

# Valpovački vlastelini Prandau–Normann

VALPOVO LANDOWNERS  
PRANDAU - NORMANN

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## **Contribution of the Noble Families Hilleprand von Prandau and von Normann–Ehrenfels to the Social, Economic, and Cultural Development of the Valpovo Estate since the Formation of the Estate to the Middle of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century**

**Social and Political Environment from the Liberation from the Ottomans to the Middle of the 20<sup>th</sup> century**

The Valpovo Estate was created in the beginning of a long stage of the process of moving away from cameralism, at the time when a large number of other estates were also formed, which were mostly given to other foreign noble families and which immediately started imposing mandatory labour to their serfs as a fee in kind, which was prohibited according to the taxation system of the Caraffa's Commission, because the serfs were paying 8 forints to avoid the mandatory labour. Apart from that, the owners of the estates usually appointed an administrator who committed various violations. The population felt cheated when they were turned into landowners' serfs, because King Leopold I promised them, in his proclamation from 1690, that they will be free if they joined the war against the Ottoman Empire. Because of that, they were refusing to accept the new owners of the estates and they resisted by attacking the chamber officials and other representatives of the authorities by joining hajduk, i.e. outlaw bands.<sup>1</sup>

The mentioned social circumstances, as well as the actions of the new owners, resulted in rebellions of the serfs (for example at the Ilok Estate), so the Viennese Court sent the Hamilton's Commission to Slavonia. Based on the report by the mentioned commission, King Charles III issued an urbarium which regulated the relationship between the landowner and his serfs. However, Charles's urbarium was never implemented in practice, instead, the landowners would impose contracts onto their serfs, which they used to regulate the obligations of the serfs, which resulted in rebellions on several estates in the Virovitica County in 1755. Queen

Maria Theresa sent the Keglević-Serbelloni's Commission to Slavonia in 1755, which investigated the causes of the rebellion and suggested possible solutions, and the Queen issued a new urbarium in 1756, in which she regulated the relationship between the landowners and their serfs.<sup>2</sup>

The regulation of the urbarial relationship between the landowners and their subjects belongs among the reforms of Queen Maria Theresa, who tried to modernise the Habsburg Monarchy during her rule, including Croatia. For that reason, she introduced reforms in the areas of education, administration, judiciary, but she also tried to regulate the urbarial relationships once again, near the end of her rule. Her son, Joseph II, also continued with the reforms aimed at the modernisation of the state. He issued several reform acts, which he had to revoke at the end of his rule, due to the resistance from the nobility. In the beginning of the final decade of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the Croatian nobility issued legal articles, in an attempt to resist further reform attempts from the Viennese Court, which later proved to have a negative effect on the social, political, and economic development of Croatia.<sup>3</sup>

Considering that the allodial economy in Slavonian estates was not well developed in the middle of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the landowners did not require all of the mandatory labour to work the allodial land, so they never demanded excessive mandatory labour from their serfs until the final decades of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Some estate owners would demand financial compensation instead of the mandatory labour during periods when the currency value was high, and only at the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, after the currency value decreased due to the international social circumstances caused by the French Revolution, or the increase in the price of grains, especially wheat, they again started demanding mandatory

1 Gavrilović, S. Srem od kraja XVII do sredine XVIII veka. Novi Sad : Filozofski fakultet, Institut za istoriju, 1979, p. 363-437; Gavrilović, S. Hajdučija u Sremu u XVIII i početkom XIX veka. Beograd : Srpska akademija nauka i umetnosti, 1986, p. 7-99; Perić, Lj. Valpovačko vlastelinstvo i valpovačka mostarina 1731. - 1737. Sčinja Slavonica 10(2010), Slavonki Brod, p. 178-186.

2 Bösendorfer, J. Kako je došlo do slavonskog urbara 1756. godine? Rad Jugoslavenske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti 242(1931), Zagreb, p. 7-92; Gavrilović, S. Uvođenje urbara u Požeškoj županiji (1745 - 1762). Godišnjak Filozofskog fakulteta u Novom Sadu 3(1958), Novi Sad, p. 55-75.

3 Šidak, J. Hrvatski narodni preporod - ilirski pokret. Zagreb : Školska knjiga, 1990, p. 7-35; Iveljić, I. Banska Hrvatska i Vojna krajina od prosvijećenog apsolutizma do 1848. godine. Zagreb : Leykam international, 2010, p. 23-38.

labour from their serfs as a fee in kind, because they required it in order to strengthen grain farming, especially wheat, at the allodial farms. With the strengthening of the agricultural production at allodial farms, the landowners started imposing fees and excessive mandatory labour onto their serfs, which put them in a difficult position and rebellions broke out at the Voćin and Ilok estates in 1807. That is why King Francis I issued a decision in 1809 on the regulation of the relationship between the estate owners and their serfs, determining that the serfs can be burdened with the maximum of 104 days per year of mandatory labour (mandatory + excessive labour), but he delayed its proclamation for a certain time, so the Hungarian Council of Governors issued an order about the regulation of urbarial relationships in 1810, but only after some unrest at the Ilok, Ruma, and Valpovo estates. All three Slavonian counties objected to that order, and at the Kutina Estate and the estates of the family Janković Daruvarski there was a rebellion in 1815.<sup>4</sup>

The Viennese Court tried to retain the existing relationship between the landowners and their serfs by working within the Holy Alliance and through several other regulations that would regulate the relationship between the landowners and their serfs. However, in the Habsburg Monarchy, as well as in Banska Hrvatska, a class of inhabitants of the cities was formed during the first decades of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, under the influence of economic progress, particularly mercantile activities, and they advocated a new system of social organisation. Members of that class were the main participants in the struggle against the Hungarian attempts to introduce the Hungarian language as the official language in Croatia, and they were the main driving force of the movement for national revival. Despite the efforts of the ruling classes to preserve the existing social arrangement, they collapsed in the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, under the influence of the revolutionary events in Europe, but also in the Habsburg Monarchy, so Ban Josip Jelačić Bužimski, with his proclamation from 25 April 1848, abolished serfdom and granted the urbarial land to the former serfs of the landowners. Unaware of the consequences of his act, with this proclamation, Ban Jelačić initiated the transformation of feudal estates into large properties that operated on the principles of capitalism. Namely, with this act, the owners of the estates were left without free, i.e. cheap, labour, so they had to deal with the change in production in the following decades or be ruined. Unlike the landowners in Croatia, the landowners in Slavonia were able to modernise using the financial assets they received from the compensation for the confiscated urbarial land and the income they had from the exploitation of large forest areas.<sup>5</sup> During that process, the Habsburg Monarchy was also facing neo-absolutism, and then, under the pressure of international events, the change in the organisation of the state, i.e. the transformation into Austro-Hungarian Monarchy and the regulation of the relationship between Croatia and Hungary with the conclusion of the Croatian-Hungarian

Settlement, which has, with certain changes in the financial part, remained in effect in the following half a century, until the dissolution of the union of states, and was the cause of common disagreements and conflicts between Zagreb and Budapest. Several years after Jelačić's proclamation, in 1857, an agricultural crisis broke out, which was characterised by the reduction of the price of agricultural products, and a decade and a half later Croatia was affected by the large economic crisis which affected the entire Monarchy. It started with the crash of the Vienna Stock Market and continued with the disruptions at the European market of agricultural products, caused by the arrival of great quantities of cheap wheat from America, which mostly had a serious effect on the agricultural areas of Croatia. During the crisis, Ban Ivan Mažuranić implemented a series of reforms in the area of judiciary, education, and administration, which made a significant contribution to the modernisation of Croatia. With his resignation and the appointment of Ban Ladislav Pejačević Virovitički began the 35-year period of trying to resist the attempts of imposing the Hungarian language in Croatia, which were against the Croatian-Hungarian Settlement. The twenty years of discontent and the resistance to the rule of Ban Dragutin Khuen Hedervary ended in 1903 with a national revolt that resulted in his leaving Croatia, but also in the shift in Croatian politics by forming the Croatian-Serbian Coalition and creating the policy of the "new course". The last decade and a half was characterised with common political disagreements between Zagreb and Budapest. Aside from the internal circumstances, the internal political relations in Croatia and in the Monarchy were also affected by the international relations in the immediate surroundings (especially South-Eastern Europe, or the Ottoman, German, and Russian empires). Under those circumstances, the owners of Slavonian estates tried to modernise their estates by investing the money they acquired through the exploitation of large forest areas. Despite those efforts, agricultural farming became secondary and forest exploitation became the primary economic area.<sup>6</sup>

After the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy fell apart, after the First World War, and the creation of a new state union called Kingdom of Serbians, Croats, and Slovenes, the main priority of the new centres of power became the destruction of the estates in Croatia. That is why the main activity of the estate owners in the following two decades became trying to save their estate, i.e. minimising the damage that the agricultural reform caused them. During World War II, the Independent State of Croatia was founded, and during that period the antagonism toward estate owners stopped. However, with the end of World War II and the creation of the socialist Yugoslavia, the estates and the capitalist method of production ended.<sup>7</sup>

## The Families Hillebrand von Prandau and von Normann-Ehrenfels and Their Contribution to the Development of the Valpovo Feudal Estate/Property

### Organisation and Administration of the Valpovo Estate

After the Caraffa's Commission completed their organisation of the chamber administration in the beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the Valpovo area was under the administration of the Court Chamber, within the Osijek Provisorium, under a provisor who was supposed to collect taxes and take care about the advancement of the economic activities. The Valpovo Estate was created in the beginning of the third decade of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, with the beginning of the third stage of shifting away from cameralism. Namely, King Charles III granted the Valpovo Estate on 31 December 1721 into permanent ownership to the advisor of the Court Chamber, Baron Petar II Antun Hillebrand von Prandau (26/IX/1676 – 28/V/1767) and his male descendants for their faithful service and for the borrowed 100,000 forints, and to the female descendants for the amount of 36,480 forints.<sup>8</sup>

Baron Hillebrand von Prandau quickly started to work on the organisation of the newly acquired estate, and after he sent several letters, he went to Valpovo, where he initiated various activities on the construction of the castle and other estate buildings, which he also did in the following years.<sup>9</sup>

During his twenty years of ownership over this estate, it is possible to determine three concepts of administration. The first owner of the estate decided to rely on estate administrators in the first four decades of his administration. Near the end of his life, he decided to lease it, and at the end of the ninth and the beginning of the tenth decade of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, Baron Josip Ignjat Žigmund Hillebrand von Prandau decided to take over the administration of the Valpovo Estate by force.<sup>10</sup>

Considering that Baron Petar II Antun Hillebrand von Prandau was engaged in public service in Vienna, he could not stay in Valpovo permanently, so he appointed estate administrators who were supposed to follow his orders and work in his interest. That is why he appointed Stjepan Szarky to that position quickly after he took control of the estate, who was, after a short time (1/II/1722 – 30/IV/1724), replaced with the administrator Venceslav Anneis (1/V/1724 – 31/VII/1736), and then Sebastian Freudhofer (1/VIII/1736 – 30/VI/1763).<sup>11</sup>

Near the end of his life, he changed the method of the exploitation of the Valpovo Estate. At the current level of research, it is unknown what was the reason for that change. The ageing Baron leased the estate for the period of 10 years, counting from 1 July 1763, to the Deputy County Mayor of the Virovitica County, Ivan I. Kapistran Adamović, according

to the conditions set out in an agreement. The son and inheritor of Antun Petar, Baron Josip Ignjat Žigmund Hillebrand von Prandau (31/VIII/1749 – 13/X/1816), accepted the new model of estate administration because his father determined in his will that he must honour it until the expiration of the lease agreement. After that agreement expired, the new owner leased the Valpovo Estate several times, but he terminated every agreement before it expired, which is why he had to pay damages.<sup>12</sup>

Josip Ignjat Hillebrand von Prandau lived very extravagantly so he was heavily indebted. By the end of the ninth decade of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, he had debts in the amount of almost 700,000 forints, so he arrived to the Valpovo Estate in 1789 and personally took control of it by force. He died in 1816 and the administration of the estate was taken over by his wife, Marija Ana Eleonora nee Countess Pejačević Virovitička, on behalf of their underage sons, barons Karl Ludvig and Anton Gustav Hillebrand von Prandau. After the sons were of age, they took the estate over from their mother and in 1831 they made an agreement about the division of the estate to the Valpovo part, which was Gustav's, and the Miholjac part, which was Karl's. However, Karl was not interested in the administration of the estate, so Gustav took control of both estates, as well as the administration of the Karl's part of the estate.<sup>13</sup>

After Ban Jelačić abolished serfdom with his proclamation in 1848, i.e. liberated the serfs at the Croatian estates from their serfdom, he granted them the urbarial land. With this act, feudal estates ceased to exist and large properties, i.e. another form of estates, were created. Also, with this act, the territory of the Valpovo Estate was significantly reduced. Considering that Karl Hillebrand von Prandau died in 1865 without children, the estate was reunited under the administration of his brother Gustav, who was running it independently for the following two decades. Gustav Hillebrand von Prandau had no male descendants, he only had three daughters: Marijana, Stephanie, and Alvina. Marijana got married for the second time in 1852 to Count Konstantin von Normann-Ehrenfels, Stephanie got married in 1852 to Georg Majláth von Szeckhly, and Alvina got married in 1850 to Pavle Pejačević Virovitički. After the death of Baron Gustav Hillebrand von Prandau in 1885, the estate was divided again, between his daughters Marijana and Stephanie, i.e. to the Valpovo and Miholjac part. So the Valpovo part was owned by the von Normann-Ehrenfels family and the Miholjac part by the Majláth von Szeckhly family. After Marijana died in 1891, the Valpovo Estate was inherited by her sons, Counts Rudolf Joseph (Rudolf Senior) and Gustav Rudolf Karl Kaspar von Normann-Ehrenfels, and her daughter Anna married Csáky. The brothers divided the Valpovo Estate in 1892 into the Valpovo and Bizovac parts, and Rudolf paid 3,160,714.98 forints for Anna's part, which means he gained three quarters of the estate. Rudolf Senior von Normann-

4 Gregl, M.; Vrbanus, I. Kry, rat i glad u kakvim su okolnostima živjela osobe spomenute u drugoj knjizi Zapisnika. In: Zapisnik franjevačkog samostana u Našicama, knj. II. (1788. – 1820.). Tvrković, T.; Vrbanus, M. (edtor). Našice : Zavičajni muzej ; Slavonki Brod Hrvatski institute za povijest, Podružnica za povijest Slavonije, Srijema i Baranje ; Zagreb : Hrvatski institut za povijest, 2012, XXXVI-XLI; Sidak, J. Mentioned work, 1990, p. 7–35, 58–92, 112–163; Gavrilović, S. Agrarni pokreti u Sremsu i Slavoniji početkom XIX veka. Beograd : Naučno delo, 1960; Gavrilović, S. Agrarni pokreti u Sremsu, Slavoniji i Mešavini početkom XIX. veka. Historijski zbornik 10(1957), no. 1–4, Zagreb, p. 72–81; Iveljić, I. mentioned work, 2010, p. 109–111.

5 About the situation at the time Jelačić's act was proclaimed and its consequences see more in: Popović, Š. Seljaštvo na vlastelinstvima u Hrvatskoj 1848. : Sastav seljačkog posjeda na hrvatsko-slavonskim vlastelinskim imanjima u doba ukidanja feudalizma. Zagreb : Zavod za hrvatsku povijest Filozofskog fakulteta u Zagrebu, 1993; Kolak Bošnjak, A. Struktura hrvatskog društva u 19. stoljeću. I. Mentioned work, 1990, p. 7–35, 58–92, 112–163; Gavrilović, S. Agrarni pokreti u Sremsu i Slavoniji početkom XIX veka. Beograd : Naučno delo, 2016, p. 136; Iveljić, I. mentioned work, 2010, p. 40–49.

6 For more see: Gross, M. Počeci moderne Hrvatske: neoposlavlizam u civilnoj Hrvatskoj i Slavoniji 1850 – 1860. Zagreb : Globus, Centar za povijesne znanosti Sveučilišta u Zagrebu, Odelj za hrvatsku povijest, 1985; Gross, M.; Szabo, A. Prema hrvatskome građanskom društvu : društveni razvoj u civilnoj Hrvatskoj i Slavoniji sedamdesetih godina 19. stoljeća. Zagreb : Globus nakladni zavod, 1992; Bičanić, R. Agrarna kriza od 1873 – 1895. i njezin utjecaj na ekonomiju i socijalnu strukturu Hrvatske, Pretnjak i Ekonomista, no. 3–5. Zagreb : Naklada autora, 1937; Gross, M. Vladavina Hrvatsko-rpske koalicije 1906 – 1907. Beograd : Institut društvenih nauka, Odeljenje za istoriske nauke, 1960; Sidak, J. [et al.]. Povijest hrvatskog naroda g. 1860 – 1914. Zagreb : Školska knjiga, 1968, p. 13–52, 67–105, 117–159, 209–234, 238–251, 260–292; Vrbanus, M. Gospodarski razvoj hrvatskih zemalja. Temelji moderne Hrvatske : Hrvatske zemlje u "dugom" 19. stoljeću. Švoger, V.; Turkalj, J. (ed.). Zagreb : Matica hrvatska, 2016, p. 199; Kolak Bošnjak, A. mentioned work, 2016, p. 146.

7 For more see: Šimonić-Bobetko, Z. Agrarna reforma i kolonizacija u Hrvatskoj 1918. – 1941. Zagreb : Hrvatski institut za povijest : AGM, 1997, p. 25–233, 239–242, 278–280, 314–316, 341–353, 369–372, 378–418.

8 Karaman, I. Historijet slavonskih vlastelinstava do sredine 18. stoljeća ("Slavonski kataster" P. I. Passardýja). Arhivski vjesnik XVI(1973), Zagreb, p. 131; Karaman, I. Sumarni kataster veleposjeda u Slavoniji od 18. do 20. stoljeća. Radovi Centra za organizaciju naučnistraživačkog rada u Vrlokovcima JAZU(201973), Zagreb, p. 206; Karaman, I. Valpovačko vlastelinstvo – ekonomsko-historijska analiza. Zagreb : Jugoslavenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, 1962, p. 4–5; Perić, Lj. Valpovačko vlastelinstvo na početku uprave baruna P. A. Hillebranda. Anali Zavoda za znanstveni i umjetnički rad u Osijeku HAZU 24(2008a), Osijek, p. 75; Kolar-Dimitrijević, M. Uloga njemačkih veleposjeda u Slavoniji. In: Skrivene biografije nekih Nijemaca i Austrijanaca u Hrvatskoj 19. i 20. stoljeća. Zagreb : Njemačka narodna znanstvena – Zemljska udruga Podunavskih Svaba u Hrvatskoj, 2001, p. 32; Mažuran, I. Valpovo : sedam stoljeća znakovite prošlosti. Valpovo : Poglavarstvo grada Valpova : matica hrvatska, Ogranak ; Osijek : Grafika, 2004, p. 71.

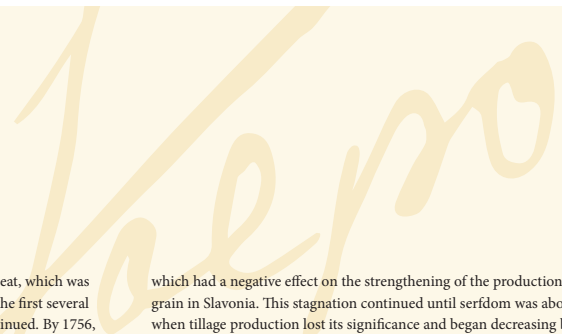
9 Perić, Lj. Valpovačka župna crkva i dvorska kapelica između 1722. i 1736. Scrinia Slavonica 9(2009a), Slavonki Brod, p. 109; Perić, Lj. mentioned work, 2008a, p. 78–90.

10 Karaman, I. mentioned work, p. 39–40; Mažuran, I. mentioned work, 2004, p. 71–75.

11 Perić, Lj. Inventar valpovačkog dvorca iz kolovoza 1736. godine. Osječki zbornik 29(2009b), Osijek, p. 203–204; Karaman, I. mentioned work, 1962, p. 17–32; Perić, lj. mentioned work, 2008, p. 78–90; Mažuran, I., mentioned work, 2004, p. 71–75.

12 Karaman, I. mentioned work, 1962, p. 32–39; Mažuran, I. mentioned work, 2004, p. 75–76.

13 Meze, Lj. Stečaj vlastelinstva valpovačkog 1797. – 1804. godine – "Nijeblja knjiga" u Hrvatskom državnom arhivu. Valpovački godišnjak 17(2012), Valpovo, p. 7–12; Stanić, D. Zaboravljeni valpovački barun Karlo Prandau (1792. – 1856.) – vrijedan glazbenik i skladatelj. Valpovački godišnjak 8(2003), Valpovo, p. 9–10; Karaman, I. mentioned work, p. 4–6, 8, 41, 70, 72; Mažuran, I. mentioned work, 2004, p. 76, 86–96.



Ehrenfels bought the Podgorač Estate in 1902 from his uncle Pavle Pejačević Virovitički for 1,000,000 kronen, provided that Pejačević had the right of use for the rest of his life. After Count Pavao Pejačević Virovitički died in 1907, Count Rudolf Senior von Normann-Ehrenfels took over the Podgorač Estate. Gustav von Normann-Ehrenfels turned over the Bizovac Estate to his brother Rudolf in 1919 for financial compensation. In 1928, Rudolf Senior von Normann-Ehrenfels decided to turn over the remains of the Valpovo Estate to his son, Count Rudolf Konstantin Gustav, and his daughters Marija Anna married von Berks, Marija Vera Anka Prospera married Csáky, and Marija Theresija Julianna Josepha married Coronini von Cronberg. This division of the Valpovo Estate remained in effect until it was confiscated in 1945.<sup>14</sup>

During its existence, the Valpovo Estate changed its internal organisational structure. Considering that the estate was created by merging three chamber districts (Valpovo, Miholjac and Karaševo (Petrijevc)), the parts of the chamber district Osijek, and the village Šaptinovići, which belonged to the Našice Chamber District before 1721, the estate was divided into three districts: Miholjac, Valpovo, and Petrijevc. The estate retained that administrative organisation for the most of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. The development of the estate resulted in the need for administrative reorganisation, so during the ninth decade, the estate was organised into five districts: Valpovo, Šljivoševci, Petrijevc, Martinci, and Miholjac, which is evident from the estate survey from 1786. In the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the estate was again reorganised into three districts: Miholjac, Valpovo, and Bizovac, which consisted of the former Petrijevc and Martinci districts. A new change in administrative organisation occurred once the estate was divided between the brothers Karl and Gustav. Then the estate was divided into two properties: Miholjac, which consisted of the Miholjac and Šljivoševci districts, and the border villages of the Valpovo District (Kunišinci, Črnkovići, and Marjanci), and Valpovo, which was created from the remaining Valpovo and the entire Bizovac District. Even though Gustav soon took over the administration of the Miholjac Estate from his brother as well, the administrative organisation of Karl's estate remained separate from the Valpovo Estate. After serfdom was abolished, the estate was gone as well, so the Valpovo Property was organised into several larger tenant farms.<sup>15</sup>

### *Development of Economic Activities at the Valpovo Estate*

During the first two decades of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the Valpovo area was under the administration of chamber officials. The Court Chamber was occasionally updating the census information about the chamber districts

in Slavonia, so they decided to take census of Slavonia in 1719, just after the war with the Ottoman Empire. So, in 1720, the census takers were taking census in the chamber districts Valpovo, Miholjac, and Petrijevc. It is possible to determine the amount of income from a chamber census. This information says that the income from the Valpovo area was somewhat less than 3.000 forints. Most of it came from serf fees (46.68 percent), followed by estimated income from forests (40.54 percent), and the income from regal rights (mills, inns, butcheries, fish ponds) was only 383 forints (12.78 percent).<sup>16</sup>

Based on the amount of the chamber income at the time, it is clear that the economic activities at the estate were very poorly developed. Baron Petar II. Antun Hillebrand von Prandau certainly, as a chamber official, had access to the information about the income of all chamber districts, including the Valpovo District, so he probably estimated that the area could provide a significant income for him. Soon after he gained possession of the Valpovo Estate, in 1722, he travelled to Valpovo and started working on improving the economy there. Immediately after he arrived to Valpovo, he started with the activities related to building the castle and the estate economic buildings (brewery, mills) and he leased the rights to serving drinks and cutting meat. The new owner occasionally stayed at his newly-acquired estate in the following years. Considering that he could not stay at the Valpovo Estate constantly, due to his public service duties, he appointed administrators who were supposed to administrate the estate for his benefit. Baron Hillebrand von Prandau tried to develop the economy by suppressing outlaw bands, which were particularly disruptive to the commerce at the estate. The activities of the new owner are also visible in the report on the estate income from 1722/23, which increased to 5,888.64 forints, which is almost twice as much as during the chamber census from 1720.<sup>17</sup>

The main economic activity in Slavonia in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, Valpovo Estate included, was agriculture. At the time Baron Hillebrand von Prandau gained possession of the estate, the allodial economy was not organised, so he started organising it. The list of estate expenses from 1748 includes information about those activities. According to that list, 85,372.065 forints were spent at the estate for the construction of administrative and production buildings at the allodial facility, and for other expenses. Despite those investments for the creation of an allodial economy, in the middle of the 18<sup>th</sup> century it was still underdeveloped, which is confirmed by the share of allodial arable land and meadows in the total amount of worked arable land and meadows, and the share of the income from allodial economic activities in the total income of the estate.<sup>18</sup> The most important product of agricultural production in the 18<sup>th</sup> century

in entire Slavonia, including the Valpovo Estate, was wheat, which was covering the largest areas of the allodial arable land. In the first several decades, the strengthening of the allodial economy continued. By 1756, 231 jutros (1 jutro = 5754.64 m<sup>2</sup>) of forests were already cleared out and turned into arable land. However, the increased strengthening of the allodial economy started in the final decade of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, and it was facilitated by the devaluation of money and the increase in the price of wheat, which made the production of wheat profitable. Therefore, during the final decade of the 18<sup>th</sup> and the first decades of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the owner of the Valpovo Estate started demanding more excessive mandatory labour, in addition to the standard mandatory labour, which suggests that he started producing on a larger area of the allodial arable land and the standard mandatory labour was insufficient. Despite the upgrades in the allodial production of wheat, the Valpovo Estate in the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century was still getting most of its wheat from the lease of the church tithes of the grains.<sup>19</sup>

However, during the seven decades after the liberation from the Ottoman rule, the tithes gathering right was not regulated. Namely, the bishops of Zagreb, Pecs, and Đakovo-Bosnia were unable to come to an agreement regarding jurisdiction in Slavonia, and after the court determined the borders, they could not agree on the right to the tithes until 1761. The agreement between the bishops from the Zagreb, Pecs, and Đakovo-Bosnia dioceses and the Slavonian landowners about the right to the tithes was not reached until 1761. The owner of the Valpovo Estate, which was mostly under the jurisdiction of the Pecs bishop, and only a smaller part was under the jurisdiction of the Zagreb bishop, concluded a lease agreement with the Pecs and Zagreb bishops for the tithes, by accepting the obligation to pay 3,000 forints per year to the Pecs and 600 forints per year to the Zagreb bishop until 1815, and after 1815, he would pay 3,600 forints to the Pecs and 600 forints to the Zagreb bishop. The fact that best illustrates the significance of the trade in wheat is that in the period from 1801 to 1810, the estate turned a profit from selling that grain in the amount of 577,697 forints.<sup>20</sup>

Another thing that affected the strengthening of the grain production during the third decade of the 19<sup>th</sup> century was the war between the Russian and the Ottoman empires, when the Ottoman Empire closed off the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles and stopped the export of Ukrainian wheat to Europe, so the demand for Hungarian and Croatian grain increased. After the mentioned war ended at the end of the same decade, the Ottoman Empire reopened the mentioned transport lane, which reduced the demand for Hungarian and Croatian grain and Hungarian wheat started competing with Croatian wheat on the Croatian market,

which had a negative effect on the strengthening of the production of grain in Slavonia. This stagnation continued until serfdom was abolished, when tillage production lost its significance and began decreasing because the estates lost their free labour, which meant that the tillage production could not compete on the European market. Therefore, Gustav Hillebrand von Prandau invested the money he earned through the exploitation of the forest area into the modernisation of the tillage production and the acquisition of machinery and draught animals (horses and oxen). Despite those investments, the tillage production was not sufficient for the owner of the estate to cover all his expenses. However, those investments did result in the increased income from the sale of grain. Namely, from 1876 to 1880, the estate was earning 28,440 forints on average from the sale of grain per year, and in the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the average earnings were 112,000 kronen per year.<sup>21</sup>

The exploitation of the large forest areas at the estate began just as the tillage production decreased in the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Of course, even during the administration of the Court Chamber and after the area was turned into an estate, the forests were used to create income for the landowners. For example, during the first year after the estate was formed (1722/23) the income from the forests was 2,528.88 forints, which is somewhat more than two fifths of the total income from the estate (42.95 percent). During the following thirty years, the forests were used as a source of heating fuel, for construction, and for feeding pigs with acorns, which is confirmed by the list of estate incomes and expenditures from 1748. According to that list, the estate made 3,484.42 forints of income from forests, or somewhat more than one third of all the income (34.50 percent). The owner of the estate continued with the activities for the strengthening of the exploitation of the forest areas during the following decades, so, in the middle of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, he founded a potash manufactory by stealing workers from the Đakovo Estate. Aside from exploiting the forests for the production of potash, from 1755 to 1762, the estate turned a total profit of 23,584.45 forints, or on average 2,948.06 forints from utilising forests.<sup>22</sup>

Along with the exploitation of forest areas, the Hillebrand von Prandau family also took care of the forests. As early as the middle of the 18<sup>th</sup> century (1748) the estate employed a main forest keeper among its employees, Maksimilijan Kostberger, and three forest keepers, Maksimilijan's brother Franjo, Ivan Danijel Lang, and Jakov Fridrich. In 1847, Gustav Hillebrand von Prandau hired Adolf Danhelovsky, a forest keeper educated in Mariabrunn, to work at the Valpovo Estate. Adolf Danhelovsky used the knowledge he acquired at that forestry school and upgraded the forestry at the Valpovo Estate, which enabled its owners to

14 Najcer Sabljak, J.; Lučevnjak, S. Likovna baština obitelji Pejačević : studijsko-tematska izložba : katalog izložbe. Osijek : Galerija likovnih umjetnosti, 2013, p. 45, 146; Balta, I. Vlastelinska porodica Pejačević s posebnim osvrtom na njegovu genealogiju i heraldiku. Anali Zavoda za znanstveni rad u Osijeku 4(1985), p. 275-276; Balta, I. Značajnije osobe porodice Pejačević koje su obilježile dio hrvatsko-slavonske povijesti. Glasnik Arhiva Slavonije i Baranje 11(2011), Osijek, p. 37-38; Karaman, I. mentioned work, p. 11-12, 89-90, 103-104; Mažurán, I. mentioned work, 2004, p. 107, 118, 120.

15 Ibid., p. 5, note 6 and p. 6, notes 9, 89.

16 HR-HDA-22. Acta urbana et conscriptiones bonorum, fasc. 138, spis br. 3.

17 Perić, Lj. Pismo s preporukom. Valpovački godišnjak 13(2008b), Valpovo, p. 34-39; Perić, Lj. mentioned work, 2010, p. 178-186; Perić, Lj. mentioned work, 2008.a, p. 78-90; Karaman, I. mentioned work, 1962, p. 19.

18 Allodial arable land (232 jutros) made up 3.67 percent of all arable land in 1748, and allodial meadows (419 respers) made up 5.68 percent of all worked meadows. The allodial economy was creating the income of 573.76 forints for the owner of the estate, i.e. only 5.68 percent of all the income for the landowner. HR-HDA-22. AUCB, fasc. 138, spis br. 7.; Vrbanus, M. Razvijenost alodijalnoga gospodarstva na slavonskim vlastelinstvima sredinom 18. stoljeća. In: Ascendere historiam : zbornik u čast Milana Krukeha. Karbić, M.; Kekez, H.; Novak, A.; Horvat, Z. (ed.). Zagreb : Hrvatski institut za povijest, 2014, p. 170-173, 177-181; Karaman, I. mentioned work, 1962, p. 22.

19 At the allodial arable land of the Valpovo Estate, from 1801 to 1810, 3,400 Pozsony measures were harvested and the amount gathered from the tithes was 92,800 Pozsony measures. HR-DAOS-476. Valpovačko vlastelinstvo, Acta Viennensis, kut. 17.; Karaman, I. mentioned work, 1962, p. LVII-VIII, 50, 55; Gregl, M.; Vrbanus, M. mentioned work, 2012, p. XXXVI-XXXVII.

20 HR-HDA-33. Virovitička županija, Publicum politicum, kut. 18., spis br. 210, 299; Vrbanus, M. Borba Pečučke biskupije za crkvenu desetinu u Slavoniji od oslobođenja od osmanske vlasti do 1761. godine. Scripta Slavonica 9(2009), Slavonski Brod, p. 443; Bisenhofer, J. mentioned work, p. 61-62.

21 Karaman, I. mentioned work, 1962, p. 84, 92; Mažurán, I. mentioned work, 2004, p. 102-103.

22 HR-HDA-22. AUCB, fasc. 138, spis br. 7.; HR-DAOS-476. Valpovačko vlastelinstvo, Acta Viennensis, kut. 4, spis 111-118.; Bisenhofer, J. Prvi pečalj (Acharbrenner, Pottaschesieder) u Virovitičkoj županiji. Osječki zbornik 2-3(1948), Osijek, p. 267; Despot, M. Pokušaji manufakturna u građanskoj Hrvatskoj u 18. stoljeću. Zagreb : Jugoslavenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, 1962, p. 87, 89, 91; Najman, S. Egela Valpovo. Valpovački godišnjak 19(2014), Valpovo, p. 21; Karaman, I. mentioned work, 1962, p. 19, 22, 75, 83.

turn a significant profit.<sup>23</sup> A stronger exploitation of forests, or selling uncut wood, only started in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, when this income enabled the Hilleprand von Prandau family, or later von Normann-Ehrenfels family, to maintain the estate and transform it from a feudal to a modern estate with capitalist production practices. The Forestry Office of the Valpovo Estate, for example, made an income of 1,930,400 forints from 1876 to 1880, and by the end of 1884, another more than 1,600,000 forints. The exploitation of the forests continued in 1885, when Gustav Hilleprand von Prandau concluded an agreement with the company owned by S. H. Gutmann, about the exploitation of forests in the period of ten years, which was worth 3,449,000 forints. Then, in 1895, Rudolf von Normann-Ehrenfels concluded an agreement with Société d' Importation de Chêne about the exploitation of 118,000 uncut oak trees, in the value of 7,850,000 forints, that was to be paid out over ten years, starting in 1895. After the expiration of that agreement, in 1907, Rudolf von Normann-Ehrenfels concluded a contract with the affiliate of that French company in Normanci, about the exploitation of 15,939 uncut oak trees for 2,800,000 kronen. Then, in 1910, he concluded an agreement with Neuschlosz's Tvornica tanina i paropila d.d. in Našice, about the sale of 1,631 uncut oak trees for 200,000 kronen.<sup>24</sup> After he paid 3,160,714.98 forints to his sister, Countess Anna Csáky de Kerestszegh et Adorjan, for her piece of the Valpovo Estate, Rudolf invested in securities. For example, of the money he received for the exploitation of forest areas in the period from 1895 to 1905, he spent 3.5 million forints on securities. However, after the First World War ended those securities were mostly worthless. The Valpovo Estate was in a serious financial situation and they tried to survive through the exploitation of forests.<sup>25</sup>

### *Development of Culture and Education at the Valpovo Estate*

Apart from building economic and residential structures at the estate, Baron Petar II Antun Hilleprand von Prandau started with the construction of religious buildings soon after he took over the estate. He immediately started building a castle chapel in the Valpovo castle, which was finished in 1724, and after that building was finished, he also financed the construction of the Valpovo parish church from 1733 to 1736.<sup>26</sup> Various activities for the advancement of the estate continued in the

following decades, so he became active in the construction of a network of educational institutions. The first school at the estate was opened in Miholjac, one of the largest settlements at the estate, where, according to the canonical visitation of the Miholjac Parish from 1738, the school was run since 1736 by Marko Knežević, who was active here until 1745. At that time though, the landowner was not funding the school, or the teacher, so the teacher provided for himself by performing the duty of the local bell-ringer. This model of school activities probably could not last long, because in 1782 there was no school or a teacher.<sup>27</sup> The educational activities in Valpovo started in 1754, when the children were taught by the estate employee, paid by the estate. A school was founded in the centre of the estate in 1774 and it was attended by 20 students. According to the canonical visitation of the Valpovo Parish from 1782, the teacher was Đuro Ledai, who also taught at affiliate settlements.<sup>28</sup> The activities for the establishment of a network of educational institutions at the Valpovo Estate were intensified during the administration of the brothers Karl and Gustav Hilleprand von Prandau. Karl donated the land for the school building in Viljevo in 1834, and for the school buildings in Šljivoševci, Podgajci, and Radikovci in 1835. He founded a music school in Donji Miholjac and acquired the necessary instruments. Due to those activities, he was named promotor of elementary education by the Hungarian Council of Governors in 1836. Gustav also worked on the organisation of the network of educational institutions at the Valpovo part of the estate. In 1855, he took over the responsibility for the financing of the schools in Josipovac and Kravice, and in 1856 he accepted the patronage of the elementary school in Valpovo. He took on the obligation of providing 12 hvats of firewood per year for heating classrooms and 6 hvats of firewood for the female elementary classroom. He also took on the obligation of maintaining the school building and provide the firewood for the increased number of necessary classrooms, as well as for teachers' accommodations. On 25 August 1859, King Franz Joseph I decorated Gustav Hilleprand von Prandau with the Order of the Iron Crown, II class, for his contributions to the advancement of education and the church.<sup>29</sup> The patronage obligations of Baron Gustav Hilleprand von Prandau were taken over in 1892 by his grandson Rudolf Senior von Normann-Ehrenfels, who was also the sponsor of the schools in Koška and Harkanovci. Apart from the school in Valpovo, he was also the sponsor

of the school in Veliškovci. Rudolf's brother Gustav was the sponsor of the schools in Bizovac, Brodanci, Petrijevci, and Josipovac. They had the obligation of providing timber for the maintenance and expansion of the classrooms and teachers' houses, and firewood for heating classrooms and teachers' houses. They also granted pieces of arable land to teachers in some villages. Apart from his sponsorship of the schools in the Valpovo and Bizovac parts of the estate, count von Normann-Ehrenfels donated 1,000 kronen in gold to be distributed among the teachers on his estate in 1898, for the occasion of the 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the rule of King Franz Joseph I. Count Rudolf Senior von Normann-Ehrenfels supervised the work of the music school in Valpovo with 200 kronen, which was active until 1897.<sup>30</sup>

The members of the Hilleprand von Prandau family also engaged in other activities to raise the level of culture at the estate. So, Baron Josip Ignjat first rebuilt his castle after the fire in 1800, then he built the theatre building in Valpovo in 1809. There were probably theatre performances in the castle even before the theatre was built, as well as musical evenings prepared for the birthday parties of the family members. After the theatre building was finished, Baron Josip Ignjat also financed the costs for theatre performances (costumes and stages). After the death of Josip Ignjat Hilleprand von Prandau, his widow Marija Ana and his older son Karl tried to finance the performances at the Valpovo theatre. When he came of age, Gustav Hilleprand von Prandau took over the financing of the theatre, which is clearly visible from the estate accounts. The theatre was active until the end of the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. According to the estate accounts, the titles of the plays that were performed at the theatre are unknown.<sup>31</sup>

Apart from the financing of the theatre in Valpovo, Gustav Baron Hilleprand von Prandau also donated money for various cultural and scientific endeavours. So for example, he donated over 5,000 forints for the establishment of the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts.<sup>32</sup> While Gustav was mostly engaged in the economy at the Valpovo Estate, his older brother Karl loved music and art. Karl's interest in music was supported by his father, who took great care in Karl's music education. After he completed his education and returned to Slavonia, Karl played with amateur artists from Osijek Alojzije Katzhaller, Lackenbach, Hermann and engineer Bernard, and performed at musical evenings in Valpovo and Miholjac. Once he moved to Vienna, he was an active participant in the Viennese music scene. He organised musical evenings in his house in Vienna and contributed to the development of the new musical instrument – physharmonica. After the death of his wife Marija Theresa, Karl dedicated himself to music even more, composing, adapting the works by W. A. Mozart, L. van Beethoven, C. Gounod, G. Meyerbeer, F. Mendelssohn, L. Spohr, F. Schubert, and others, and to humanitarian work, as a patron of poor students and artists, like Ivan Lickl, Peter

Schmidt, and Antun Oberritter. In 1852, he donated an organ to the parish church of St Michael the Archangel in Donji Miholjac.<sup>33</sup>

### **Conclusion**

The Hilleprand von Prandau family ran the Valpovo Estate, or property, for 164 years, then the administration of it was taken over by the von Normann-Ehrenfels family, until it was confiscated in 1945. The Hilleprand von Prandau family implemented various activities aimed at improving the economy at the estate, or property. In the course of that process, they changed the organisation of the estate in order to ensure that it functions better and that the income from it increases. The von Normann-Ehrenfels family took over that estate in the final decades of its existence, so it was more focused on its maintenance, and development was of secondary significance.

Both families attempted to invest some of the income into the advancement of education at the Valpovo area. In the course of that process, the Hilleprand von Prandau family worked on expanding the network of educational institutions, and the von Normann-Ehrenfels family worked on maintaining it, or enabling further activities of the school institutions. In the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the Hilleprand von Prandau family invested some of the income from the estate into the construction of a theatre building, and they financially supported the activities of the theatre until the middle of the century. The activities of both families, that spanned the period of over two centuries, provided the preconditions for the social, cultural, educational, and economic development of the Valpovo region.

23 HR-HDA-22. AUCB, fasc. 138, spis br. 7.; Župan D. Prilog biografiji Adolfa Danhelovskog : s posebnim osvrtom na njegovo školovanje u šumarskom učilištu Mariabrunn. Valpovački godišnjak 21(2016), Valpovo, p. 34–36; Karaman, I. mentioned work, 1962, p. 20–21.

24 Klepac, D., Delančić, I., Pačić, D. Šumsko bogatstvo Slavonije i graničarskičkog područja "Belišće" i danas. In: Zbornik radova simpozija "Kombinat Belišće kao čimbenik privrednog razvoja". Roglić, J. (ed.). Osijek : Jugoslavenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, Centar za znanstveni rad, 1980, p. 39; Oroščinin, D. Prometno-trgovačke prilike u drugoj polovini XIX i početkom XX veka. In: Zbornik radova simpozija "Kombinat Belišće kao čimbenik privrednog razvoja". Roglić, J. (ed.). Osijek : Jugoslavenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, Centar za znanstveni rad, 1980, p. 70–71, 75; Benić, R. Iskorišćavanje šuma na području Slavonske Podravnice. In: Zbornik radova simpozija "Kombinat Belišće kao čimbenik privrednog razvoja". Roglić, J. (ed.). Osijek : Jugoslavenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, Centar za znanstveni rad, 1980, p. 128; Živaljović-Kezić, Z. Slavonija, Srijem i Baranja u 19. stoljeću. Temelji moderne Hrvatske : Hrvatske zemlje u "dugom" 19. stoljeću. Švogter, V.; Turkalj, J. (ed.). Zagreb : Matica hrvatska, 2016, p. 397; Karaman, I. mentioned work, 1962, p. 87–88, 96–98; Mažurani, I. mentioned work, 2004, p. 103, 106, 108; Župan, D. mentioned work, 2016, p. 26–27.

25 Karaman, I. mentioned work, 1962, p. 98–99, 102–103; Mažurani, I. mentioned work, 2004, p. 118.

26 Horvat-Levaj, K.; Turkalj Podmanicki, M. Župna crkva Bezgrešnog začetka Blažene Djevice Marije u Valpovu - podrijetlo arhitektonskog tipa i konteksta. Radovi Instituta za povijest umjetnosti 35(2011), Zagreb, p. 158–160; M. Perčić, IJ. mentioned work, 2009a, p. 108–116.

27 Srian, S. (preparer). Kanonske vizitacije, knj. III. Valpovačko-miholjačko područje 1730. – 1830. Osijek : Državni arhiv u Osijeku i Biskupija dakovačka i srijemska, 2005, p. 29, 107, 109, 113, 115.

28 Srian, S. (preparer). mentioned work, 2005, p. 61, 129, 131, 133, 135, 137; Cuvaj, A. Grada za povijest školstva Kraljevina Hrvatske i Slavonije od najstarijih vremena do danas. Sv. I. Od najstarijih vremena do godine 1780. Zagreb : Kr. hrv.-slav.-dalm. zem. vlada, Odjel za bogoslovje i nastavu, 1910, p. 376.

29 Schools were founded in 1820 in Budimci, in 1823 in Marjanici, in 1831 in Radikovci, in 1834 in Viljevo, in 1836 in Šljivoševci and Podgajci, in 1839 in Poganovci, in 1851 in Brodanci, in 1852 in Koška, Ladimirci, and Bitovac, in 1853 in Martinci and Rakotovac, in 1855 in Josipovac, and in 1858 in Kapetina. Cuvaj, A. Grada za povijest školstva Kraljevina Hrvatske i Slavonije od najstarijih vremena do danas. Sv. I. Sv. II. Od godine 1780. do 2. ožujka 1835., Zagreb : Kr. hrv.-slav.-dalm. zem. vlada, Odjel za bogoslovje i nastavu, 1910, p. 252–253; Cuvaj, A. Grada za povijest školstva Kraljevina Hrvatske i Slavonije od najstarijih vremena do danas. Sv. III. Od 2. ožujka 1835. do 31. prosinca 1851. Zagreb : Kr. hrv.-slav.-dalm. zem. vlada, Odjel za bogoslovje i nastavu, 1910, p. 62, 66, 160–161, 407; Cuvaj, A. Grada za povijest školstva Kraljevina Hrvatske i Slavonije od najstarijih vremena do danas. Sv. IV. Od 31. prosinca 1851. do 20. listopada 1860. Zagreb : Kr. hrv.-slav.-dalm. zem. vlada, Odjel za bogoslovje i nastavu, 1910, p. 82–85, 89; Matijević, J. 150 godina osnovne škole u Ladimircima (1852. – 2002.). Valpovački godišnjak 7(2002), Valpovo, p. 97; Mažurani, I. mentioned work, 2004, p. 105–106; Župan, D. mentioned work, 2016, p. 31; Stanić, D. mentioned work, 2003, p. 10.

30 Cuvaj, A. Grada za povijest školstva Kraljevina Hrvatske i Slavonije od najstarijih vremena do danas. Sv. IX. Od 31. listopada 1888. do danas. Zagreb : Kr. hrv.-slav.-dalm. zem. vlada, Odjel za bogoslovje i nastavu, 1913, p. 67–70, 420; Cuvaj, A. Grada za povijest školstva Kraljevina Hrvatske i Slavonije od najstarijih vremena do danas. Sv. X. Od 31. listopada 1888. do danas. Zagreb : Kr. hrv.-slav.-dalm. zem. vlada, Odjel za bogoslovje i nastavu, 1913, p. 54–55; Mažurani, I. mentioned work, 2004, p. 112.

31 Perčić, IJ. Komitetiji-Haus zu Valbo. Prilog poznavanju kazališnog života u Valpovu od 1809. do 1823. godine u svjetlu arhivskog fonda obitelji Prandau i Normann. Oječki zbornik 28(2006), Osijek, p. 129–135; Perčić, IJ. Kazalite na majuru. Valpovački kazališna baština u prvoj polovici 19. stoljeća. Anali Zavoda za znanstveni i umjetnički rad u Osijeku 31(2015), Osijek, p. 16–18, 24–40; Perčić, IJ. Prilog poznavanju glazbenog života u Valpovu od 1790. do 1825. godine u svjetlu arhivskog fonda obitelji Prandau i Normann. Anali Zavoda za znanstveni i umjetnički rad u Osijeku 22(2006), Osijek, p. 121.

32 Cuvaj, A. Grada za povijest školstva Kraljevina Hrvatske i Slavonije od najstarijih vremena do danas. Sv. VII. Od 31. svibnja 1875. do 31. listopada 1888., Zagreb : Kr. hrv.-slav.-dalm. zem. vlada, Odjel za bogoslovje i nastavu, 1911, p. 264.

33 Demo, Š. [et al.]. Zapisnik franjevačkog samostana u Našicama, knj. II (1788.–1820.). Našice : Zavičajni muzej i Slavonski Brod : Hrvatski institut za povijest, Podružnica za povijest Slavonije, Srijema i Baranje : Zagreb : Hrvatski institut za povijest, 2012, p. 361–362; Perčić, IJ. mentioned work, p. 119–128; Stanić, D. mentioned work, 2003, p. 7–26.