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POPULATION CENSUSES AS A SOURCE  
FOR RESEARCH OF THE JEWISH POPULATION  
IN BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA (1879-1948)

**Abstract:** The author analyses the published results of population censuses in Bosnia-Herzegovina from the first modern population census in 1879 to the first census that asked after ethnic/national affiliation in 1948. The analysis aims to establish the reliability and usability of their data as a source for research of demographic developments i.e. of the ethnic make-up of the society of Bosnia-Herzegovina with special regard to the Jewish population.

**Keywords:** Jews, Sephardim, Ashkenazim, Bosnia-Herzegovina, population census, demographic changes

*Introduction*

The first reliable data on Jewish presence in Bosnia-Herzegovina stem from the 15th century. They are about Sephardim who were expelled from the Iberian

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Peninsula after the Spanish Reconquista in the late 15th and early 16th centuries and who largely settled down throughout the Ottoman Empire, including Bosnia-Herzegovina. Their continuous presence in Bosnia-Herzegovina can be observed only in Sarajevo, where they were mentioned for the first time in 1557 and 1565, although some indirect data indicate that they had been living there already by the first half of the 16th century.<sup>1</sup> It was only in the 18th century that the Jews were mentioned in Travnik, too. During the 19th century, they settled down in Banja Luka and Bijeljina, whereas traces of Jewish settlements under Ottoman rule were registered also in Mostar, Doboј, Bihać, Derventa, Zvornik, and some other places, although their presence in some of these places had been symbolic or often of short duration.<sup>2</sup> The second wave of Jewish im-

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- 1 Behija Zlatar, "Dolazak Jevreja u Sarajevo", *Zbornik radova Sefarad* 92, ur. Muhamed Nezirović... et al., (Sarajevo: Institut za istoriju i Jevrejska zajednica Bosne i Hercegovine, 1995), 57-58; Boris Nilević, "Osvrt na historiju Jevreja u Bosni i Hercegovini za vrijeme osmanske – turske uprave", *Zbornik radova Sefarad* 92, ur. Muhamed Nezirović... et al., (Sarajevo: Institut za istoriju i Jevrejska zajednica Bosne i Hercegovine, 1995), 47-48.
  - 2 Jozef Konforti, *Travnički Jevreji*, (Sarajevo: Izdanje autora, 1976), 11; Мухамед Хаџијахић, "О мањинским етничким скупинама у Босни и Херцеговини у 18. и 19. стољећу, до окупације 1878", *Прилози* 18/1981, 210; Anisa Hasanhodžić i Rifet Rustemović, *Tragovima naših komšija. Jevreji u Bosni i Hercegovini i holokaust*, (Sarajevo: Institut za istoriju, 2015), 54-55, 78, 276; Avdo Sućeska, "Položaj Jevreja u Bosni i Hercegovini za vrijeme Osmanlija – Turaka", *Zbornik radova Sefarad* 92, ed. Muhamed Nezirović... et al., (Sarajevo: Institut za istoriju i Jevrejska zajednica Bosne i Hercegovine, 1995), 33-34; Ibrahim Karabegović, "Osnovni podaci o Jevre-

migration set in immediately after the Austro-Hungarian occupation of Bosnia-Herzegovina in 1878 when Ashkenazim started coming from all parts of the Monarchy, but also from beyond its borders.<sup>3</sup>

It is difficult to say much about the number of Jews in Bosnia-Herzegovina before the Austro-Hungarian occupation. However, certain interests of the academia and the existence of some, albeit flimsy and often contradictory estimates and population censuses from the 19<sup>th</sup> century enable us to have at least a limited insight into the number and territorial dispersal of the Jewish population in these territories during Ottoman rule. Thus, Behija Zlatar adduces that some 50 Jewish families lived in Sarajevo in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century and 182 families during the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>4</sup> On the other hand, Boris Nilević claims there were 214 Jewish families with some 1.000 members in Sarajevo in 1779.<sup>5</sup> Similar is the estimate by Muhamed Hadžijahić who claims 1.070 Jews lived in Sara-

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jima Bijeljine od doseljavanja do 1941. godine”, *Zbornik radova Sefarad* 92, ed. Muhamed Nezirović... et al., (Sarajevo: Institut za istoriju i Jevrejska zajednica Bosne i Hercegovine, 1995), 82; Mustafa Imamović, “Položaj Jevreja u Srbiji i Kraljevini Jugoslaviji”, *Zbornik radova Sefarad* 92, ed. Muhamed Nezirović... et al., (Sarajevo: Institut za istoriju i Jevrejska zajednica Bosne i Hercegovine, 1995), 66-67; Avram Pinto, *Jevreji Sarajeva i Bosne i Hercegovine*, (Sarajevo: Veselin Masleša, 1987), 17; Jakov Danon i Verica Stošić, *Memoari na holokaust Jevreja Bosanske Krajine*, (Banja Luka: Jevrejska opština Banja Luka, 2010), 130; Enes S. Omerović, *Nacionalne manjine u Bosni i Hercegovini (1918-1941)*, (Sarajevo: Institut za historiju, 2019), 56-58.

3 Omerović, *Nacionalne manjine*, 56-58.

4 Zlatar, “Dolazak Jevreja u Sarajevo”, 62.

5 Nilević, “Osvrt na historiju Jevreja u Bosni i Hercegovini”, 50.

jevo in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century and 1.480 in 1841.<sup>6</sup> Jewish communities in other parts of Bosnia-Herzegovina appeared later and had fewer members. Thus, 25 Jewish families lived in Travnik at the turn of the 19<sup>th</sup> century<sup>7</sup> and 93 Jewish men in Bijeljina in 1865.<sup>8</sup> For the number of Jews until the Austro-Hungarian occupation, we are obliged to rely on unofficial estimates and official population censuses according to which the number of Jews in Bosnia-Herzegovina roughly oscillated between 2.000 and 2.500.<sup>9</sup> The results of the first official census in Bosnia-Herzegovina proved that these estimates were not wide off the mark.

The first modern population census in Bosnia-Herzegovina was conducted immediately after the Austro-Hungarian occupation, during June and July 1879. Only the most basic data were collected then. That is the starting point of our subject when more or less continuous collection of data began that enabled us to gain insight into the make-up of the Bosnian-Herzegovinian society based on the data on religion, mother tongue and ethnic/national affiliation. During the same time, the census methodology evolved, supplying, on the one hand, increasingly more information necessary for the study of demographic developments and, on the other, creating increasingly more problems that make comparisons and utilization of census data more difficult. The final point of our interest is the year 1948, when, for the first time, the data on the

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6 Хаџијахић, “О мањинским етничким скупинама”, 209.

7 Хаџијахић, “О мањинским етничким скупинама”, 210.

8 Karabegović, “Osnovni podaci o Jevrejima Bijeljine”, 82.

9 Ђорђе Пејановић, *Становништво Босне и Херцеговине, Посебна издања САНУ, књ. ССХХХХ – Одељење друштвених наука – Нова серија, 12*, (Београд: Научна књига, 1955), 28-39.

ethnic/national affiliation of the population in Bosnia-Herzegovina were collected, processed, and published. Over these 70-odd years, the population of Bosnia-Herzegovina was registered seven times within three states – in 1879, 1885, 1895, and 1910 within the Habsburg Monarchy, in 1921 and 1931 within the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes/Yugoslavia and in 1948 within the framework of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia. During this period, the Bosnian-Herzegovinian society survived several social watersheds that left a lasting impact on its social structure.

It is our intention in this paper to deal with the reliability and usability of population censuses as a source for the study of demographic developments, i.e. ethnic/national make-up of the Bosnian-Herzegovinian society with special regard to the Jewish population. Our interest is twofold. One is in census materials themselves, i.e. in circumstances that make their use more difficult and reduce their reliability; the other is in an analysis of the census results and their application to the research of numerical changes of the Jewish population of Bosnia-Herzegovina within several different statal and legal frameworks.

### *The Challenges of Using Census Materials as Historical Sources*

Without wanting to disparage the positive aspects of the organization of modern population censuses, the following analysis will mostly focus on circumstances that make the use of census results more difficult and impair their reliability. Part of them stems from frequent administrative and territorial changes. The territorial framework,

i.e. the borders of Bosnia-Herzegovina established at the Berlin Congress in 1878, was modified several times during the period under scrutiny,<sup>10</sup> but for the subject of this paper, it was only the changes that came about with the introduction of the *banovinas* in 1929 that significantly affect the possibility of comparing the data from various censuses. On the other hand, many administrative and territorial changes took place within Bosnia-Herzegovina itself, such as changes in counties, districts, and municipalities (in towns and in the country). County lines were most changed between the censuses of 1879 and 1885. After 1895, there were no changes in county borders until 1929, when counties were abolished, and Yugoslavia's territory was divided into *banovinas*. District borders were also subject to constant changes, especially between 1879 and 1885 and in 1885 and 1895 when new districts and district branches were set up. The largest changes took place on a municipal level, which is best seen if one compares the number of municipalities in Bosnia-Herzegovina in 1879 (1.272), 1921 (2.226) and 1928 (399).<sup>11</sup>

Another set of difficulties arises from the evolution of the census methodology, i.e. from constant changes in methodological approach, organization, and conduction

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10 Division into *banovinas* in 1929, the creation of the *Banovina* of Croatia in 1939, the setting-up of the Independent State of Croatia in 1941, exclusion of Sutorina from Bosnia-Herzegovina after the WWII.

11 All the administrative changes adduced above can be best observed in the published census data used in this paper, but also in other sources. (*Službene novine Kraljevine SHS*, X, br. 139-LXVI, 28. VI 1928. "Uredba kojom ministar unutrašnjih dela mijenja ime obim i sedište opština u oblastima sarajevskoj, tuzlanskoj, mostarskoj, travničkoj, vrbaskoj i bihaćskoj").

of censuses, as well as from changes in the publication of the collected and processed data. The number of questions asked kept increasing from one census to another, the most important for our subject being the discontinuity in collecting, processing, and publication of the data on ethnic/national affiliation, mother tongue, and religious affiliation that indicated, directly or indirectly, the ethnic/national make-up of the Bosnian-Herzegovinian population.

*Table no. 1*

Question <sup>12</sup>	1879.	1885.	1895.	1910.	1921.	1931.	1948.
Ethnic/National Affiliation	-	-	-	-	-	x	+
Mother Tongue	-	-	-	+	+	+	-
Religion	+	+	+	+	+	+	-

From Table 1 it is clear that during the period under scrutiny, there was no continuity in collecting, processing, and publication of the data concerning the three key questions. Connected with that is the fact that the number of census categories where the data on mother tongue and religion were registered, kept changing.

The data on ethnic/national affiliation as the most reliable source for establishing the ethnic/national make-up of the population were collected for the first time in 1931 but were never processed and published,<sup>13</sup> so such data are

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12 The question asked, processed and data available (+); The question asked but not processed i.e. data unavailable (x); The question not asked at all (-).

13 *Konačni rezultati popisa stanovništva od 15. marta 1948. godine. Knjiga IX. Stanovništvo po narodnosti*, (Beograd: Savezni zavod za statistiku

available only for the year of 1948. The population was then divided into twenty rubrics, depending on the chosen ethnic affiliation: *Srbi* (Serbs), *Hrvati* (Croats), *Slovenci* (Slovenes), *Makedonci* (Macedonians), *Crnogorci* (Montenegrins), *Neopredeljeni muslimani* (Undecided Muslims), *Bugari* (Bulgarians), *Česi* (Czechs), *Slovaci* (Slovaks), *Rusi* (Russians), *Rusini/Ukrajinci* (Ruthenians/Ukrainians), *Šiptari* (Albanians), *Mađari* (Hungarians), *Nemci* (Germans), *Rumuni* (Romanians), *Vlasi* (Vlachs), *Italijani* (Italians), *Turci* (*Turks*), *Cigani* (Roma), *Ostali* (others). Based on the data about literacy, one can also detect the number of the *Jevreji* (Jews), *Poljaci* (Poles), *Austrijanci* (Austrians), *Grci* (Greeks) and *Francuzi* (French).<sup>14</sup>

As an auxiliary criterium, we applied the choice of the mother tongue that was projected at ethnic affiliation at the time of the census. Although this solution is far from perfect, since it does not provide completely reliable data due to the existence of multi-lingual ethnic communities, it enables us to make certain comparisons of the census data from 1910, 1921, and 1931. This concerns especially the larger part of the communities that can be regarded as minority communities, whereas it is impossi-

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FNRJ, 1954), X-XI; *Popis stanovništva 1953. Knjiga VIII. Narodnost i maternji jezik*, (Beograd: Savezni zavod za statistiku, 1959), VI.

14 All ethnic/national appellations were taken over from the published sources in their original forms that are given in italics; English forms are in brackets. *Konačni rezultati popisa stanovništva od 15. marta 1948. godine. Knjiga IX. Stanovništvo po narodnosti; Konačni rezultati popisa stanovništva od 15. marta 1948. godine. Knjiga V. Stanovništvo po pismenosti*, (Beograd: Savezni zavod za statistiku FNRJ, 1955).



ble to establish the make-up of the “majority” population, except for 1931 when the data on religion were cross-checked with those on the mother tongue for the first time. An aggravating circumstance when analyzing the data on the mother tongue is the change in the number of census categories. Thus, the data on mother tongue were listed under 21 headings in 1910, under 15 in 1921, and under 14 main headings, but with four footnotes in 1931. (Cf. Table no. 2).<sup>15</sup>

Table no. 2

1910	1921	1931
<b>Mother tongue</b>	<b>Mother tongue projected onto ethnic affiliation</b>	<b>Mother tongue projected onto ethnic affiliation</b>
<i>Srpskohrvatski</i> (Serbo-Croat)	<i>Srba ili Hrvata</i> (Serbs or Croats)	<i>Serbokroaten</i> (Serbs - Croats)
<i>Španjolski</i> (Spanish)		<i>Juden</i> (Jews)
<i>Njemački</i> (German)	<i>Nemaca</i> (Germans)	<i>Deutsche</i> (German)
<i>Mađarski</i> (Hungarian)	<i>Mađara</i> (Hungarians)	<i>Magyaren</i> (Hungarians)
<i>Češki</i> (Czech)	<i>Čehoslovaka</i> (Czechoslovaks)	<i>Tschechen</i> (Czechs)
<i>Poljski</i> (Polish)	<i>Poljaka</i> (Poles)	<i>Polen</i> [through a footnote] (Poles)
<i>Rusinski</i> (Russonian)	<i>Rusina (Rutena, Malorusa)</i> Russonian (Ruthenians, Little Russians)	<i>Ukrainer</i> (Ukrainians)

15 In all tables in this paper the rubrics concerning mother tongue and ethnic/national affiliation replicate those from respective population censuses in italics with English forms in brackets. The data on mother tongue were sometimes adduced as such, and sometimes they were projected onto ethnic/national affiliation. In the 1931 results that were published by the Germans in 1943, the mother tongue was projected onto ethnic/national affiliation, except for the speakers of German.

<i>Slovenski</i> (Slovenian)	<i>Slovenaca</i> (Slovenians)	<i>Slowenen</i> (Slovenians)
<i>Slovački</i> (Slovakian)		<i>Slowaken</i> (Slovaks)
<i>Talijanski</i> (Italian)	<i>Talijana</i> (Italians)	<i>Italiener</i> [through a footnote] (Italians)
<i>Rumunjski</i> (Romanian)	<i>Rumuna – Cincara</i> (Romanians – Aromunes)	<i>Rumānen</i> (Romanians)
<i>Bugarski</i> (Bulgarian)		<i>Bulgaren</i> [through a footnote] (Bulgarians)
<i>Ruski</i> (Russian)	<i>Rusa</i> (Russians)	<i>Rusen</i> (Russians)
<i>Francuski</i> (French)	<i>Francuza</i> (French)	
<i>Engleski</i> (English)	<i>Engleza</i> (English)	
<i>Turski</i> (Turkish)	<i>Turaka</i> (Turks)	<i>Türken</i> (Turks)
<i>Arapski</i> (Arabic)		
<i>Arnautski</i> (Albanian)	<i>Arnauta</i> (Albanians)	<i>Albaner</i> (Albanians)
<i>Grčki</i> (Greek)		<i>Griechen</i> [through a footnote] (Greeks)
<i>Ciganski</i> (Romani)		<i>Zigeuner</i> (Roma)
<i>Ini</i> (Others)	<i>Ostalih i nepoznato</i> (Others and unknown)	<i>Andere</i> (Others)

An additional aggravating circumstance is that the data on mother tongue are not available in all censuses for all levels of administrative-territorial division, so for 1910 and 1931 they are available for districts and for 1921 for municipalities (village and town) – which also causes difficulties when comparing them.

The third and last way of identifying ethnic/national communities in the Bosnian-Herzegovinian society is the analysis of the results of declarations concerning religion, alt-

though this is of limited value since it can be applied to the identification and observation only of some minority communities. Thus, based on religious affiliation, only the Jewish population of Bosnia-Herzegovina can be identified and observed. At the same time, since the Jewish community was multi-lingual, it is the only reliable criterion to trace the Jews in statistical materials. The situation with the Greek Catholics, for whom there have been data since the census of 1895, is somewhat different. However, although the bulk of Greek Catholics in Bosnia-Herzegovina was made up of Ruthenians/Ukrainians, religion is not the best criterion for tracing this minority community. A comparative survey of the numbers of the Greek-Catholics and of the speakers of Ruthenian/Ukrainian shows that not all Greek-Catholics were Ruthenians/Ukrainians, and the cross-checked data of mother tongue and religion from 1931 show that not all speakers of Ruthenian/Ukrainian were Greek-Catholics. Only parallel use of declarations on the language and on religion can shed more light on the complicated process of national ripening of the Ruthenian/Ukrainian population in Bosnia-Herzegovina.<sup>16</sup> Since the census of 1895, the data on Lutherans were also collected, but since most of the Lutherans in Bosnia-Herzegovina were Germans, and the majority of the Germans professed Roman Catholicism, the data on the number of Lutherans cannot be used to trace a national community. Since their members were put under common religious headings, we cannot trace other predominantly Muslim (e.g. Bosniaks, Roma, Albanians, Turks), Roman-Catholic (e.g. Cro-

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16 More on this cf. Omerović, *Nacionalne manjine*, 72-75, 227-236, 254-264.

ats, Poles, Italians, Czechs, Hungarians) and Orthodox (e.g. Serbs, Russians, Romanians, Bulgarians) ethnic communities based on their declaration of religious affiliation, just as we cannot trace minority communities that were multi-confessional (e.g. Germans, Slovaks).<sup>17</sup> The only exception are the results of the 1931 census when the data on mother tongue were cross-checked with those on religious affiliation, which enables us for the first time to gain at least a partial insight also into the ethnic structure of the religiously and ethnically heterogeneous majority population that the statistics thus far have always lumped into the common rubric of native speakers of Serbo-Croat.

Unfortunately, there is no continuity in gathering data in this category either since the data on religion were not collected in 1948. Furthermore, the number of categories of data on religion that were collected and processed kept changing, too. The censuses of 1879 and 1885 divided the population in terms of religious affiliation into five rubrics: the one of 1895 into four major rubrics and four sub-rubrics, the one of 1910 into 5 main rubrics with four sub-rubrics, the one in 1921 into 8 rubrics and the one in 1931 into 9 rubrics. (Cf. Table no. 3) Just like the data on mother tongue in some censuses, the data on religious affiliation are available only down to the district level, whereas, in others, they are available down to the communal level and even to individual places within a municipality.

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17 Among the German-speakers in Bosnia-Herzegovina in 1931 there were 55.95% Roman-Catholics and 36.95% Lutherans. The Slovaks are predominantly Roman-Catholics, but the Slovak community in Bosnia-Herzegovina had almost the same numbers of Roman-Catholics and Lutherans.

Table no. 3<sup>18</sup>

1879.	1885.	1895.		1910.	1921.	1931.
<i>grčko-iztočnjaci</i> (Greek-Eastern)	<i>istočno-pravoslavni</i> (Eastern-Orthodox)	<i>istočno-pravoslavni</i> (Eastern-Orthodox)		<i>srpsko-pravoslavni</i> (Serbian-Orthodox)	<i>Pravoslavni</i> (Orthodox)	<i>Pravoslaven</i> (Orthodox)
<i>latinkatolici</i> (Latin-Catholics)	<i>rimokatolici</i> (Roman-Catholics)	<i>rimokatolički</i> (Roman-Catholics)		<i>Katolici</i> (Catholics)	<i>Rimokatolika</i> (Roman-Catholics)	<i>Röm. Kathol.</i> (Roman-Catholics)
					<i>grkokatolici</i> (Greek-Catholics)	<i>Grkokatolika</i> (Greek-Catholics)
		<i>evangelički</i> (Lutherans) <sup>19</sup>		<i>Evangelici</i> (Lutherans)	<i>Evangelika</i> (Lutherans)	<i>Evang. Augsb.</i> (Lutherans) <i>Evang. Reform.</i> (Calvinists)
		<i>drugi</i> (others) <sup>20</sup>				<i>Andere Christen</i> (Other Christians)

18 The data on religious affiliation are taken over from the published census result in their original form and given in italics, whereas their English translations are in brackets. For making the table the data from the following works were used: *Statistika miesta i pučanstva Bosne i Hercegovine*, (Sarajevo: C. i kr. vladina tiskarna, 1880); *Štatistika miesta i žiteljstva u Bosni i Hercegovini 1885. po popisu naroda od 1. maja 1885. godine*, (Sarajevo: Zemaljska štamparija, 1886); *Glavni rezultati popisa žiteljstva u Bosni i Hercegovini od 22. aprila 1895. godine*, (Sarajevo: Zemaljska vlada za Bosnu i Hercegovinu, 1896); *Rezultati popisa žiteljstva u Bosni i Hercegovini od 10. oktobra 1910. godine*, (Sarajevo: Zemaljska vlada za Bosnu i Hercegovinu, 1912); *Definitivni rezultati popisa stanovništva od 31. januara 1921*, (Sarajevo: Opšta državna statistika, 1932); *Die Gliederung der Bevölkerung des ehemaligen Jugoslawien nach Muttersprache und Konfession nach den unveröffentlichten Angaben der Zählung von 1931*, (Wien, 1943).

19 From the footnotes one can glean the numbers of Lutherans and Calvinists among the Protestants.

20 From the footnotes one can glean the numbers of Greek-Uniates, Uniate Armenians, Anglicans, Baptists, Nazarenes and atheists.

<i>muhamedanci</i> (Mohammedans)	<i>muhamedanci</i> (Mohammedans)	<i>Muhamedovci</i> (Mohammedans)	<i>Muslimani</i> (Muslims)		<i>Muslimana</i> (Muslims)	<i>Muselmanen</i> (Muslims)
<i>izraeličani</i> (Israelites)	<i>Jevreji</i> (Jews)	<i>Jevreji</i> (Jews) <sup>21</sup>	<i>Jevreji</i> (Jews)	<i>sefardički</i> (Španj.) Sephardim (Span.)	<i>Izraeličana</i> (Israelites)	<i>Juden</i> (Jews)
		<i>drugi</i> (others)				
<i>sliedbenici inih vjerozakonah</i> (Members of other religions)	<i>pripadnici inih vjeroispovijesti</i> (Members of other religions)	<i>Ostali</i> (Others)	<i>Ostali</i> (Others)		<i>Drugi</i> (Others)	<i>Andere</i> (Others)
					<i>Bez konfes. Nepoznato</i> (Without confession/unknown)	

When comparing the data, difficulties may arise from the fact that changes in census methodology caused constant changes in the scope of the registered population. Thus after the census of 1879, only the data on the native population were published, without those on the permanent and temporary foreign immigrants. The 1884 census also registered the permanently settled foreign population, but in the published results, it was listed separately. The subject of the 1895 census was the present civilian population (with separately listed military personnel), i.e. the natives and the permanently or temporarily settled foreigners. In 1910, the pre-

21 From the footnote the share of the Sephardim in the overall number of Jews can be discerned.

sent civilian population was registered again, but in the main survey, the number of military personnel featured too. In 1921, the *present population (civilian and military, permanent and temporary)* was registered and listed.

It should be kept in mind that the results of the 1931 population census are known from several sources and that the data in them differ, albeit in relatively small details. The results concerning religious affiliation were published by the Government of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia in 1938, but the data on the mother tongue were not published until the beginning of WWII. The data on the mother tongue were partially published by the new Yugoslav authorities in 1945, but apart from the common heading for the majority population (Serbian, Croat, Slovene, and Macedonian languages), there were only rubrics of *other Slavic languages, Hungarian, German, Albanian, other languages*. The most complete data on the mother tongue of the population of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia according to the 1931 census were published by the Germans in Vienna in 1943, thanks to the confiscated statistical data from 1931 that were cross-checked with the data on religious affiliation (and projected onto ethnic affiliation).<sup>22</sup>

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22 *Definitivni rezultati popisa stanovništva od 31. marta 1931. Knjiga II. Prisutno stanovništvo po veroispovesti*, (Beograd: Opšta državna statistika, 1938); *Stanovništvo predratne Jugoslavije po veroispovestima i maternjem jeziku po popisu od 31. III 1931. godine. Pregled po srezovima. Sveska 3* (Beograd: Državni statistički ured Demokratske federativne Jugoslavije, Demografska statistika, 1945); *Die Gliederung der Bevölkerung des ehemaligen Jugoslawien nach Muttersprache und Konfession nach den unveröffentlichten Angaben der Zählung von 1931*, (Wien, 1943).

All these circumstances make comparison of the collected and processed census data more difficult, but not impossible. However, the usability of these data for study of various ethnic/national communities differs significantly.

### *The Jews in the Census Materials*

The census materials “produced” during the period under scrutiny contain many data on the Jews, above all thanks to the data on religious affiliation that were collected continuously in all the censuses except for the one in 1948. The special traits that are the corollary of the fact that Judaism can be regarded as an ethnic religion made the data on religious affiliation the most reliable way to trace this minority community, whereas the data collected on the mother tongue (1910, 1921. and 1931) and nationality (1948) have limited usability in the case of the Jews.

The continuity of the data collected on religious affiliation is not the only feature that increases their usability as compared to the data on mother tongue and ethnic affiliation. Another of their advantages is their administrative and territorial in-depth availability since the data on religious affiliation at the first four censuses were gathered, processed, and published for Bosnia-Herzegovina as a whole, for counties, districts, municipalities, and individual places within a municipality. Furthermore, although the data on religious affiliation were collected in 1931 and published in 1938 down to the communal level, in the main tabular survey, the Jews were not given a special rubric but were put



under the heading of *others, without confession and unknown*. However, due to the evolution of the communal organization (1.272 municipalities in 1879, 2.226 in 1921, and 399 in 1928), the comparison of the data is not possible even for those confessions for which the data exist on communal levels. Nevertheless, in introductory remarks, at least the territorial dispersal of the Jewish population over districts is suggested.<sup>23</sup> The comparison is also made more difficult partly by the fact that at the time of the 1931 census, counties had been abolished and Bosnia-Herzegovina partitioned among four *banovinas*. However, even though the official statistics do not provide data for counties, for a comparative analysis they can be reconstructed by adding up the data for districts that are available in this census.

Table no. 4

Question on Religion	1879.	1885.	1895.	1910.	1921.	1931.	1948.
BH	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
County	+	+	+	+	+	-	-
District	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
Municipality	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
Place	+	+	+	+	-	-	-

Thanks to the elements adduced above it is possible to follow the changes in number of the Jews, their share in the overall population, territorial dispersal, and, partly, the

23 *Definitivni rezultati popisa stanovništva od 31. marta 1931. Knjiga II. Prisutno stanovništvo po veroispovesti*, (Beograd: Opšta državna statistika, 1938).

inner structure of their community (Sephardim and Ashkenazim) within the framework of the Bosnian-Herzegovinian population.

After the census of 1879 practically recorded the number of Jews the Austro-Hungarian administration had found in Bosnia-Herzegovina (because the temporary or permanent foreign residents were not registered), demographic expansion was evident almost throughout the period under observation. The increase of the Jewish population in the first four censuses surpassed by far the Bosnian-Herzegovinian average, largely thanks to the immigration of the Ashkenazim. Slowing down of the increase was perceptible in the 1921 census results, and in 1931, the actual decrease in the number of Jews, as well as in their share in the overall population of Bosnia-Herzegovina was registered. (Cf. Table no. 5).

*Table no. 5*

	1879. <i>izraeličani</i> (Israelites)	1885. <i>jevreji</i> (Jews)	1895. <i>Jevreji</i> (Jews)	1910. <i>Jevreji</i> (Jews)	1921. <i>Izraeličani</i> (Israelites)	1931. <i>Juden</i> (Jews)
Sephardim			5.729 (69.76%)	8.219 (69.25%)		
Other Jews			2.484 (30.24%)	3.649 (30.75%)		
Total no. of Jews	3.426	5.805	8.213	11.868	12.031	11.267
Share of the population	0.29%	0.43%	0.52%	0.63%	0.64%	0.48%

Another shortcoming of the available materials is that they do not allow continuous and separate observation of the

Sephardim and Ashkenazim. They were registered separately only in the censuses of 1895 (when the number of the Sephardim was adduced in a footnote) and of 1910 (when the Jews were registered in the main survey in two separate rubrics as *the Sephardim* and *Other Jews*<sup>24</sup>). Although in 1931, the data on the Sephardim, Ashkenazim, and the Orthodox Jews were collected and processed, the precise statistical data on the number of the Sephardim and Ashkenazim in Bosnia-Herzegovina are lacking due to the division of its territory among four *banovinas*. Nevertheless, the data published in 1938 have some usefulness considering that the vast majority of Bosnian-Herzegovinian Jews lived in the respective territories of the Drina and the Vrbas *banovinas* (11.036 out of 11.267), whereas the number of the Jews living in the districts of these two *banovinas* outside of historical borders of Bosnia-Herzegovina was extremely small (one in the Vrbas and 166 in the Drina *banovina*.) According to the data on religious affiliation, 8.009 Sephardim and 2.034 Ashkenazim lived in the Drina *Banovina*, whereas 708 Sephardim and 2.034 Ashkenazim lived in the Vrbas *Banovina* (including those in the districts outside of Bosnia-Herzegovina). In other words, there were 8.717 Sephardim and 2.484 Ashkenazim in the territories of these two *banovinas*. Thanks to this, we can claim with great degree of certainty that some 79% of the Jews in Bosnia-Herzegovina were Sephardim and some 12% Ashkenazim.<sup>25</sup> Although not quite precise, these data

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24 Although the caption says *Other Jews* it should be noted that in Bosnia-Herzegovina exclusively Ashkenazim were meant by it.

25 *Definitivni rezultati popisa stanovništva od 31. marta 1931. godine. Knjiga II. Prisutno stanovništvo po veroispovesti* (Beograd: Opšta državna statistika, 1938), VII.

indicate the continuation of the downward trend of Ashkenazim's share within the Jewish community in Bosnia-Herzegovina that started at the end of WWI.

The two parallel tables present the territorial dispersal of the Jewish population in Bosnia-Herzegovina on county (table no. 6) and district (table no. 7) levels.

*Table no. 6*

	1879 <sup>26</sup>	1885	1895			1910			1921	1931 <sup>27</sup>
COUNTIES	Total	Total	Sep- har- dim	Ot- her Jews	Total	Sep- har- dim	Ot- her Jews	Total	Total	Total
Sarajevo	2.216 (2.188)	3.080	3.633	1.068	4.701	5.568	1.678	7.246	7.980	8.060
Banja Luka	302 (286)	667	402	355	757	481	587	1.068	1.152	803
Bihać	77 (67)	151	161	59	220	206	69	275	275	232
Travnik	431 (452)	717	794	126	920	904	362	1.266	948	887
Donja Tuzla	365 (393)	1.051	655	735	1390	964	652	1.616	1.446	1.109
Mostar	35 (35)	139	84	141	225	96	301	397	230	176
BiH	3.426	5.805	5.729	2.484	8.213	8.219	3.649	11.868	12.031	11.267

26 Most border changes between counties and districts occurred between the 1879 and 1885 censuses. Problems can arise when comparing the 1879 data with those from other censuses due to transfers of certain districts or district branches from one county to another. These changes hardly influenced the numbers of Jewish population. The numbers for 1879 in the table were adduced according to the then county borders, whereas the numbers in keeping with the borders established by 1885 are given in brackets.

27 Counties did not exist any more in 1931. The data for former counties for this comparative analysis were created by adding up the numbers for the districts within the former county boundaries.

A parallel survey of the number of Jews in districts shows that the majority of the Jewish population lived in the Sarajevo District and that the number of Jews in it continually increased. On the other hand, the percentage of Jews living in the Sarajevo District (above all in the city itself) suddenly dropped within the overall Jewish population in Bosnia-Herzegovina after the Austro-Hungarian occupation – from 64.68% in 1879 to 53.05% in 1885. The reason for this was the fact that the Ashkenazim immigrated to almost all parts of Bosnia-Herzegovina, whereas the Sephardim also became more “mobile” Bosnia-Herzegovina. After the census of 1885, a new lasting increase in the share of Jews from the Sarajevo District (again mainly in the city itself) within the overall Jewish population in Bosnia-Herzegovina is noticeable: 57.23% in 1895, 62.57% in 1910, 66.32% in 1921 and 71.53% in 1931. Demographic changes in other counties basically followed the country-wide pattern of stagnation (Travnik, Bihać counties) or slight decrease (Travnik, Donja Tuzla, and Mostar counties) in the number of Jews in the 1921 census, whereas the census of 1931 showed a decline in the number of Jews in all but Sarajevo county.

Parallel data on the dispersal of the Jewish population in districts of Bosnia-Herzegovina shed additional light on demographic changes within this community. According to the 1879 census, the Jews lived in 27 out of 49 districts, and by 1931 in 43 out of 53 districts. Regarding the communal level, in 1879 they lived in 42 out of 1.272 municipalities, and in 1921, in 109 out of 2.226. Table no. 7 shows the comparative analysis of the territorial dispersal of the Jewish population in districts and in

those municipalities that had more than 40 Jewish inhabitants in at least one census until 1931. Due to lack of space, it is not possible to supply a detailed table in which all the places with a smaller number of Jews would feature. The data on the number of Jews were extracted from the general census data and shown in the table separately for each district, seat of the district, and when necessary, for smaller places with the rank of district branch or municipality, whereas the total numbers of Jews in every district feature in common rubrics. In the cases of Sarajevo (since 1879), Banja Luka (since 1895), Tuzla and Mostar (since 1910) the censuses recorded separately the results for territories of urban and country districts, but these data were recalculated and shown in a parallel table to make following of changes in population numbers possible. The table also features in brackets the numbers of the Sephardim in 1895 and 1910 when these data were collected and reported in the censuses.

Table no. 7

District Place	1879		1885		1895		1910		1921		1931
Sarajevo (town)	2.077	2.083	2.618	2.631	4.058 (3.159)	4.113	6.397 (4.985)	6.529	7.458	7.559	7.726
Sarajevo (district)	6		13		55 (35)		132 (69)		101		
Visoko (town)	38	38	147	152	145 (136)	175	186 (174)	254	136	150	164
Visoko (rest of the district)	0		5		30 (7)		68 (40)		14		
Višegrad (town)	37	37	145	157	177 (148)	198	265 (178)	299	144	144	95
Višegrad (rest of the district)	0		12		21 (0)		34 (10)		0		

## Population Censuses as a Source for Research of the Jewish Population...

Rogatica (town)	6		16		40 (35)		54 (40)		42		
Rogatica (rest of the district)	0	6	0	16	13 (7)	53	13 (4)	67	15	57	51
Foča (town)	0		6		39 (14)		20 (8)		7		
Foča (rest of the district)	0	0	11	17	1 (0)	40	1 (0)	21	1	8	4
Čajniče (town)	6		18		39 (27)		5 (1)		1		
Čajniče (rest of the district)	0	6	1	72	0	90	0	31	0	33	0
Goražde (town) <sup>28</sup>	5	5	53		51 (38)		26 (18)		32		
Tuzla (town)	17		134		360 (35)		349 (80)		470		
Tuzla (district)	4	21	5	139	51 (17)	411	32 (21)	381	25	495	330
Bijeljina (town)	149		293		306 (252)		420 (380)		393		
Bijeljina (rest of the district)	0	149	26	319	13 (12)	319	27 (20)	447	7	400	316
Brčko (town)	46		135		189 (124)		182 (55)		136		
Brčko (rest of the district)	0	46	5	183	4 (0)	199	6 (6)	193	3	139	141
Orašje <sup>29</sup>	38+ 13 <sup>30</sup>	51	43		6 (0)		5 (0)		0		
Gračanica (town)	26		55		72 (65)		79 (68)		15		
Gračanica (rest of the district)	0	26	6	61	13 (13)	85	8 (8)	87	12	27	22

28 Goražde was a district in 1879, but just a branch of the District of Čajniče in later censuses.

29 Orašje was the seat of the district in 1879 with a district branch in Bosanski Šamac, but later on it was part of the Brčko District.

30 38 Jews in Orašje and 13 in the settlement Žabar Donji.

Gradačac (town)	19		41		29 (23)		41 (27)		39		
Bosanski Šamac (town) <sup>31</sup>	0	24	35	88	29 (6)	67	55 (23)	110	65	124	63
Gradačac (rest of the district)	5		12		9 (9)		14 (9)		20		
Maglaj (town)	3		39		39 (28)		31 (7)		9		
Maglaj (rest of the district)	0	3	1	40	0	39	0	31	2	11	0
Kladanj (town)	28		22		57 (47)		41 (31)		31		
Kladanj (rest of the district)	0	28	6	28	10 (9)	67	41 (15)	82	30	61	43
Vlasenica (town)	8		38		35 (31)		55 (44)		44		
Vlasenica (rest of the district)	0	8	6	44	3 (3)	38	44 (25)	99	5	49	68
Zvornik (town)	50		138		125 (97)		148 (106)		125		
Zvornik (rest of the district)	0	50	1	139	27 (16)	152	27 (24)	175	9	134	112
Banja Luka (town)	187		327		336 (179)		421 (222)		484		
Banja Luka (district)	12	199	14	341	9 (0)	345	0	421	1	485	368
Bosanska Gradiška (town)	3		23		41 (13)		24 (0)		20		
Bosanska Gradiška (rest of the district)	0	3	5	28	6 (0)	47	12 (9)	36	2	22	46

31 Bosanski Šamac was part of the Orašje District in 1879 as its branch, and no Jews were recorded in it. In later censuses it was the branch of the Gradačac District.



Derventa (town)	30		128		109 (68)		136 (76)		203		
Bosanski Brod (town)	52	83	62	198	85 (36)	203	163 (52)	310	130	343	224
Derventa (rest of the district)	1		8		9 (0)		11 (0)		10		
Prijedor (town)	5		30		26 (11)		44 (19)		44		
Prijedor (rest of the district)	0	5	2	32 <sup>32</sup>	1 (1)	27	2 (0)	46	0	44	49
Tešanj (town)	0		26		32 (24)		52 (16)		28		Doboj 69 <sup>33</sup>
Doboj (town)	13	13	18	44	46 (38)	102	101 (79)	195	110	180	
Tešanj (rest of the district)					24 (15)		42 (7)		42		Teslić 16
Žepče (town)	16		81		95 (75)		105 (97)		72		
Zavidovići (industrial settlement)	-	31	-	85	-	97	132 (55)	276	110	189	218
Žepče (rest of the district)	5		4		2 (1)		39 (15)		7		
Travnik (town)	374		425		426 (298)		472 (412)		383		
Travnik (rest of the district)	6	428	4	429	10 (10)	436	22 (15)	494	39	422	344
Zenica (town) <sup>34</sup>	48		120		176		294 (178)		227		
Zenica (rest of the district)	-	-	0	120	13	189	3 (3)	297	0	227	235

32 In the general survey on page 398 it is stated that 30 Jews lived in the district, but in the survey of their distribution it is stated that 30 lived in the town and two in Jelovac Gornji.

33 The territory of the former Tešanj District was divided between districts of Teslić and Doboj.

34 Zenica was the branch of the Travnik District in 1879.

Bugojno (town) <sup>35</sup>	0	0	22	56	72 (52)	110	60 (49)	66	40	40	46
Bugojno (district)	0		34		38 (20)		6 (6)		0		
Jajce (town)	3	3	16	20	57 (52)	58	81 (55)	81	52	52	35
Jajce (rest of the district)	0		4		1 (0)		0		0		
Mostar (town)	35	35	98	98	164 (84)	164	254 (84)	256	187	187	137
Mostar (district)	0		0		0		2 (2)		0		
Bihać (town)	72	72	134	142	128 (103)	145	165 (128)	187	177	182	150
Bihać (rest of the)	0		8		17 (12)		22 (22)		5		
Sanski Most (town)	0	0	6	7	38 (27)	38	56 (41)	56	66	66	63
Sanski Most (rest of the district)	0		1		0		0		0		

Sarajevo was the only town where the number of Jews constantly grew. In some towns, as well as in districts in Bosnia-Herzegovina, the signs of numerical stagnation were perceptible already by 1910, and in 1921 the increase in the number of Jews (in comparison with the previous census) was registered only in eight places. Emigration of foreign settlers that comprised part of the Ashkenazim population was responsible for this phenomenon at the end of WWI that was registered in the 1921 census.<sup>36</sup> Although the data of the 1931 census do not allow insight into the number of Jews in towns and smaller places, from the data for districts, it is qui-

35 Bugojno was a branch of the Donji Vakuf District in 1879. In the next censuses it was the district centre with district branches in Gornji Vakuf, Donji Vakuf and Kupres.

36 More on this in: Omerović, "Odlazak kuferiša", 69-121.

te clear that only in Sarajevo was the increase in the number of Jewish inhabitants sustained. Most likely this was the consequence of the trickling migration of Jewish inhabitants from the province toward Sarajevo, but also toward other bigger urban centers of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia.

The role of Sarajevo as the center of the Jews in Bosnia-Herzegovina is obvious. The town was called "Little Jerusalem" by the Bosnian-Herzegovinian Jews, who made up a considerable segment of the town's population: 9.71% in 1879, 9.97% in 1885, 10.66% in 1895, 12.32% in 1910 and 11.25% in 1921. For 1931 the data are available only for the Sarajevo District, but not for the town itself.

The censuses of 1885, 1895, and 1910 enable us to study the territorial distribution of the Jewish population according to quarters within Sarajevo's precinct. (Cf. Table no. 8).

*Table no. 8*

Quarter	Name of the Quarter	No. of Jews 1885.	No. of Jews 1895.			No. of Jews 1910		
			Sephardim	Others	Total	Sephardim	Others	Total
		total						
I	Čaršija	1.511	855	563	1.418	1.558	597	2.155
II	Koševo	78	2	107	109	59	263	322
III	Bjelave	688	1.294	126	1.420	1.694	94	1.788
IV	Kovači	269	946	20	966	1.141	89	1.330
V	Grad	3	0	4	4	13	0	13
VI	Hrvatini	19	31	32	63	194	74	268
VII	Bistrik, Čobanija	1	31	47	78	326	295	621
	Others	28						
	<b>Total</b>	2.618	3.159	899	4.058	4.985	1.412	6.397

Although the censuses of 1885 and 1895 collected, processed, and published the data on the state origin or provincial citizenship of the Bosnian-Herzegovinian population, these data were not cross-checked with the data on religious affiliation so they are useless for research of our subject. These data were cross-checked with the data on the mother tongue in 1910, but this helped us to determine only the provincial citizenship of the Sephardim, who were for the largest part registered in the rubric of *Spanish* native speakers. The data on the social make-up of the population of Bosnia-Herzegovina were also not cross-checked with the data on religion, so these data are also of no use for the research of our subject.

As has already been pointed out, the data on mother tongue and ethnic affiliation are less usable in the case of the Jews. When these data are used, all the shortcomings of projecting declarations of mother tongue onto ethnic/national appurtenance become visible. Although it is less important for the subject matter of this paper, it is interesting to point out at the absurd fact that it is impossible to determine the make-up of the ethnically and religiously heterogeneous majority population of Bosnia-Herzegovina that was lumped together in the rubric of *Serbo-Croat* speakers. We encounter the same problem when researching other, minority, communities, including the Jews.

At the 1910 census, for the first time, the data on mother tongue were gathered, processed, and published *so as to get the picture of the ethnic make-up of the population, regardless of the religious element*.<sup>37</sup> According to the

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37 *Rezultati popisa žiteljstva u Bosni i Hercegovini od 10. oktobra 1910. godine*, LXIV.

census results, there were 1.898.044 present civilians in Bosnia-Herzegovina in 1910. Out of that number, 1.822.564 (96.02%) declared *srpsko-hrvatski* (Serbo-Croat) as their mother tongue, and the rest *španjolski* (Spanish) 7.886 (0.42%)<sup>38</sup>, *njemački* (German) 22.968 (1.21%), *mađarski* (Hungarian) 6.443 (0.34%), *češki* (Czech) 7.045 (0.37%), *poljski* (Polish) 10.975 (0.58%), *rusinski* (Ruthenian) 7.431 (0.39%), *slovenski* (Slovenian) 3.108 (0.16%), *slovački* (Slovak) 482 (0.03%), *talijanski* (Italian) 2.462 (0.13%), *rumunjski* (Romanian) 608 (0.03%), *bugarski* (Bulgarian) 96 (0.005%), *ruski* (Russian) 28 (0.001%), *francuski* (French) 35 (0.002%), *engleski* (English) 12 (0.0006%), *turski* (Turkish) 129 (0.01%), *arapski* (Arabic) 10 (0.0005%), *arnautski* (Albanian) 273 (0.01%), *grčki* (Greek) 49 (0.002%), *ciganski* (Romani) 5.419 (0.29%) and *ini* (others) 21 (0.001%) A footnote registers also speakers of *španskog* (Spanish), *danskog* (Danish) and *norveškog* (Norwegian).<sup>39</sup>

In this rubric, we can detect the larger part of the Sephardim (7.886) who were assigned to the rubric *španjolski jezik* (Spanish language), whereas the data on reli-

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38 When the appellation of the Sephardim's mother tongue is in question, throughout history it had different names in different places and in different times: *judezmo*, *djudezmo*, *djudio*, *djidio*, *ladino*, *espanyiol*, *shpanyol*, *jevrejsko-španski* etc. Cf. Ивана Вучина Симовић, *Јеврејско-шпански језик на Балкану. Прилози историјској социолингвистици* (Крагујевац: ФИЛУМ, 2016), 7-10. In this population census the language was named *španjolski* and is different from the modern Spanish (*španski*), that is also mentioned in the census results.

39 *Rezultati popisa žiteljstva u Bosni i Hercegovini od 10. oktobra 1910*, LXIV-LXVI, 44-53.

gious affiliation from that year point out to 8.219 Sephardim in Bosnia-Herzegovina. The difference in numbers points at the linguistic assimilation of the Sephardim community in Bosnia-Herzegovina that was going on. Almost 4.000 Jews, Ashkenazim, and a small number of Sephardim were scattered over rubrics of other mother tongues, becoming thus “invisible” by declaring theirs.

The particularity of the 1910 census was cross-checking of data on provincial (state) citizenship with those on mother tongue, which enables a partial insight into places of origin of the whole minority population, including the Sephardim. According to these data 7. 589 Sephardim had Bosnian-Herzegovinian provincial citizenship, 54 Austrian, 31 Hungarian and 212 that of other countries. This shows that not only Ashkenazim were among Jewish immigrants during the Austro-Hungarian rule.<sup>40</sup>

The 1921 census brought about numerous methodological changes, including those concerning the collection of data on the mother tongue. The number of options in the rubric for mother tongue was much smaller than in 1910 (just 15), and the rubric *španjolski* (Spanish), no longer existed.<sup>41</sup>

The 1931 census also collected data on the mother tongue, but the authorities of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia never published them. They were partly published by the new Yugoslav authorities in 1945, but apart from the common rubric where majority population was registered (*srpski* [Serbian], *hrvatski* [Croat], *slovenski* [Slovenian], *makedonski*

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40 *Rezultati popisa žiteljstva u Bosni i Hercegovini od 10. oktobra 1910. godine*, 52-53.

41 *Definitivni rezultati popisa stanovništva od 31. januara 1921.*

[Macedonian] languages), there were only rubrics for *ostali slovenski* (Other Slavic Languages), *mađarski* (Hungarian), *njemački* (German), *arnautski* (Albanian) and *ostali jezici* (Other Languages).<sup>42</sup> Much more useful are the data published by the Germans in Vienna in 1943, based on the statistical materials found and confiscated in the occupied Belgrade. The Germans cross-checked the data on the mother tongue with those on religious affiliation.<sup>43</sup> The data on mother tongue were projected onto ethnic/national affiliation and grouped in 14 rubrics: *Serbokroaten* (Serbo-Croats), *Slowenen* (Slovenes), *Tschechen* (Czechs), *Slowaken* (Slovaks), *Russen* (Russians), *Ukrainer* (Ukrainians), *Magyaren* (Hungarians), *Deutsche* (Germans),<sup>44</sup> *Albaner* (Albanians), *Türken* (Turks), *Rumänen* (Romanians), *Juden* (Jews), *Zigeuner* (Roma) and *Andere* (Others) (Cf. Table no. 9). In footnotes in the rubric *Andere* (others) the data on the numbers of Poles, Italians, Bulgarians and Greeks were separately adduced, so it is possible to show these results too in a table (cf. Table no. 10). According to religious affiliation the population of Bosnia-Herzegovina was grouped in nine rubrics: *Pravoslawen* (Orthodoxi), *Röm. Kathol.* (Roman-Catholics), *Griech. Kathol.*, (Greek-Catholics), *Evang. Augsb.* (Lutherans), *Evang. Re-*

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42 *Stanovništvo predratne Jugoslavije po veroispovestima i maternjem jeziku po popisu od 31. III 1931. godine. Pregled po srezovima. Sveška 3* (Beograd: Državni statistički ured Demokratske federativne Jugoslavije, Demografska statistika, 1945).

43 *Die Gliederung der Bevölkerung des ehemaligen Jugoslawien nach Muttersprache und Konfession nach den unveröffentlichten Angaben der Zählung von 1931*, (Wien, 1943).

44 Only in this case the mother tongue was not projected onto the ethnic/national affiliation.

*form.* (Calvinists), *Andere Christen* (Other Christians), *Muselmanen* (Muslims), *Juden* (Jews) i *Andere* (Others). Because of this, the 1931 census offers a unique opportunity to cross-check the data on religious affiliation and mother tongue and “peep” into the plethora of differences within the Jewish community in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Since the collected data were organized in accordance with the then administrative division of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, the cross-checked data on mother tongue and religion are available for the whole state, 9 *banovinas* and the Administration of the City of Belgrade, as well as for the districts. Since the territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina was divided among four *banovinas*, none of which comprised only Bosnian-Herzegovinian territory, a direct comparison with the data from previous censuses is not possible, except on district levels. However, it is possible to add up the data from districts in order to get the data on the number of inhabitants within the present-day borders of Bosnia-Herzegovina as well as within the borders of former counties.<sup>45</sup> That means that the general survey of the data on mother tongue and on religious affiliation for Bosnia-Herzegovina would be as shown in tables no. 9 and 10.

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45 It is noteworthy that compared to 1921 the official designation of districts was changed from (Croat) *kotar* to (Serbian) *srez*, and that some district seats changed their names (Varcar Vakuf became Mrkonjić Grad), district branches were abolished and some of them were turned into districts (Ljubinje, Bosansko Grahovo). Former district of Tešanj was split into two - Teslić and Dobož, whereas results for towns of Sarajevo, Banja Luka, Tuzla and Mostar were not shown separately in 1931 but rather only as composite data for territories of former urban and country districts.



Table no. 9

<i>Konfession (Vjeroispovijest)</i>										
<i>Muttersprache</i> Mother tongue	<i>Pravoslaven</i> (Orthodoxi)	<i>Röm. Kathol.</i> (Roman-Catholics)	<i>Griech. Kathol.</i> (Greek-Catholics)	<i>Evang. Augsl.</i> (Lutherans)	<i>Evang. Reform.</i> (Calvinists)	<i>Andere Christen</i> (Other Christians)	<i>Muselmanen</i> (Muslims)	<i>Juden</i> (Jews)	<i>Andere</i> (Others)	<i>Insgesamt</i> (Total)
<i>Serbokroaten</i> (Serbo-Croats)	1.022.717	512.963	911	640	19	1.039	715.251	5456	14	<b>2.259.010</b>
<i>Slowenen</i> (Slovenes)	50	4.340	3	44	-	16	7	5	-	<b>4.465</b>
<i>Tschechen</i> (Czechs)	132	4.279	65	85	23	49	3	58	18	<b>4.712</b>
<i>Slowaken</i> (Slovaks)	3	208	3	230	-	1	1	31	-	<b>477</b>
<i>Russen</i> (Russians)	2.498	172	603	10	-	8	16	19	1	<b>3.327</b>
<i>Ukrainer</i> (Ukrainian)	949	706	6.536	-	-	1	-	-	-	<b>8.129</b>
<i>Magyaren</i> (Hungarians)	57	2.509	12	94	35	35	7	207	-	<b>2.956</b>
<i>Deutsche</i> (Germans)	158	8.673	22	5.728	146	237	10	521	5	<b>15.500</b>
<i>Albaner</i> (Albanians)	4	78	-	-	-	-	813	-	-	<b>895</b>
<i>Türken</i> (Turks)	-	-	-	-	-	-	179	1	-	<b>180</b>

<i>Rumänen</i> (Romanians)	1.178	136	9	4	1	6	-	48	-	<b>1.382</b>
<i>Juden</i> (Jews)	6	4	-	-	-	-	-	4.718	-	<b>4.728</b>
<i>Zigeuner</i> (Roma)	42	3	-	-	-	-	1.767	-	-	<b>1.812</b>
<i>Andere</i> (Others)	345	13.878	1.400	33	-	31	25	203	4	<b>15.919</b>
<b>Insgesamt</b> (Total)	<b>1.028.931</b>	<b>547.949</b>	<b>9.546</b>	<b>6.868</b>	<b>224</b>	<b>1.423</b>	<b>718.079</b>	<b>11.267</b>	<b>42</b>	<b>2.323.555</b>

Table no. 10

<i>Konfession (Confession)</i>										
<i>Muttersprache</i> Mother tongue	<i>Pravoslaven</i> (Orthodox)	<i>Röm. Kathol.</i> (Roman-Catholics)	<i>Griech. Kathol.</i> (Greek-Catholics)	<i>Evang. Augsb.</i> (Lutherans)	<i>Evang. Reform.</i> (Calvinists)	<i>Andere Christen</i> (Other Christians)	<i>Musulmanen</i> (Muslims)	<i>Juden (Jews)</i>	<i>Andere (Others)</i>	<i>Insgesamt (Total)</i>
<i>Polen</i> (Poles)	103	12.012	1.087	-	-	-	-	-	-	<b>13.202</b>
<i>Italiener</i> (Italians)	-	1.610	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	<b>1.610</b>
<i>Bulgaren</i> (Bulgarians)	85	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	<b>85</b>
<i>Griechen</i> (Greeks)	25	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	<b>25</b>

The advantages of publication of cross-checked data on mother tongue and on religious affiliation are plain to see at first glance because they enable us at least a partial insight into the ethnic make-up of the majority population of Bosnia-Herzegovina that previous statistics had put into the common rubric for those with Serbian or Croat mother tongue. Also, the shortcomings of projecting the data on the mother tongue onto the ethnic affiliation of the Bosnian-Herzegovinian population are visible. This is especially visible in the case of the Jewish population. The Jews were divided into as many as 11 mother tongue rubrics and were the most numerous in the rubric *Serbokroaten* and *Juden*, whereas the Jews with other mother tongues were by far less numerous. The number of Jews with Serbian or Croat mother tongue clearly testifies to the progressing process of adoption of the dominant language of the social environment and relinquishing of Jewish-Spanish (Ladino) as one of the main identity markers of the Sephardim Jews in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Another sign of the times was the Jewish press of Sarajevo, which appeared exclusively in Serbian or Croat during the inter-war period, just as Jewish writers of the time wrote increasingly less in Jewish-Spanish. Although we cannot establish with certainty who hides behind the appellation “Juden” in terms of mother tongue, we can claim with a great dose of certainty that not Yiddish was meant because the number of persons registered under that heading (4.728) is much higher than the approximate number of the Ashkenazim (2.484),<sup>46</sup> even if all Ashkenazim spoke Yiddisch (which was not the case). It is much more probable that it concerns Jewish-Spanish, which

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46 More about it on the page 299 in this article.

proves that the already mentioned process of linguistic assimilation was not completed.

Preparations were underway for taking the population census in 1941 but the beginning of WWII in the territory of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia got in the way, upsetting the continuity in recording the population data, including Bosnia-Herzegovina. This statistical “blank”, conditionally speaking, can be filled with data from other sources (the Union of Jewish Religious Communes, contemporaries’ estimates), but the differences among them are considerable. These sources indicate that between 11.800 and 14.700 Jews lived in Bosnia-Herzegovina at the beginning of WWII, out of that between 8.100 and 11.400 Sarajevo alone.<sup>47</sup> The next population census was organized only in 1948 when a new census methodology was applied. Registered were the permanent inhabitants according to their ethnic affiliation. For the first time, the data on the ethnic/national self-identification of the respondents was collected in Bosnia-Herzegovina. This census gained additional value thanks to cross-checking the data on ethnic affiliation with the data on social status and literacy of the population. However, the new census methodology caused new problems too that made comparison of the data collected in 1948 with those from earlier censuses more difficult or even impossible. This concerns, above all, the breach in continuity in recording the data on mother tongue and

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47 Pinto, *Jevreji Sarajeva i Bosne i Hercegovine*, 17, 162; Jaša Romano, *Jevreji Jugoslavije 1941-1945. Žrtve genocida i učesnici Narodnooslobodilačkog rata*, (Beograd: Savez jevrejskih opština Jugoslavije, 1980), 13-14.

religious affiliation, as well as the new territorial and administrative division of Bosnia-Herzegovina into 13 towns and 66 districts. Taking into account the administrative and territorial changes and the fact that the data on the mother tongue cannot simply be compared with the data on declared ethnic affiliation, we have made no tables with the compared data. However, a separate survey of the census results from 1948 enables us to gain insight in the then structure of the Bosnian-Herzegovinian society, which can, with careful use, create a sufficiently clear picture of the devastating effects of WWII on its ethnic mosaic.

In the general survey, the population was divided into 20 ethnic rubrics on the level of the people's republic and in towns and districts: the Serbs (*Srbi*), Croats (*Hrvati*), Slovenes (*Slovenci*), Macedonians (*Makedonci*), Montenegrins (*Crnogorci*), Undecided Muslims (*Neopredeljeni muslimani*), Bulgarians (*Bugari*), Czechs (*Česi*), Slovaks (*Slovaci*), Russians (*Rusi*), Ruthenians-Ukrainians (*Rusini-Ukrajinci*), Albanians (*Šiptari*), Hungarians (*Mađari*), Germans (*Nemci*), Romanians (*Rumuni*), Vlachs (*Vlasi*), Italians (*Italijani*), Turks (*Turci*), Roma (*Cigani*) and Others and Unknown (*Ostali i nepoznato*)<sup>48</sup> – but through the data on literacy one could discern also the number of Jews, Poles, Austrians, Greeks and French within the people's republic. (Cf. Table no. 11).<sup>49</sup>

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48 *Konačni rezultati popisa stanovništva od 15. marta 1948. godine. Knjiga IX. Stanovništvo po narodnosti*, (Beograd: Savezni zavod za statistiku, 1954).

49 *Konačni rezultati popisa stanovništva od 15. marta 1948. godine. Knjiga V. Stanovništvo po pismenosti*, (Beograd: Savezni zavod za statistiku, 1955).

*Table no. 11*

	No. of inhabitants	Share in the pop.
Total	2.565.277	100%
Serbs	1.136.116	44.29%
Croats	614.123	23.94%
Slovenes	4.338	0.17%
Macedonians	675	0.03%
Montenegrins	3.094	0.12%
Undecided Muslims	788.403	30.73%
Bulgarians	94	0.00%
Czechs	1.978	0.08%
Slovaks	274	0.01%
Russians	1.316	0.05%
Ruthenians, Ukrainians	7.883	0.31%
Albanians	755	0.03%
Hungarians	532	0.02%
Germans	1.174	0.04%
Vlachs	1	0.00%
Italians	964	0.04%
Turks	80	0.00%
Roma	442	0.02%
Others and unknown	2.964	0.12%

Jews	1.144	0.04%
Poles	1.386	0.05%
Austrians	89	0.00%
Greeks	19	0.00%
French	24	0.00%

When it comes to the Jews, the statistically registered number testifies to the devastating consequences of the sufferings of the Jewish population in WWII.

### *Conclusion*

During almost 70 years analyzed in this paper, Bosnia-Herzegovina lived within several state frameworks

that produced an abundance of statistical material without which research of demographic changes, especially establishing ethnic/national make-up of the population, could not be even imagined. Obviously, the use of population census data as a historical source is fraught with numerous difficulties and aggravating circumstances that partly stem from constant changes in the state framework and administrative-territorial changes within Bosnia-Herzegovina, and partly from the evolution of the census methodology, especially concerning (dis)continuity in collection of data that directly or indirectly point at the ethnic/national structure of the population. The way the data were processed and published caused great differences in their usability for the study of various ethnic/national communities. Until the census of 1931, it was not possible to obtain insight into the ethnic makeup of the majority South Slav population, which was ethnically and confessionally heterogeneous. Starting from the data on the mother tongue and proceeding with some caution, it is possible to gain insight into the ethnic make-up of part of the minority population in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The only minority community that lends itself to the continuous following throughout the chronological period under scrutiny was the Jews – above all, thanks to the data on religious affiliation that were continuously collected at all censuses except in 1948. Since Judaism can be perceived as an ethnic religion, the data on religion offer the most reliable way to pursue this minority community, whereas the data on mother tongue and ethnic affiliation are less usable when it comes

to Jews. On the whole, thanks to the census data, one can observe demographic expansion (3.426 people in 1879, 5.805 [+69,44%] in 1885, 8.213 [+41,48%] in 1895, 11.868 [+44,50%] in 1910), stagnation (12.031 [+1,37%] in 1921), incipient depopulation (11.267 [-6,35%] in 1931) and finally almost complete destruction (1.144 [-89,85%] in 1948) of the Jewish minority community in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Percentual shrinkage of the Jewish share in the overall population is even greater if we take into account the estimated number of Jews on the eve of WWII.

Despite all their shortcomings population censuses in the period under scrutiny, when approached critically and with awareness of their shortcomings, remain the most important source for the study of the demographic development of the population. Combined with other sources they serve as a solid foundation for reconstructing the demographic changes and life of the population in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

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