

THE 1815 ELECTIONS FOR THE MUNICIPAL AUTHORITY IN OSIJEK

IZBORI 1815. GODINE ZA OPĆINSKU VLAST U OSIJEKU

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SUMMARY

In the paper, the authors contextualise and describe the electoral procedures and ceremonies in free and royal cities on the example of the 1815 elections for the municipal authority in Osijek. Apart from describing the whole electoral process, based on the archival records from the State Archives in Osijek pertaining to the aforesaid elections, the authors also analysed the sociodemographic characteristics of the City Council members and the members of the Elected Community using other supplementary sources. In addition, the received results for 1815 were compared with the results of 1809 and 1812 elections in order to identify any change in sociodemographic characteristics of the officials in the municipal bodies in the observed period.

Keywords: elections, municipal authority, city officials, Osijek, 1815, free and royal city

Ključne riječi: izbori, općinska vlast, gradski dužnosnici, Osijek, 1815., slobodni i kraljevski grad

INTRODUCTION

When the citizens of Osijek were granted the liberties of a free and royal city in March 1809, the local municipal authority started to operate according to the royal charter¹ and two appendices²

¹ The original 1809 Osijek City Charter, issued by Francis I, was initially kept in a safe, together with other most valuable records of the city archive, called the "Secret Archive". Nevertheless, it was registered as a regular record under the number 65/1809. A small paper slip with the information of the charter's location is still preserved among the records. Državni arhiv u Osijeku [State Archives in Osijek], fonds: Poglavarstvo slobodnog i kraljevskog grada Osijeka [The Council of the Free and Royal City of Osijek], Upravni i gospodarski predmeti [Administrational and Economic Records] (further in the text: HR-DAOS-6.1.1.5), reg. no. 65/1809. Today, the 1809 Charter is part of the holdings of the Museum of Slavonia Osijek, inventory number P-1072. See: Vesna Božić-Drijača and Danijel Jelaš, *Poglavarstvo slobodnog i kraljevskog grada Osijeka: 1809.-1850.: Sumarni inventar* (Osijek: Državni arhiv u Osijeku, 2016), 23-25. The facsimile, together with transcription and translation of the charter in: Ante Grubišić ed., *Diploma elibertationis liberae regiaeque civitatis Essekiensis*, transl. Zrinka Blažević, Sanja Lazanin and Iva Polak (Osijek: Muzej Slavonije Osijek, 2010). Also see: Stjepan Sršan and Tihomir Stojčić, *Libera regiaeque civitas Essek 1809. / Slobodni kraljevski grad Osijek 1809* (Osijek: Muzej Slavonije, 1989); Stjepan Sršan, *Slobodni i kraljevski grad Osijek 1809=Libera Regiaeque Civitas Essek 1809* (Osijek, Državni arhiv u Osijeku, 2009), 49-68.

² Croatian translation of both appendices in: Sršan, *Slobodni i kraljevski grad Osijek*, 69-82.

issued later that year by the Supreme Count of the Virovitica County Josip (Iosephus) Mailath. The 1809 Charter determined the dynamics and the procedure of the elections for the central offices of the local authority, namely the judge, six senators constituting the City Council (the internal council, senate) and 40 members of the so-called Elected Community (the external council, electoral assembly).³ The local elections in Osijek were supposed to be held every three years on 31 December, supervised by the appointed royal commissioner. The 1815 elections took place after several years of crisis of the municipal authority in Osijek, marked by scandals and riots in 1811, followed by Court interventions and frequent change of city officials.⁴ These were the circumstances in which the 1812 elections were held, so, in a way, the results of the 1815 elections marked a new stage in which the municipal authorities finally functioned in a more regular manner.

This paper aims to provide an overview of the electoral results, the insight into the sociodemographic background of the elected officials, their rotation or continuity in the offices of the municipal authority, the social or familial connections between them, and the electoral protocols and ceremonies.⁵ The results of the 1815 elections will be compared with the earlier elections of 1809 and 1812, while the analysis will incorporate descriptive, analytical, comparative and statistical methods. The primary sources for the research are found within the archival fonds that represents the municipal archives of the time, that is the fonds “The Free and Royal City of Osijek (1809-1850)”, which holds the records on the 1815 and earlier elections,⁶ the register of citizens,⁷ as well as the census of 1814.⁸ Because the census was conducted just one year earlier, it can be regarded as very reliable source on, for example, the place of residents of the officials. To establish certain aspects of personal lives, such as the exact date of death of an individual, parochial (ecclesiastical) registers were consulted.⁹ The civil and ecclesiastical registers were also used as the main control tool for the candidates’ personal data in the records, mainly because of inconsistencies in the onomastic orthography or recorded candidate’s religion, occupation etc.

³ On the municipal authority in Bratislava (Pozsony) see: Árpád Tóth, “A polgárok józanabb része...”: Pozsony választott polgárai, 1790-1848 (Arhontológia és prozopográfia)”, *Fons* XI, no. 2 (2004), 235-276.

⁴ As a result, the first judge of the Free and Royal City of Osijek, Ivan (János, Ioannes) Baranyai and some other officials were removed from office, accused of corruption during the acquisition of a house in the Lower Town Osijek. There are several sources on this scandal, the records of the Osijek municipal archive, as well as entries in the Franciscan annals and the diary of Sebastijan Karl Redlstein, citizen of Osijek. HR-DAOS-6.1.1.5, no. 253/1811, 272/1811, 273/1811, 547/1811, 555/1811; *Osječki dnevnik Sebastijana Karla Redlsteina: 1804.-1832.*, ed. Stjepan Sršan (Osijek: Državni arhiv u Osijeku, 1997), 44-45, 50; *Osječki ljetopisi: 1686.-1945.*, ed. Stjepan Sršan (Osijek: Sveučilište Josipa Jurja Strossmayera u Osijeku; Povijesni arhiv u Osijeku, 1993), 131. Also see: Eldina Lovaš and Petra Plantosar, “Kontinuitet ili diskontinuitet? Gradska uprava slobodnog i kraljevskog grada Osijeka između 1809. i 1814.”, in *Lokalna vlast i samouprava u povijesti Slavonije, Srijema i Baranje*, eds. Ana Rajković Pejić and Domagoj Tomas (Slavonski Brod; Osijek: Hrvatski institut za povijest – Podružnica za povijest Slavonije, Srijema i Baranje; Filozofski fakultet Osijek, 2024), 114-120.

⁵ This research focuses exclusively on the city officials, that is, the members of the Osijek City Council and the Elected Community, because they were the decision-making authority, unlike high-ranking public servants who were also elected in the same manner.

⁶ The records can be found in the subseries “Upravni i gospodarski predmeti”. They include, for example, the instructions and report from the appointed royal commissioner, lists of candidates, biographies of candidates, salaries etc. HR-DAOS-6.1.1.5, reg. no. 1244/1815, 1537/1815.

⁷ Also kept in the subseries “Popisi i evidencije stanovništva”. HR-DAOS-6.1.6.5. The register is published in: Eldina Lovaš, *Građani Slobodnog i kraljevskog grada Osijeka 1809. - 1850.* (Osijek: Državni arhiv u Osijeku, 2020).

⁸ The censuses are kept in the fonds “Poglavarstvo slobodnog i kraljevskog grada Osijeka”, subseries “Popisi i evidencije stanovništva” [Population censuses and registers]. HR-DAOS-6.1.6.1.

⁹ That is the Roman Catholic and other registers for Osijek in: Zbirka Matičnih Knjiga [Collection of Register Books] in the State Archives in Osijek (HR-DAOS-500).

THE STRUCTURE OF MUNICIPAL AUTHORITY AND ELECTIONS IN FREE AND ROYAL CITIES: THE EXAMPLES OF OSIJEK, PÉCS, SOMBOR AND POŽEGA¹⁰

The structure of municipal authority of free and royal cities, together with its functions and the electoral procedures, were defined by their respective royal city charters. This means that certain aspects of the organisation of their municipal authorities were partly based on common legal traditions, some dating back from the Middle Ages, while other aspects varied between the cities, usually depending on local traditions, demographics etc. To illustrate this, we will compare the example of Osijek with the closest three free and royal cities in the neighbouring counties of Bács, Baranya and Požega, namely Sombor, Pécs and Požega.¹¹ The most apparent common trait was the fact that the local executive and juridical authority¹² was concentrated in the hands of a city council (*magistratus, senatus*), the internal council usually comprised of a city judge (*iudex civitatis*) and a certain number of senators (*senatores*).¹³ Sometimes other offices may appear as a part of the City Council. For example, the City Charter of Pécs introduced the office of a mayor (*consul*), who served as the deputy judge.¹⁴ In case of Osijek, Požega and Sombor, the deputy judge was the city captain (*capitaneus civitatis*), elected among the senators.¹⁵ The number of senators could vary. In Osijek, for example, there were six senator seats in the city council, the same as in Požega, another Slavonian free and royal city.¹⁶ In comparison, the number was higher in Pécs, where the council comprised of 10 senators, while the number of senator seats in the Sombor City Council was 12.¹⁷ Another collective body of the local city authority was the elected community (*electa communitatis*), the external council of electors, chaired by a popular tribune (*tribunus plebis*). Its members were the so-called elected citizens (*electi cives*),¹⁸ whose number was not uniform among the cities, and varied from 20 to 100.¹⁹ For example, the elected community of

¹⁰ We are very grateful to our colleague Arpad Tóth who provided us with useful advice in dealing with the municipal organisation of free and royal cities in Hungary.

¹¹ The citizens of Sombor were granted liberties of a free and royal city in 1749, the citizens of Požega in 1765 and the citizens of Pécs in 1777.

¹² Usually referred to as political, economic and juridical affairs. The separation of executive and juridical competences of local authorities occurred after the revolutionary events of 1848, when many of the old institutions and legal traditions were abolished. In the case of Osijek, the old organisational structure existed until 1850, when the "Temporary municipal regulation for the City of Osijek" came into force. See: Ivan Beuc, *Povijest institucija državne vlasti Kraljevine Hrvatske, Slavonije i Dalmacije: pravno-povijesne studije* (Zagreb: Pravni fakultet, Centar za stručno usavršavanje i suradnju s udruženim radom, 1985), 221, 294-295; Danijel Jelaš, "Funkcioniranje gradske uprave i statuti Osijeka 1809.-1954." *Glasnik arhiva Slavonije i Baranje* 10 (2009): 70-72.

¹³ Similar organisation was present in the Middle Ages, when city councils in Hungary and Slavonia consisted of a judge or a mayor (*iudex, maior villae, villicus*) and jurors (*iurati cives*), whose number usually varied from two to twelve. In the 17th century, the office of senators was introduced instead of jurors. See: Beuc, *Povijest institucija*, 131-132, 220.

¹⁴ László Sándor and György Timár, "Pécs város 1780. évi szabad királyi oklevele" in *Baranyai helytörténetírás. A Baranya Megyei Levéltár évkönyve 1980*, ed. László Szita (Pécs: Baranya Megyei Levéltár, 1981), 43. The office of mayor was not uncommon in Hungarian city councils until the mid-19th century. István H. Németh, "Pre-Modern State Urban Policy at a Turning Point in the Kingdom of Hungary: The Elections to the City Council" in *Urban Elections and Decision-Making in Early Modern Europe, 1500-1800*, ed. Rudolf Schlögl et al. (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2009), 279.

¹⁵ See: Eldina Lovas and Petra Plantosar, "Kontinuitet ili diskontinuitet? Gradska uprava slobodnog i kraljevskog grada Osijeka između 1809. i 1814." in *Lokalna vlast i samouprava u povijest Slavonije, Srijema i Baranje. Zbornik radova znanstvenog skupa*, eds. Ana Rajković Pejić and Domagoj Tomas (Slavonski Brod; Osijek: Hrvatski institut za povijest – Podružnica za povijest Slavonije, Srijema i Baranje; Filozofski fakultet Sveučilišta J. J. Strossmayera u Osijeku, 2024), 114-115.

¹⁶ Julije Kempf, Požega. *Zemljopisne bilješke iz okoline i prilozi za povijest slob. i kr. grada Požege i Požeške županije* (Požega: Štamparija "Hrvatske tiskare i knjižare", 1910), 348. Beuc claims that the number of senators varied between 8 and 12, which was probably true in most cases. Beuc, *Povijest institucija*, 220.

¹⁷ Slaven Bačić, *Povelje slobodnih i kraljevskih gradova Novog Sada, Sombora i Subotice* (Subotica: Slaven Bačić, 1995), 135.

¹⁸ Bačić, *Povelje*, 63.

¹⁹ Beuc, *Povijest institucija*, 220.

Osijek had 40 members. In comparison, in Sombor the number was 60, whereas elected communities in Požega and Pécs consisted of 90 members.²⁰

The senators, as well as the majority of municipal officials and public servants, were elected for life,²¹ which means that local authorities could not depose, suspend or relieve them from office without prior consent of higher authorities, namely the Hungarian Royal Council of Governors and the Hungarian Royal Court Chamber.²² The exception were the offices of the City Judge, City Captain and Popular Tribune, who had a limited term of office. The frequency of elections, in Latin sources called “the renewals” (*restauraciones*), and electoral procedures were defined by the city charters too. It mainly depended on the length of the term of the city judge and other high municipal officials. Accordingly, the elections in Pécs and Sombor were held every two years, whereas in Osijek they were held every three years.²³ The election date also varied and was, most probably, related to local traditions.²⁴ In Pécs and Požega the elections were held on 1 November (All Saints’ Day), in Sombor on 24 April (St. George’s Day), while in Osijek on 31 December.²⁵ To hold local elections, an authorisation from the Hungarian Royal Court Chancery was required. The Chancery then appointed a royal commissioner, assigned to oversee the elections, convene the elected community and nominate candidates for vacant offices. If the royal commissioner was, for some reason, exempt from his duty, his responsibilities were then transferred to the city council.

Apart from the general rule that the elected officials and public servants had to be “capable and suitable”,²⁶ until the Edict of Religious Tolerance, issued by Joseph II in 1781, came into force, the charters could refer to candidates’ religion as a criterion.²⁷ For instance, only the Roman Catholics were eligible candidates for the Pécs City Council. The City Charter of Požega prohibited the settlement of non-Catholics in the city. Consequently, only the Roman Catholics could participate in the local elections. The City Charter of Sombor was less restrictive, as running for offices was allowed to members of the Roman Catholic and Eastern Orthodox Church together with the members of the Greek Catholic community.²⁸ In fact, there was an agreement between the Roman Catholic and Eastern Orthodox community before the 1749 Sombor City Charter was issued, ensuring that there cannot be a judge elected from the ranks of the same religious community two terms in a row. Similarly, an equal number

²⁰ See: Grubišić ed., *Diploma*, 88, Bačić, *Povelje*, 63, Kempf, *Požega*, 358, Andor Csizmadia, “Pécs városjoga a város felszabadulásakor” in *Tanulmányok Pécs város történetéből. Pécs város szabad királyi rangra emelésének 200. évfordulója alkalmából rendezett II. várostörténeti konferencia előadásai 1980. november 14. – Baranyai Krónikairás 6*, ed. László Sándor (Pécs: Baranya Megyei Levéltár, 1982), 34.

²¹ Beuc, *Povijest institucija*, 220.

²² For example, see: Grubišić ed., *Diploma*, 90. For the offices with permanent tenure, in addition to moving to another public office, the tenure can be terminated only in several cases: the death of an official, his resignation due to poor health or old age or his suspension as a result of misconduct in performing the duties of the office. István H. Németh, “Városi tisztújítások a királyi Magyarországon a XVI-XVII. században”, *Arrabona – Múzeumi közlemények* 45, no. 2 (2007): 64.

²³ Bačić, *Povelje*, 135, Sándor and Timár, *Pécs város*, 43, Grubišić ed., *Diploma*, 90. In the City Charter of Požega the terms for the main officials are not stated.

²⁴ In a number of cases, the local elections were held at the beginning or at the end of the year, usually on a major Catholic holiday. In Hungarian cities a common election date was the St. George’s Day (24 April), a tradition that dates back to the Middle Ages. H. Németh, “Városi tisztújítások”, 58-59. Also see: Danijel Jelaš, *Gradovi donjeg međurječja Drave, Save i Dunava u srednjem vijeku* (Slavonski Brod: Hrvatski institut za povijest, Podružnica za povijest Slavonije, Srijema i Baranje, 2020), 116.

²⁵ Bačić, *Povelje*, 135, Sándor and Timár, *Pécs város*, 43, Grubišić ed., *Diploma*, 90, Kempf, *Požega*, 351,

²⁶ Grubišić ed., *Diploma*, 90., Sándor and Timár, “Pécs város”, 43.

²⁷ Kempf, *Požega*, 351, 382.

²⁸ Sándor and Timár, *Pécs város*, 43, Bačić, *Povelje*, 135. In cities with a large Eastern Orthodox minority or a majority, such as Sombor, the members of these communities were granted citizenship, and thus the chance to participate in the local elections. This, of course, comes as no surprise, as they were mainly successful merchants who greatly contributed to the economic development of these cities. Eldina Lovas, “Eszék társadalma az 1814. évi népességösszeírásban”, dissertation (University of Pécs, 2021), 138; Bačić, *Povelje*, 42.

of seats in the Elected Community was reserved for the Roman Catholics and the Eastern Orthodox.²⁹ The Osijek City Charter did not incorporate any provisions regarding the religion and ethnicity of the candidates for the seats in the local city council or the elected community. The instructions of the Hungarian Royal Court Chancery for the 1812 and 1815 elections, in fact, explicitly provide that the candidates for the City Council can be elected regardless of their religion.³⁰ The results of the elections, however, show that in practice, one of the senators was Eastern Orthodox.³¹ This could also be the result of some kind of an agreement between the religious communities, but there are no written accounts in the archival records or any other source that could confirm this assumption. The situation was somewhat different when it comes to the elections for the Elected Community. The report of the royal commissioner Joseph Mailath on the constitutional elections for 1809 elections in Osijek states that, according to the explicit instructions by the Hungarian Royal Council of Governors, the assembly must consist of 30 members of the Roman Catholic community and 10 members of the Eastern Orthodox community.³² In Pécs, on the other hand, the criteria were based on the ethnicity of the citizens rather than religion. The most numerous ethnic groups in the city were the Hungarians, Germans and South Slavs (predominantly Croats), all of which had an equal number of seats in the local elected community and their own popular tribune, who represented the interests of each ethnic group.³³

Besides comparing the structure of the municipal authority in Osijek with the ones in its counterparts, it is useful to examine the situation in Osijek before 1809. After the merger of the Chamber Municipalities of Upper, Lower and Inner Town in 1786, a single city council was constituted, comprising a city judge and five senators. The provisions of the Hungarian Royal Council of Governors were aiming at reciprocal representation of the merged three districts that just recently functioned as independent boroughs with their respective interests. Therefore, the judge and one senator came from the Inner Town, two senators came from the Upper Town and two from the Lower Town. The external council consisted of 26 members, 10 of them from the Upper and Lower Town each and six from the least populated Inner Town.³⁴ So, after the citizens of Osijek were granted liberties in 1809, the number of seats in the local authority increased – one more senator seat and 14 seats more in the external council.

THE 1815 ELECTIONS IN OSIJEK: THE ANNOUNCEMENT AND PROTOCOL

On 13 January 1815, The Hungarian Royal Court Chancery issued a decree by which the elections for the municipal authority were officially announced.³⁵ The Chancery decreed that the elections were to be held by the end of 1815 and appointed the Antun (Antonius) Adamović of Čepin, the Vice Count of the Virovitica County, to be in charge of the electoral process as the Royal Commissioner. This document includes the instructions on the electoral procedures, with details regarding the criteria for candidates who ran for the vacant offices. The city authorities received a strict order to conduct the elections in the interest of the city and for the benefit of all, as well as that the vote should be carried out in an appropriate and amiable manner. In case of vacant senator seats and public servant posts, it was necessary to choose appropriate individuals “absq[ue] religionis discrimine”, that is, regardless of their religious affiliation, as mentioned earlier. Although the basic criteria for the candidates were regulated by state laws and were probably considered general knowledge, the Chancery emphasised their decree

²⁹ Bačić, *Povelje*, 63.

³⁰ DAOS-6.1.1.5, reg. no. 2344/1812, 1537/1815.

³¹ Cf. Eldina Lovaš and Danijel Jelaš, “Članovi uprave slobodnog i kraljevskog grada Osijeka 1809. godine”, *Arhivski vjesnik* 63, no 1. (2020): 196-200, <https://doi.org/10.36506/av.63.7>.

³² Stjepan Sršan, *Slobodni i kraljevski grad* (Osijek: Državni arhiv u Osijeku, 2009), 38.

³³ Csizmadia, 34, Dénes Sokcsevits, *A magyarországi horvátok rövid története / Kratka povijest Hrvata u Mađarskoj* (Budimpešta: Croatica, 2021), 92-93.

³⁴ Stjepan Sršan ed., *Zapisnici Općine Osijek. Prothocollum des Stadt-Raths zu Esseg 1786. – 1794.* (Osijek: Povijesni arhiv u Osijeku, 1996), 23, 25-26.

³⁵ The number of the decree was 4085. See the Commissioner's Report in: DAOS-6.1.1.5, reg. no. 1537/1815.

that the candidates had to be citizens of Osijek. Also, if the candidate was a newly sworn-in citizen, he had to pay the citizenship fee before running for an office.³⁶ After the elections, the Royal Commissioner had to write a report in two copies, one for the Hungarian Council of Governors and the other for the Hungarian Royal Court Chamber. The latter institution was supposed to receive a financial report too.³⁷

The protocol and the course of the elections can be reconstructed according to the mentioned report of the Royal Commissioner. The report contains information regarding the: a) high-ranking dignitaries, city officials and public servants that attended the elections; b) the protocol of the electoral ceremony; c) the order of elections of candidates by bodies and offices.³⁸ As concluded by István H. Németh, a Hungarian author who managed to gather substantial material regarding the municipal election, these ceremonies “can be interpreted as self-presentation of the city council that reflects not only the ‘democratic’ attributes of a city, but also the power concentrated in symbols of elected bodies and individuals”.³⁹ Furthermore, the significance of the ceremony is reflected by the number and rank of distinguished guests and representatives of the higher and local authorities who attend the elections. As mentioned earlier, the elections held in Osijek on 11 September 1815, were presided over by Antun Adamović of Čepin, the Court Counsellor and the Vice Count of the Virovitica County, together with two representatives of the Royal Committee in the city, Josip (Iosephus) Pereny and Josip (Iosephus) Jung, the accountant of the Hungarian Royal Court Chamber. Listed below them in the report are the members of the City Council, led by Aleksandar (Alexander) Csavrak, the acting City Judge, Pavao (Paulus) Fözmayer, the acting City Captain and three senators, Josip (Iosephus) Kermopotich, Antun (Antonius) Ioannovich and Martin (Martinus) Moller. Also, members of the Elected Community were listed, with Franjo (Franciscus) Brunczlik as the acting Popular Tribune. The list of the elected citizens was followed by the list of the representatives of the county and military authorities.

The Electoral and Inaugural Ceremony

The report describes the course of the electoral and inaugural ceremony. It can roughly be divided in three main stages: the solely ceremonial protocol before the electoral procedure, the electoral procedures before and during the vote, and the inaugural ceremony. The first stage begun at 8 o'clock in the morning when the members of the City Council and the Elected Community met in the City Hall in the Inner Town. Together, they went to the Upper Town, to meet the Royal Commissioner with the rest of the royal delegation and invite them officially to the elections. After the invitation, they all returned to the City Hall, and from there, escorted by the armed city guards, they continued to the Inner Town St. Michael's parish church to attend the mass and, traditionally, call upon the Holy Ghost by singing *Veni Sancte Spiritus*. After the service, the city guards fired ceremonial shots in honour of the gathering. Then, the members of royal delegation and municipal authority returned once again to the City Hall, where the City Vice Notary Toma (Thomas) Stycs greeted them with a short speech in German.⁴⁰

Before the vote, as the second stage commenced, the Elected Community, that is the electoral body, was explicitly instructed that active members of the municipal authority must not be closely related to one another. If an individual was in the first line of kinship with someone in the authority, they could not run for the seats in the Elected Community. When it comes to a seat in the City Council, the restriction was applied for individuals in the second line of kinship as well. In both cases, relatives by marriage

³⁶ These criteria, however, were not strictly followed, as there were examples of city officials, some of whom became citizens on the election day, others immediately or even a few years after the elections. (See: Table 1).

³⁷ DAOS-6.1.1.5, reg. no. 2206/1815.

³⁸ In general, the order of elections depended on whether all citizens voted or there was an electoral body representing the citizens. In cases where all citizens participated in the elections, the members of the city council were elected first, followed by the members of the external council and other public officials and servants. In cities where the electoral body (elected community) represented the citizens, e. g. Osijek, the members of the elected community were elected before other officials and public servants. H. Németh, “Városi tisztújítások”, 62-63.

³⁹ H. Németh, “Városi tisztújítások”, 59.

⁴⁰ The ceremony was most probably conducted in German. The records are, on the other hand, in Latin.

were not eligible candidates.⁴¹ After reciting the rest of the rules and regulations for the elections, the protocol continued by reading the mentioned Chancery decree and reminding the gathered officials that the Royal Commissioner was in charge of the electoral process. The eligibility of all candidates, three for each vacant office, was reviewed once more, probably to avoid any irregularities that could compromise the elections. The Judge, Captain and Popular Tribune were required to submit written resignations before the vote. Accordingly, Aleksandar Csavrak, as the acting City Judge, submitted his resignation and handed over the insignia of his office, the city seal and the key to the city archive, followed by Franjo Fözmayer, the acting City Captain and Franjo Brunlich, the Popular Tribune. Finally, all other officials and public servants who wanted to offer their resignation did so.⁴²

After all resignations were submitted, it was necessary for the electoral body to have all 40 members. Since the 1812 elections, ten members of the Elected Community had died, resigned or had been promoted to another office,⁴³ therefore the duty of the remaining 30 members was to choose ten new elected citizens. When the electoral body was finally complete, the vote could continue. First, the members of Elected Community decided who will be the Popular Tribune in the next three-year term. Then they elected the members of the City Council: one senator, because his predecessor had resigned, the City Captain and the City Judge. It was also necessary to choose another two elected citizens, because during the electoral process two seats in the Elected Community vacated, as their holders were elected to another office. In the end, they elected new public servants and, thus, the electoral process was complete.⁴⁴

The inauguration of the newly constituted municipal authority started when the City Judge received the city seal and the key to the city archive as the official insignia of the authority from the Royal Commissioner. The Commissioner then addressed the members of the City Council in a short speech in which he highlighted the necessity of devotion and zeal in carrying out the duties and that they were entrusted with the care of “good harmony and unity of souls”. He emphasised the importance of Council’s obedience, most certainly referring to the execution of orders by the Court. Even though the electoral process ended, he repeated that relations by birth or marriage were an obstacle in performing public duties. Finally, he addressed the issue of responsible finances.⁴⁵

After the speech, the gathered assembly cheered “Vivat!”. The ceremony continued with a cortege from the City Hall to the parish church, accompanied by clanking of weapons and songs in honour of the ruler. The protocol ended with another mass and St. Ambrose’s “Te Deum” hymn.⁴⁶

CANDIDATES AND THE FINAL COMPOSITION OF MUNICIPAL BODIES

Besides the above-mentioned Commissioner’s report, there are two more documents that allow us to determine who were the candidates and what was the composition of municipal bodies in Osijek after the 1815 elections. The first is the document titled *Instrumentum candidationis individuorum pro restauratione*, dated 26 August 1815, containing the list of offices vacant to that date and the names of three candidates who intended to run for those offices.⁴⁷ A more detailed insight into the electoral

⁴¹ This restriction was taken rather seriously, as seen in the report for the 1812 elections. It seems that during those elections someone questioned the eligibility of Alexander Csavrak and Carolus Zengevall as candidates for the City Council because Csavrak had been married to Zengvalls daughter. However, since Csavrak's wife died more than three years prior to the elections and because they had no children, it was decided that nothing legally stood in the way of both of them being members of the City Council at the same time, as they were no longer relatives by marriage. In the end, Zengevall was elected Judge and Csavrak Captain in those elections.

⁴² See: The Commissioner's Report. DAOS-6.1.1.5, reg. no. 1537/1815.

⁴³ The report listed the names of the ten former members of the Assembly.

⁴⁴ The names and positions of newly elected public servants can be found in the electoral table. DAOS-6.1.1.5, reg. no. 1537/1815.

⁴⁵ DAOS-6.1.1.5, reg. no. 1537/1815.

⁴⁶ DAOS-6.1.1.5, reg. no. 1537/1815.

⁴⁷ DAOS-6.1.1.5, reg. no. 1537/1815.

process is provided in the document titled *Tabella restauratoria*, i.e. the electoral table, composed after the vote. Together with the information on vacant offices and the names of candidates, the latter document also contains the names of the former office holders, the reason their office was terminated (death, resignation or promotion), occupation and previous public service of candidates, as well as the number of votes each candidate received. The order of offices listed in the table reflects the order of the vote. The table represents a more reliable and comprehensive source than the list of candidates dated 26 August, therefore the following analysis will be primarily based on that document.⁴⁸

As previously mentioned, in the period from the elections held on 29 December 1812 to the 11 September 1815 elections, ten seats in the Elected Community were vacated.⁴⁹ In four cases the reason was the death of the elected citizen. Those were, listed in the same order as in the table, Sebastijan (Sebastianus) Thürner, Martin (Martinus) Lebanovich, Pavao (Paulus) David⁵⁰ and Timotej (Thimotheus) Vukovich. They were replaced by Ivan (Ioannes) Plank,⁵¹ the innkeeper, Matej (Mathias) Benak, the furrier, Jakov (Iacobus) Stagl, the tinsmith and Đuro (Georgius) Michaelevich, the merchant. Another six elected citizens resigned from the office. The reason for resignation for five of them, Ivan (Ioannes) Göczinger, Gabrijel (Gabriel) Dellimanits, Antun (Antonius) Stoger, Kazimir (Casimirus) Knezevich and Gašpar (Casparus) Reizner, is unknown, whereas Ivan (Ioannes) Csivich resigned due to poor health. They were replaced by Pavao (Paulus) Hartl, the supervisor,⁵² Ivan Nepomuk (Ioannes Nepomucenus) Czach, the merchant, Franjo (Franciscus) Svoboda, the innkeeper, Ilija (Elias) Mohl, the merchant, Josip (Iosephus) Stöger, the carrier, and, finally, Petar (Petrus) Vidakovich, the merchant.⁵³ The candidates for the office of Popular Tribune were Franjo (Franciscus) Brunzlich, formerly acting Popular Tribune, Vasilije (Basilius) Argirovich, the elected citizen and merchant, and Josip (Josephus Hangl), the elected citizen and blacksmith. The Elected Community opted for Franciscus Brunzlich to continue his office as their chair.

In the City Council elections, it was first necessary to elect the replacement for the Senator Ljudevit (Ludovicus) Vrabec, who resigned from his office earlier. The new senator was Toma (Thomas) Stycs, formerly the City Vice Notary. Regarding the office of the City Captain, the elected citizens voted for Aleksandar Csavrak, formerly the acting City Judge, while the newly elected City Judge was a nobleman Stjepan (Stephanus) Moslavacz, who used to be a tax collector for the Virovitica County and the Court Agent. Since Moslavacz used to be an elected citizen before the elections and one more elected citizen was elected to the City Vice Chamberlain office, it was required to choose two more elected citizens. Those were a nobleman Tobija (Tonisa) Deurer and Stjepan (Stephanus) Mohacsy.⁵⁴

SOCIODEMOGRAPHIC ANALYSIS OF THE CITY COUNCIL AND ELECTED COMMUNITY MEMBERS

Because the available sources on the 1815 electoral process such as lists of candidates and city officials contain certain personal information,⁵⁵ they allow further research on the sociodemographic characteristics of the individuals who participated in the Osijek municipal authority after the 1815

⁴⁸ List of all candidates in: Table 1.

⁴⁹ The number of vacant offices in the Elected Community before 1812 elections was five. The reasons for resigning from the office both in 1812 and 1815 were mostly the same: death, resignation, promotion, while in 1812 moving to another city was stated among the reasons. DAOS-6.1.1.5, reg. no. 149/1813, 1537/1815.

⁵⁰ Died on 8 October 1814. HR-DAOS-500, Zbirka matičnih knjiga Tvrdá rkt MKU (1796-1831), book no. 806.

⁵¹ In the Register of Citizens, he is recorded as an innkeeper. Lovaš, *Građani*, 86.

⁵² In the Register of Citizens, he is recorded as an innkeeper Lovaš, *Građani*, 64.

⁵³ DAOS-6.1.1.5, reg. no. 1537/1815.

⁵⁴ DAOS-6.1.1.5, reg. no. 1537/1815.

⁵⁵ One of the main sources for the sociodemographic analysis is the table on the status and salaries of Osijek city officials and employees (the so-called *Status personalis et salarialis Liberae Regiaeque Civitatis Essekensis*), because in addition to position of every individual in the municipal authority as of 11 September 1815, it also contains information on their religious affiliation, ethnic origin and occupation. DAOS-6.1.1.5, no. 1537/1815.

elections and comparison of these results with the ones for previous compositions of the City Council and the Elected Community, namely the ones after the elections in 1809 and 1812. This analysis allows the insight into a kind of individuals, with regards to their personal background, who were elected to the main municipal bodies. As mentioned in the Introduction, apart from the records regarding the elections, there are other sources created by the municipal authorities that greatly complement our knowledge of the citizens and residents of Osijek in general, most notably the Register of Citizens. It was probably kept since 1809, with entries containing information on the year of the citizenship oath, religion, occupation or status, ethnic origin⁵⁶ and marital status, and in case of nobles, social status. Since certain administrative and demographic (possibly even political) divisions between city districts were still present,⁵⁷ it is interesting to examine the place of residence of the municipal authority members. The main source for that is the 1814 census of the ignoble residents of Osijek.⁵⁸ A total of 48 individuals were included in the analysis (seven members of the City Council, 40 members of the Elected Community and the Popular Tribune).

One of the ways to see how the idea that the candidates for the highest offices had to be “suitable and able” was put to practice is to examine their professional background, especially if we talk about the most prominent city officials, i.e. the city judges, city captains and popular tribunes. From the constitution of the first municipal authority in Osijek in 1809 to the 1815 elections, three individuals held the office of the City Judge: the nobleman Ivan Baranyay (elected in 1809), nobleman Karlo Zengevall⁵⁹ (elected in 1812), who died shortly after the election in 1813, and Stjepan Moszlavacz (elected in 1815). In case of City Captain, there were several individuals appointed as acting Captains between 1809 and 1815, during crisis, but only Aleksandar Csavrak was elected to that office in regular elec-

⁵⁶ The ethnic origin at the beginning of the 19th century, was, at least in Osijek municipal authority records, mostly related to the place of nativity or family origin, rather than what is considered the ethnicity after the modern Central European national identities emerged as the result of later national cultural and political movements as well as the mid-century revolutionary events. For example, the citizens of Osijek would identify as Slavonians or natives of Osijek whether their native language was German, “Illyrian” (i. e. Croatian or Serbian) or Hungarian, or whether they were members of the Roman Catholic or Eastern Orthodox Church. However, those identifying as the natives of Osijek were predominantly Catholics, whereas the Eastern Orthodox citizens mostly identified as Slavonian. Also, citizens whose names had German origin, if they did not come from Austrian and German provinces, were more likely to identify as the natives of Osijek than Slavonian. Although it is not certain why the “domestic” citizens of Osijek identified both as Slavonian and Osijek natives and further research is required to clarify that. It is possible that the latter were either the ones whose family had lived in the city for a few generations or that they had been granted citizenship before 1809. The citizens who identified as Croats, Serbians, Austrians and Hungarians were clearly migrants or descendants of migrants, who originated from those provinces, which, as territories and political entities, mostly do not correspond to the present-day national states. Also see: Lovaš, *Građani*, 30-31.

⁵⁷ Each city district was a separate parish since the 18th century. Also, city land registers were kept for each district separately. With regards to the military administration, each city district was a separate conscription district, etc. Not to mention the demographic differences. For example, the majority of members of the Eastern Orthodox community were settled in the Lower Town, as they were, at first, only allowed residence in that district. Even when this restriction was abolished, members of the Eastern Orthodox community rarely settled in other parts of town, as the Orthodox church together with their school existed only in the Lower Town. In any case, such demographics made the Lower Town a vibrant community of craftsmen and merchants. The district with the German-speaking majority was the Inner City. It was then regarded the city centre that boasted developed urban infrastructure (paved streets illuminated by night, sewer system) and cultural institutions such as theatre. The Upper Town, with the Croatian majority, was not as urbanised, with rather high number of residents living of agriculture. Only in the second half of the 19th century it started to develop as the new city centre, with new streets, modern infrastructure and opulent houses of the new industrial elite. More on the demographics of Osijek city districts in: Darko Vitek, “Osijek u XVIII. stoljeću - od zasebnih gradskih jedinica do jedinstvenog grada”, dissertation (University of Zagreb, 2004), 50.; Eldina Lovaš, “Eszék társadalma”, 79, 81, 82-83.

⁵⁸ The censuses were conducted separately for each district, the census of the ignoble residents in particular, because their purpose was, among other things, to serve as the basis for conscription. Lovaš, “Eszék társadalma”, 114.

⁵⁹ He died on 31 December 1813. HR-DAOS-500. Zbirka matičnih knjiga Tvrđa rkt MKU (1796-1831), book no. 806.

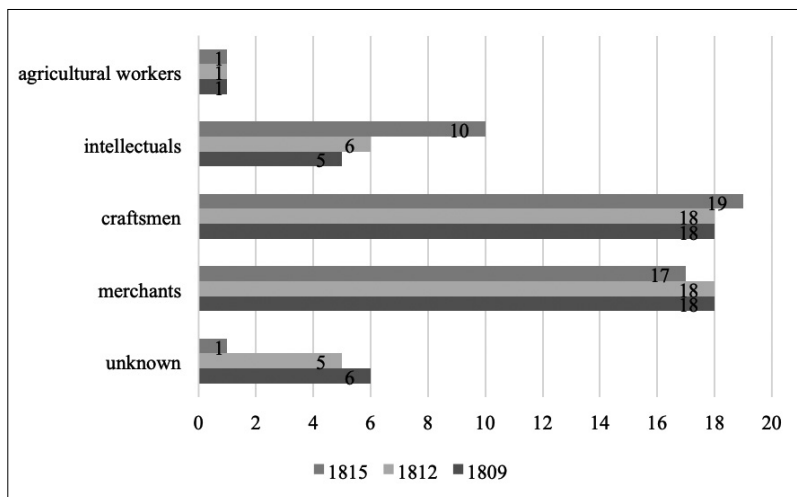


Figure 1. Members of Osijek municipal authority between 1809 and 1815 according to occupation.

tions.⁶⁰ In case of the office of the Popular Tribune, there were three individuals that performed the duty: Pavao Fözmayer (elected in 1809), Antun Lechner (elected in 1812) and Franjo Brunzlich (elected in 1815).⁶¹ Some of them had clerical experience as high-ranking public servants of the Virovitica County. Before becoming the City Judge in Osijek, Baranyai was the County Head Notary and Moslavacz the County Tax Collector. Csavrak was also one of the intellectuals, a history professor at the Royal Academy in Zagreb. The others were craftsmen, as respected, and maybe even well-off, members of the community. However, most of the senators as of 11 September 1815 were clerks (see: Table 2). So, even if we cannot conclude that higher education and prior experience in public administration were the only qualifying requirement for the highest offices in the municipal authority, there is a clear tendency of electing educated professionals,⁶² versed in laws and procedures, to perform duties in the municipal executive and juridical authority. This means, that the city was administered mainly by the members of the local intellectual elite, as they were the ones deemed by the citizens (or maybe by the higher authorities, whose influence was ensured by the involvement of the Royal Commissioner in the process of evaluating the eligibility of candidates)⁶³ as the most suitable and able for the office.

Generally speaking, according to their occupation, the municipal officials in Osijek after the 1815 elections (Figure 1) were predominantly craftsmen (39.58%) and merchants (35.42%). The officials with intellectual occupations took third place (20.83%), while only one person was engaged in agriculture (2.08%).⁶⁴ In comparison with 1809 and 1812, it is clear that the share of intellectual professions increased in 1815, while the number of craftsmen and merchants remained unchanged. This also speaks in favour of the assumption that the number of individuals with clerical professional background was not merely a coincidence in the municipal authority. Observing craftsmen and merchants according to their religion, it can be seen that the former come exclusively from the ranks of Catholics, while Orthodox Christians predominate among merchants.

⁶⁰ Lovaš and Jelaš, "Članovi", 197; DAOS-6.1.1.5, reg. no. 149/1813, 1537/1815.

⁶¹ In that period, there was also a change among the senators in the City Council. After the death of Senator Josip (Iosephus) Fatz on 7 June 1812. HR-DAOS-500. Zbirka matičnih knjiga Tvrdá rkt MKU (1796-1831), book no. 806. Pavao Fözmayer was elected in his place in 1812, and, as mentioned earlier, in 1815, due to resignation of Ljudevit Vrabcz, Thoma Szytcs was elected to the office. (See: Table 2).

⁶² Also see: Árpád Tóth, "Nemesség, polgárság és honorácior értelmiség határán: városi tisztségviselők a késő rendi társadalom korszakában", *Századok* 146, no. 5 (2015), 1093-1112; Árpád Tóth: "Hivatali szakszerűség és a rendi minták követése", *Tanulmányok Budapest múltjából* 25 (1996): 27-60.

⁶³ In any case, the 1809 City Charter clearly states that the City Head Notary and three individuals with legal knowledge had to be present in City Council sessions. (Grubišić, *Diploma*, 88). Therefore, it was not just a matter of practical necessity for the senators to be educated and experienced professionals in order for the city to function according to the laws of the land.

⁶⁴ DAOS-6.1.1.5, reg. no. 1537/1815.

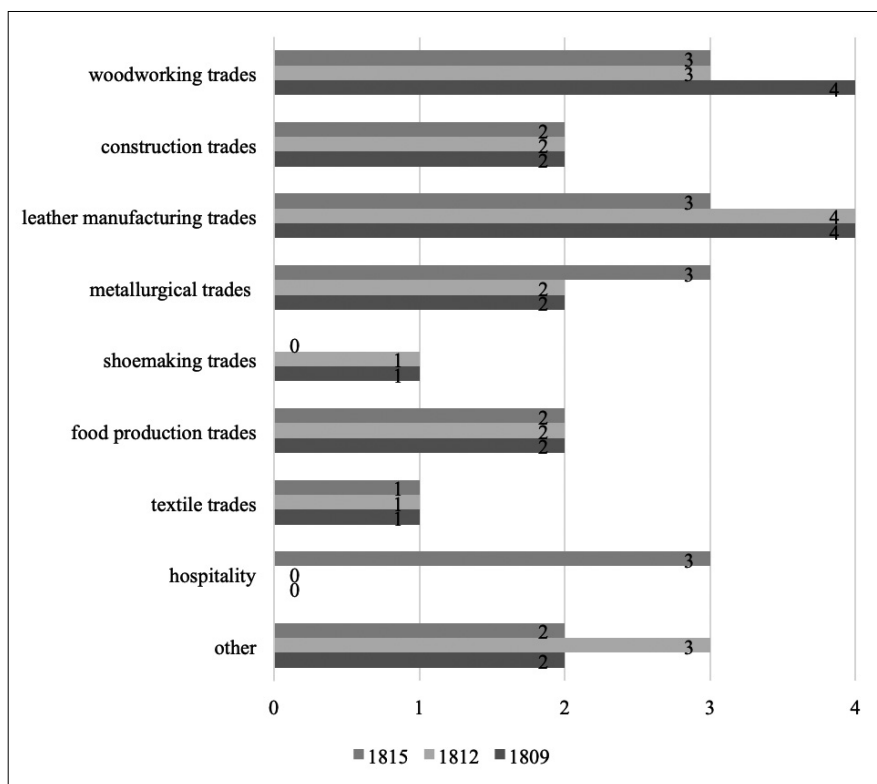


Figure 2. Craftsmen in Osijek municipal authority between 1809 and 1815 according to trade group.

After the 1815 elections, there was a total of 19 craftsmen in the municipal authority in 9 different groups of trades (Figure 2). Among them, the most numerous were representatives of the woodworking trades, leather manufacturing trades, metallurgical trades and hospitality services with an equal share of representatives, which amounted to 15.79%. They were followed by the craftsmen in construction, food production and other trades with a share of 10.53%.⁶⁵ If we compare these results with the 1809 and 1812 elections, the greatest novelty was the representation of innkeepers, while the number of craftsmen in leather production decreased.⁶⁶

When we discuss the members of the elite in municipal authorities, it is interesting to see the status of the members of the nobility among the citizens. Unlike in some other cities,⁶⁷ there were no seats in the City Council for the representatives of the nobility guaranteed by the City Charter or any other document of similar force. In 1809, only one member of the City Council came from the ranks of nobility, the City Judge Ivan Baranyai. Similarly, in 1812 it was Karlo Zengvall. However, in 1815, there were no members of the nobility in the Osijek City Council. The number of nobles in the Elected Community varied. In 1809 there were 6 (12.5%) representatives of the nobility in the electoral body. In 1812 the number rose to 7 (14.48%), while in 1815 it was reduced to 5 (10.41%).⁶⁸

With regards to religious affiliation of the officials, the analysis shows that during each election, the composition of the City Council and the Elected Community remained unchanged since the first municipal authority was constituted in 1809. This is partly due to the mentioned provision on the number of

⁶⁵ Number of representatives according to trade group: woodworking trades (2 coopers, 1 carpenter), construction trades (1 glazier, 1 bricklayer), leather manufacturing trades (3 curriers), metallurgical trades (1 blacksmith, 1 tinsmith, 1 goldsmith), food production trades (1 baker, 1 brewer), textile trades (1 rope maker), hospitality (3 innkeepers), other trades (1 tobacconist, 1 bookbinder).

⁶⁶ Lovaš and Jelaš, *Članovi*, 197.; DAOS-6.1.1.5, reg. no. 149/1813, 1537/1815.

⁶⁷ For example, the Subotica City Council signed an agreement in 1798, according to which 4 out of 12 senators had to be elected from the ranks of nobility. Dénes Oszetzky, *A hazai polgárság társadalmi problémái a rendiség felbomlásakor* (Budapest: Királyi Magyar Egyetemi Nyomda, 1935), 62.

⁶⁸ Lovaš and Jelaš, *Članovi*, 196-200, DAOS-6.1.1.5, reg. no. 149/1813.

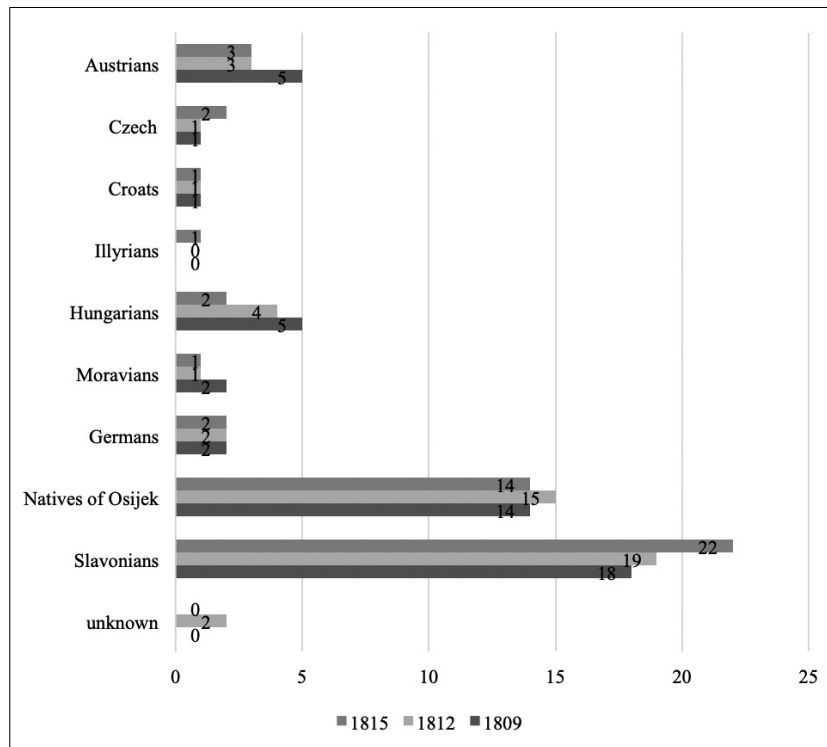


Figure 3. Members of the Osijek municipal authority between 1809 and 1815 according to origin.

Roman Catholics (30) and Eastern Orthodox (10) in the Elected Community. However, this provision did not refer to the election of members of the City Council. The informal practice to elect one senator who was the member of the Eastern Orthodox community was present in all three elections. In 1809, 1812 and 1815, the total number of the Catholics in the municipal authority was 37 (77.08%), while 11 members were Eastern Orthodox (22.92%). This corresponded to the general demographics of Osijek in which 75% of the population were Roman Catholics and 25% Eastern Orthodox. In the observed period, only Roman Catholics were elected to the offices of the City Judge, City Captain and Popular Tribune.⁶⁹

After the 1815 elections, the municipal authorities in Osijek predominantly consisted of the citizens of local origin (75%), recorded in the Register of Citizens as Slavonians (45.83%) and the natives of Osijek (29.17%). The remaining 35% reflected the multiethnicity of city and the fact that Osijek was among the free and royal cities that allowed immigrants with civil rights to participate in the local authority. Among them, the most numerous were citizens coming from German-speaking lands and provinces (total of 5 people), most of which were recorded as Austrians (6.25%), followed by Germans (4.17%), who most likely immigrated from the territory of the Holy Roman Empire. They were followed by individuals who identified as Hungarians (4.17%), Czech (4.17%) and Moravians (2.08%). One Croat and one Illyrian can still be found among the citizens, both of them being probably from Croatia. Comparing the records on 1815 elections with the data from 1809 and 1812, it is clear that the portion of local citizens in the municipal authority increased, while the portion of those who identified as Austrians and Hungarians gradually decreased.

According to their place of residence in Osijek city districts, expectedly the residents of all three city districts can be found among the municipal authority officials from 1809 to 1815. But, unlike the period from 1786 to 1809, the number of seats for each district was not regulated.⁷⁰ Compared with the previous two compositions of the City Council and the Elected Community, after the 1815 elections, the

⁶⁹ Lovaš and Jelaš, *Članovi*, 197, DAOS-6.1.1.5, reg. no. 149/1813, 1537/1815.

⁷⁰ Cf. Sršan ed., *Zapisnici*, 25-26.

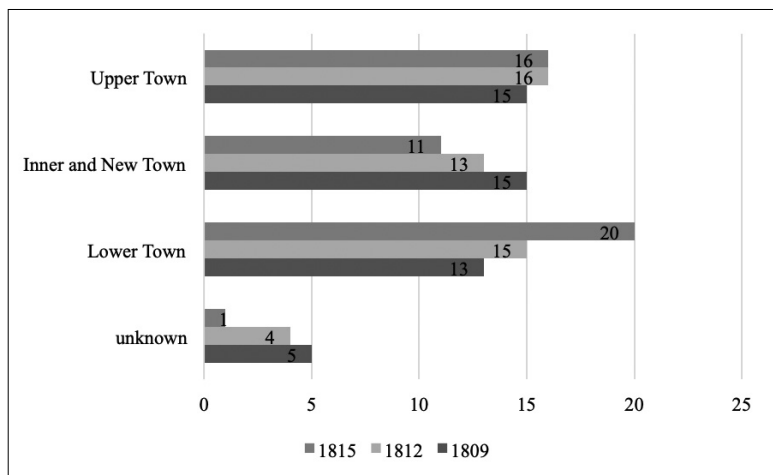


Figure 4. Members of the Osijek municipal authority between 1809 and 1815 according to place of residence.

portion of Lower Town residents increased significantly from 27.05 and 31.25% to 41.67%. The portion of Upper Town residents consequently decreased to 33.33% and residents of Inner and New Town to 22.92%. Earlier on, in 1809, their number was equal, but then the number of the residents of the latter district decreased.⁷¹ (See: Figure 4). It is interesting that in each elections the elected City Judge came from another district. Baranyai lived in the Upper Town, Zengevall in the Inner Town, and Moszlavacz, elected in 1815, was the resident of the Lower Town.⁷² Whether this was a part of some kind of agreement it is impossible to say, because there are no available sources in the city archives that could confirm that assumption and further research is required to determine whether this was merely a coincidence or a previously established order. If there was such an agreement, it only applied to the office of the City Judge, because the place of residence could not play any role in the election of the City Captain or the Popular Tribune.⁷³

CONCLUSION

The 1815 elections for the municipal authority in Osijek were well documented, which makes them a good example to study how local elections were conducted in free and royal cities at the beginning of the 19th century, namely the procedures and ceremonies, as well as certain information on the participants. The procedures and ceremonies were not remarkable per se because similar customs probably existed elsewhere. Still, such a comprehensive and detailed account of what went on at such an important date complements the overall knowledge of city's political and social life in the first half of the 19th century. Certain peculiarities, like seemingly excessive repetition of the warning about the illicitness of electing relatives to high-ranking offices. However, it does not seem to be connected to practices in the Osijek municipal authority.

Since only six years had passed from the first constitution of the municipal authority in Osijek, and with the majority of offices being for life, the most seats in the City Council and the Elected Community were held by the same individuals. The analysis of the composition of the municipal bodies in 1809, 1812 and 1815 mostly showed minor changes when it comes to sociodemographic characteristics as the result of election of new members, after a certain number of senators and elected citizens died, resigned or moved to another city. The only change that can be interpreted as the result of policy either of the higher authorities or the Elected Community was a noticeable increase of the portion of educated and

⁷¹ The data on the place of residence of the municipal authority members were taken from the database Eldina Lovaš created as a data analysis tool when she wrote her dissertation. The database is based on the 1814 census books. DAOS-6.1.6.1, books no. 441-443.

⁷² Lovaš and Jelaš, *Članovi*, 197; DAOS-6.1.1.5, reg. no. 149/1813, 1537/1815.

⁷³ DAOS-6.1.6.1, books no. 441-443.

experienced clerical professionals in 1815, compared to previous years, especially in the City Council. If that proves to be no coincidence, it might be worth further investigation whether that was related to earlier instabilities of the municipal authority or something else.

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APPENDICES

Table 1. The 1815 Elections in Osijek⁷⁴

The Office (<i>Officium</i>)	The Former Office Holder (<i>Nomen resignantis et respective deficiantis</i>)	Resigned, deceased or elected to another office / moved (<i>Resignavit, mortuus est, aut ammotus</i>)	Candidates for the Office - occupation or former office (<i>Nomina in candidaturae sumptorum</i>)	Year of the Citizenship Oath (<i>Lovaš, Građani</i>) * Received citizenship on 11 September 1815.	Number of Votes (<i>Accepit vota</i>)	The Newly Elected Office Holder (<i>Estque praescripta forma electus</i>)
Elected Citizen	Sebastianus Thurner	Deceased	Antonius Kreps (merchant) Ioannes Blank (innkeeper)	1809 (pp 70, 118) 1809 (pp 86, 120)	6 17	Ioannes Blank
Elected Citizen	Martinus Lebanovich	Deceased	Franciscus Riffer (master net maker) Mathias Benak (furrier) Georgius Illancsich (tailor) Georgius Gollubovich (tailor) Petrus Vidakovich (merchant)	1810 (pp 92, 142) 1809 (pp 52, 124) 1813 (pp 70, 148) 1811 (pp 62, 144) 1809 (pp 104, 118)	7 27 0 3 15	Mathias Benak
Elected Citizen	Ioannes Csivich	Resigned because of hospitalisation	Mathias Hegedusovich (-) Antonius Roser (furrier) Paulus Hartl (supervisor)	1811 (pp 66, 144) 1810 (pp 92, 144) 1809 (pp 64, 124)	7 8 16	Petrus Vidakovich
Elected Citizen	Ioannes Göczinger	Resigned	Adamus Raith (brewer) Leopoldus Vocaun (saddler) Ioannes Nep. Czach (merchant) Ioannes Valter (bricklayer) Mathias Csordasich (buttoner)	1809 (pp 94, 124) 1809 (pp 106, 124) 1815 (pp 58, 152) 1809 (pp 104, 114) 1809 (pp 56, 116)	12 2 28 1 1	Paulus Hartl

⁷⁴ The data from: DAOS-6.1.1.5, reg. no. 1537/1815; Lovaš, *Građani*, passim.

The Office (<i>Officium</i>)	The Former Office Holder (<i>Nomen resignantis et respective deficientis</i>)	Resigned, deceased or elected to another office / moved (<i>Resignavit, mortuus est, aut ammotus</i>)	Candidates for the Office - occupation or former office (<i>Nomina in candidaturem sumptomum</i>)	Year of the Citizenship Oath (<i>Lovaš, Gradani</i>) * Received citizenship on 11 September 1815.	Number of Votes (<i>Aceptit vota</i>)	The Newly Elected Office Holder (<i>Estque praescripta forma electus</i>)
Elected Citizen	Paulus Davich	Deceased	Iacobus Stagl (tinsmith)	1809 (pp 94, 116)	24	Iacobus Stagl
Elected Citizen	Antoniuss Stoger	Resigned	Franciscus Broxan (butcher)	1809 (pp 86, 116)	2	Iacobus Stagl
Elected Citizen	Antoniuss Stoger	Resigned	Paulus Vagner (carpenter)	1810 (pp 106, 134)	4	
Elected Citizen	Antoniuss Stoger	Resigned	Franciscus Svoboda (innkeeper)	1809 (pp 96, 126)	27	
Elected Citizen	Antoniuss Stoger	Resigned	Martinus Eisenbarth (merchant)	1809 (pp 60, 116)	3	Franciscus Svoboda
Elected Citizen	Antoniuss Stoger	Resigned	Iosephus Ziegler (surgeon)	1812 (pp 58, 146)	0	
Elected Citizen	Timotheus Vukovich	Deceased	Georgius Michaelievich, noble (merchant)	1809 (pp 78, 118)	17	
Elected Citizen	Timotheus Vukovich	Deceased	Georgius Xivanovich (merchant)	1809 (pp 108, 120)	5	Georgius Michaelievich
Elected Citizen	Timotheus Vukovich	Deceased	Ioannes Ioannovich (merchant)	1809 (pp 69, 128)	8	
Elected Citizen	Casimirus Knexevich	Resigned	Elias Mohl (merchant)	1809 (pp 78, 120)	24	Elias Mohl
Elected Citizen	Casimirus Knexevich	Resigned	Stephanus Mohaczy (merchant)	1810 (pp 80, 130)	6	
Elected Citizen	Casimirus Knexevich	Resigned	Paulus Mavratsich (bootmaker)	1810 (p 80)	0	
Elected Citizen	Casimirus Knexevich	Resigned	Iosephus Stöger (currier)	1809 (pp 94, 118)	29	
Elected Citizen	Casimirus Knexevich	Resigned	Iosephus Sautner (innkeeper)	1810 (pp 96, 134)	0	Iosephus Stöger
Elected Citizen	Casimirus Knexevich	Resigned	Iacobus Killinger (shoemaker)	1809 (pp 72, 122)	1	
Elected Citizen	Casimirus Knexevich	Resigned	Franciscus Brunczlich (former acting Popular Tribune)	1809 (pp 52, 116)	28	
Popular Tribune	Franciscus Brunczlich	Resigned as an acting Popular Tribune	Basilius Argirovich (Elected Citizen and merchant)	1809 (pp 50, 114)	5	Franciscus Brunczlich
Popular Tribune	Franciscus Brunczlich	Resigned as an acting Popular Tribune	Iosephus Hangl (Elected Citizen and blacksmith)	1809 (pp 64, 114)	9	

The Office (<i>Officium</i>)	The Former Office Holder (<i>Nomen resignantis et respective deficiētis</i>)	Resigned, deceased or elected to another office / moved (<i>Resignavit, mortuus est, aut ammotus</i>)	Candidates for the Office - occupation or former office (<i>Nomina in candidaturaem sumptorum</i>)	Year of the Citizenship Oath (<i>Lovas, Gradani</i>) * Received citizenship on 11 September 1815.	Number of Votes (<i>Acceptit vota</i>)	The Newly Elected Office Holder (<i>Estaque praescripta forma electus</i>)
Elected Citizen	Iospehus Mlinarich	Promoted to Vice Chamberlain	Tobias Deuerer, noble (retired Virovitica County Notary)	1815* (pp 58, 152)	31	Tobias Deuerer
			Georgius Gollubovich (tailor)	1811 (pp 62, 144)	4	
			Phillipus Penjich (courier)	1813 (pp 90, 148)	2	
			Antonius Ivanossich (retired Virovitica County Notary)	Never registered as a citizen of Osijek	6	
Senator	Ludovicus Vrabecz	Resigned	Thomas Stycs (Vice Notary)	1817 (p 98)	31	Ioannes Blank
			Antonius Lechner (Elected Citizen and brewer)	1809 (pp 76, 114)	0	
			Alexander Csavrak (former acting Judge)	1809 (pp 56, 114)	34	
Captain	Paulus Fezmayer	Resigned as an acting City Captain	Paulus Fezmayer (former acting Captain)	1809 (pp 60, 114)	8	Alexander Csavrak
			Ioseph Kermpoitch (Senator)	1809 (pp 70, 114)	0	
			Stephanus Moszlavacz (Virovitica County tax collector and Elected Citizen)	1816 (p 82)	28	
Judge	Alexander Csavrak	Resigned as an acting Judge	Alexander Csavrak (former acting City Judge)	1809 (pp 56, 114)	7	Stephanus Moszlavacz
			Stephanus Novakovich, noble (retired Court Agent and Elected Citizen)	1809 (pp 84, 116)	1	
			Adamus Raizner, noble (retired Virovitica County Honorary Vice-Judge of the Nobles)	1816 (pp 94, 154)	6	
Elected Citizen	P. (sic!) Stephanus Moszlavacz	Elected Judge in these elections	Stephanus Ganczer (innkeeper)	1809 (pp 62, 120)	14	Stephanus Mohaczy
			Stephanus Mohaczy (merchant)	1810 (pp 80, 130)	18	

Table 2. The Composition of Municipal Bodies after the 1815 Elections⁷⁵

Name (<i>Nomen individui</i>)	Office as of 11 Sep. 1815 (<i>Character</i>)	Religion (<i>Religio</i>)	Occupation – citizenship registers ⁷⁶ (occupation – 1815 Electoral table / Personnel and Salary Table) ⁷⁷ (<i>Opificium v[e]l vitae genus</i>)	Ethnicity (<i>Natio</i>)	Place of Residence	Year of the Citizenship Oath (Lovaš, Gračani)	Offices Held in the Municipal Authority from 29 Aug. 1809 to 11 Sep. 1815 (<i>Anni Servitii</i>)
Stephanus Moslavacz	City Judge	Roman Catholic	(clerk)	Slavonian	Lower Town	1816 (p 82)	Elected Citizen 29 Dec. 1812 – 11 Sep. 1815
Alexandar Csavrak	City Captain	Roman Catholic	(clerk)	Slavonian	Inner and New Town	1809 (pp 56, 114)	City Captain 29 Aug. 1809 – 24 Dec. 1811 City Judge (acting) 24 Dec. 1811 – 11 Apr. 1812 Deputy Senator 28. Nov. 1812 – ? City Captain 29. Dec. 1812 – 10 Jan. 1814 City Judge (acting) 11. Jan. 1814 – 11. Sep. 1815. Senator 29 Aug. 1809 – 24 Dec. 1811 City Captain (acting) 24 Dec 1811 – 11 Apr. 1812 City Judge (acting) 11 Apr. 1812 – 11 Jan. 1814 Senator 11 Jan. 1814 –
Iosephus Kermpotich	Senator	Roman Catholic	(clerk)	Slavonian	Lower Town	1809 (pp 70, 114)	Senator 29 Aug. 1809 –
Antonius Ioannovich	Senator	Eastern Orthodox	(clerk)	Slavonian	Lower Town	1809 (pp 68, 114)	Senator 29 Aug. 1809 – 11 Apr. 1812 City Captain (acting) 11 Apr. 1812 – 29 Dec. 1812 Senator 29 Dec. 1812. –
Martinus Moller	Senator	Roman Catholic	(clerk)	Moravian	Inner and New Town	1809 (pp 68, 114)	Popular Tribune 29 Aug. 1809 – 28 Oct. 1812 Senator 28 Oct. 1812 – 10 Jan. 1814 City Captain (acting) 10 Jan. 1814 – 11 Sep. 1915
Paulus Fözmayer	Senator	Roman Catholic	(net maker)	Slavonian	Inner and New Town	1817 (p 98)	Vice Notary 2 Aug. 1811 – 11 Sep. 1815
Thomas Szytcs	Senator	Roman Catholic ⁷⁸	(clerk)	Croat	Lower Town		

⁷⁵ The data from: HR-DAOS-6.1.1.5, reg. no. 1537/1809.; HR-DAOS-6.1.6.1, books no. 441-443.; Lovaš, Gračani, passim.⁷⁶ Lovaš, Gračani, passim.⁷⁷ HR-DAOS-6.1.1.5, reg. no. 1537/1809.⁷⁸ In the electoral report he is marked as Eastern Orthodox, which is probably a mistake. Both in the Register of Citizens and the 1814 Census he is marked as Roman Catholic. Lovaš, Gračani, 98; HR-DAOS-6.1.6.1, book no. 441, house no. 130.

Name (<i>Nomen individui</i>)	Office as of 11 Sep. 1815 (<i>Character</i>)	Religion (<i>Religio</i>)	Occupation – citizenship registers ⁷⁶ (occupation – 1815 Electoral table / Personnel and Salary Table) ⁷⁷ (<i>Opificium v[el] vitae genus</i>)	Ethnicity (<i>Natio</i>)	Place of Residence	Year of the Citizenship Oath (Lovaš, Grđani)	Offices Held in the Municipal Authority from 29 Aug. 1809 to 11 Sep. 1815 (<i>Anni Servitii</i>)
Franciscus Brunczlik	Popular Tribune	Roman Catholic	(tobacconist)	Czech	Upper Town	1809 (pp 52, 116)	Elected Citizen 29 Dec. 1812 – 10 Jan. 1814 Popular Tribune (acting) 10 Jan. 1814 – 11 Sep. 1815
Mathias Petrovich (noble)	Elected Citizen	Roman Catholic	accountant – public servant of the Virovitica County	Native of Osijek	Lower Town	1809 (pp 86, 142)	Elected Citizen 29 Aug. 1809 –
Thomas Hudovszky	Elected Citizen	Roman Catholic	land surveyor – public servant of the Virovitica County	Hungarian	Upper Town	1809 (pp 64, 116)	Elected Citizen 29 Aug. 1809 –
Stephanus Novakovich (noble)	Elected Citizen	Eastern Orthodox	Agent of the Court	Slavonian	Lower Town	1809 (pp 84, 116)	Elected Citizen 29 Aug. 1809 –
Joannes Iurkovich (noble)	Elected Citizen	Eastern Orthodox	merchant	Slavonian	Lower Town	1809 (pp 68, 114)	Elected Citizen 29 Aug. 1809 –
Antonius Lechner	Elected Citizen	Roman Catholic	brewer (brewer)	Native of Osijek	Upper Town	1809 (pp 76, 114)	Elected Citizen 29 Aug. 1809 – 29 Dec. 1812 Popular Tribune 29 Dec. 1812 – 10 Jan. 1814 Elected Citizen 10 Jan. 1814 –
Ignatius Valter ⁷⁹	Elected Citizen	Roman Catholic	iron merchant	Native of Osijek	unknown	1809 (pp 104, 116)	Elected Citizen 29 Aug. 1809 –
Sebastianus Redistein	Elected Citizen	Roman Catholic	currier	Native of Osijek	Upper Town	1809 (pp 92, 114)	Elected Citizen 29 Aug. 1809 –
Michal Hermann	Elected Citizen	Roman Catholic	baker	German	Upper Town	1809 (pp 64, 116)	Elected Citizen 29 Aug. 1809 –
Franciscus Katzthaller	Elected Citizen	Roman Catholic	merchant	Native of Osijek	Upper Town	1809 (pp 70, 128)	Elected Citizen 29 Aug. 1809 –
Sebastianus Vagner	Elected Citizen	Roman Catholic	goldsmith	Native of Osijek	Upper Town	1809 (pp 104, 128)	Elected Citizen 29 Aug. 1809 –
Isaias Ioczkovich	Elected Citizen	Eastern Orthodox	merchant	Slavonian	Upper Town	1809 (pp 68, 114)	Elected Citizen 29 Aug. 1809 –

⁷⁹ In the report, his is falsely named Carolus.

Name (<i>Nomen individui</i>)	Office as of 11 Sep. 1815 (<i>Character</i>)	Religion (<i>Religio</i>)	Occupation – citizenship registers ⁷⁶ (occupation – 1815 Electoral table / Personnel and Salary Table) ⁷⁷ (<i>Opificium v[el] vitae genus</i>)	Ethnicity (<i>Natio</i>)	Place of Residence	Year of the Citizenship Oath (Lovaš, Gradani)	Offices Held in the Municipal Authority from 29 Aug. 1809 to 11 Sep. 1815 (<i>Anni Servitii</i>)
Antonius Hartmann	Elected Citizen	Roman Catholic	bricklayer	Austrian	Upper Town	1809 (pp 66, 116)	Elected Citizen 29 Aug. 1809 –
Franciscus Lebanovich	Elected Citizen	Roman Catholic	retired supervisor	Native of Osijek	Upper Town	1811 (pp 76, 144)	- -
Ioannes Planck ⁸⁰	Elected Citizen	Roman Catholic	innkeeper (innkeeper)	German	Upper Town	1809 (pp 86, 120)	- -
Mathias Benak	Elected Citizen	Roman Catholic	furrier (furrier)	Illyrian	Lower Town	1809 (pp 52, 124)	- -
Paulus Hartl	Elected Citizen	Roman Catholic	innkeeper (supervisor)	Native of Osijek	Upper Town	1809 (pp 64, 124)	- -
Elias Lekich	Elected Citizen	Roman Catholic	merchant	Slavonian	Inner and New Town	1809 (pp 76, 114)	Elected Citizen 29 Aug. 1809 –
Franciscus Thüll	Elected Citizen	Roman Catholic	cooper	Native of Osijek	Inner and New Town	1809 (pp 102, 116)	Elected Citizen 29 Aug. 1809 –
Christophorus Klinger	Elected Citizen	Roman Catholic	bookbinder	Czech	Inner and New Town	1809 (pp 70, 116)	Elected Citizen 29 Aug. 1809 –
Franciscus Follert	Elected Citizen	Roman Catholic	glazier	Austrian	Inner and New Town	1809 (pp 62, 120)	Elected Citizen 29 Aug. 1809 –
Iosephus Hangl	Elected Citizen	Roman Catholic	blacksmith (blacksmith)	Slavonian	Inner and New Town	1809 (pp 64, 114)	Elected Citizen 29 Aug. 1809 –
Ioannes Nepomucenus Czach	Elected Citizen	Roman Catholic	merchant (merchant)	Slavonian	Inner and New Town	1815 (pp 58, 152)	- -
Iacobus Stagl	Elected Citizen	Roman Catholic	tinsmith (tinsmith)	Native of Osijek	Inner and New Town	1809 (pp 94, 116)	- -
Franciscus Svoboda	Elected Citizen	Roman Catholic	innkeeper (innkeeper)	Czech	Upper Town	1809 (pp 96, 126)	- -
Ioannes Lautenbach	Elected Citizen	Roman Catholic	farmer	Hungarian	Inner and New Town	1809 (pp 76, 116)	Elected Citizen 29 Aug. 1809 –

⁸⁰ In the report, his family name is false, instead of Plank it says Blank.

Name (<i>Nomen individu</i>)	Office as of 11 Sep. 1815 (<i>Character</i>)	Religion (<i>Religio</i>)	Occupation – citizenship registers ⁷⁶ (occupation – 1815 Electoral table / Personnel and Salary Table) ⁷⁷ (<i>Opificium v[el] vitae genus</i>)	Ethnicity (<i>Natio</i>)	Place of Residence	Year of the Citizenship Oath (Lovaš, Grđani)	Offices Held in the Municipal Authority from 29 Aug. 1809 to 11 Sep. 1815 (<i>Anni Servitii</i>)
Michael Axmann	Elected Citizen	Roman Catholic	carpenter, supervisor	Austrian	Lower Town	1809 (pp 50, 122)	Elected Citizen 29 Aug. 1809 –
Michael Fogetzer	Elected Citizen	Roman Catholic	cooper	Slavonian	Lower Town	1809 (pp 60, 114)	Elected Citizen 29 Aug. 1809 –
Lucas Iellenich	Elected Citizen	Roman Catholic	merchant	Slavonian	Lower Town	1809 (pp 68, 114)	Elected Citizen 29 Aug. 1809 –
Basilius Argirovich	Elected Citizen	Eastern Orthodox	merchant	Slavonian	Lower Town	1809 (pp 50, 114)	Elected Citizen 29 Aug. 1809 –
Georgius Ioannovich	Elected Citizen	Eastern Orthodox	merchant	Slavonian	Lower Town	1809 (pp 68, 116)	Elected Citizen 29 Aug. 1809 –
Antonius Taisevich	Elected Citizen	Eastern Orthodox	merchant	Native of Osijek	Lower Town	1809 (pp 102, 114)	Elected Citizen 29 Aug. 1809 –
Lazarus Poppovich	Elected Citizen	Eastern Orthodox	merchant	Slavonian	Lower Town	1809 (pp 86, 120)	Elected Citizen 29 Dec. 1812 –
Georgius Bozda	Elected Citizen	Eastern Orthodox	merchant	Slavonian	Lower Town	1809 (pp 52, 114)	Elected Citizen 29 Aug. 1809 –
Paulus Neskovich	Elected Citizen	Eastern Orthodox	merchant	Native of Osijek	Lower Town	1809 (pp 84, 116)	Elected Citizen 29 Aug. 1809 –
Georgius Mihaelevich (noble)	Elected Citizen	Eastern Orthodox	merchant (merchant)	Slavonian	Lower Town	1809 (pp 78, 118)	- -
Elias Mohl	Elected Citizen	Roman Catholic	merchant (merchant)	Slavonian	Lower Town	1810 (pp 80, 130)	- -
Iosephus Steger	Elected Citizen	Roman Catholic	master currier (currier)	Native of Osijek	Lower Town	1809 (pp 94, 118)	- -
Tobias Deuerer (noble)	Elected Citizen	Roman Catholic	-	Slavonian	Upper Town	1815 (pp 58, 152)	- -
Petrus Vidakovich	Elected Citizen	Roman Catholic	merchant	Slavonian	Upper Town	1810 (pp 80, 130)	- -
Stephanus Mohaczy	Elected Citizen	Roman Catholic	merchant (merchant)	Slavonian	Lower Town	1810 (pp 80, 130)	- -

SAŽETAK

Godine 1815. godine održani su drugi po redu izbori za popunjavanje mjesta u općinskoj vlasti slobodnog i kraljevskog grada Osijeka, nakon što je formalno ustrojena 1809. godine. Oni dolaze poslije nekoliko godina nestabilnosti i afera, čime je započeo i period normalizacije u funkcioniranju lokalnih vlasti. Prema tzv. Osloboditeljnoj povelji iz 1809. godine, svake su se tri godine birali novi gradski sudac, gradski kapetan iz redova senatora te pučki tribun iz redova elektora (izabranih građana) koji su činili tzv. izabranu općinu. Budući da su ostali dužnosnici imali doživotni mandat, izbor se za samo u slučaju upražnjenih mjesta zbog smrti, ostavke i selidbe dužnosnika ili ako je isti izabran na neku drugu funkciju. Što se sačuvanih izvora tiče, koji se čuvaju u sklopu fonda Poglavarstvo slobodnog i kraljevskog grada Osijeka, moguće je na temelju njih rekonstruirati s jedne s protokol i ceremoniju provođenja izbora te dakako popis svih pojedinaca uključenih u postupak, od uzvanika, članova kraljevske delegacije zadužene za provođenje postupka, do svih kandidata te konačnog sastava vlasti. Osim opisa postupka izbora, autori su analizirali sociodemografska obilježja poglavarstva i izabrane općine 1815. godine, uspoređujući dobivene rezultate s onima sastava gradske vlasti iz 1809. i 1812. godine kako bi se ogovorilo. Pritom su nastojali utvrditi u kojoj su mjeri promijenila karakteristike članova gradskih dužnosnika u promatranom razdoblju.