*, Sarajevo: Connectum.
- Perović, Latinka (ed.). *Srbija u modernizacijskim procesima 19. i 20. veka*, Vol. 2: *Položaj žene kao merilo modernizacije. Naučni skup*. Belgrade: Institut za noviju istoriju Srbije.
- Pinto, Avram. (1987). *Jevreji Sarajeva i Bosne i Hercegovine*, Sarajevo: Veselin Masleša.
- Quintana, Aldina. (2009). La mujer sefardí ante sí misma y ante ellos: una lectura por las páginas de la *Alborada* (Sarajevo 1900-1901). *El Presente. Studies in Sephardic Culture* 3: 113-139.
- Rothmüller, Cvi. (1932). *Jevrejska omladina Južne Srbije*, Zagreb: Biblioteka Hanoar (vol. 2).
- Veselinović, Jovanka. (1998). Jevrejska žena u Beogradu od druge polovine 19. veka do Drugog svetskog rata, in: Perović, Latinka (ed.). *Srbija u modernizacijskim*

procesima 19. i 20. veka, Vol. 2: *Položaj žene kao merilo modernizacije. Naučni skup*. Belgrade: Institut za noviju istoriju Srbije, pp. 485-495.

Vučina Simović, Ivana. (2009). El papel de la mujer sefardí en el mantenimiento/desplazamiento del judeoespañol en el territorio de la antigua Yugoslavia, *El Presente. Studies in Sephardic Culture* 3: 253-270.

Vučina Simović, Ivana. (2010). *Stavovi govornika prema jevrejsko-španskom jeziku: u prilog stvaranju tipologije održavanja/ zamene jezika*, Belgrade: Filološki fakultet Univerziteta u Beogradu. [Unpublished Ph.D. thesis]

Vučina Simović, Ivana & Jelena Filipović. (2009). *Etnički identitet i zamena jezika u sefardskoj zajednici u Beogradu*, Belgrade: Zavod za udžbenike.