

# The Croatian county flags

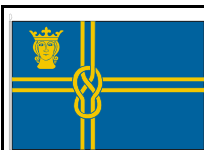
*Željko Heimer*

## Abstract

Croats started forming counties as soon as they had settled in their present homeland, roughly in the 7<sup>th</sup> century. As the counties were responsible for defence, their armed units carried flags into battles often ensigned with the county emblems. Toward the 18<sup>th</sup> century with the liberation of territories from Ottomans, counties were re-established, and granted coats of arms. Flags were made for representation. Some of them are preserved, mainly in the Croatian Historical Museum in Zagreb. The counties were established only on the territories of the crown-lands of Croatia and Slavonia. With the breakup of Austria-Hungary and formation of a new country of Southern Slavs, the concept of counties was abandoned and not re-established until after Croatia gained independence in 1991. The modern counties are entitled to have their coat of arms and their flags. Those counties that have historical coats of arms, in principle, (re)adopt these arms, whereas the other counties adopted newly designed ones. All the counties adopted new flags, according to the requirement of the centralised regulations. These flags consist of a two-coloured field in various geometric divisions, with the coat of arms. Beside the ordinary flag, some of the counties also use richly embroidered ceremonial flags that are produced in one example only.

## Historical overview of Croatian counties

Croats started forming counties based on territorial and clan principles as soon as they had settled in their present homeland, roughly in the 7<sup>th</sup> century. These were named *župa* (pl. *župe*) and *županija* (pl. *županije*) and their head official was named *župan*. Later the former shorter term became almost exclusively associated with basic divisions of the Catholic Church (parishes). Originally, counties were feudal associations of nobility in the local regions with very high level of self-government until the 18<sup>th</sup> century. However often it was only nominal. One of the main county responsibilities was organisation of defence, according to the banderial organisation widely spread during the entire Middle Ages. Therefore, most of the preserved old county flags are military banners of regiments maintained by counties. Due to the increase of the Ottoman power, as well as of other neighbouring countries, Croatia lost most of its early medieval territories, so the ancient county system was preserved only in the northwest part of the modern Croatian territory. With the liberation of Slavonia from the Ottomans, in the early 18<sup>th</sup> century, the counties were restored in this region as well. However, other parts of Croatia were excepted from the power of the Croatian Parliament –



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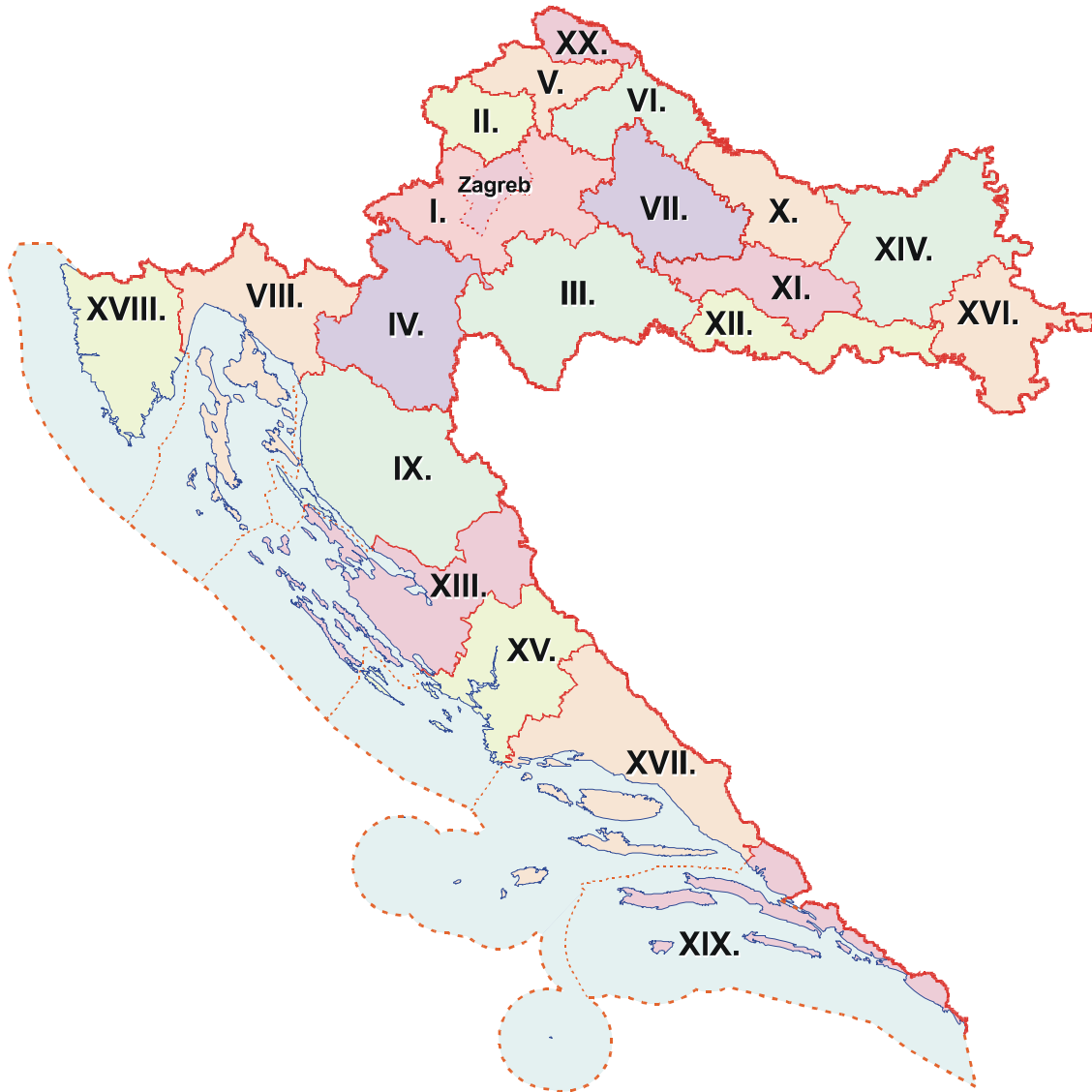
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Figure 1 Counties of the Kingdom of Croatia-Slavonia, around 1910  
(Based on Goldstein et al. 1995).

Dalmatia, Istria, Rijeka, Međimurje and Baranja. In these regions counties were never established before the end of the World War. With the greater centralisation and decline of the feudal system, the counties were gradually losing their self-government and were becoming administrative units more and more responsible to the central government in Vienna (Fig. 1). However, the oldest county flags are preserved from this period, the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century. They are not inherently military flags and may be considered as predecessors of the current county flags. With the inclusion of Croatia in the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, later Yugoslavia, as soon as the post-war conditions allowed, the traditional Croatian administrative system of counties was abandoned altogether. However the new systems were not effective and were often changed. In World War II the Axis powers formed the Independent State of Croatia on the territory of, roughly the present day Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina, with large territorial grants to Italy and Hungary. The Independent State introduced an entirely new and original administrative division with units named *velika župa*. Due to the conditions of war these were never fully established and no flags were reported. After the World War II the People's (later Socialist) Republic of Croatia became a federal part of the new Yugoslavia. Until 1962 several consecutive territorial subdivisions were experimented with, none rooted in the traditional Croatian county system. Finally when communities were established, somewhat larger than the traditional ones, they were more or less preserved in unchanged form until the end of Yugoslavia. The independent Republic of Croatia inherited them, but soon a new division was established reverting to the traditional county system. In the administrative reform in 1992 the communities established in 1962 were fragmented in several communities and cities as units of local self-government. Based on the traditional and functional principles these were united into reintroduced counties as units of the state administration and local

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*Figure 2 Counties of the Republic of Croatia, since 1997.*

self-government. Today there are 20 counties established in addition to the City of Zagreb, which is the capital city with a special status equal to a county in some matters (Fig. 2). Therefore, it is sometimes counted as the 21<sup>st</sup> county. In regions where counties had tradition, one can clearly identify predecessors to current counties, whereas in other regions the counties were established for the first time. After that period there were several minor corrections of the adopted system, notably in 1995 regarding the status of the capital Zagreb, and in 1997 regarding the changes caused with the abandonment of the never enforced *kotars*, mainly covering areas held by the rebelled Serbs.

## **Vexillological overview of the modern Croatian counties**

The modern counties are entitled to have their coat of arms and their flags. The counties that had traditional, historical coats of arms, adopted, in principle, these arms as their modern coat of arms in the pure heraldic shape consisting of the shield only and without other heraldic ornaments (like crowns, supporters, mottoes etc.). The other counties adopted newly designed coats of arms through public competitions. All counties adopted new flags. Namely, according to the requirements of the centralised regulations, all counties should have flags that consists of a field composed of two colours in some basic geometric division, with the coat of arms of the county set in the middle or offset towards hoist. There is only one example (Varaždin County) where these rules resulted in the current county flag matching the historical flag. One county – Istria, matches more or less the historical Austrian margraviate, and the historical coat of arms is adopted here for the county (though not the historical *Landesfarben* for flag, as they were tricolour). Six other counties have adopted their historical coats of arms, mainly originating from the 18<sup>th</sup> century, but have new two-coloured flags. Twelve counties have adopted entirely new designs for both coats of arms and flags. The regulations require that the county flags must be approved by the Ministry of Administration (today Ministry of Justice and Administration), and only upon the approval they can be used.<sup>1</sup> As far as it was possible to find out, it seems that only two of the counties still have not acquired the approval, that is the Sisak-Moslavina and Istria counties. As far as it was possible to find out, it seems that all but one county have acquired official approval. Only the Sisak-Moslavina County still widely uses her unapproved flag.<sup>2</sup>

Regarding the colour usage, the regulations allow explicitly only five heraldic colours for the flag fields: blue, red, green, yellow and white (therefore, black is not allowed even if it is otherwise a valid heraldic colour). All colours are used in their pure heraldic shades, and only with the blue there is a noticeable variation in shade over several flags (but this is general vexillological phenomenon). The frequency of the colour usage is given in Table 1. Of course, the colours used on the coats of arms appliquéd to these flags are not counted in this analysis. The total of 41 is due one flag being a tricolour actually (19 × two colours + 1 × three colours). The most frequently used colours are white and blue, and that colour combination is by far most popular, used by as much as seven counties, as seen in Table 2. There may be two explanations for the popularity of this colour combination. First, these are the historical *Landesfarben* of Slavonia, used by three (of five) Slavonian counties. The second reason is that blue and white can easily be connected with sea, so used by four (out of seven) counties on the coast (and two more of the seven use blue in combination with some other colour). The other combination that is relatively frequent is red-white, the *Landesfarben* of Croatia proper.

The ratio of the county flags is prescribed by the regulations and should be 1:2. In only one case the county flag is prescribed differently, the flag that is not rectangular – Vukovar-Srijem County, with four square tails on the fly extending from the 1:2 rectangle. Regarding the position of the coat of arms, only two counties decided to set the arms near the hoist, while all other retains them in the middle of the flag. Also, two counties set their coats of arms in the flag rotated so that the primarily hoisting method is vertical.

The basic design of the five flags is the classical horizontal bicolour. Four other flags are multi-striped horizontal bicolour: one three-striped, two five-striped and one

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*Table 1 Frequency in colour usage in the Croatian county flags.*

W	White	13
B	Blue	11
R	Red	7
Y	Yellow	6
V	Green	4
Total		41

*Table 2 Colour combinations used in the Croatian county flags.*

BW	7	
RW	3	
RY	2	
VY	2	
BR	1	
BV	1	
BY	1	
VW	1	
YW	1	
BRW	1	
Total		20

seven-striped. Five flags are with the second colour added as stripes along the top and bottom edges: three flags with stripes touching the edges (“Spanish type”), and two with the edge stripes offset from the edges (“Israeli type”). The remaining six flags have unique designs: a flag with two-coloured stripes along the top edge, a quartered flag, a flag with two diagonal stripes, a flag with a horizontal wavy division, a flag with two horizontal stripes near the centre and a flag with a vertical division off-set to hoist. However, seventeen of the twenty county flags has the horizontal main division pattern orientation (i.e. horizontal stripes in various widths). This is, no doubt, due to the general feeling of the Croatian population that the flag should have “horizontal orientation”, probably induced by the horizontality of the national flag, which is in turn a vexillological inheritance of the entire Central Europe.

The coats of arms on the county flags are, as already pointed out, historical coats of arms, in cases for which such are recorded. Six of those originate from the 18<sup>th</sup> century, one is from the 19<sup>th</sup> century and the remaining thirteen are modern designs of the 1990’s. Of these thirteen, five coats of arms include elements from easily identifiable various historical coats of arms, combined with some new charges, whereas seven coats of arms are entirely new and use original and unprecedented heraldic charges.

Some counties adopted and use ceremonial flags. These flags are produced in one example per county, and are richly embroidered. They are used in the most ceremonious occasions to represent the county and its high officials, and in other times are preserved in the county assembly halls or county mayor’s offices. Five of the counties report using ceremonial flags, though there may be more which are yet unknown – these flags are, as a rule, not mentioned in the county legislation and are rarely to be



*Figure 3 Flag of the Zagreb County, 1832.  
Photo used by permission courtesy Croatian Historical Museum, Zagreb.*

seen, so it is conceivable that some have not reached vexillological attention. The ceremonial flags are also used in similar mode by some cities and communities. The ceremonial flag are, as a rule, made as gonfalons hanging from a crossbar. The field of the gonfalon is of the same basic colours as the (normal) flag, though due to the rich materials used for gonfalons they do appear somewhat darker (and therefore in a way more dignified). The lower end, the fly of gonfalon, is made in various ornamented forms, such as three tails, or a triangle and so on. In the centre of the gonfalon is set the coat of arms, sometimes with additional ornaments (supporters, crowns, stars). Above it there is the arched name of the county (two or three lines) inscribed in gold, and below the coat of arms are, as a rule, set golden floral ornaments that are extended in the fly tails. The fly is regularly fringed in gold. The exception is the ceremonial flag of the Varaždin County that is a replica of the 1778 county flag. It is of the same design as the current flag, but the coat of arms is painted on a rectangular patch in the baroque manner of the time. On the reverse of the flag, the patch contains painting of the patron of the County, the Madonna with the Child.

## **Flags of the counties**

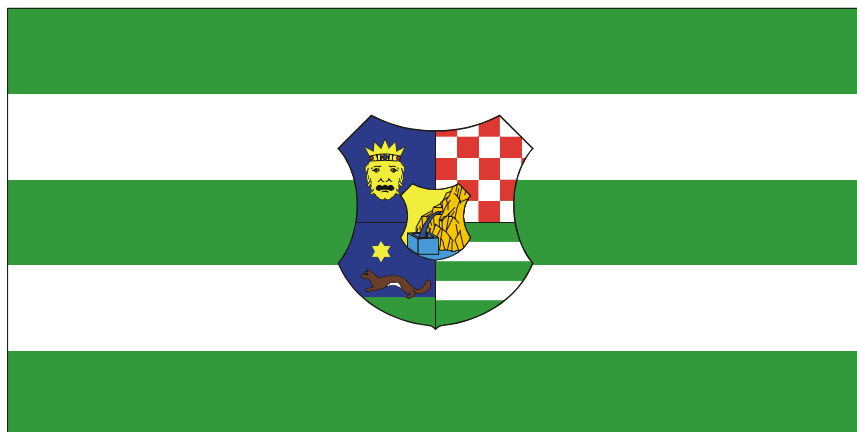
### **I. Zagreb County (Zagrebačka županija)**

The county of Zagreb is one of the few counties that have a history reaching the early Middle Ages. However, the modern, civil community was established as an administrative unit with the reformations in the Empire made by the Empress Maria Theresia. She (re)formed the county on 17 July 1759, and granted it a coat of arms and seal. The county at the time covered considerably larger territory than today. The county flag preserved in the Croatian Historical Museum<sup>3</sup> was made in 1832 (Fig. 3). It is probably a flag of a banderium (military unit maintained by the county). The flag is roughly square of red silk, vertically hoisted, with fringes on three edges. In the middle of the obverse is painted a crowned inescutcheon of the county arms surrounded by an inscription “ARMA COMITATUS ZAGRABIENSIS.” (Latin for the Coat of Arms of the County of Zagreb). On the reverse there is a painting showing St. George slaying the dragon, and below it the year “MDCCCXXXII.”

A second flag is preserved from end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century; a bicolour of yellow over blue with painted cartouche, as on the previously described flag, on obverse the inescutcheon with the spring and on the reverse St. George.<sup>4</sup>

The modern flag was adopted in 1994, in ratio 2:3,<sup>5</sup> but the decision was issued at the same time as the 1995 decision changing the ratio to prescribed 1:2 ratio,<sup>6</sup> so the 2:3 flag was never valid. In 1996 a new decision was made, confirming the previous ones.<sup>7</sup> The Ministry of Administration approved the flag in 1995.

The well in the inescutcheon is representing a source, Manduševac, that once was found in the main city square of Zagreb, and where there is a fountain now. The other elements of the arms are, of course, based on the arms of Croatia, Slavonia and Dalmatia. Barry vert and argent from the fourth quarter that, together with the third quarter, originates from the coat of arms of Slavonia, are taken as a basis for the flag (Figs. 4, 5). In the grants of arms issued by the Empress Maria Teresia on 17 July 1759



*Figure 4 Flag of the Zagreb County, 1995.  
Drawing by ŽH.*



*Figure 5 Flag of the Zagreb County, 1995.  
Photo by ŽH in Zaprešić, 1999.*



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*Figure 6 Flag of the Krapina-Zagorje County, 1993-1999.  
Drawing by ŽH.*



*Figure 7 Flag of the Krapina-Zagorje County, 1993-1999.  
Photo by ŽH in Krapina, 2002.*

the barry (at the time also: wavy) vert and argent, is explained as the rivers Sava and Kupa.<sup>8</sup>

## **II. Krapina-Zagorje County (Krapinsko-zagorska županija)**

The County is newly formed in 1993 from the parts historically belonging to the Zagreb and Varaždin counties.<sup>9</sup> Soon after the establishment the county adopted a coat of arms and a flag that had little chance of passing the criteria of the authorities.<sup>10</sup> The coat of arms consisted of the coat of arms of the city of Krapina, crowned with the coat of arms of the Republic of Croatia, under a heraldic mantle. The daisies (*ivančica* in Croatian) in the base of the mantle are canting for the Ivančica Hill dominating the County. The flag adopted is red with the coat of arms set in the middle above a blue ribbon inscribed with the name of the County (Fig. 6). Even though the Ministry of Administration rejected the design,<sup>11</sup> the flag was much used in official circumstances, mostly as a vertical ceremonial version, but also as a vertical or horizontal flag (Fig. 7). The flag was finally abandoned in late 1999.<sup>12</sup>

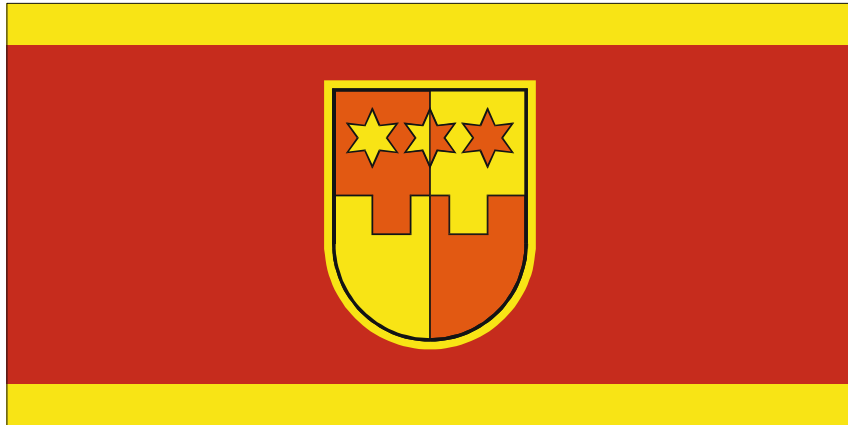
In 1998 the County organised a public competition for designing new symbols, resulting in adoption of the coat of arms and the flag in December 1999.<sup>13</sup> The coat of arms is vertically divided in red and golden, counterchanged with an embattled wall and three six-pointed stars in chief. The flag is red with thin yellow stripes along upper and lower edge, and with the golden bordered coat of arms in the middle (Fig. 8). The ceremonial flag is a vertically hoisted red gonfalon. The coat of arms is set above a linden and a vine branch and there is the name of the county in arch above (Fig. 9).

## **III. Sisak-Moslavina County (Sisačko-moslavačka županija)**

After demilitarization of the Military Border in 1883 most of the territory of the present Sisak-Moslavina County was made part of the Zagreb county. The new community formed in 1992/93 had to find entirely new symbols. These came into use around 1995, but it is not known whether they were officially adopted or not. It is highly probable that the Ministry of Administration would object to the designs for numerous reasons. However, both the coat of arms and the flag are in extensive use in the County. The 2001 Statute of the County only determines the existence of the symbols, details of which “are determined by a special decision in accordance with the law”.<sup>14</sup>

The coat of arms is divided per pale, green with a stork proper and light blue with down-pointing sword, all bordered by a golden outline and crowned with a mural crown consisting of seven towers. The crown is derived from a similar crown cresting the coat of arms of the county capital Sisak. The stork is native in the region, and there is a nature reserve famous for storks along Sava River in the County. The sword is a symbol of the determination of the people to defend themselves, but it is down-pointed as a sign of their readiness to peace. The flag is blue with thin red and white stripes along the upper edge, and with the coat of arms in the middle (Fig. 10). The vertical version of the flag is also often used, with the coat of arms properly rotated and with the red and white stripe now set along the shorter (top) edge (Fig. 11). Table flags in vertical version are also noted in use.

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*Figure 8 Flag of the Krapina-Zagorje County, 1999.  
Drawing by ŽH.*



*Figure 9 Ceremonial flag of the Krapina-Zagorje County, 1999.  
Drawing by ŽH.*



*Figure 10 Flag of the Sisak-Moslavina County, ca. 1995.  
Drawing by ŽH.*



*Figure 11 Flag of the Sisak-Moslavina County, vertical variant, ca. 1995.  
Drawing by ŽH.*

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*Figure 12 Flag of the Karlovac County, 1995.  
Drawing by ŽH.*



*Figure 13 Ceremonial flag of the Karlovac County, 1995.  
Drawing by ŽH.*



*Figure 14 Flag of the Karlovac County, 1995.  
Photo Denis Stošić, 2002, Turistička zajednica Grada Karlovca,  
<<http://www.karlovac-touristinfo.hr>>, 20.05.2003.*

#### **IV. Karlovac County (Karlovačka županija)**

Historically the territories of the county belonged to the Zagreb County and whatever county there was towards Rijeka and Adriatic coast and parts of the Military Border.<sup>15</sup> The County formed in 1992 soon adopted new symbols: the coat of arms gules, four barrulets argent, overall on a pike azure around a mullet or an arm embowed armed argent holding a scimitar of the same hilted and pommed or.<sup>16</sup> The golden bordered coat of arms is set in the middle of red over golden-yellow bicolour (Figs. 12, 14). The four barrulets represent the four county's rivers — Kupa, Korana, Mrežnica and Dobra.

The ceremonial flag is prescribed by the Decision: a red gonfalon bordered golden with gold fringe on the tails. The coat of arms is set in the middle and the name is inscribed in gold above. There are oak branches in the tails as ornament (Fig. 13).<sup>17</sup>

#### **V. Varaždin County (Varaždinska županija)**

The County of Varaždin inherited history since at least the 12<sup>th</sup> century. Since 1607 the county was granted as fief to the Erdödy family, who retained the hereditary right until mid 19<sup>th</sup> century. The modernisation of the administration, with no infringement of the Erdödy titular hereditary rights, was introduced from the mid 18<sup>th</sup> century. The coat of arms was granted to the county in 1763 by the Empress Maria Theresia and was equal to the Erdödy family arms. This is quartered: 1. Gules, an Eagle displayed and crowned Or; 2. and 3. Azure, two Mulletts Or between two Barulletts counterwavy Argent; 4. Gules, a Tower embattled issuant from a Massoned Wall Argent with a Door proper; overall in an inescutcheon Or, a Semi Buck rampant proper issuant from a Wheel Maroon issuant from a triple Mount Vert in base. The 1763 arms were also crowned and within a rich baroque ornamentation.

The first flag of the County was made already in 1778. The flag consists of a silk field 100×118 cm made of five red and white stripes. In the centre there is appliquéd a hand-painted rectangular patch. On the obverse the patch pictures the coat of arms and on the reverse is pictured the patron of the county, the Madonna with the Child. There is also a three-row golden inscription in the top stripe of the obverse (Figs. 15, 16). It

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*Figure 15 Flag of the Varaždin County, 1778. Obverse.  
Photo used by permission courtesy Varaždin City Museum, Varaždin.*



*Figure 16 Flag of the Varaždin County, 1778. Reverse.  
Photo used by permission courtesy Varaždin City Museum, Varaždin.*



*Figure 17 Flag of the Varaždin County, 1848. Obverse.  
Photo used by permission courtesy Varaždin City Museum, Varaždin.*



*Figure 18 Flag of the Varaždin County, 1848. Reverse.  
Photo used by permission courtesy Varaždin City Museum, Varaždin.*



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was hoisted for years in the County Assembly Hall.<sup>18</sup> In 1996 a replica of that flag was made to serve as a ceremonial flag, which is preserved in the County Mayor's office.<sup>19</sup>

In year 1797 a second county flag was made, a red-white-red somewhat smaller triband with coat of arms and Madonna entirely similar to the earlier flag. Below the painted patch on obverse is inscribed a Latin text explaining when and why the flag was made. On the reverse the text, today unreadable is above the patch. The flag was made as the colour of an irregular army of county nobility formed in general insurrection against Napoleon. Afterwards this flag was long used for festivities and ceremonies.<sup>20</sup>

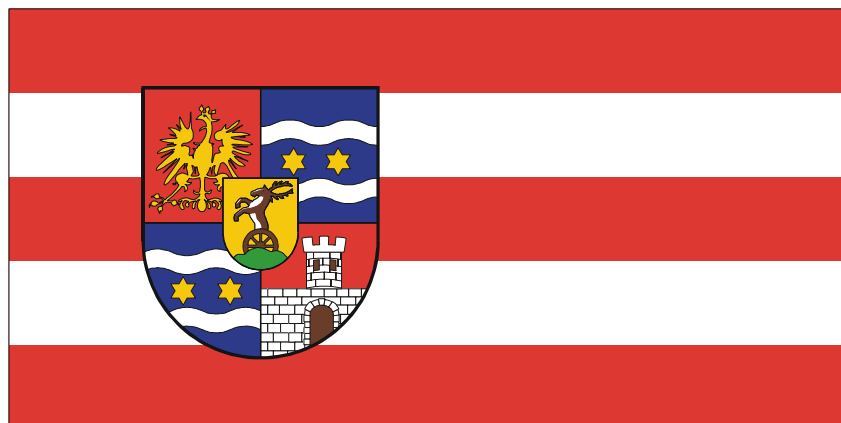
The third preserved flag was made in the revolutionary year 1848, breaking off with the traditions. It is a square red-white-blue tricolour, again with a painted patch attached to both sides. On the obverse the patch pictures a newly adopted coat of arms of the county: azure on three mounts standing three Slavic brothers, Čeh, Leh and Meh, shaking hands and in chief a mullet and a crescent. The reverse retained the Madonna as used on previous flags (Figs. 17, 18). The revolution was soon ended, and the old symbols were reintroduced.<sup>21</sup> The three flags are today preserved in the Museum of the City of Varaždin.

In 1995 the County opened a public competition for adoption of new symbols, but the adopted symbols were, as expected, only the modernised artistic interpretation of the historical ones (Figs. 19, 20). The modern design is a result of joint work of the competition second-prize winners Tomislav and Edita Goluban, Ivica Kruhoberec and Nenad Crnko. The Decision on adopting the flag was issued in 1995<sup>22</sup> and approved by the Ministry.<sup>23</sup> The new 2001 Statute of the County also determines the flag.<sup>24</sup>

## **VI. Koprivnica-Križevci County (Koprivničko-križevacka županija)**

The County of Križevci is one of the three counties in Croatia proper that can trace its history far back to at least the 14<sup>th</sup> century. After the Ottoman conquest, the county remained but a thin stripe along southeast borders of the Zagreb and Varaždin counties. Even after the liberation of Slavonia in the early 18<sup>th</sup> century large parts of the county's natural territories remained in the Military Border. After demilitarisation, in 1886, was formed a joint county of Bjelovar-Križevci. In the mean time the city of Koprivnica become more important, hence the new name of the county established after independence. The canting coat of arms (Križevci is based on the word for cross, the German and Hungarian variations of the name are even closer: Kreutz, Kőrös) are reported since 1579. A county flag from the early 18<sup>th</sup> century (between 1711-1740) is preserved in the Croatian Historical Museum. The flag is in form common for cavalry guidons of the time — a red silken swallow tailed flag with an oval emblem in the middle. The emblem on the obverse is on a red field rising from a crown on a triple mount a white double cross (i.e. Hungary Modern) with inscription "In hoc signo vinces". The reverse has a blue oval with a crowned black double headed eagle bearing a white inescutcheon with red initials CVI (Carol VI). Along the edge of the oval is inscribed "Deo Carolo VI patriae vexillum fidele inclitae nobilitatis comitatus Crisientis" (To divine Carol VI the flag of the fatherland by fidelity of famous nobility of the Križevci county) (Fig. 21).<sup>25</sup>

Between 1740 and 1780 Empress Maria Theresia granted an enhanced coat of arms to the County: parted per fess the chief per chevron embowed and base per pale:



*Figure 19 Flag of the Varaždin County, 1995.  
Drawing by ŽH.*

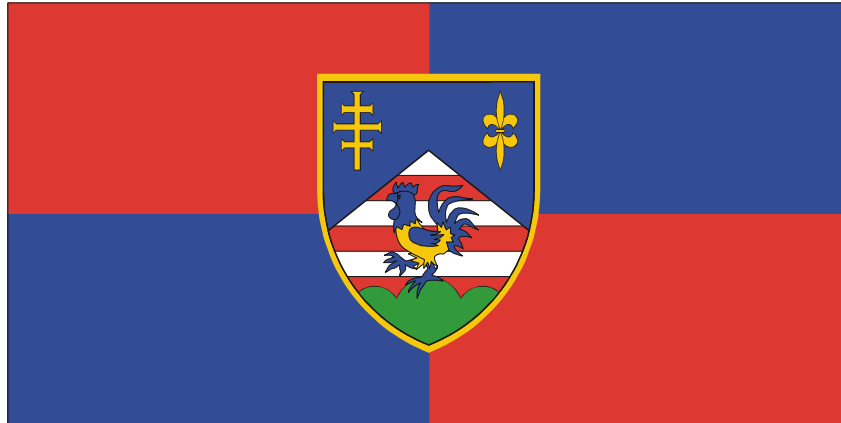


*Figure 20 Flag of the Varaždin County, 1995.  
Photo ŽH in Ludbreg, 2000.*

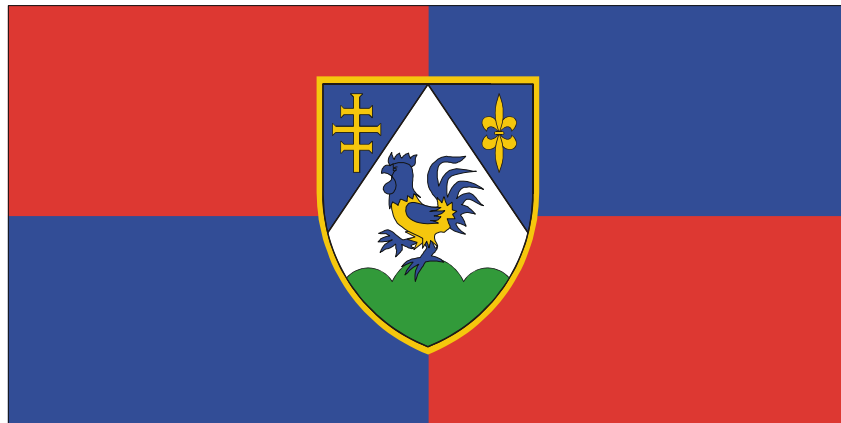
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*Figure 21 Flag of the Križevci County, around 1720.  
Photo used by permission courtesy Croatian Historical Museum, Zagreb.*



*Figure 22 Flag of the Koprivnica-Križevci County, 1996-1997.  
Drawing by ŽH.*



*Figure 23 Flag of the Koprivnica-Križevci County, 1997.  
Drawing by ŽH.*

1. Azure, a lion's head crowned or (Dalmatia); 2. Vert a marten proper (Slavonia); 3. chequy argent and gules (Croatia); 4. a bird proper rising from a marshy base; 5. Gules a lion rampant or standing on a crown of the same; inescutcheon gules a Latin cross pattee argent between initials MT or.<sup>26</sup> This arms appears as part of the joint arms on the early 20<sup>th</sup> century flag of the Bjelovar-Križevci County (see below).

Whether the newly formed County (in 1992) felt that the historical coat of arms was not appropriate for the county of the changed name or for some other reason, the County adopted new symbols in 1996.<sup>27</sup> The design adopted was made by Antonio Grgić, an architecture student from Koprivnica.<sup>28</sup> The coat of arms was per chevron azure a triple cross and a double fleur-de-lis both or and barry of six gules and argent a rooster hardy or head, wings, tail and legs azure on a triple mount vert. The flag was quartered red and blue with the coat of arms bordered golden in the middle (Fig. 22). The triple cross is from the coat of arms of Križevci and the double fleur-de-lis from the coat of arms of Koprivnica. The rooster has been symbolising the area for a long

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*Figure 24 Flag of the Koprivnica-Križevci County, 1997, on exhibition in Koprivnica City Museum. Photo ŽH in Koprivnica 2003.*

time providing the local nickname to the inhabitants of the County. It is also found in legends and the coat of arms of Đurđevac, the third city in the County. It is said that the traditions of Hungarian (and therefore also Croatian) heraldry requires the charges to be supported by a mount, and not “floating” in the shield freely, and this custom is followed here, too. The Ministry of Administration objected to the complexity of the design, and as a result the lower part of the coat of arms was simplified to pure argent background in 1997<sup>29</sup> (Figs. 23, 24).



*Figure 25 Flag of the Bjelovar County, after 1871.*

*Photo used by permission courtesy Croatian Historical Museum, Zagreb.*

## **VII. Bjelovar-Bilogora County (Bjelovarsko-bilogorska županija)**

In the ancient parts of the Križevci County towards the border with the Ottomans, in the 16<sup>th</sup> century was organised the Military Border and Bjelovar began developing as an important centre within it. With the liberation of Slavonia in the early 18<sup>th</sup> century the parts of the Military Border around Bjelovar divided civil Croatia proper and liberated Slavonia into discontinued territory as archaic remnants. The military government in these regions was disbanded only in 1871 and the Bjelovar County was formed. In 1872 Emperor and King Franz Joseph I. granted the arms to the county: per fess the chief per pale: 1. Azure, St. George slaying the dragon vert; 2. Gules, St. Andrew's

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*Figure 26 Flag of the Bjelovar-Križevci County, 1903.  
Photo from web site of Bjelovarsko-bilogorska županija, <<http://www.bbz.hr>>, 1997.  
Copied by permission courtesy Bjelovar City Museum, Bjelovar.*



*Figure 27 Flag of the Bjelovar-Bilogora County, 1995.  
Drawing by ŽH.*



*Figure 28* *Flags in Bjelovar. Left to right, the Bjelovar-Bilogora County, the Republic of Croatia, the City of Bjelovar.*  
*From the City of Bjelovar web site <<http://www.bjelovar.hr>>, 2002.*

cross bottony argent; 3. chequy gules and argent. The shield had a helmet with floral mantle dexter azure-argent and sinister gules-argent, and crowned, issuant from the crown Justitia holding an upright sword in her dexter and a pachment in her sinister.<sup>30</sup> A flag made between 1872 and 1897 is preserved in the Croatian Historical Museum. It is almost square tricolour of red over white over blue with triangular endings of the stripes in the fly and overall, perpendicularly to the hoist, is sewed a square patch painted with the coat of arms<sup>31</sup> (Fig. 25).

In 1886 the Križevci and Bjelovar counties merged.<sup>32</sup> The new coat of arms was granted in 1897 consisting of joined arms of the two previous counties.<sup>33</sup> A flag produced in 1903 is preserved in the Museum of the City of Bjelovar. The flag is red rectangular flag with golden embroidered floral ornament around the border and the joint coat of arms in the middle. Above the arms is an arched inscription of the name of the County in gold and below is inscribed year 1903<sup>34</sup> (Fig. 26).

In 1995 the County adopted its original 1872 arms in modernised design.<sup>35</sup> The flag adopted is a yellow over green bicolor with the coat of arms in the middle (Figs. 27, 28). The Ministry of Administration approved the symbols in 1996.<sup>36</sup> A new decision was adopted in 1996,<sup>37</sup> but this concerned only usage prescriptions, whereas the 1995 designs were retained.

## **VIII. The Coast and Gorski Kotar County (Primorsko-goranska županija)**

The westernmost region of the medieval Croatia, around the city of Rijeka and its hinterland, had a very dynamical history. The Hungarian government always had inclinations to govern Rijeka as an important port, while the Croatian government always strongly objected to it, and the rule over the city was constantly changing, depending on the political strength in any given moment. So, in 1776 Rijeka was returned to



Croatia and Severin County was formed.<sup>38</sup> Just few years afterwards Rijeka and the surrounding coastal parts of it were excluded from the county. Such a county had little logic in existence and already in 1786 it was disassembled and joined to Zagreb County.

The Severin County was granted coat of arms in 1778: divided per fess, the chief per pale: 1. Chequy gules and argent; 2. Azure an anchor argent with a palm leaf vert per bend and a sword argent hilted and pommed or per bend sinister; 3. Azure, on a sea of the same between two cliffs argent a ship proper with two sails tierced per pal gules, argent and vert and as the ensign a banner of the arms of Hungary, overall an inescutcheon or with the letters "I.I.L.M.T" (for Joseph II and Maria Theresia). The shield is crowned and supporters are on flat compartment a lion rampant or on dexter and an eagle sable on sinister. A flag of the county existed, as it was reported present in a place of honour on a ceremony held in 1862 to consecrate the flag of the Rijeka County. It is assumed that it was similar to the later flag of Rijeka County (Fig. 29).<sup>39</sup> The upper half of the arms is the reversed family coat of arms of count Josef Majláth von Székely, the County Mayor between 1777 and 1783.<sup>40</sup>

The county of Rijeka was established after the revolutionary year 1848, nominally in 1854 and functionally as late as 1861, when Franz Joseph I also granted the new coat of arms. Instead of the anchor, the palm leaf and the sword of Majláth, the second quarter was filled with the picture of the medieval fortified city of Grobnik in front of the snow-capped mountains and in chief a sabre or and a spiked mace argent in saltire. The ship in base is differently rendered with white sails and with Croatian tricolours as ensign and masthead pennants.<sup>41</sup> The flag was consecrated on 25 May 1862 on a three-day ceremony on the Grobnik field.<sup>42</sup> A memorial printing and detailed reports from the ceremony are preserved.<sup>43</sup> The ceremonial minute-book of the event contains a painting of the flag: light blue square with red and white fringe and the coat of arms set perpendicularly to the hoist within a double circle containing the name of the county (Fig. 30).<sup>44</sup>

In 1868 Rijeka was again removed from Croatian jurisdiction without consent of the Croatian parliament, but the hinterland county was retained. In 1886 the new subdivision of Croatia was made. The successor county was named Modruš-Rijeka with the administration seat in Ogulin.<sup>45</sup> The County reverted to the 1778 coat of arms.<sup>46</sup> A flag was not recorded.<sup>46a</sup>

The modern county adopted her historical coat of arms around 1995, the one used by the Rijeka County between 1786 and 1886, but liberated from all the unnecessary heraldic burden.<sup>47</sup> The flag is light blue with thin white stripes along horizontal edges (width of the white stripe is 1/16 of the flag hoist, as much it is the offset from the edge). In the middle of the flag is set the County coat of arms (Figs. 31, 32).<sup>48</sup>

## **IX. Lika-Senj County (Ličko-senjska županija)**

Only with the demilitarisation of the Military Border in 1883 the regions south of the Rijeka County and north of Austria-held Dalmatia were included in civil Croatia and for the first time after many centuries the county system was restored here. The regions were parts of the 14<sup>th</sup> century counties of Lika, Gacka and Krbava, but by the time these were only names from the past.<sup>49</sup> In 1886 the coat of arms was granted to the County of Lika-Krbava: per fess, the chief per pale: 1. Gules a goose argent crowned,

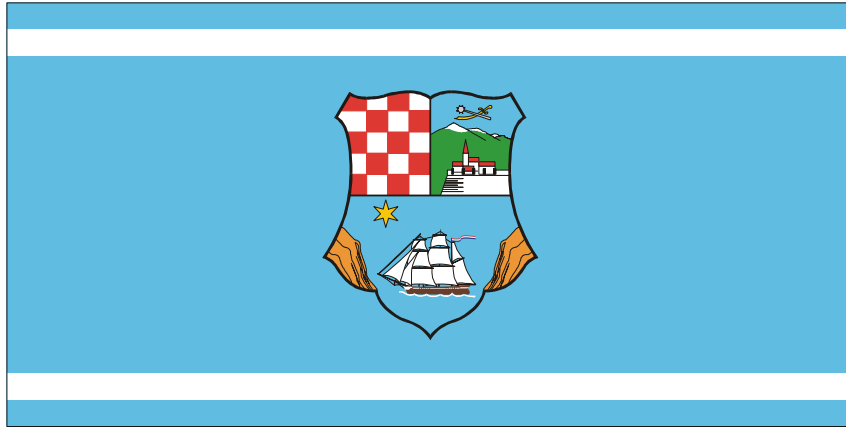


*Figure 29 Flag of the Severin County. 1778-1786.  
Reconstruction by ŽH.*



*Figure 30 Flag of the Rijeka County. Painting from the Ceremonial book  
of the consecration ceremony on Grobnik field, 25 May 1862. From Oštrić 2002.*

*The Croatian county flags*



*Figure 31 Flag of the Coast and Gorski Kotar County, 1995.  
Drawing by ŽH.*



*Figure 32 Flag of the Coast and Gorski Kotar County hoisted on  
the County Administration Seat in Rijeka. Photo from Munić et al. 1996.*



*Figure 33 Coat of Arms of the Lika-Krbava County, 1886.  
According to Hoppál, 2001.*

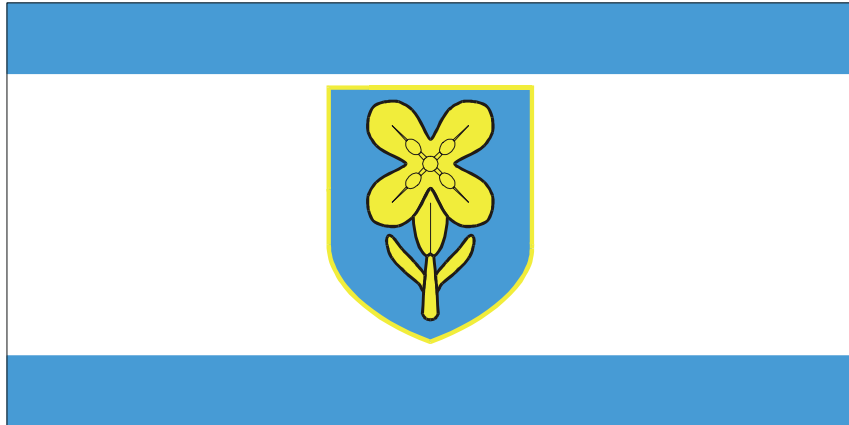
legged and wearing a necklace or; 2. argent an eagle displayed sable crowned, beaked and membered or and langued gules; 3. Chequy 6×4 gules and argent (Fig. 33). The first arms are those from the 12<sup>th</sup> century of the clan Gusić (canting for “guska” – goose), considered to be one of the twelve Croatian tribes that originally reached the new homeland in the 6<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>50</sup> No flag was reported for the county until the abandonment of the county system after the World War.

The modern County of Lika-Senj did not feel like adopting these historical coat of arms, and choose an entirely new one in 1995.<sup>51</sup> The coat of arms is blue with a golden degenia flower.<sup>52</sup> The flag is white with two blue stripes, one at each upper and lower edge, and with the coat of arms in the middle (Figs. 34, 35). The ceremonial flag is also described in the Decision as a dark blue gonfalon, 160x80 cm, with golden fringe, and tails and lower edge. In the middle is the coat of arms, and in the tails golden branches of olive, oak and vine, for which is said to be symbols of welfare and fertility, of power and wisdom, and of life and immortality, respectively. Until now it has not been confirmed yet if this prescribed ceremonial flag has been ever actually produced. Until March 2000 the design was not approved by the Ministry, but in 2001 and 2002 the flag was being used, so presumably the approval was obtained in the mean time.<sup>53</sup>

## **X. Virovitica-Podravina County (Virovitičko-podravska županija)**

In the 13<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> centuries the County of Virovitica encompassed the region around the capital city, but almost nothing was preserved from the period as the Ottomans soon conquered it. Only at the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> century the Croatian rule was regained in Slavonia and the county of Virovitica was re-established covering the whole northern Slavonia along Drava River. Despite the name, the capital was set in Osijek. With the changes in the political and administrative system that followed until the end of the

*The Croatian county flags*



*Figure 34 Flag of the Lika-Senj County, 1995.  
Drawing by ŽH.*



*Figure 35 Flag of the Lika-Senj County, 1995.  
Photo ŽH in Gospić, 2002.*



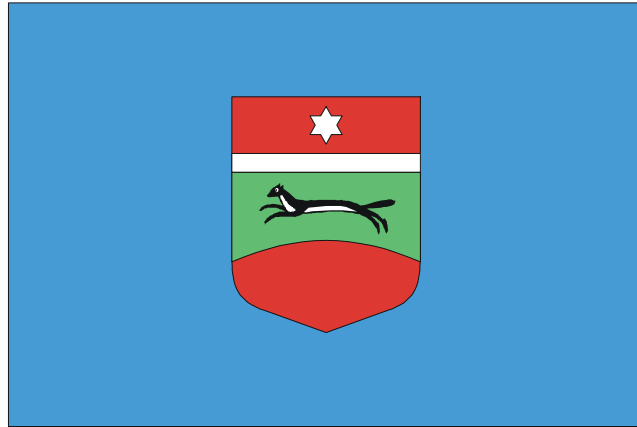
*Figure 36 Flag of the Virovitica County, 1790.  
Photo used by permission courtesy Croatian Historical Museum, Zagreb.*

World War, the county area was very slightly changed. Empress Maria Theresia granted the coat of arms on 16 May 1746.<sup>54</sup> The coat of arms is: Gules between two barrulets argent on vert a marten proper, in chief a mullet or and in base an anchor of the second in bend. The shield is topped with a crown and with supporters: dexter an eagle sable and sinister a lion rampant or.<sup>55</sup> The coat of arms is based on the medieval arms of the Slavonian Kingdom. The anchor is said to symbolize hope, and is a detail taken from the family arms of the first county mayor installed in 1745, Ljudevit Patačić de Zajezda.<sup>56</sup>

Two county flags from the late 18<sup>th</sup> century are preserved in the Croatian Historical Museum. One is from 1790, a swallow-tailed cavalry guidon of light-brown silk with heavy silver embroidery and fringes. On both sides there is the coat of arms encircled with inscription above "Pro Deo Rege et Lege" (For God, the ruler and law) and the year in Roman numerals below "MDCCLXXX" (Fig. 36). In 1785, the counties were disbanded by imperial edict for a short time, but re-established in 1790. This was probably the motive for the production of this flag.<sup>57</sup> The other flag is for vertical hoisting in ratio 1:3~. In the middle is the County coat of arms (sans supporters) with



*Figure 37 Flag of the Virovitica County, after 1790.  
Photo used by permission courtesy Croatian Historical Museum, Zagreb.*



*Figure 38 Flag of the Virovitica-Podravina County, design adopted in 1994, rejected by Ministry of Administration. Drawing by ŽH.*



*Figure 39 Flag of the Virovitica-Podravina County, 1996. Drawing by ŽH.*

the same golden inscriptions as on the previous flag (Fig. 37).

The modern County adopted new symbols already in the beginning of 1994. For some reason these do not match entirely the historical pattern.<sup>58</sup> The coat of arms adopted was: vert a marten sable bellied argent over a mount gules and in a chief of the same divided with a bar argent a mullet also argent. The flag was adopted light blue in ratio 2:3, with the coat of arms in the middle (Fig. 38).<sup>59</sup> No doubt, it was after the objections from the Ministry of Administration that the decision was changed in 1996. The current coat of arms is again based on the 1746 original, but not without any differences: gules between two bars argent a marten passant proper, in chief a mullet or and in base an anchor also or. The flag is now in the prescribed ratio 1:2, light-blue and white triband with yellow-bordered coat of arms in the middle (Fig. 39).<sup>60</sup>



## **XI. Požega-Slavonia County (Požeško-slavonska županija)**

The Požega County was being mentioned from the 12<sup>th</sup> to 15<sup>th</sup> century, when the Ottomans finally conquered it. After the liberation of Slavonia in 1699, the counties were re-established there in 1745. The coat of arms was granted to the County on 22 February 1748.<sup>61</sup> The coat of arms is per fess: 1. Azure two lions rampant regardant the dexter holding a saber argent hilted, pommed and crowned or and the sinister holding a staff crowned or around which is curled a flag gules; 2. Azure on a fess sable between two barrulets wavy argent on a bar vert a marten proper passant. The shield is crowned and set within a baroque ornamented frame without supporters. The coat of arms is based on the coat of arms of Slavonia and the family arms of the count Peter Keglević de Buzin, at the time the County Mayor.<sup>62</sup>

The county flag was made in 1797 for a volunteer unit formed by the county as part of the general insurrection against Napoleon. The flag is rectangular, made of bluish white silk, 102×84 cm, with painted ornaments of both sides. On obverse there is the coat of arms of the county within rich cartouche on pink background within a white ring inscribed “Vexillum comitatus de Posega anno 1745. incorporati”. The coat of arms is set in a landscape encircled with red curtain with chequy floor. On the curtains there are the coat of arms of Hungary, Bohemia and Dalmatia. On the reverse the oval medallion includes the painting of the Immaculate Mary standing on an orb and a crescent with an angel. It is inscribed “Patrona nostra anno 1797. insurgentibus assiste” (Figs. 40, 41). Since the dissolution of the county in 1924, the flag is preserved in Požega City Museum, and was renovated in 1994.<sup>63</sup>

The modern County readopted the old coat of arms in somewhat modernised rendering, in which the crown and ornaments around the shield were removed. The lower half of the shield is notably simplified. The coat of arms is set in the middle of a yellow flag with a green stripe along both upper and lower edge (Figs. 42, 43).<sup>64</sup>

## **XII. Slavonski Brod-Posavina County (Brodsko-posavska županija)**

The region between the Sava River and the mountains encircling Požega belonged in the medieval period to the Požega County. After the liberation of Slavonia in the late 17<sup>th</sup> century, this region was left out from civil Slavonia and was included in the Military Border. After the demilitarisation in 1886 it was finally attached to the Požega County. The modern County had no historical model to look to, so newly designed symbols were adopted in 1995. The coat of arms is Azure, a bar wavy argent, in chief five mullets or, three and two, and in base a marten passant of the same.<sup>65</sup> The flag is blue with two white stripes in falling diagonal and overall the coat of arms fimbriated white from the blue field (Fig. 44).

## **XIII. Zadar County (Zadarska županija)**

The region covering the present Zadar County was very prosperous in the Middle Ages and a number of counties are recorded from the 11<sup>th</sup> to 13<sup>th</sup> century. Along the strengthening of the centralised state, the counties were lost in this region and by the



*Figure 40 Flag of the Požega County, 1797. Obverse.  
Photo used by permission courtesy Požega City Museum, Požega.*



*Figure 41 Flag of the Požega County, 1797. Reverse.  
Photo used by permission courtesy Požega City Museum, Požega.*

*The Croatian county flags*



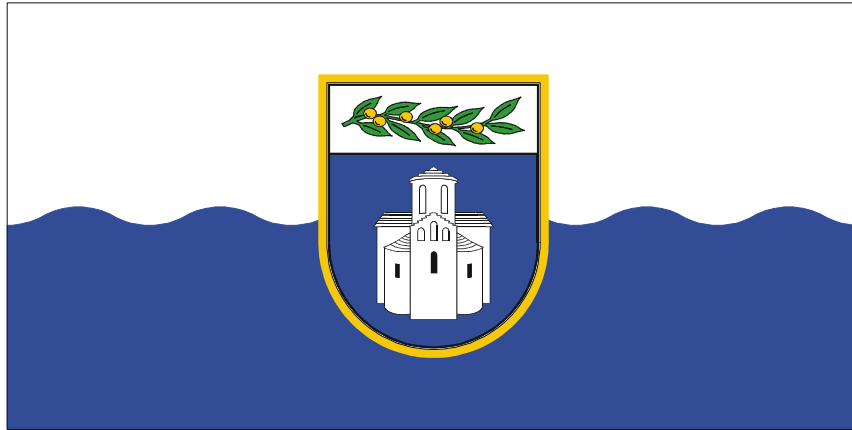
*Figure 42 Flag of the Požega-Slavonija County, around 1995.  
Drawing by ŽH.*



*Figure 43 Flag of the Požega-Slavonija County on the County Hall in Požega.  
Photo from Požega On-Line <<http://www.pozega.hr>>, 2000.*



*Figure 44 Flag of the Slavonski Brod-Posavina County, 1995.  
Drawing by ŽH.*



*Figure 45 Flag of the Zadar County, 1998.  
Drawing by ŽH.*



*Figure 46 Ceremonial Flag of the Zadar County, 1998.  
Drawing by ŽH.*

15<sup>th</sup> century the territory was divided between the Ottoman Empire and the State of Venice. The two fought over the coastal and hinterland regions until the Napoleonic times when Venice was finally added to the Habsburg lands. The coastal regions south of Velebit Mountains, known as Dalmatia, were not joined with the rest of Croatia but were retained under the direct administration from Vienna. In 1848 ban (viceroy) Josip Jelačić briefly joined all Croatian lands under his administration, but the county system was never introduced in Dalmatia. Even though the Croatian Parliament retained sovereignty over Dalmatia in the name,<sup>66</sup> the dualism of the Monarchy, started in 1868, only confirmed the separation, as Dalmatia was under the Austrian Crown and Croatia-Slavonia under the Crown of St. Stephen (Hungary). After the World War the city of Zadar (Zara) itself and its immediate surroundings were granted to Italy, and were re-incorporated in Croatia only in World War II. The county established in 1992 was called the Zadar-Knin County (Županija Zadarsko-kninska) and included hinterland territories around Knin. These territories, are now parts of the Šibenik-Knin County.<sup>67</sup> In her short existence, the County did not adopt symbols.

*The Croatian county flags*



*Figure 47 Flag of the Zadar County, 1998.  
Photo ŽH in Biograd n/m, 2002.*



*Figure 48 Church of the Holy Cross in Nin, 9<sup>th</sup> century.  
Photo ŽH, 2002.*



*Figure 49 Coat of Arms of Osijek, as granted in the Charter of the Free Royal City of Osijek by the Emperor Francis I in 1809.*

*Image from Muzej Slavonije Osijek,  
<<http://museum.mdc.hr/www-osijek-hr>>, 1999.*

The County of Zadar formed in 1997 adopted its symbols on 18 June 1998. The coat of arms is the church of the Holy Cross on a blue background and in a white chief an olive branch. The flag is horizontally wavy divided white over blue bicolour with the golden bordered coat of arms in the middle (Figs. 45, 47). A ceremonial flag is also used. It is a gonfalon with three tails, the central being longer, of the same design as the normal flag with arched golden inscription of the County name above the shield (Fig. 46). The church of the Holy Cross is in Nin, built in the 9th century in the old Croatian pre-Romanic style (Fig. 48). In Nin, today a small town north of Zadar, was established in 864 AD the first diocese on the territory under the Croatian rulers. It was also the capital of the 9<sup>th</sup> century county. The olive branch represents not only the traditional products of the region, but is also symbolic for peace. Bojan Livaković, an architect from Zagreb, designed the symbols.<sup>68</sup>

#### **XIV. Osijek-Baranja County (Osječko-baranjska županija)**

The southern parts of the modern Osijek-Baranja County formed the Baranja County in the 14<sup>th</sup> century. After the Ottoman period the entire northern Slavonia was included

*The Croatian county flags*



*Figure 50 Coat of Arms of the Baranja County, from the grant by the Emperor Leopold I in 1694.  
Image from Baranyanet Magazin, <<http://www.baranyanet.hu>>, 2002.*



*Figure 51 Flag of the Osijek-Baranja County, 1994.  
Drawing by ŽH.*

in the single Virovitica County, with the seat of administration in Osijek (see section X. above). The Serb forces occupied the regions north of Drava, the southern part of the traditional Hungarian County of Baranya, after the World War. The southern Baranja was included in the People's Republic of Croatia after the World War II, "in exchange" for the territories of eastern Srijem that were included in the Autonomous Region of Vojvodina, itself being a part of Serbia.

The symbols were adopted on 15th April 1994.<sup>69</sup> In the middle of the coat of arms is combined bridge from the city of Osijek coat of arms, granted in 1806 (Fig. 49), and the tower of the Baranya County coat of arms from 1694 (Fig. 50),<sup>70</sup> between two rivers, here representing Drava and Danube. In a base there is the Slavonian running marten, one of the oldest symbols used by Croats in these region in over thousand years. In chief there is a cross, symbol of faith, representing, among others, Đakovo city, the centre of Diocese of Bosnia, and of Đakovo-Srijem; an anchor, historically taken from the coat of arms of the Virovitica County (granted in 1746), a symbol of loyalty, fidelity and hope; and the six-pointed star of Mars, a part of the coat of arms of Slavonia since at least 1496, a symbol of defence.

The flag is white with two horizontal stripes close together along the middle and with the coat of arms in the middle (Fig. 51). The colours white and blue are the *Landesfarben* of Slavonia also used as the colours of the city of Osijek, and the two stripes are a variation of the two-river symbol. The ceremonial flag is the same, only fringed with gold.<sup>71</sup> The Ministry of Administration approved the County symbols in 1995.<sup>72</sup>

## **XV. Šibenik-Knin County (Šibensko-kninska županija)**

The County had a similar history as the Zadar County, being part of Dalmatia. The county system was established in the region in 1992 for the first time after the 11<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>73</sup> With the formation of the County of Šibenik (Županija Šibenska), much of the hinterland region was excluded. The short-living county did not adopt any symbols, and in 1997 the reformed and enlarged county was named Šibenik-Knin. The symbols were adopted around 1998.<sup>74</sup>

The coat of arms is gules a crown or superimposed over a sword erect argent hilted and pommed of the second. The flag is (light) blue with two white stripes near the horizontal edges and with the coat of arms set in the middle (Figs. 52, 54). The shape of the crown has been found on the Croatian medieval stone monuments from prior to the 11<sup>th</sup> century.

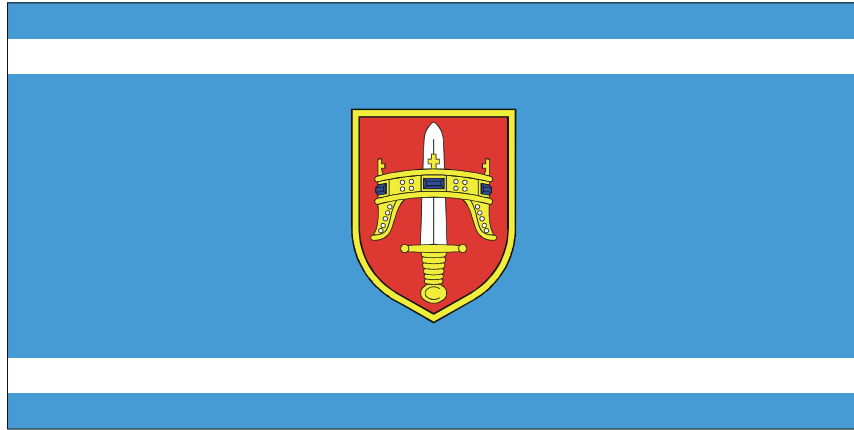
The vertical flag was seen in use on the County Assembly sessions in 2002 as a table flag. By its form it would be a ceremonial flag, but we do not know whether the real-size ceremonial flag exists, it could be confirmed. It is a gonfalon variation of the County flag with three rectangular tails and the golden arched name of the county above the coat of arms (Fig. 53).

## **XVI. Vukovar-Srijem County (Vukovarsko-srijemska županija)**

The region of the County, together with the eastern part of Srijem now in Vojvodina in Serbia, made up the County of Vuka (Vukovska županija, named after river Vuka that



*The Croatian county flags*



*Figure 52 Flag of the Šibenik County, ca. 1998.  
Drawing by ŽH.*



*Figure 53 Vertical Flag of the Šibenik County, ca. 1998.  
Drawing by ŽH.*



*Figure 54 Flag of the Šibenik County, ca. 1998.  
Photo ŽH in Šibenik 2001.*

flows through city of Vukovar) in the 14<sup>th</sup> century the. After several centuries of Ottoman occupation, the region was liberated at the beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. The county was established in 1745, without the regions along Sava River that remained in the Military Border.<sup>75</sup> Empress Maria Theresia granted the coat of arms on 6 June, 1747: Azure three bars wavy argent and overall on a mount vert a deer sejant gorged or by a Cypress tree proper. The coat of arms was crowned with a golden crown (Fig. 55).<sup>76</sup> Three white bars represent three rivers of the region — Danube, Sava and Bosut. The golden collar on the deer is a symbol of richness. After the demilitarisation of the Military Border in 1886, the region south of it towards Sava was included into the county. The county was dissolved after the World War I, as all the other counties were. After World War II the eastern regions were given to Vojvodina, that was included in Serbia, so that after the breakdown of Yugoslavia the regions remained divided.<sup>77</sup>

The County was probably the first to adopt symbols after its reestablishment in 1992. The coat of arms has been modernised in artistic rendering, the bars are not wavy any more and the tree beside the deer is now an oak tree, the typical one for the county. The flag is seven-striped golden-yellow and white with the coat of arms in the middle (perpendicular to the hoist). The yellow stripes protrude in square tailed on the fly (Fig. 56). The prescribed size of the flag is 105 × 200 cm with the square tails of 15 × 15 cm added to it.<sup>78</sup> Therefore, the overall ratio is 21:43. Even if this is not conforming to the request that the flags should be of the 1:2 ratio, the Ministry approved the symbols already in 1993.<sup>79</sup>

## **XVII. Split-Dalmatia County (Splitsko-dalmatinska županija)**

As with other regions of Dalmatia, this ancient 9<sup>th</sup>-11<sup>th</sup> century Croatian counties had no successors for centuries. The modern County had to design entirely new symbols for herself.<sup>80</sup>

The coat of arms, adopted around 1995, is Azure, a crown of Zvonimir or. The flag is blue with yellow stripe at hoist in the middle of which the coat of arms is set (Figs. 57, 58). The crown of Zvonimir is based on the representation of the crown on the head of the Croatian king found on the old Croatian engraving on a baptistery of an early Romanic style in the 11<sup>th</sup> century. The baptistery was found in Split, and it was believed that the figure represented the king Zvonimir-Dmitar (ruling 1075-1089), who had liberated Dalmatia from Venetians, and organised the capital and seat of the Croatian parliament in Knin.<sup>81</sup> It was not appropriate for the County to take the historical coat of arms of Dalmatia *Azure three leopard heads or* as its own, since they had represented a much wider region. However, it may be noted that the County, as the central part of Dalmatia, adopted a coat of arms of the same colours, and a flag to match the *Landesfarben*.

## **XVIII. Istria County (Istarska županija)**

The Istrian peninsula, settled by Croats in the 6<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> century, was since the middle ages divided into the coastal region, ruled by Venetia, and the inlands, the Habsburg Margraviate of Istria. It is stipulated that a goat was a symbol of Istria even in Roman

*The Croatian county flags*



*Figure 55 Coat of Arms of the Srijem County, 1747.  
From Csáky 1995.*



*Figure 56 Flag of the Vukovar-Srijem County, 1993.  
Drawing by ŽH.*



*Figure 57 Flag of the Split-Dalmatia County, ca. 1995.  
Drawing by ŽH.*



*Figure 58 Flag of the Split-Dalmatia County, ca. 1995.  
Photo ŽH in Makarska 2001.*

*The Croatian county flags*



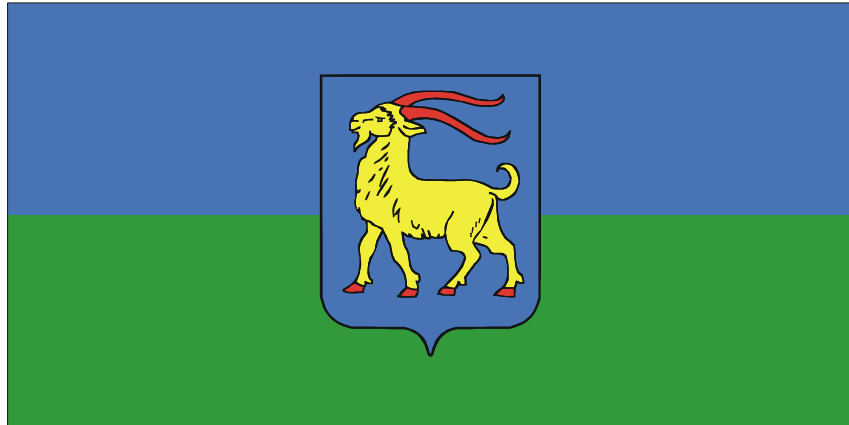
*Figure 59 Coat of Arms of the Margraviate of Istria, drawing by H. Ströhl from Meyers Konversations-Lexikon, Leipzig 1897.*



*Figure 60 Landesfarben of the Margraviate of Istria. Drawing by ŽH.*

period, and it is found heraldized already in the 11<sup>th</sup> century. The coat of arms of *azure a goat or horned and hoofed gules* (Fig. 59) representing Istria is found in a number of armorials throughout the feudal age into the modern time. After the fall of Venice in 1797, the coat of arms represented the whole peninsula under the Austrian rule.<sup>82</sup> Heraldic works also note the *Landesfarben* based on the coat of arms as traditional in Central Europe: yellow-red-blue (Fig. 60).<sup>83</sup> These may have been used as horizontal tricolour flag, but no reports on that have been found.

The modern County covers well the historical territories of the Margraviate, and the intention was to adopt the historical Istrian coat of arms. The County adopted symbols already in 1993, however the Ministry of Administration did not approve it.<sup>84</sup> The objections, even if masked as heraldic, were mostly results of political tensions between ruling parties in Istria and the central government, but this exceeds the limits of this paper. Due to these tensions, several successive variations of the symbols were adopted. All the variants have the same historical elements in different artistic layouts, initially including the margraviate crown with olive branches. The flag was light blue



*Figure 61 Flag of the Istria County, 2001.  
Drawing by ŽH.*



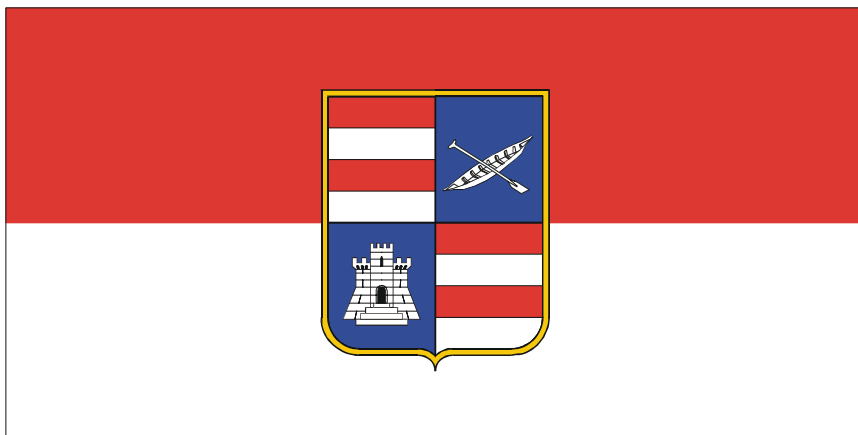
*Figure 62 Flag of the Istria County, 2001.  
Photo ŽH in Poreč 2003.*

with the coat of arms in the middle, in the ceremonial version including the inscribed name of the county in Croatian and Italian.<sup>85</sup> In December 2001 newspapers reported that the County and Ministry reached agreement and adopted a solution acceptable to both sides. The coat of arms of the final proposal was originally depicted in K. Lind's book *Städte-Wappen von Österreich-Ungarn*, published in Vienna in 1885. The flag is a bicolour of blue over green with the coat of arms in the middle (Figs. 61, 62).<sup>86</sup> This was confirmed by the County Assembly on 28 May, 2002<sup>87</sup> and the flags were finally hoisted ceremoniously for the first time on 31 March, 2003, celebrating the 10<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the County Statutes.<sup>88</sup>

### **XIX. Dubrovnik-Neretva County (Dubrovačko-neretvanska županija)**

In the 12<sup>th</sup> century the Principality of Neretva had autonomy from the Croatian kings and from Dubrovnik (also know after the Latin name Ragusa) that in early 13<sup>th</sup> century began its rise in power. While the Neretvan Principality did not survive the Ottoman

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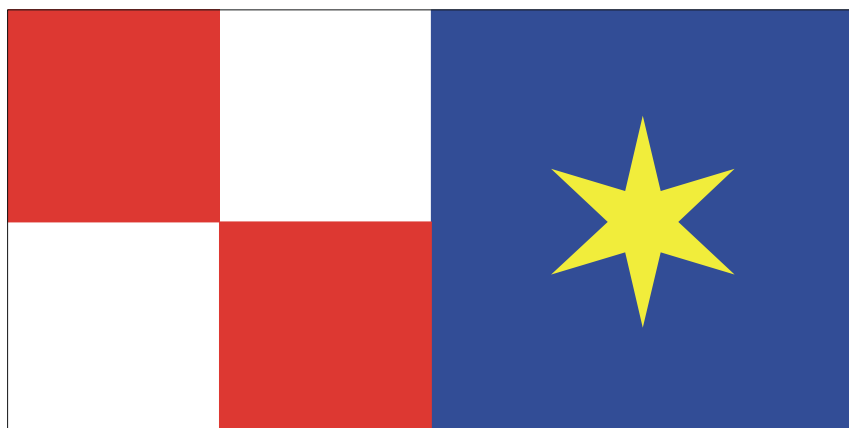
*Figure 63 Flag of the Dubrovnik-Neretva County, 1996.  
Drawing by ŽH.*

conquest, the Republic of Dubrovnik managed to maintain its independence, prospering in trade on Adriatic and Mediterranean. In the 14<sup>th</sup> century Dubrovnik recognised the supreme authority of the Hungaro-Croatian king Ludovig I the Great (1342-1382). He in turn granted, as a special favour to Dubrovnik, the old coat of arms of Hungary (the so called Hungary Ancient, as by the time Hungary already used impaled arms similar to the one used today). So, since 1358 Dubrovnik used the coat of arms of gules four bars argent. This was being used until the end of the independent Republic in 1807, and was retained as the coat of arms of the city until the present.<sup>89</sup> The flags used by the ships of the city were white with the images of the patron saint, St. Blasius, sometimes between initials S.B. Other flags were also reported, notably those inscribed LIBERTAS, but going into details would exceed the limits of this paper.<sup>90</sup>

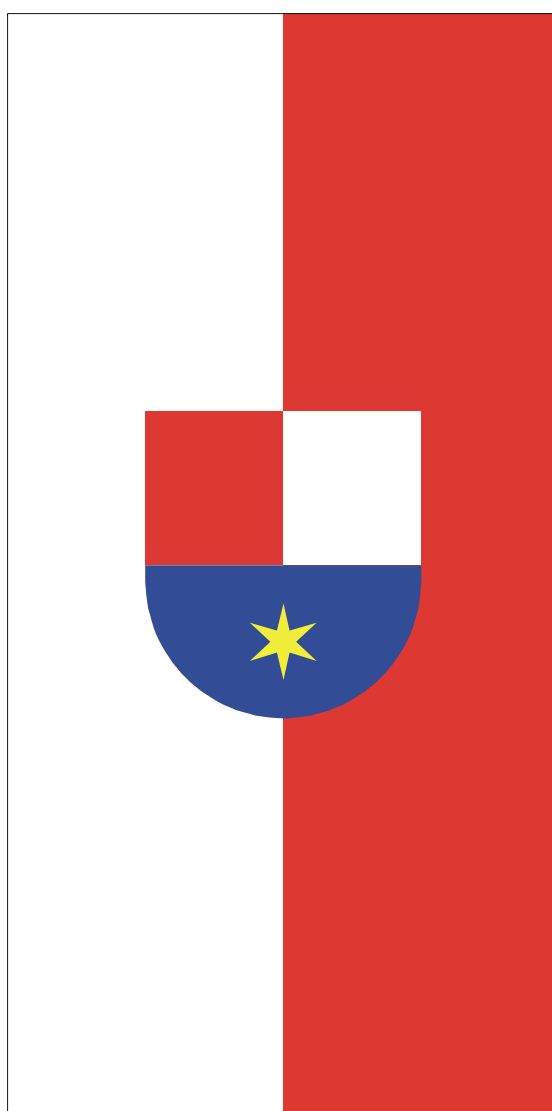
The modern County announced a competition for her new symbols. On 5 March, 1996, the County adopted a design by Francesca Danese-Katić, an architect from Korčula. The coat of arms is quartered: 1<sup>st</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> bendy of fours gules and argent, 2<sup>nd</sup> azure a boat with oar argent and 3<sup>rd</sup> azure a tower argent.<sup>91</sup> The ancient coat of arms of Dubrovnik is thus divided in the first and fourth quarter. The Neretvan valley is represented with a 'trupica' boat, a traditional vessel used by population of Neretvan delta. The coat of arms of the city of Korčula in third quarter represents the city towers of Korčula, their firmness and strength.<sup>92</sup> The flag is red over white bicolour with the coat of arms in the middle, bordered yellow (Fig. 63). The Ministry of Administration approved the design in 1996.<sup>93</sup>

## **XX. Međimurje County (Međimurska županija)**

The northernmost Croatian region between the rivers Mura and Drava (therefore the name meaning between Mura; in Hungarian: Muraköz) was a part of the Varaždin county between the 9<sup>th</sup> and 11<sup>th</sup> century. Since then, it was at times under the Hungarian administration and at other times under the Croatian ruling. So, in the 16<sup>th</sup> century, when Croatia was at it smallest, Međimurje was again a part of Varaždin County, while in the 17<sup>th</sup> century it was a part of the Hungarian Zala County.<sup>94</sup> In 1848 Jelačić



*Figure 64 Flag of the Međimurje County, 1994, rejected design.  
Drawing by ŽH.*



*Figure 65 Flag of the Međimurje County, 1996.  
Drawing by ŽH.*





*Figure 66 Flag of the Međimurje County, 1996.  
Photo ŽH, in Čakovec, 2003.*

annexed Međimurje by military strength, but the inclusion in the Croatian system (in the Varaždin County) was only short-lived. Only after the World War Međimurje was finally returned to Croatia, to be again shortly Hungarian during the World War II.

The county adopted newly designed symbols in 1994. The coat of arms is per fess, the chief per pale gules and argent, and the base azure a mullet or. The flag adopted consisted of two squares, the one at the hoist quartered red and white and the one at the fly blue with six-pointed star in the middle (Fig. 64).<sup>95</sup> This flag did not comply with general regulations and was rejected by the Ministry, so a new flag was adopted on 19 September 1996. It is vertically hoisted bicolour of white and red with the coat of arms in the middle (perpendicular to the hoist), so that the upper half of the shield is counterchanged with the flag stripes (Figs. 65, 66).<sup>96</sup> This was approved by the Ministry in 1996.<sup>97</sup>

## **Conclusion**

The administrative division of Croatian lands into counties has a long tradition reaching back into the times when Croats began settling the regions, but was frequently changed throughout history. The modernisation of the administrative system began in 18<sup>th</sup> century, when the first coats of arms were granted to counties. The first flags are recorded and preserved from that time. After the liberation of Slavonia from the Ottomans, new counties were formed in the mid 19<sup>th</sup> century in the liberated and demilitarised regions. The second “layer” of flags and coats of arms has been preserved from

that time. In the regions of Croatia that were not under the Crown of St. Stephen, namely in Dalmatia and Istria, the county system was not established. The 19<sup>th</sup> century counties, with minor alterations, survived until the end of the World War. In the newly established state of Southern Slavs the counties were abolished, and after the World War II, in the socialist regime they were not re-established. Only after Croatia gained its independence, in 1992, a new administrative division of the country reverts to these traditional subdivisions. So, in the 1990's all of the twenty counties adopted symbols. Those that had the traditional coats of arms readopted them in modernised versions, whereas the others adopted new coats of arms, mostly through publicly called competitions. Flags of the counties were adopted from scratch, since even those few flags that were historically recorded did not match the modern needs. Centralised regulations imposed restrictions on freedom of design, requiring a flag to be rectangular in ratio 1:2 with field of two colours in simple geometric division and with the county coat of arms set in the middle or off-set to hoist. Because of this they are easily differentiable among themselves, but each includes a complicated design element (the coat of arms). Some of the counties also use special ceremonial flags, typically (but not exclusively) in form of gonfalons with differently ending fly sides, with the coat of arms in the middle with the inscribed name of the county above it, and with additional rich embroidered ornament in the fly.

## **Acknowledgements**

I should like to express my thanks to Mrs. Jelena Borošak-Marjanović of the Croatian History Museum, to Mrs. Magdalena Lončarić of the City Museum Varaždin, to Mrs. Mirjana Šperanda of the City Museum Požega and to the City Museum Bjelovar, for their help and information on flags in their collections they provided to me. Special gratitude to Mrs. Željka Jaklinović-Fressl for her linguistic review of the text.

## **Notes**

<sup>1</sup> Pravilnik o postupku za utvrđivanje grba i zastave jedinica lokalne samouprave, Ministarstvo uprave, 11. listopada 1994., Narodne novine, br. 80/94, 02.10.1994. Pravilnik dopuni pravilnika o postupku za utvrđivanje grba i zastave jedinica lokalne samouprave, Ministarstvo uprave, 11. travnja 1995., Narodne novine, br. 26/95, 20.04.1995. Pravilnik o postupku davanja odobrenja grb i zastave jedinici lokalne samouprave, Ministarstvo uprave, 29. lipnja 1998., Narodne novine, br. 94/98, 10.07.1998.

<sup>2</sup> Other counties avoided using any flag before getting the approval.

<sup>3</sup> Borošak-Marjanović, pp. 112-114.

<sup>4</sup> Idem, p. 114.

<sup>5</sup> Odluka o grbu, zastavi i slovoliku (logotipu) Županije Zagrebačke, 30. srpnja 1994, Glasnik Županije Zagrebačke, br. 10/II, Zagreb, 28. rujna 1995.

<sup>6</sup> Odluka o izmjenama Odluke o grbu, zastavi i slovoliku (logotipu) Županije Zagrebačke, 19. svibnja 1995, Glasnik Županije Zagrebačke, br. 10/II, Zagreb, 28. rujna 1995.

<sup>7</sup> Odluka o grbu, zastavi i slovoliku (logotipu) Zagrebačke županije, Glasnik Zagrebačke županije, br. 5/II, Zagreb, 22. travnja 1996.

<sup>8</sup> Rješenje Ministarstva uprave RH, Klasa: UP/I-017-02/94-01/37, Ur.br: 515-04-03/1-95-2, Zagreb, 7. srpnja 1995.

<sup>9</sup> Hoppál, pp. 152-153.

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- <sup>10</sup> Odluka o opisu i uporabi grba i zastave Krapinsko-zagorske županije, 6. kolovoza 1993, Službeni glasnik Krapinsko-zagorske županije, br. 8/93.
- <sup>11</sup> The design violates the heraldic principles in several points, among other it uses coats of arms of other entities, of a subordinated city, and of the whole country, the last being particularly against the regulations. Also, it uses more than simply a shield.
- <sup>12</sup> Even if the flag is supposed to be abandoned in 1999, the author personally witnessed the flag in use in Krapina as late as the summer 2002. Though the flag was in very bad shape and was probably left there hoisted since mid-1990's.
- <sup>13</sup> Odluka o izmjenama i dopunama Odluke o opisu i uporabi grba i zastave Krapinsko-zagorske županije, 17. prosinca 1999, Službeni glasnik Krapinsko-zagorske županije. The author of this paper participated in the 1999 competition, but must recognise with pleasure that the superior design won.
- <sup>14</sup> Statut Sisačko-moslavačke županije, 14.11.2001, Službeni glasnik sisačko-moslavačke županije, br. 10/2001, str. 177.
- <sup>15</sup> The county that encompassed Rijeka and its hinterland frequently changed names and territorial reach. At various times it was called either Riječka županija, or Modruško-riječka županija, or Severinska županija. Cf. Goldstein et al.
- <sup>16</sup> Odluka o grbu i zastavi Županije Karlovačke, 27. veljače 1995. Glasnik Županije Karlovačke, 3/95.
- <sup>17</sup> Idem. Image is a reconstruction based on the description and multiple quick sightings on TV.
- <sup>18</sup> Varaždinska županija, pp. 6-7.
- <sup>19</sup> Lončarić, pp. 84-87. The inscription reads: VEXILLUM COMITATUS VARASDINENSIS PER EXCELL / MUM ET ILLU. = CO~TEM DO~NUM IOANNEM NEPOM~NUM ERDÖDY / DE MONUOROKEREK TIL = TIL = ANNO 1778 ERECTUM.
- <sup>20</sup> Lončarić, pp. 84-87. The inscription on the obverse reads: VEXSILLUM COMITATUS VARASDINENSIS OCCASIONE GENERALIS NOBILIIUM INSURRECTIONIS CONTRA GALLUM FINIBUS REGNI ET COMITATUS APPROXIMANTEM INDICTAE IN ANNO 1797 ERECTUM.
- <sup>21</sup> Lončarić, pp. 84-87. The inscription on obverse reads: "ŽUPANIJA VARAŽDINSKA 1848." and on reverse "Budi nam pomoć" (Be of help to us).
- <sup>22</sup> Odluka o opisu i uporabi grba i zastave Županije Varaždinske, 26. lipnja 1995.
- <sup>23</sup> Rješenje Ministarstva uprave RH Klasa:UP/I-017-02/95-01/53, Ur.br: 515-04-03/1-95-2, Zagreb, 18. srpnja 1995.
- <sup>24</sup> Statut Varaždinske županije, 9.10.2001, Službeni vjesnik Varaždinske županije, br. 19/01.
- <sup>25</sup> Borošak-Marjanović, p. 113.
- <sup>26</sup> Hoppál, pp. 28-29.
- <sup>27</sup> Odluka o grbu i zastavi Županije Koprivničko-Križevačke, 26. travnja 1996. Službeni glasnik Županije Koprivničko-Križevačke, 6/96, 3. svibnja 1996. pp. 176-7.
- <sup>28</sup> Glas Podravine i Prigorja, 07. 03. 1997; 30. 10. 1998; 15. 01. 1999.
- <sup>29</sup> Rješenje Ministarstva uprave RH Klasa:UP/I-017-02/96-01/43, Ur.br: 515-04-03/1-97-4, Zagreb, 21. veljače 1996. Odluka o izmjenama Odluke o grbu i zastavi Županije Koprivničko-Križevačke, 14. ožujka 1997. Službeni glasnik Županije Koprivničko-Križevačke, 1/97, 15. ožujka 1997. p. 10. The author witnessed the use of the 1996 flag on several locations in Koprivnica in winter 1996/97. In 1998 these were replaced with new versions.
- <sup>30</sup> Hoppál, pp. 28-29.
- <sup>31</sup> Borošak-Marjanović, p. 115.
- <sup>32</sup> Goldstein et al. p. 101.
- <sup>33</sup> Hoppál, pp. 28-29.
- <sup>34</sup> Županija Bjelovarsko-bilogorska On-Line <<http://alf.tel.hr/zbb>>, December 1997.
- <sup>35</sup> Odluka o grbu i zastavi Županije bjelovarsko-bilogorske, 12. prosinca 1995.
- <sup>36</sup> Rješenje Ministarstva uprave, Kl. UP/I-017-02/96-01/28, Ur. br. 515-04-03/1-96-1, Zagreb, 19. travnja 1996.
- <sup>37</sup> Odluka o opisu grba i zastave, kao i uvjetima načina uporabe grba i zastave Županije bjelovarsko-bilogorske, 29. svibnja 1996.

- <sup>38</sup> Goldstein et al. p. 57. Severin is a small city in the mountainous region in the hinterland, about half way between Rijeka and Karlovac, approximately in the centre of the county as formed then.
- <sup>39</sup> Csáky, pp. 150-151.
- <sup>40</sup> Bojničić, p. 108 and Table 77.
- <sup>41</sup> Hoppál, pp. 88-89.
- <sup>42</sup> Grobnik field is today known for its Formula 1 autodrome.
- <sup>43</sup> Borošak-Marjanović, pp. 86-87, 115. The collection of the Croatian Historical Museum preserves a flag from 1862, but due to the damage of the differentiating part of the shield it is not possible to determine whether it is a flag of the Severin or the Rijeka County.
- <sup>44</sup> Oštrić, p. 41.
- <sup>45</sup> Goldstein et al. p. 101. Modruš is medieval fort south of Ogulin, which was the 14<sup>th</sup> century administrative seat of the county.
- <sup>46</sup> Hoppál, pp. 88-89.; Csáky, pp. 150-151.
- <sup>46a</sup> Even if it does belong to the corps of flags discussed here, one should at least mention here the flag granted by the King Vittorio Emanuele III in 1929 to the Province of Carnaro that was used until the end of the Italian rule of the Rijeka coastlands and Kvarner islands. The flag is a light blue gonfalon with the coat of arms granted at the same time: per pale sable fasces or in pale and gules seven stars of the Ursa Mayor or. See details in Oštrić, 2002, pp. 46-47.
- <sup>47</sup> Munić et al., pp. 12-13.
- <sup>48</sup> Oštrić, pp. 48-49; Odluka o grbu i zastavi Primorsko-goranske županije, 15. lipnja 1995. Službene novine Primorsko-goranske županije, br. 13/95, 26. lipnja 1995.
- <sup>49</sup> Goldstein et al. pp. 37, 101.
- <sup>50</sup> Ljubović, pp. 80-81.
- <sup>51</sup> Odluka o grbu i zastavi Županije Ličko-senjske, 22. prosinca 1995. Županijski glasnik Županije Ličko-senjske, 11/95.
- <sup>52</sup> *Degenia Velebitica*, a low plant of *Brassicaceae* family; bearing characteristic yellow flowers, the most important endemic plant of Croatia, protected by the law; growing only on several locations on the Velebit Mountain. Hrvatska enciklopedija, 3. Da-Fo.
- <sup>53</sup> Author's correspondence with the County officials. Author's observations in Gospić, 2001 and 2002.
- <sup>54</sup> Goldstein et al. pp. 37, 68, 169.
- <sup>55</sup> Hoppál, pp. 146-147.
- <sup>56</sup> Borošak-Marjanović, pp. 113-115.
- <sup>57</sup> Idem.
- <sup>58</sup> Either the County officials wanted to simplify the design, or, possibly in their ignorance, they simply failed to understand why an inland county would have an anchor as its symbol.
- <sup>59</sup> Odluka o grbu i zastavi Županije Virovitičko-podravске, 27. svibnja 1994., Službeni glasnik Županije Virovitičko-podravске, br. 3/94.
- <sup>60</sup> Odluka o izmjenama Odluke o grbu i zastavi Županije Virovitičko-podravске, 29. kolovoza 1996., Službeni glasnik VPŽ br. ?/96
- <sup>61</sup> Atlagić, p. 59.
- <sup>62</sup> Hoppál, pp. 100-101. Bojničić, p. 86 and Table 60. The coat of arms of Keglević is Azure over a base gules with two bars argent two double-tailed lions crowned rampant regardant or holding together an upright sword proper with a crown or on the top.
- <sup>63</sup> Šperanda, pp. 4-5.
- <sup>64</sup> At the moment no official documents on the adoption of the symbols are known, however, the flag is confirmed in use on the county building in Požega, cf. <<http://www.pozega.hr>>.
- <sup>65</sup> Hrvatska enciklopedija, 2. Be-Da.
- <sup>66</sup> From 1848 to 1921 the Parliament in Zagreb titled itself and its realm the Triunar Kingdom of Dalmatia, Slavonia and Croatia.
- <sup>67</sup> In fact included the entire *Kotar Knin*. Kotars were supposed to be autonomous region in the Serb populated areas, but due to the rebellion were never actually formed, and finally were dropped from leg-

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isolation altogether in 1997.

<sup>68</sup> Correspondence with Bojan Livaković.

<sup>69</sup> Statut Osječko-baranjske županije: Statut Osječko-baranjske županije, *Županijski glasnik*, 2/95; Odluka o izmjenama Statuta Županije Osječko-baranjske, *Županijski glasnik*, 2/97; Odluka o dopuni Statuta Osječko-baranjske županije, *Županijski glasnik*, 3/99.; in: Propisi Osječko-baranjske županije, Osijek 1997. Odluka o uporabi grba, zastave i imena Osječko-baranjske županije: Odluka o uporabi grba, zastave i imena Županije Osječko-baranjske, *Županijski glasnik*, 2/94, Odluka o izmjenama Odluke o uporabi grba, zastave i imena Županije Osječko-baranjske, *Županijski glasnik*, 5/95, Odluka o izmjenama općih akata koji sadrže naziv Županije, *Županijski glasnik*, 2/97. in: Propisi Osječko-baranjske županije, Osijek 1997.

<sup>70</sup> The original coat of arms of Baranya is still used by the Hungarian County of that name covering the northern part of the original county. The county was dissolved after the World War II, but re-established in 1990's, readopting the coat of arms, and adopting a new flag. Cf. FOTW <<http://fotw.vexillum.com/flags/hu-by.html>>.

<sup>71</sup> This ceremonial flag is mentioned here since it is prescribed in the legislation. Regarding the design it is the same as the ordinary flag for everyday use, and here it is not counted as belonging to the category of special ceremonial flags.

<sup>72</sup> Rješenje Ministarstva uprave, Kl. UP/I-017-02/94-01/21, Ur. br. 515-04-03/1-95-2, Zagreb, 7. srpnja 1995.

<sup>73</sup> Goldstein et al. p. 19.

<sup>74</sup> No official sources are available. Data here according to the author's observations in Šibenik 2000-2002, TV watching and propaganda leaflets issued by the County.

<sup>75</sup> Goldstein et al. pp. 51-56.

<sup>76</sup> Atlagić, p. 93.

<sup>77</sup> The Vojvodina region in Serbia recently adopted a coat of arms that includes also this coat of arms in one quarter.

<sup>78</sup> Odluka o grbu i zastavi Županije Vukovarsko-srijemske, 6. kolovoza 1993.

<sup>79</sup> Rješenje Ministarstva uprave, Kl. UP/I-017-02/93-01/12, Ur. br. 515-04-03/1-93-2, Zagreb, 8. rujna 1993. There might be a historic flag of the County somewhere that makes precedent for the unusual shape and ratio.

<sup>80</sup> The County of Split-Dalmatia covers the largest part of the historical Dalmatia, so the historical coat of arms of Dalmatia was suggested in public. But the other three south Croatian counties are also "successors" of Dalmatia, and the usage of the coat of arms by only one would not be appropriate. However, adopted symbols do use the same colours as the historical Dalmatian coat of arms.

<sup>81</sup> No official sources are available. Data here according the author's observations in Split, 2002.

<sup>82</sup> Grakalić, pp. 71-76.

<sup>83</sup> Meyers Konverzations-Lexikon, Leipzig, 1897. Article: Österreich-Ungarn.

<sup>84</sup> Odluka o grbu, zastavi i imenu Županije Istarske, Službene novine Županije Istarske, br. 005/95, 07.08.1995.

<sup>85</sup> Odluka o izmjeni Odluke o grbu, zastavi i imenu Županije Istarske, Službene novine Županije Istarske, br. 003/96, 22.07.1996. Odluka o izmjeni Odluke o grbu, zastavi i imenu Istarske županije, Službene novine Istarske županije, br. 008/97, 31.12.1997. Odluka o izmjeni Odluke o grbu, zastavi i imenu Istarske županije, Službene novine Istarske županije, br. 003/98, 20.05.1998. Zaključak o davanju pozitivnog mišljenja na Prijedlog Odluke o izmjenama i dopunama Odluke o grbu i zastavi Istarske županije, SNIŽ, br. 001/99, 01.04.1999.

<sup>86</sup> *Vjesnik*, Zagreb, 19 December 2001. Reported on FOTW by Janko Ehrlich-Zdvorak.

<sup>87</sup> Statutarna odluka o grbu i zastavi Istarske županije te načinu i zaštiti njihove uporabe, 1. srpnja 2002, Službene novine Istarske županije, br. 010/02, 01.08.2003. Rješenje Ministarstva pravosuđa, uprave i lokalne samouprave Kl: UP/I-017-01/01-01/161, Urbroj: 514-09-01-02-7 od 28. travnja 2002. godine.

<sup>88</sup> "Sventola la nuova bandiera istriana", *La Voce del Popolo*, Edit, Pola, 01.04.2003 <<http://www.edit.hr/lavoce>>.

<sup>89</sup> Grakalić, pp. 65-69.

<sup>90</sup> More on the flag of Dubrovnik see Luetić, 1967.

<sup>91</sup> “Grb i zastava Županije Dubrovačko-Neretvanske (uz Odluku o grbu i zastavi Županije Dubrovačko-Neretvanske)”, Tajništvo Županije, Dubrovnik prosinac 1995 (material prepared for the County Assembly in preparation for the Decision on the coat of arms and the flag).

Odluka o grbu, zastavi i danu Županije Dubrovačko-Neretvanske, Dubrovnik, 5. ožujka 1996.

<sup>92</sup> The city of Korčula adopted the coat of arms in 1996, designed by the same architect.

<sup>93</sup> Rješenje Ministarstva uprave Kl. UP/I-017-02/96-01/15, Ur. br. 515-04-03/1-96-1, 19. travnja 1996.

<sup>94</sup> Goldstein et al. pp. 19, 71-80. On p. 76 is quoted that the delegates from Međimurje occasionally participated simultaneously in both the Zala and Varaždin county assemblies in the 16<sup>th</sup> and the 17<sup>th</sup> century.

<sup>95</sup> Odluka o grbu i zastavi Županije međimurske, 3. studenog 1994., Službeni glasnik Županije međimurske, str 204-205, br. 4 /1996.

<sup>96</sup> Odluka o izmjenama i dopunama Odluke o grbu i zastavi Županije međimurske, 19. rujna 1996., Službeni glasnik Županije međimurske, str. 205-206, br. 4/1996.

<sup>97</sup> Rješenje Ministarstva uprave Kl. UP/I-017-02/94-01/55, Ur. br. 515-04-03/1-96-2, Zagreb, 10. srpnja 1996.

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