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## DEMOGRAPHIC DYNAMICS OF THE SERBIAN ORTHODOX POPULATION IN SYRMIAN CITIES IN 1802–1910

**Abstract:** A statistical study about the evolution of the Serbian Orthodox population in urban areas of Syrmia (*Srem* in Serbian), i.e. the former Syrmian County within the Kingdom of Hungary, in the 1802–1910 period, reveals a steady pattern of a relative decline both in the share and absolute numbers. Orthodox believers in the cities of Zemun, Sremski Karlovci and Sremska Mitrovica constituted the absolute majority of the population in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century. In Vukovar and Ruma, the Orthodox community made up almost a half of the population. In Vinkovci and Petrovaradin, Orthodox believers were a strong and influential minority. Due to losses during the Revolutionary War in 1848/49, the overall population declined in almost all cities. The Orthodox urban population declined in an even more severe way. In all Syrmian cities the Orthodox population lost significantly in its share and that process continued until the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Despite some demographic recovery in the 1860s, the Serbian Orthodox population did not grow as fast as other religious and ethnic groups. The impact of the 1848/49 Revolution on the demographic capacities of the Orthodox communities must have been quite severe. In the 1828/30–1910 period, the total urban population of Syrmia increased by 77% and, meanwhile, the Orthodox urban population declined by 5%. The share of the Orthodox in the urban population declined from 54% in 1828/30 to only 29% in 1910. In 1910 Sremski Karlovci remained the only city with an Orthodox majority.

**Keywords:** Syrmia, demographics, cities, urbanisation, Orthodox population, Serbs, 19<sup>th</sup> century, 1802–1910.

The presence of ethnic Serbs in the region of Syrmia (*Srem* in Serbian), in geographic terms, dates back to the early Middle Ages, probably to the time of their

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resettlement to the Balkans.<sup>1</sup> Due to frequent border changes and constant population movements that happened in the following centuries, the size and significance of the Serbian community varied a lot. In the Middle Ages Syrmia was a possession of Hungary and was later held by the Ottomans until the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, when the Habsburgs captured the area and ruled until the end of World War I. Wars, epidemics, political unrests, economic depressions, colonisation and migration policies had a huge impact on the population size and its religious or ethnic composition, but the dominant role of the Serbs remained a constant until the early 20<sup>th</sup> century.

The accelerating urbanisation in Europe in the 19<sup>th</sup> century expanded to Syrmia as well. Fast development of cities was driven by enormous general population growth and the spread of industrialisation. Cities became the generators of general progress, spreading influence to the broader area and increasing the political power. The economic and political strength of the rising urban population in the age of “ethnic homogenisation”, i.e. the rise of nationalism in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, led to cities gradually emerging as the centres of “national movements” and “political battleground”. The ethnic composition of urban settlements was therefore of vital interest for the numerous nations in the Habsburg Monarchy. The capacity to politically organise and participate in political processes, the ability to influence public policies and the work of institutions could only be achieved by gathering a critical number of politically active intelligentsia within an urban environment. The cities in the south of the Habsburg Kingdom of Hungary were consequently of major importance for the Serbian national movement in the Monarchy.

### **Administration of Syrmia in the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries**

The name Syrmia stands both for a geographical region and political-administrative unit since the Roman Empire. In the mid-18<sup>th</sup> century, the Habsburgs reorganised their recently captured territories in the south and re-established the old Syrmian County existent in the Hungarian Middle Ages. The re-establishment occurred in 1745 basically by uniting the territories of two former medieval counties – Syrmia and Vukova (with the capital in Vukovar). Since then the name Syrmia began to be frequently used for the area west of the Danube as well (the territories of the former Vukova County). The new County civil authority was not established in the entire area of the former medieval counties but in their northern and western parts only. The southern and eastern zones were incorporated into the Military Frontier governed directly by Vienna and the Military.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Душан Ј. Поповић, *Срби у Срему до 1736/37: историја насеља и становништва*, Београд 1950, 10.

<sup>2</sup> A small part of the former Vukova County was incorporated into the Virovitica County as well. Ivana Horbec, “Slavonske županije između Banske Hrvatske i Mađarske: uspostava civilne uprave i pitanje poreznog sustava u 18. stoljeću”, *Arhivski vjesnik* 53/1 (2010) 182–183;

The division of the geographic region of Syrmia into two separate administrative units and political entities impacted the development of urban settlements. The “civilian” Syrmia, i.e. the Syrmian County belonged administratively to the Kingdom of Hungary and its subordinated Kingdom of Slavonia, but the Banal-government of the Kingdom of Croatia in Zagreb claimed some jurisdiction as well.<sup>3</sup> In 1849 the County was abolished and its eastern sections (the districts of Ilok and Ruma) became part of the Serbian Voivodeship and Banat of Temeschwar and the western ones (Vukovar district) were incorporated into the Osijek County. In 1861 the Voivodeship was abolished and the Syrmian County re-established in its former pre-1849 borders.<sup>4</sup> In the “civilian” sections of Syrmia, the laws and rules of the Kingdom of Hungary and the central government in Vienna were implemented. In 1868 the *Croatian-Hungarian Settlement* regulated the transfer of certain jurisdiction to the Croatian Assembly (*Sabor* in Croatian) in Zagreb as well. The so-called “frontier” Syrmia belonged to the Military Frontier, a separate political entity within the Monarchy directly ruled by Vienna. In the eastern sections, which belonged in the past to the medieval Syrmian County, the Petrovaradin Regiment was established as both a military and administrative unit. In the western sections, which belonged to the medieval Vukova County, several companies (military and administrative units) were formed as part of the Brod Regiment. The Military Frontier was established as a border-defence zone to the Ottoman Empire. The society was highly militarised and the legislative framework adjusted to military planning and needs. Thus, the development of urban settlements was under full control of the Military and a rather specific form of cities emerged – the Free Military Communities. The Military Frontier was gradually abolished between 1871 and 1882 and its Syrmian part was incorporated into the Syrmian County in 1882.<sup>5</sup>

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Д. Ј. Поповић, *Срби у Срему до 1736/37*, 2–3; Славко Гавриловић, “Обнова славонских жупанија и њихово разграничавање са Војном границом (1745–1749)”, *Зборник за друштвене науке – Матица српска* 25 (1960) 49–58; Emilij Laszowski, “Arkivi po županiji Srijemskoj”, *Starine JAZU* 29 (1898) 2; “Vukovska županija”, in: *Hrvatska enciklopedija, mrežno izdanje, Zagreb 2021*, <http://www.enciklopedija.hr/Natuknica.aspx?ID=65663> (accessed on 9. 2. 2023).

<sup>3</sup> Until the Croatian-Hungarian Settlement in 1868, the status of the Kingdom of Slavonia within the Hungarian legal system was not clear. The Banal office in Zagreb claimed jurisdiction over the Slavonian Kingdom and, meanwhile, the Hungarian government in Budapest denied such claims as unfounded and treated the Slavonian counties equal to other Hungarian ones. Josip Kolanović, Josip Barbarić, Jozo Ivanović, “Državno-pravni položaj Slavonije i Srijema u dokumentima 1699–1848”, *Fontes: Izvori za hrvatsku povijest* 1/1 (1995) 11–28.

<sup>4</sup> “Vukovska županija”, <http://www.enciklopedija.hr/Natuknica.aspx?ID=65663> (accessed on 9. 2. 2023); Petar Korunić, *Naselja i stanovništvo hrvatskih pokrajina 1750–1857. godine*, sv. 2, Zagreb 2018, 652, 668.

<sup>5</sup> Ivan Beuc, *Povijest institucija državne vlasti Kraljevine Hrvatske, Slavonije i Dalmacije: Pravopovijesne studije*, Zagreb 1985, 232–246; Branko Dubravica, “Političko-teritorijalna podjela i opseg civilne Hrvatske u godinama sjedinjenja s vojnom Hrvatskom 1871.-1886”, *Politička misao : časopis za politologiju* 38/3 (2001) 159–172; Franz Vaniček, *Specialgeschichte der Militärgrenze*, Band IV, Wien 1875, 326, 372–373, 597–601.

## Definitions of a city and its legal status

It is methodologically difficult to make a clear division between urban and rural settlements. No universally accepted definition of urban settlements exists. The size, population, architecture, urban planning, function etc. are often the features used to determine a settlement's urban character but with no universal parameters well-defined to apply. The only possible and logical solution would be to rely on the legal status of the settlement as an identification mark. The urban character of settlements was legally recognised in Habsburg lands since the Middle Ages but not in a uniform way. In the early 19<sup>th</sup> century, the Kingdom of Hungary's urban status was granted foremost to the settlements called "Royal Free Cities". They were at the same level in the constitutional system as the counties and could communicate with the government directly. The urban status, but of a lower level, was granted to towns called privileged places, marketplaces, bishop towns etc. The system was inherited from the Middle Ages when the ruler alone issued special privileges to the settlements and their population. Therefore, the system was not unified and almost every town was granted a different combination and level of rights, privileges and obligations. In the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the legal status of urban settlements was unified and regulated by special laws. The regulations from the 1850–1851 period basically abolished municipal rights of the cities in Slavonia and degraded them to the level of districts. In other words, they became simple administrative units of the central government with limited self-government that was fully controlled. The Habsburg governorship in Zagreb could easily overrule any decision made by the city's institutions. The same laws included a distinction between simple marketplaces and marketplaces "with an established magistrate", which would eventually be treated almost as Royal Free Cities. In 1861, municipal rights were re-established on paper only and the right to own courts and jurisdiction was definitely abolished in 1874, but was very limited since the 1850s anyway. The law of 1881 defined urban settlements again as separate administrative units – "urban communes" or cities – but with very limited self-government rights. The new law of 1895 granted the "urban communes" different levels of rights. Only four cities in Croatia-Slavonia were subordinated to the Banal-government in Zagreb directly (among them Zemun in Syrmia) and, meanwhile, all others were subordinated to the counties or even district administrations. Marketplaces with an established magistrate became subordinated to the counties and could keep their prestige designation, but the local administration had to be adjusted to the model prescribed for ordinary communes.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> Нино Делић, "Урбанизација народа? Демографски развој српске градске популације у другој половини 19. века - статистички преглед", у: Урбанизација у источној и југоисточној Европи = Урбанизација в восточной и југо-восточной Европе, ур. Срђан Рудић, Алексеј Александрович Гордин, Београд 2019, 173–178; I. Веус, *Povijest institucija*, 265–266, 274, 294–295; "Br. 34 – Zakon od 21. lipnja 1895. ob ustroju gradskih obćinah u kraljevinah

In “frontier” Syrmia, the status of an urban settlement could be achieved by promotion into a “Free Military Community”. The Military established the cities with the aim to supply the mainly rural population with some necessary craft and trade products. The Military Communities were not subordinated to the Regiments and had some sort of a local administration but very limited self-government rights. The central government was always in charge of the most important issues and could overrule all local decisions. In 1862, the status of “urban communes” and in 1871 of “cities” was granted to them. After the Military Frontier was gradually abolished (1871–1882), the cities obtained urban status due to the laws of the Kingdom of Hungary and Croatia-Slavonia.<sup>7</sup>

### Syrmian settlements with urban status

Due to the fact that until the 1880s Syrmia was divided into two separate political units with specific legal systems defining urban settlements differently, it is not possible to apply one unified model of legal status for the whole region or the entire period. Furthermore, several settlements experienced changes in the legal status in the 1802–1910 period, sometimes gaining urban status but also losing it.

In “civilian” Syrmia, the County capital Vukovar was divided into two separate political units (communes), both marketplaces – Old and New Vukovar (Stari and Novi Vukovar) – until they were unified in 1873. The city was a Royal Free City in the Middle Ages but the law of 1895 granted the settlement only the status of an ordinary commune (like rural ones).<sup>8</sup>

Ruma was a simple marketplace since 1747 and a privileged one with an established magistrate since 1749.<sup>9</sup> By the law of 1895, the city was basically promoted into an “urban commune”.<sup>10</sup> Officially there were at least four to eleven other marketplaces in “civilian” Syrmia. Marketplaces (*Oppida* in Latin) were basically all places with a privilege granted to hold regular markets. The famous author of Hungarian statistical surveys, Johann Andreas Demian, claimed that there were six marketplaces in Syrmia in 1802. The non-nobles census of 1828/29 counted fifteen

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Hrvatskoj i Slavoniji”, in: *Sbornik zakonah i naredabah valjanih za Kraljevine Hrvatsku i Slavoniju*, Godina 1895 (Komad I–XXI. Broj 1–90), Zagreb 1895, 219–254.

<sup>7</sup> Н. Делић, “Урбанизација народа?”, 176–177.

<sup>8</sup> Vukovar remained the capital of the County despite losing urban status in 1895.

“Br. 34 – Zakon od 21. lipnja 1895. ob ustroju gradskih obćinah u kraljevinah Hrvatskoj i Slavoniji”, 219–220; “Vukovar”, in: *Hrvatska enciklopedija, mrežno izdanje*, Zagreb 2021, <http://www.enciklopedija.hr/Natuknica.aspx?ID=65649> (accessed on 14. 1. 2023).

<sup>9</sup> The inhabitants of Ruma achieved by the 1749 contract the right to handle all disputes with the feudal master in county or royal courts. Славко Гавриловић, *Рума, трговиште у Срему 1718–1848/49*, Нови Сад 1969, 12–66.

<sup>10</sup> “Br. 34 – Zakon od 21. lipnja 1895. ob ustroju gradskih obćinah”, 219–220.

marketplaces.<sup>11</sup> It is debatable whether all these places, some of them inhabited by just a few hundred souls, can be considered urban settlements. In the early 19<sup>th</sup> century, Demian considered the inhabitants of Požega only “citizens” (*bürgers*), i.e. urban population, in the “civilian” part of the Kingdom of Slavonia, since he concluded that “we obviously cannot count the inhabitants of the noble marketplaces as members of the urban class”.<sup>12</sup> The cases of Šid and Irig, two large settlements with urban structure characteristics, are somehow specific. Irig acquired the status of a marketplace basically in 1706, when the citizens obtained the privilege to organise markets. A century later, citizens made a deal with their feudal master and gained internal autonomy.<sup>13</sup> Šid was promoted into a marketplace in 1773 but remained dependent on its feudal master with whom the citizens had to renew a contract every few years.<sup>14</sup> All other, mainly small marketplaces in size, were subordinated to their owners, i.e. feudal masters or the Realm, with almost no autonomy. In the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, all marketplaces in Syrmia, except Ruma, became ordinary communes by law, losing any kind of urban status.

In “frontier” Syrmia, the Military Communities of Petrovaradin, Sremski Karlovci and Zemun preserved their urban status after the abolishment of the Military Frontier. By the law of 1895, Zemun retained the highest level of urban status, being subordinated to the Banal government in Zagreb directly and, meanwhile, other towns became subordinated to the County. Vinkovci had the status of a Free Military Community in 1765–1787, but was subsequently downgraded to a marketplace despite being the headquarters of the Brod Regiment. After 1882 the marketplace was further downgraded to a simple ordinary commune. Similarly, Sremska Mitrovica was downgraded from a Free Military Community to a marketplace in 1787, but the headquarters of the Petrovaradin Regiment remained in the city. In 1881 Sremska Mitrovica was granted the status of a Royal Free City and by the law of 1895 the town was subordinated to the County.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>11</sup> Marketplaces in 1828/30: Čerević, Erdevik, Ilok, Indija, Irig, Kamenica, Kukujevci, Nuštar, Ruma, Šaregrad, Šid, Sotin, Tovarnik, Vukovar Novi, Vukovar Stari (Ludovicus Nàgy, *Notitiae politico-geographico statisticae Incllytu Regni Hungariae partiumque eidem adnexorum, tomus secundus*, Buda 1829, 32–34). Johann Andreas Demian, *Darstellung der Oesterreichischen Monarchie* III Band / I Abtheilung, *Statistische darstellung des Königreichs Ungern* I Theil, Wien 1805, 446; L. Nàgy, *Notitiae politico-geographico statisticae*, 32–34; Petar Korunić, *Naselja i stanovništvo hrvatskih pokrajina 1828/1830. godine*, Zagreb 2019, 237.

<sup>12</sup> Demian used the term “Bürgerstand” which we translated as “urban class”. J. A. Demian, *Statistische darstellung des Königreichs Ungern* I Theil, 456.

<sup>13</sup> Славко Гавриловић, *Ириг, трговиште у Срему 1687–1849*, Нови Сад – Ириг 1994, 8, 63–66.

<sup>14</sup> Славко Гавриловић, “Шид и шидско властелинство (1699–1849)”, *Зборник за друштвене науке – Матица српска* 16 (1957) 48–49; Владан Гавриловић, “Сремска трговишта у XVIII и првој половини XIX века”, *Бањалучки новембарски сусрети : зборник радова* 20, Бања Лука 2019, 69.

<sup>15</sup> Alexander Buczynski, *Gradovi Vojne krajine* 1, Zagreb 1997, 52, 74–75; E. Laszowski, “Arkivi po županiji Sremskoj”, 5; “Br. 34 – Zakon od 21. lipnja 1895. ob ustroju gradskih obćinah”, 219–220.

The status of an urban settlement can undoubtedly be assigned to all former Royal Free Cities, Free Military Communities and urban communes by law. Since many settlements were obtaining and losing such status, the only reasonable way to definitely classify them as urban or not for the purpose of the research, is to take into account all that had such legal status at any point in time. This definition includes: Vukovar, Ruma, Petrovaradin, Sremski Karlovci, Zemun, Vinkovci and Sremska Mitrovica.

### Demographics of Syrmian cities in 1802–1910

In the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, no universal, all-inclusive and periodic censuses were carried out in the Kingdom of Hungary. Statistical records about the population were more frequent and of better quality in cities than in rural areas, but still far from modern standards. The nobles were usually not counted, but their number in the south of Hungary was rather small and does not affect the research results. In the second half of the century, professional population counts were ordered and carried out by institutions of the state. Official publications about the census results and data are available. A major problem for researchers with almost all censuses in the former Habsburg Monarchy is the lack of data about ethnicity. To conduct demographic research about a specific ethnic group, methodological modifications are required. Data about religious affiliation and the mother tongue are available and useful to determine the ethnicity. The Orthodox population in Syrmia was almost entirely Serbian by ethnicity and thus data about the Orthodox can be used instead of lacking census information.

Censuses and data for 1802, 1813, 1828/30, 1831, 1839/40, 1857, 1869, 1890 and 1910 were used for research. It is important to note that not all data are fully comparable since the count methodology was changing from census to census (present population, population with permanent residence, military, non-nobles etc.) but we tried to use the most compatible categories from each to minimise possible errors or distortions and make the results reliable.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>16</sup> Censuses and data sources by year: 1802: data relate to the present population (Johann Andreas Demian, *Darstellung der Oesterreichischen Monarchie* IV Band / II Abtheilung, *Statistische Beschreibung der Militär-Gränze* II Band, Wien 1807, 175, 186–187, 189–190, 194); 1813: data relate to the present population (Österreichisches Staatsarchiv – OESTA, Kriegsarchiv – KA, Zentralstellen – ZSt, Wiener Hofkriegsrat – HKR, Hauptreihe – HR, Akten, Karton – Kt. 3428, 1814 B – No 112/4); 1828/30: data relate to the non-noble population (L. Nàgy, *Notitiae politico-geographico statisticae*, 32–34; P. Korunić, *Naselja i stanovništvo hrvatskih pokrajina 1828/1830. godine*, 237); 1831: data relate to the present population without the military (Нино Делић, “Становништво Војне крајине 1831: верска структура, наталитет, морталитет, нупцијалитет”, *Зборник Матице српске за историју* 90 (2014) 58–59); 1839/40: data relate most likely to the present population (Elek Fényes, *Magyar országnak, 's a' hozzá kapcsolt tartományoknak mostani állapotja statistikai és geographiai tekintetben* V Kötet, Pesten 1839, 54–55, 65; Elek Fényes, *Magyar országnak, 's a' hozzá*

In the early 19<sup>th</sup> century, Syrmian cities, except Vinkovci and Petrovaradin, were dominated by Orthodox citizens, i.e. by Serbs in terms of ethnicity. In “frontier” Syrmia, the cities of Zemun, Sremski Karlovci and Sremska Mitrovica were actual Serbian urban strongholds. In “civilian” Syrmia, Orthodox believers did not have any majority in the cities, but in Vukovar and Ruma they accounted for almost a half of the population. During the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century no major demographic changes or anomalies could be observed. As a consequence of war during the 1848/49 Revolution, the population in most cities declined in the early 1850s. Most noticeable is the disproportionate population decrease by religion. The Orthodox population decreased in a more severe manner than other communities. Since the 1860s the cities began to grow again, but the Orthodox population was not able to maintain the same share in the population as in the first half of the century. The war obviously affected the reproductive capacities of urban Orthodox citizens in Syrmia, and new immigration waves of mostly non-Orthodox Christians since the 1860s caused a significant change in the religious/ethnic composition. Orthodox Serbs had a vast majority in Zemun, Sremski Karlovci and Sremska Mitrovica in the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, but were able to keep a tiny one in Sremski Karlovci in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century only. The dynamics of this process differed from place to place.

In Zemun, Orthodox citizens comprised a vast majority until the end of the 1850s, despite significant losses in the 1848/49 Revolutionary War. In the 1857–1890 period, the Orthodox community was demographically stagnating and, meanwhile, other groups increased their share due to immigration. The impact of war on the demographics of the Serbian Orthodox population in Zemun can be clearly statistically observed.

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*kapcsolt tartományoknak mostani állapotja statistikai és geographiai tekintetben* VI Kötet, *Katonai Végvidék*, Pesten 1840, 193–197); 1857: data relate to the domestic population by permanent residence; data for Zemun, Petrovaradin and Sremski Karlovci from the official census publication, for Ruma from the Archives of Vojvodina and for the others from Sabljár’s publication (*Statistische Übersichten über die Bevölkerung und den Viehstand vor Österreich nach der Zählung vom 31. october 1857*, Wien 1859, 176; Архив Војводине, Фонд 23 – Земалска СВТБ, Генерални списи, фасцикла 1274, број 4779/1858; Vinko Sabljár, *Miestopisni riečnik kraljevinah Dalmacije, Hrvatske i Slavonije*, Zagreb 1866, V–VI, 263, 364, 461, 475); 1869: data relate to the present population probably with the military (*Bevölkerung und Viehstand der im Reichsrathe vertretenen Königreiche und Länder, dann der Militärgrenze, nach der Zählung vom 31. December 1869*, Heft 1, Wien 1871, 316–317); 1890: data relate to the present population without the military (*Političko i sudbeno razdieljenje Kraljevina Hrvatske i Slavonije i repertorij mjesta po posljednih popisa godine 1890*, Zagreb 1892, 140, 142, 145–146); 1910: data relate to the present domestic population without the military for Zemun, Petrovaradin, Ruma and Sremska Mitrovica and for the others to the present population with the military (*A Magyar korona országainak 1910. évi népszámlálás 1, A népesség főbb adatai községek és népesebb puszták, telepek szerint*, Budapest 1912, II-690–699).

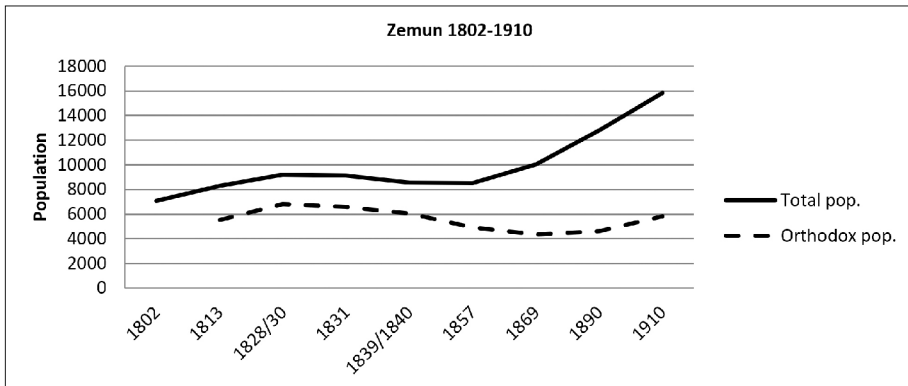


DEMOGRAPHIC DYNAMICS OF THE SERBIAN ORTHODOX POPULATION  
IN SYRMIAN CITIES IN 1802–1910

**Table 1** Population of Zemun in 1802–1910<sup>17</sup>

Year	Total population	Orthodox population	Share of Orthodox in %
1802	7,089	-	-
1813	8,313	5,536	66.59
1828/30	9,197	6,811	74.06
1831	9,136	6,597	72.21
1839/1840	8,543	6,042	70.72
1857	8,528	4,909	57.56
1869	10,046	4,358	43.38
1890	12,823	4,622	36.04
1910	15,835	5,845	36.91

**Chart 1** Population development in Zemun in 1802–1910<sup>18</sup>



A very similar pattern to Zemun may be observed in the case of Sremski Karlovci. In the early 19<sup>th</sup> century, Orthodox Serbs comprised almost three quarters in the total population and maintained a similar share until the Revolution of 1848/49. After the war, the share decreased to two thirds, and a long period of a steady population decrease or stagnation of the Orthodox can be detected. Finally, in 1910 the Orthodox had only a tiny majority of 56%. At the time it was the only city in Syrmia left with an Orthodox majority.

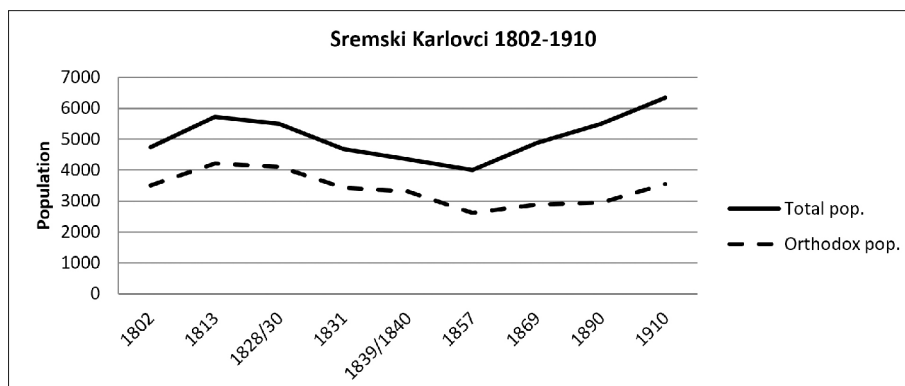
<sup>17</sup> Data sources: See footnote No 16.

<sup>18</sup> Data sources: Table 1.

**Table 2** Population of Sremski Karlovci in 1802–1910<sup>19</sup>

Year	Total population	Orthodox population	Share of Orthodox in %
1802	4,745	3,514	74.06
1813	5,726	4,223	73.75
1828/30	5,499	4,116	74.85
1831	4,682	3,438	73.43
1839/1840	4,357	3,315	76.08
1857	4,002	2,614	65.32
1869	4,874	2,892	59.34
1890	5,490	2,950	53.73
1910	6,342	3,553	56.02

**Chart 2** Population development in Sremski Karlovci in 1802–1910<sup>20</sup>



In Petrovaradin, the Orthodox never had a majority in the population and most of them lived actually in the nearby village of Bukovac that was attached to the city. This is the main reason for the decline in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century since the village was administratively separated from Petrovaradin prior to 1880. The city itself had only limited growth capacities since there was almost no space to expand left for new construction works. Petrovaradin was “locked” within the same spatial and demographic framework as in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century.

<sup>19</sup> Data sources: See footnote No 16.

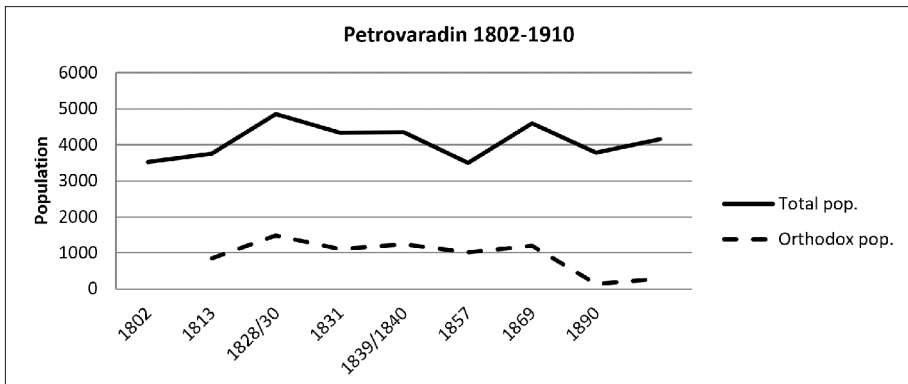
<sup>20</sup> Data sources: Table 2.

DEMOGRAPHIC DYNAMICS OF THE SERBIAN ORTHODOX POPULATION  
IN SYRMIAN CITIES IN 1802–1910

**Table 3** Population of Petrovaradin in 1802–1910<sup>21</sup>

Year	Total population	Orthodox population	Share of Orthodox in %
1802	3,522	-	-
1813	3,762	845	22.46
1828/30	4,859	1,488	30.62
1831	4,337	1,107	25.52
1839/1840	4,353	1,241	28.51
1857	3,502	1,023	29.21
1869	4,597	1,198	26.06
1890	3,777	144	3.81
1910	4,160	281	6.75

**Chart 3** Population development in Petrovaradin in 1802–1910<sup>22</sup>



Sremska Mitrovica was a large marketplace and the headquarters of the Petrovaradin Regiment in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century. Until 1910 the population basically tripled and there is no evidence that the 1848/49 Revolution did any significant harm to the city. Immigration in the second half of the century, on the other hand, had a huge impact on the religious and ethnic composition. Orthodox Serbs lost the majority after the Revolution of 1848/49, probably due to some war losses as well, but showed some demographic vitality until 1910 by significantly increasing the population. Still, other religious groups did even better and the Orthodox comprised just about 40% of the population in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century.

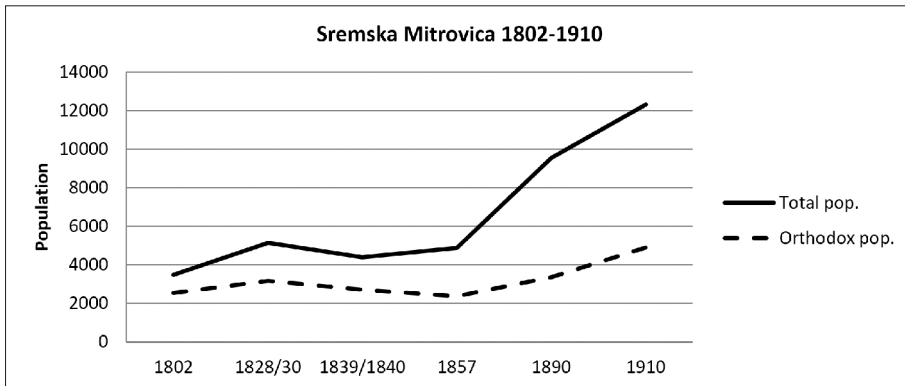
<sup>21</sup> Data sources: See footnote No 16.

<sup>22</sup> Data sources: Table 3.

**Table 4** Population of Sremska Mitrovica in 1802–1910<sup>23</sup>

Year	Total population	Orthodox population	Share of Orthodox in %
1802	3,489	2,531	72.54
1828/30	5,132	3,159	61.55
1839/1840	4,402	2,720	61.79
1857	4,888	2,373	48.55
1890	9,541	3,366	35.28
1910	12,325	4,892	39.69

**Chart 4** Population development in Sremska Mitrovica in 1802–1910<sup>24</sup>



The marketplace of Ruma was inhabited by almost 50% Orthodox citizens in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century. After the Revolution of 1848/49, the Orthodox community decreased significantly in the number and share. The city's population almost doubled until 1910, but the Orthodox community was more or less at the same level as in the 1820s, and thus the share of the Orthodox decreased to some 27%.

<sup>23</sup> Data sources: See footnote No 16.

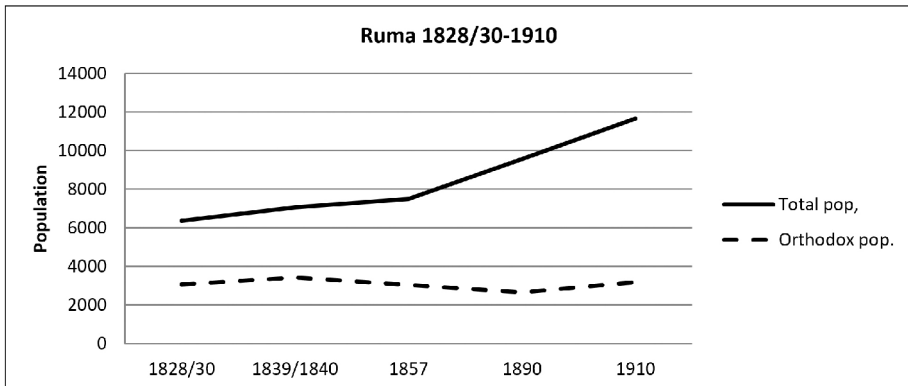
<sup>24</sup> Data sources: Table 4.

DEMOGRAPHIC DYNAMICS OF THE SERBIAN ORTHODOX POPULATION  
IN SYRMIAN CITIES IN 1802–1910

**Table 5** Population of Ruma in 1828/30–1910<sup>25</sup>

Year	Total population	Orthodox population	Share of Orthodox in %
1828/30	6,367	3,071	48.23
1839/1840	7,071	3,446	48.73
1857	7,511	3,043	40.51
1890	9,582	2,672	27.89
1910	11,668	3,199	27.42

**Chart 5** Population development in Ruma in 1828/30–1910<sup>26</sup>



Orthodox Serbs were never a majority in Vinkovci, but in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century they were a significant community comprising around a fifth of the population. After the Revolution of 1848/49, they suffered a huge decrease in numbers, but recovered somewhat in the following decades. The city was growing fast and the Orthodox could not keep up and deteriorated to some 9% in the total population in 1910.

<sup>25</sup> Data sources: See footnote No 16.

<sup>26</sup> Data sources: Table 5.

**Table 6** Population of Vinkovci in 1828/30–1910<sup>27</sup>

Year	Total population	Orthodox population	Share of Orthodox in %
1828/30	3,349	679	20.27
1839/1840	3,102	628	20.25
1857	3,113	442	14.20
1890	5,946	632	10.63
1910	9,220	823	8.93

**Chart 6** Population development in Vinkovci in 1828/30–1910<sup>28</sup>



The capital of the Syrmian County Vukovar was administratively divided into Old and New (Stari and Novi) until 1873, so the values for both had to be added and presented for the city as a whole. Orthodox Serbs were a strong community in the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, making about 40% in the total population. After the 1848/49 Revolutionary War, the Orthodox were demographically stagnating and, meanwhile, other groups, mainly due to immigration, helped the city to overcome the 10.000 population hurdle in 1910. Orthodox Serbs made up just about 15% of the population of Vukovar in the same year and lost undoubtedly a lot of influence on the city’s authorities and policies.

<sup>27</sup> Data sources: See footnote No 16.

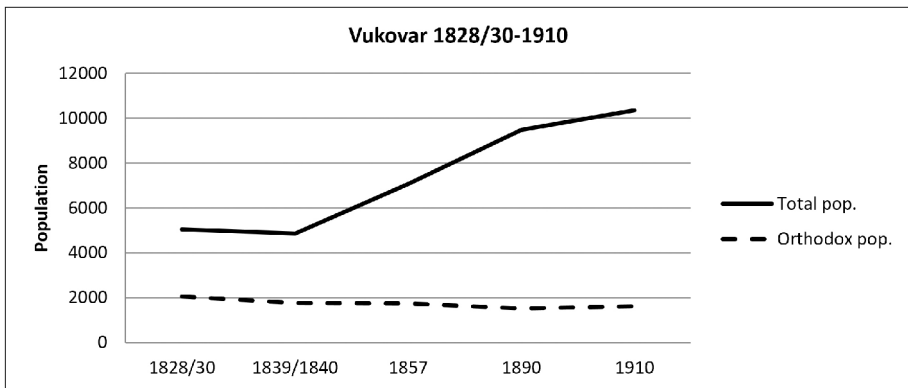
<sup>28</sup> Data sources: Table 6.

DEMOGRAPHIC DYNAMICS OF THE SERBIAN ORTHODOX POPULATION  
IN SYRMIAN CITIES IN 1802–1910

**Table 7** Population of Vukovar in 1828/30–1910<sup>29</sup>

Year	Total population	Orthodox population	Share of Orthodox in %
1828/30	5,038	2,050	40.69
1839/1840	4,860	1,769	36.40
1857	7,070	1,753	24.79
1890	9,494	1,519	16.00
1910	10,359	1,628	15.72

**Chart 7** Population development in Vukovar in 1828/30–1910<sup>30</sup>



The Serbian Orthodox population in Syrmian cities during the 19<sup>th</sup> century was constantly deteriorating. In the 1828/30–1910 period, the total population in Syrmian cities increased by 30,468 inhabitants or 77.25%. The urban Orthodox community decreased by 1,153 inhabitants or -5.39% in the same period. The share of the Orthodox in the urban population decreased from 54.19% to 28.92%.

**Table 8** Urban population development in Syrmia (7 cities) in 1828/30–1910<sup>31</sup>

Year	Total population	Orthodox population	Share of Orthodox in %
1828/30	39,441	21,374	54.19
1910	69,909	20,221	28.92

<sup>29</sup> Values for Old and New Vukovar (Stari and Novi Vukovar) are added up. Data sources: See footnote No 16.

<sup>30</sup> Data sources: Table 7.

<sup>31</sup> Data sources: Tables 1–7.

The demographic trend observed in Syrmia was not specific. Orthodox Serbs were facing a constant decrease in the numbers and share in urban settlements in a much broader region including the whole Military Frontier, Croatia, Slavonia, and the south of the Kingdom of Hungary proper during the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Syrmia, together with the neighbouring southern Bačka and Banat regions, could be considered a sort of a Serbian Orthodox urban stronghold in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century. Most of the cities in that broader area were dominantly inhabited by Orthodox citizens and had a huge impact on economic, military, cultural, educational and political processes. The cities in the south of the Kingdom of Hungary were political centres of the Serbian national movement in the Monarchy and most Serbian “national” institutions (schools, societies, theatres, publishing houses etc.) were placed there. The dominant Serbian character of the cities began to vanish since the 1850s and most became multi-ethnic with a Serbian minority until 1910. This development hindered the Serbian movement to accumulate necessary intellectual, economic and political capacities to influence government policies and successfully participate in everyday political life in the Monarchy.<sup>32</sup>

The process of “losing” the cities was particularly problematic for the Orthodox Serbs in Syrmia. The Orthodox population made up some 45% of the total present population of the County in 1910, but only 29% in the cities.<sup>33</sup> Orthodox Serbs were not able to maintain a fair share in the urban population in the County where they always comprised the most important and largest religious and ethnic group. The consequences of war and migrations have been identified as the major causes of the decline of the Orthodox in urban settlements during the 19<sup>th</sup> century, but additional research is necessary to examine these processes in detail.

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<sup>32</sup> Н. Делић, “Урбанизација народа?”, 181–186.

<sup>33</sup> We compared values from Table 8 and for the whole Syrmian County in the 1910 census publication (including Zemun, which was administratively not subordinated to the County at that time). *A Magyar korona országainak 1910. évi 1. II- 470–476.*



**Нино Делич**

**ДИНАМИКА ДЕМОГРАФИЧЕСКОГО РАЗВИТИЯ ПРАВОСЛАВНОГО НАСЕЛЕНИЯ  
В СРЕМСКИХ ОБЩИНАХ/ГОРОДАХ В ПЕРИОД С 1802 ПО 1910 ГОД.**

**Резюме**

Данный текст посвящен статистическому анализу развития населения городов Срема в период с 1802 по 1910 годы. Для населенных пунктов Срема, для которых было возможным закрепить правовой статус города (Земун, Сремски Карловци, Петроварадин, Сремска Митровица, Рума, Винковци и Вуковар), представлены данные о численности общего и православного населения. Анализ показал, что в первой половине XIX века в большинстве городов православные жители составляли либо абсолютное большинство (Земун, Сремски Карловци, Сремска Митровица), либо очень значительное меньшинство из более чем трети населения (Рума и Вуковар). В течение пятидесятих годов в почти всех городах было зафиксировано общее снижение численности населения в результате военных событий во время Революции 1848/49 годов. Демографическое восстановление наступило через следующее десятилетие, но православное сообщество демографически застояло, что привело к постепенному сокращению его доли в населении всех городов Срема до 1910 года. В начале XX века только в Сремских Карловцах православные жители все еще составляли более половины населения. Доля православных в общем городском населении Срема снизилась с 54,19% в 1828/30 годах до 28,92% в 1910 году. Православное население в 1910 году составляло около 45% населения Сремской жупании, но всего лишь немного менее 29% в городах. Постоянное снижение доли в городском населении и потеря ярко выраженного сербского характера большинства городов имело негативное влияние на возможности сербского народа и его политических и других движения для активного участия в политических и общественных процессах в Габсбургской монархии.

**Нино Делић**

**ДИНАМИКА ДЕМОГРАФСКОГ РАЗВОЈА СРПСКЕ ПРАВОСЛАВНЕ ПОПУЛАЦИЈЕ  
У СРЕМСКИМ КОМУНИТЕТИМА/ГРАДОВИМА 1802–1910. ГОДИНЕ**

**Резиме**

Рад је посвећен статистичкој анализи развоја становништва сремских градова у периоду од 1802. до 1910. године. За сремска насеља, за која је било могуће утврдити урбани статус у правном смислу (Земун, Сремски Карловци, Петроварадин,

Сремска Митровица, Рума, Винковци и Вуковар), представљени су подаци о броју укупног и православног становништва. Анализа је показала да су у првој половини XIX века у већини градова православни житељи чинили или апсолутну већину (Земун, Сремски Карловци, Сремска Митровица) или веома значајну мањину од преко трећине становништва (Рума и Вуковар). Током педесетих година у скоро свим градовима забележен је општи пад броја становника као последица ратних дешавања у Револуцији 1848/49. године. Демографски опоравак је уследио деценију касније али је православна заједница демографски стагнирала што је узроковало постепено смањење њеног удела у популацији свих сремских градова све до 1910. године. Почетком XX века само у Сремским Карловцима су православни становници још увек представљали наполовичну већину у популацији. Удео православних у укупном урбаном становништву Срема опао је са 54,19% у 1828/30. на 28,92% у 1910. години. Православно становништво је 1910. чинило око 45% у популацији Сремске жупаније али само непуних 29% у градовима. Константно смањивање удела у урбаној популацији и губитак изразито српског карактера већине градова имало је негативан утицај на капацитете српског народа и покрета у Хабзбуршкој монархији за активним деловањем и учествовањем у политичким и друштвеним процесима.

The Institute of History Belgrade  
Collection of Works, vol. 45

Nizhny Novgorod State University  
of Architecture and Civil Engineering

# URBANIZATION IN EASTERN AND SOUTH-EASTERN EUROPE

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Belgrade 2024

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This book has been published with the financial support of  
The Ministry of Science, Technological Development and Innovation  
of the Republic of Serbia

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## URBANIZATION IN EASTERN AND SOUTH-EASTERN EUROPE

### Publisher

The Institute of History Belgrade  
Nizhny Novgorod State University of Architecture and Civil Engineering

### Editors in Chief

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### Translations and proofreading (English)

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### Prepress

Slobodan Simić

### Circulation

400

### Print

Planeta Print doo, Belgrade

ISBN 978-86-7743-154-9

CIP - Каталогизација у публикацији  
Народна библиотека Србије, Београд

711.4(4-11)(082)  
711.4(4-12)(082)  
911.375(4-11)(082)  
911.375(4-12)(082)

**URBANIZATION in Eastern and South-eastern Europe** / editors in chief Aleksandar Rastović, Aleksey A. Gordin ; [translations and proofreading (English) Tatjana Ćosović, translations and proofreading (Russian) Bojana Miljković Katić]. - Belgrade : The Institute of History ; Nizhny Novgorod : Nizhny Novgorod State University of Architecture and Civil Engineering, 2024 (Beograd : Planeta print). - 247 str. : ilustr. ; 21 cm. - (Collection of Works / The Institute of History Belgrade ; vol. 45)

Tiraž 400. - Napomene i bibliografske reference uz tekst. - Rezime na srp. i rus. jeziku uz svaki rad.

ISBN 978-86-7743-154-9

1. Rastović, Aleksandar, 1969- [одговорни уредник] 2. Gordin, Alekseï Aleksandrovič, 1976- [одговорни уредник]

а) Урбанизација -- Источна Европа -- Зборници б) Урбанизација -- Југоисточна Европа -- Зборници в) Градови -- Развој -- Источна Европа -- Зборници г) Градови -- Развој -- Југоисточна Европа -- Зборници

COBISS.SR-ID 147001865