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## **OCCUPATIONAL STRUCTURE OF THE CATHOLIC POPULATION OF SOUTH BARANJA IN THE SECOND HALF OF THE 18<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY**

### **STRUKTURA ZANIMANJA KATOLIČKOG STANOVIŠTVA U JUŽNOJ BARANJI U DRUGOJ POLOVICI 18. STOLJEĆA**

#### **ABSTRACT**

*The occupational structure in the territory of South Baranja in the second half of the 18th century will be analysed on the basis of the data from population and settlement censuses conducted by the secular authorities and on the basis of entries made in records. The analysis will be limited to the Catholic population, which in the 18<sup>th</sup> century in South Baranja made up the majority. In the 18<sup>th</sup> century, South Baranja was divided between the Belje manor and the Darda manor and thus it is expected that the primary occupation of the most inhabitants was farming and those trade activities that were necessary in rural communities as well. The paper will identify the position of the farming population in terms of the right of free movement. Furthermore, the names of individual trades will be determined, as well as the manners in which they were recorded in historical sources, their distribution and frequency in individual settlements in view of the size and type of the settlement, and in view of the ethnic affiliation of the population. Moreover, attention will be brought to the occupations related to the administration and management of late feudal holdings.*

**Key words:** South Baranja, 18<sup>th</sup> century, occupational structure, Catholics, records, population and settlement censuses

#### **SAŽETAK**

*Struktura zanimanja na području južne Baranje u drugoj polovici 18. stoljeću analizirat će se na temelju podataka u popisima stanovnika i naselja koje su provodile svjetovne vlasti te na temelju zapisa u matičnim knjigama. Analiza će se ograničiti na katoličko stanovništvo koje je u južnoj Baranji u 18. stoljeću činilo većinu. Južna Baranja u 18. stoljeću bila je podijeljena između Beljskog i Dardanskog vlastelinstva pa se očekuje da je primarna djelatnost većine stanovnika bila poljodjelstvo te one obrtničke djelatnosti koje su nužne i u ruralnim zajednicama. U radu će se identificirati položaj poljodjelskog stanovništva u smislu prava na slobodu kretanja. Nadalje će se utvrditi nazivi pojedinih obrta, načini na koje su bilježeni u povijesnim izvorima, njihova rasprostranjenost i učestalost u pojedinim naseljima s obzirom na veličinu i tip naselja te s obzirom na etničku pripadnost stanovnika. Pozornost će se, također, usmjeriti i na ona zanimanja koja su vezana uz upravljanje i gospodarenje kasnofeudalnim posjedima.*

**Ključne riječi:** južna Baranja, 18. stoljeće, struktura zanimanja, katolici, matične knjige, popisi stanovnika i naselja

## 1. Introduction

From the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, i.e. the time immediately following the liberation from the Ottoman rule, South Baranja, or so called Baranja “Triangle”, i.e. part of Baranja which is nowadays in the Republic of Croatia, was divided between the BeljeManor and the DardaManor. Namely, immediately after the liberation, the Austrian authorities started regulating the newly conquered territories, which the Vienna Court Chamber considered its acquisition. To that end, a Commission for New Acquisitions (*Neoacqistica Commissio*) was established with the purpose to, among other things, determine the borders of the Counties of Toln, Šomod, and Baranja. One of the important tasks of the Commission was to regulate property relationships. Since the old manorial families, which prior to the Ottoman conquest had owned estates in the County of Baranja, had died out, while other estate owners were not able to present valid documents proving their property rights, the land had become state ownership and the whole County of Baranjawas divided into manors. This provided for the shaping of an ownership structure arising from the policy conducted by the Vienna Court, which rewardedthose who deserved it in the war against the Ottomans.

By virtue of a deed of gift of the Emperor, the BeljeManor went to EugenSavojski for his numerous credits with regard to the war for the liberation from the Ottoman rule. The literature mentions different dates of the foundation of thisManor, and the EugenSavojski's mandate status entered into force on 12 March 1716.<sup>1</sup> Although a part of the historiographic literature mentions the BeljeManor as a gift to EugenSavojski, PéterRajczi emphasises that in the case of both Belje and DardaManors the deeds of gifts were conditioned upon advancing a considerable amount of money to the state fisc, where the estates were a compensation for those funds. After the death of EugenSavojski in 1736, the BeljeManor was taken over by the chamber authorities and kept it under their administration by 1780, when Maria Theresa gave it as a present to her daughter Maria Christina and her husband Albert, and after their death, since they did not have any children, it went to Archduke Karl Ludwig. The BeljeManor included BranjinVrh, Luč, Kamenac, Podolje, Bilje, Kopačevo, Vardarac, Lug, KneževiVinogradi, Suza, Kotlina, Zmajevac, Draž, Gajić, Topolje, Duboševica, Mays, Lipova, Branjina, Popovac, andVillány (Taslidžić, 1999, 60; Sršan, 1992, 208; Sršan, 1993, 88, 89; Rajczi, 1986, 170; Karaman, 1986, 86).

Johann and Friedrich Veteraniare indicated as the first owners of Darda and its surroundings. Darda was given as a present to Friedrich Veterani and his male descendants by Charles VI. Since Friedrich Veterani died in 1695, his widow, i.e. son Julije applied for the registration of the property and the mandate status entered into force on 7 October 1717. In 1749, by virtue of a deed of gift of Maria Theresa, the ownership of the Darda estate was transferred to the Esterhazy family until 1843, when it was purchased by the family of Schaumburg-Lippe princes. The DardaManor included the following settlements: Hatty, Haraszti, Gordisa, Ajtó, Kasad, Šumarina, BaranjskoPetrovoSelo, Karanac, Beremend, Darda, Jagodnjak, Bolman, andMais (Karaman, 1986, 86; Sršan, 1993, 86, 88, 89; Rajczi, 1983, 170).

## 2. Historical Sources and Methodology

The analysis of the occupational structure of the Catholic population of South Baranja in the 18<sup>th</sup> century is based on the data from population and settlement censuses conducted by the

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<sup>1</sup>DavorinTaslidžić indicates 24 December 1698, and StjepanSršan 30 January 1699.

secular authorities in the 18<sup>th</sup> century and on the entries made in records. The analysis is focused on the Catholic population, which in South Baranja of the 18<sup>th</sup> century made up the majority. Since the territory concerned was divided between the Belje Manor and the Darda Manor in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, it is expected that the primary occupation of the majority of inhabitants was farming, while other represented occupations were craft activities that were necessary in rural communities as well, and occupations related to manor construction activities and manor administration. Although, along with the predominant historical and descriptive methods, the quantitative and statistical methods are also used in the paper, the results of their application do not represent absolutely accurate numbers, but rather representative samples of characteristic indicators showing certain trends. The cause of this can be found in the historical resources, which are pre-statistical population and settlement censuses and records in which data were recorded neither systematically nor for statistical purposes.

The paper uses two censuses describing settlements of South Baranja. The first one is the Chamber Census of Settlements of the Belje Manor from 1766, which was written in the Latin language and translated and published in Croatian (Sršan, 2002). This census is kept in the State Archives in Budapest. It was signed by the manor prefect Stjepan Marffy and was completed on 20 July 1766 in Bilje (Sršan, 2002, 10). It covers twenty-nine settlements of the Belje Manor, out of which twenty-three are located in the part of Baranja which nowadays belongs to Croatia. These are: Batina, Beli Manastir, Bilje, Branjin Vrh, Branjina, Draž, Duboševica, Gajić, Kamenac, Kneževi Vinogradi, Kopačevo, Kotlina, Kozarac, Luč, Lug, Petlovac, Podolje, Podravlje, Popovac, Suza, Topolje, Vardarac, and Zmajevac. This census brings most data on the population itself, because it enumerates inhabitants (men or widows) by name, followed by inhabitants with a fee for craftsmen and traders, including occupations indicated next to names, and, in sum, the number of married and unmarried brothers and sons. Also in sum, it indicates the number of estates according to categories, plough fields, meadows, and vineyards, the number of head of livestock, and, eventually, the total annual tax of the village. The census also brings general comments concerning the place itself, which are given before the census of each settlement and which contain, among other things, notifications of waters, embankments, channels, mills, fisheries, etc.

The second document is the census of the County of Baranja created in 1785 on the basis of a regulation by the Count Ferenc Széchényi, King's Regent in the District of Pécs. The manuscript is kept in the County Archives in Pécs, it was written in the Latin language and translated and published in Croatian (Sršan, 1999). This census covers twenty-two settlements of the Belje Manor, which correspond completely to the settlements referred to in the previous census, with the exception that the 1785 census lists Kozarac as part of the Darda Manor, and the nine settlements of the Darda Manor. The data from this truly detailed census should have been used as a basis for and help in the implementation of Josephinian reform efforts in the spirit of enlightened absolutism. Since the census was intended to collect as detailed data as possible with a view to gaining insight into the status of the area, it is rich with a variety of information (the questionnaire consisted of almost 400 questions). The questions were intended to collect general data on the district,<sup>2</sup> individual data on settlements, the situation of the church, prelates and noblemen, privileged cities, craftsmen, trade, freemen, soldiers, farmers, foreigners, Jews, Roma, and beggars.

The records of baptism, marriages, and deaths in South Baranja were mostly kept regularly since 1715. Standardised and, in terms of content, spare entries in the records did not regularly contain data on occupation of the population, such data were entered only

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<sup>2</sup> The settlements of South Baranja belonged to the District of Branjin Vrh.

occasionally, either as the occupation of the bridegroom, deceased person, best man or godfather, father of the bride, and father of the baptised or deceased child.

Since the determination of the occupational structure is limited to the Catholic population, the analysis based on the data from population and settlement censuses includes in total fourteen settlements, nine being a part of the Belje Manor (BranjinVrh, Draž, Duboševica, Gajić, Luč, Petlovac, Podolje, Podravlje, Topolje) and six of the Darda Manor (BaranjskoPetrovoSelo, Čeminac, Kozarac,<sup>3</sup>Šumarina, Tvrdavica). In the recording of most data relevant for the determination of the occupational structure, population and settlement census did not specifically record religious affiliation and therefore it cannot be established with certainty of which religious affiliation a certain individual, who was enumerated in the census, was. However, religious affiliation is clear for persons for whom we find data in the records; in such a case, the analysis includes all settlements of South Baranja entered in the records.<sup>4</sup>

### 3. Occupational Structure in the Records from 1715 to 1800

The records only rarely and sporadically mention occupations of inhabitants of South Baranja, either by indicating the occupation of the bridegroom, deceased person, best man or godfather, father of the bride, and father of the baptised or deceased child. Since the records were written in the Latin language, it was also the language in which occupations were recorded. There are no records of occupations of women, except if the woman was a maid servant (*ancilla*), which clearly indicates the position of women in the area of work and in the society of that period in general, which was reduced to household chores and care for the family and home. For the whole 18<sup>th</sup> century, the records contain entries of only five maid servants. Furthermore, one of the rare occupations which at that time was also mostly held by women (along with midwives, of which there are no data in records) was herbalist (*herbarius*). The records include an entry of a herbalist, *Catharina Balint*, who died at the age of seventy-three in Zmajevac(HR-Zmajevac-ŽU-RVM, 1755-1832). Of course, along with their husbands and fathers, women were also engaged in farming activities, but no special entries were made of the farming occupation in the records anyway, although it was held by the majority of inhabitants of South Baranja in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Namely, priests made entries in the records only of craftsmen, different occupations related to work and service on a large estate, and state administration officials.

The following craftsmen were entered in the records: cooper (*viator*), locksmith (*fabraserarius*), barber (*tonsor*), sailor (*nauta*), surgeon (*chirurgus*), bootmaker (*cothurnarius*), blacksmith (*faberferarius*), leather-worker (*pellio*), innkeeper (*caupo*), tailor (*sartor*), cook (*cocus*), butcher (*lanius*), miller (*molitor*), brickmaker (*tegularius*), baker (*pistor*), cellarer (*cellarius*), shoemaker (*sutor*), girdler (*lorarius*), fisherman (*piscator*), cabinetmaker (*arcularius*), carpenter (*faberlignarius*), weaver (*textor*), driver (*aurigarius*), and mason (*murarius*). Due to unsystematic recording, the exact number of craftsmen and the share of individual crafts cannot be determined. Still, on the basis of the above mentioned it can be noticed that these are the crafts which are necessary in each community, including the rural one, while certain crafts recorded in urban environments do not appear here (for example jewellers, watchmakers, hatmakers, lace-makers, glove-makers, painters, etc.). This structure

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<sup>3</sup> In 1766, Kozarac was entered in the census as a settlement belonging to the Belje Manor, and in 1785, as a settlement belonging to the Darda Manor.

<sup>4</sup> Religious and ethnic affiliation of the population of South Baranja in the 18<sup>th</sup> century has been established on the basis of the data from the population and settlement censuses referred to in this work and the data recorded in canonical visitations. In these historical resources, ethnic and religious affiliation is not defined for individuals, but only collectively for the whole population or for a specific part of the population of a certain settlement.

of crafts in South Baranja of the 18<sup>th</sup> century is confirmed by other sources as well, i.e. settlement and population censuses, which will be discussed in the text below.

Except craftsmen, the records also contain entries of other occupations, such as servant (*famulus, servus*), labourer (*operarius*), and trader (*materijalista*), occupations related to the care of livestock and farming activities on large estates such as herdsman (*pastor*), shepherd (*opilio*), oxherd (*bubulus*), swineherd (*pastor porcorum*), and grape-grower (*vinicola*), as well as to other tasks on a large estate, such as hunter (*venator*) and forester (*sylvanus*). Entries on soldiers (*miles, hajdone*) are relatively frequent, but there are only rare entries of which military formation they belonged to or of their military rank. The records also contain occasional entries of certain church services, such as chaplain (*capellanus*), bell-ringer (*campanator*), presbyter (*prashiter*), and pastor (*parochus*).

The records also contain entries on different district and manorial officials, among them: teacher (*magister ludi*), post officer (*posta magister*), customs officer (*teloniator*), judge (*iudex* and *vice-iudex*), inspector (*inspector*), bailiff (*spanus*), administrator (*praefectus*), treasurer (*rationista*), land-surveyor (*geometra*), provider (*provisor*), and grain-collector (*frumentarius*).

As to national affiliation, it can be observed that the greatest number of manorial officials was of the German origin, but also that within this occupational group there is a larger number of the members of the Hungarian national group than, for example, among craftsmen.<sup>5</sup> Moreover, the majority of craftsmen entered in the records were Germans. In total, most of them were recorded in Darda, which is understandable taking into consideration that in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, Darda was the largest settlement in South Baranja with the status of a market town. A somewhat larger number of Germans is present also among various other, specifically indicated occupations, but further researches, which would also include other historical resources, need to be conducted in order to draw more reliable conclusions.

#### 4. Occupational Structure in the Population and Settlement Censuses of 1766 and 1785

The data contained in the censuses of population and settlements of South Baranja show that the large majority of the population was engaged in farming in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. This rural, farming population did not have the same legal status on the late feudal holdings which they inhabited. Thus, the 1785 census indicates that the inhabitants of six settlements had the right to free resettlement, while in eight settlements they were tied to the land.<sup>6</sup> The right of free migration meant that its holders had the status of freemen, had the freedom of resettlement, and were free of the obligation to perform statue labour. In the 18<sup>th</sup> century, in East Croatia, in the cases of organised settlement (as is predominantly the case with the Germans in South Baranja), lords of manors brought free farmers warranting their personal freedom, although over time those farmers became serfs as well, which could have happened for a number of reasons. However, precisely the Germans were the ones to successfully resist the process of being transformed into unfree serfs, which is explained by the fact that they were capable farmers bringing benefit to the lords of manors, who, for that reason, maintained good relationships with them. (Skenderović, 2005, 144, 146, 148, 149.). The data for South Baranja confirm these facts, since only in one German settlement (Petlovac) the inhabitants were tied to the land, while the inhabitants of only one Croatian settlement (Šumarina) were free to resettle (Sršan,

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<sup>5</sup> Settlement and last name were taken as the basis to determine origin, but since it is not possible to determine national affiliation with complete certainty, the presented assumptions are to be taken with caution and accepted only as a reference to potential trends.

<sup>6</sup> The fact that the legal status was connected with ethnic affiliation is demonstrated also by the diameters of Beli Manastir and Popovac, where only the German inhabitants had the right to free resettlement, while the Croatian and Serbian population was tied to the land.

1999, 97, 211). The farming population was not specially identified as such in the censuses, except that the 1766 census contains entries, next to individual names, if the person concerned was *aninquilinus*, while the 1785 census contains records on the number of *inquilini*, *subinquilini*, i.e. seasonal farmers and non-seasonal farmers.

**Table 1** *Craftsmen in the Catholic settlements of South Baranja in 1766*

Craft	Number
cooper	2
bootmaker	1
innkeeper	1
wainwright	2
blacksmith	3
tailor	5
furrier	4
millers	5
shoemaker	3
girdler	1
fisherman	1
mason	1
TOTAL	29

*Source: Sršan, 2002*

The 1766 census mentions in total twelve different crafts (see Table 1), while the 1785 census mentions nine of them (cooper, bootmaker, wainwright, blacksmith, tailor, shoemaker, surgeon, cabinetmaker, weaver),<sup>7</sup> out of which the last three ones are not mentioned in the previous census. In total, in 1766, twenty-eight craftsmen were individually enumerated in the census, while the next census enumerated forty-six craftsmen. In 1766, thirteen other trade related occupations related to trade were recorded, as well as to different services, care of livestock, farming and other activities on large estates, or church services (see Table 2). It can be noted that among those occupations, labourers, i.e. unqualified workers who probably mostly worked the field or did other physical jobs which did not require any special knowledge and skills, accounted for the largest number. As to midwives, they were not paid a salary for their work, but rather received 17 kreutzer from each child-bearing women, while in Draž they were also given a loaf of bread. (Sršan, 1999, 122). Although the census mentions surgeons, in all such cases we are actually talking about healers, since they were not examined in the stipulated way. For all of them, the records indicate that they were not examined, but also that they were untrained, while for the healer in Kozarac it is mentioned that he was old and that he had served a long time as a soldier. The experience of war was precisely one of the most frequent ways to become a healer. Healers were paid a salary to the amount ranging from 35 to 60 forint, while only the healers in Topolje and Duboševica, which were the most densely populated settlements of South Baranja, received somewhat more than 100 forints. (Sršan, 1999, 81, 173, 178, 186).

As to district and manorial officials, in 1766, the majority of settlements had a junior and a senior judge, while in 1785, all settlements had their own local judge and several jurors. Inhabitants of settlements were subordinated to the local judge with regard to all tasks related to the municipality. Neither judge nor jurors received any kind of salary for their service,

<sup>7</sup> The 1785 census indicates that there were in total twelve craftsmen in Čeminac and the crafts in question, but not the number of craftsmen for each of the mentioned crafts. Consequently, the number of craftsmen per craft cannot be determined for the year concerned.

except that the judge, with the approval of the lord of the manor, was exempted from stipulated levies. As to other officials, both censuses contain only entries of teachers, one in 1766 and six in 1785.

**Table 2** *Other occupations in the Catholic settlements of South Baranja in 1766 and 1785*

<b>Occupation</b>	<b>Number in 1766</b>	<b>Number in 1785</b>
trader	6	3
notary	3	7
midwife	0	13
musician	0	6
labourer	19	19
worker	1	0
herdsman	7	0
field-guard	3	0
forester	1	0
grape-grower	1	0
soldier	1	0
parish clerk	2	0
bell-ringer	2	0
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>46</b>	<b>48</b>

*Source: Sršan, 1999; Sršan, 2002*

From the point of view of individual settlements, in accordance with the 1766 census, most craftsmen lived in Petlovac (8), BranjinVrh (6), and Topolje (5), other settlements had one, two, or three craftsmen at the most, where in four settlements no craftsmen were enumerated in the census (BaranjskoPetrovoSelo, Čeminac, Kozarac, Šumarina). In 1785, craftsmen were enumerated only in BaranjskoPetrovoSelo, Čeminac, Duboševica, and Gajić, most of them, i.e. twelve, in Čeminac. In 1766, BranjinVrh, Duboševica, Gajić, and Luč had one trader each, Draž had two, and in 1785, Draž, Duboševica, and Luč had one each.

The status of craftsmen in terms of their means was assessed in the 1785 census in most cases as middle-income or low-income. Namely, although a general conclusion was made that the majority of craftsmen had a suitable living standard, in individual cases, such as the case of part of craftsmen in Čeminac, it was concluded that they were very poor. (Sršan, 1999, 183). Most craftsmen lived in their own houses, supplementing their rather small income from craft activities by field work. Their activity was assessed as sufficient with regard to the place in which they lived and to which, in most cases, they limited themselves with only very rare visits to a fair; there are no records of any cases where craftsmen from a manor sold their produce regularly in nearby Osijek, where they mainly purchased the necessary tools and accessories. Namely, since the needs of the manor inhabitants for craft products were very much limited, craftsmen mainly produced on commission and did not create a stock of products which they could have tried to place on the market. Limited demand and income were the reason why craftsmen did not have apprentices and journeymen. Most of them learned their craft in the place or in one of the neighbouring settlements, and none of the craftsmen was registered with one of the guilds. A particularity to be pointed out is the fact that most blacksmiths in the settlements covered by the analysis were Rome, some of whom were members of the Eastern Orthodox religious community and some of the Catholic religious community.

The data from the 1785 census bear witness to expressly poorly developed trade in South Baranja in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. This is also borne out by a complete lack of wholesale trade or

trade in specialised merchandise, but also by the involvement of farmers in the sale of farming and livestock products, as well as their involvement in local trade by supplying their co-inhabitants with “small” products. A lesser part of farmers also used to sell local produce, such as flour, butter, or greens, to the neighbouring Slavonian areas. The inhabitants of the Drava basin purchased from their neighbouring villages wheat, which they ground to flour and transported to the Kingdom of Croatia. In general, only a smaller number of different products was traded, mostly different “small” merchandise, such as cheap types of linen, plates, cooking pots, tobacco, ironware, oil, and glass, in line with the market demand and the buying power of the majority of the population. For example, the trader from Draž traded in small merchandise in the place itself, but also visited other places in the county, where he traded in other merchandise as well, which obviously depended on somewhat higher buying power of potential buyers. This trader also visited fairs in Osijek, Mohács, and Pécs. On the other hand, the trader from Luč did not visit major fairs, but only local parish feasts in the neighbouring villages, where he displayed his merchandise. This trader improved its material circumstances by cultivating vineyards, making brandy, and by fattening and selling livestock; he also had a mill in a different, non-specified area. (Sršan, 1999, 51, 122-123, 79, 80, 93). None of the traders was registered with any of the trade associations, while part of them was also dealing in crafts to supplement their rather small income. A particularity to be mentioned is that the traders enumerated in the censuses were either Jews or members of the Eastern Orthodox religious community.

## 5. Conclusion

The analysis of the data on occupations from the records of the Catholic parishes and the censuses of settlements and population in South Baranja in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, conducted by the secular authorities, confirmed the assumption that the primary activity of the majority of the population was farming. Other represented occupations were primarily the craft activities which were necessary also in rural communities and occupations related to the economic activity of manors and to their administration. In general, there were very few craftsmen and traders on the manorial holdings in South Baranja of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, and craft and trade activities were only side activities limited almost exclusively to satisfying the modest needs of the local population. Other occupations also occurred sporadically, while some demonstrated that no particularly high standards of the profession were required with regard to satisfying the needs in the rural province on the eastern borders of the Habsburg Monarchy. Trade was even less developed than crafts, the type and scope of trade indicating low buying power of the population, which in itself could not enable or stimulate livelier trade. Trade was also hindered by an underdeveloped network of roads, which, apart from the imperial road, were very poorly maintained and, as a result of floods, frequently impassable. With regard to all occupations, it is evident that there was a tendency to clustering around ethnic groups, for example German tailor and such are expressly mentioned among craftsmen. Moreover, affiliation to a certain occupation was also connected with social position, and at the bottom of the social scale were farmers tied to the land, *subinquilini* who were without house and land, and labourers. On the other hand, the group of officials constituted the privileged social class of the society of South Baranja. In the records, priests entered, as a rule, the title *Dominus* only next to manorial or district officials, thus emphasising their highly regarded status, and only rarely next to a certain more prominent craftsman, such as the beer-brewer *Josephus Spolnar* from Kneževi Vinogradi or the surgeon *Simon Parbl* from Karanac (DAOS, HR-DAOS-500, 124R; HR-Zmajevac-ŽU-RVM, 1755-1832).



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