



Historical origins of contemporary Croatian municipal flags

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Abstract

The paper presents a selection of Croatian civic flags from pre-1990s historical examples to modern designs. Even if the early use of city flags is mentioned in written sources, e.g. during the siege of Zadar (1202), these flags were in general neither preserved nor described. The earliest preserved flags date from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, when the oldest municipal coats of arms also start to appear. Their peak came in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, when the majority of Croatian cities with a historical coat of arms obtained theirs. The twentieth century, especially after the Second World War, provided a new point of departure for such symbols. Since the modern independence of Croatia, over 400 coats of arms and flags have been officially approved in accordance with the law. Over 60 of coats of arms have a firm historical background but only two dozen historical flags, influenced by the Austrian-Hungarian and Italian traditions. Most of these are flags of larger cities but occasionally they belong to very small communities. In each case, they witness the variety of historical circumstances experienced by local communities in different parts of the country.

Introduction

Municipal flags in general

A municipal, or civic, flag is the flag of a municipality or urban area, or more generally the flag of a sub-national administrative unit with corporate status such as a county, community (commune), town, village, hamlet or borough – in other words, the flag of a local governing body.¹ It is believed that, as incorporated bodies of proto-states in the pre-Classical period, ancient cities developed symbols of their corporate identity – some of which would have taken the form of vexilloids, often displaying effigies or the emblems of a local deity.

With the growth of heraldry after the Crusades, municipal flags would have followed heraldic customs but they never apparently fully embraced them. Throughout the medieval period, some cities used flags depicting patron saints, venerated icons and other non-heraldic devices. In others, flags followed the design of military colours, while ports followed the simpler designs of maritime ensigns.

With the end of medieval period and the growth of centralised nation states,

1 See A.P. Burgers, T. Martin, C. Southworth and Ž. Heimer, *Dictionary of Vexillology*, Flags of the World (FOTW) website (2005-), entry 'Civic flag', <http://www.crwflags.com/fotw/flags/vxt-dvex.html> [accessed 28 March 2017].



the use of municipal flags steadily declined, especially after the revolutions of 1848 when the majority of European nations devised tricolours and other kinds of national colours for use by the general population.

Certain cities never stopped making some use of their flags, but in the second half of the twentieth century others began to rediscover and modernise their civic identity, much influenced by modern graphic design, simplifying and abstracting traditional heraldic devices. By the end of the century, many countries had seen a gradual but steady trend in the reintroduction, redesign and (re)invention of municipal flags. With the introduction of cheap mass-produced flags – silk-screened and especially digitally printed – but also with the broad formation of local identity, flags are used in ever increasing numbers by local government units at all levels. Thus in the twenty-first century there are more and more countries where all or nearly all of the municipal units have a flag and are not shy in using it.

Municipal flags in Croatia

The general history of municipal flags in Croatia follows much the same development as that outlined above. As modern Croatia covers territories that were at various periods ruled by a good number of different foreign powers, the characteristics of municipal flag development in those countries is reflected in Croatian municipal flags as well. These include, but are not limited to, Byzantine, Venetian and the wider Italian influence, Austrian and Central-European influence, the Hungarian influence etc.

As noted above, the term municipal flag in general includes flags of all levels of units of local government. In the case of modern Croatia, these include counties, cities and communities and even their variously named further subdivisions. However, since the flags of counties have already been presented in some detail² (while the minor subdivisions have no historical flags and only rarely contemporary ones), the term shall here be used here to mean only the flags of cities and communities – the two types of basic local government units in Croatia as introduced in the 1992 administrative reforms. It will be shown that for the most part 'urban municipalities' – cities – have historical flags, while the communities – 'rural municipalities' – appear here only exceptionally.

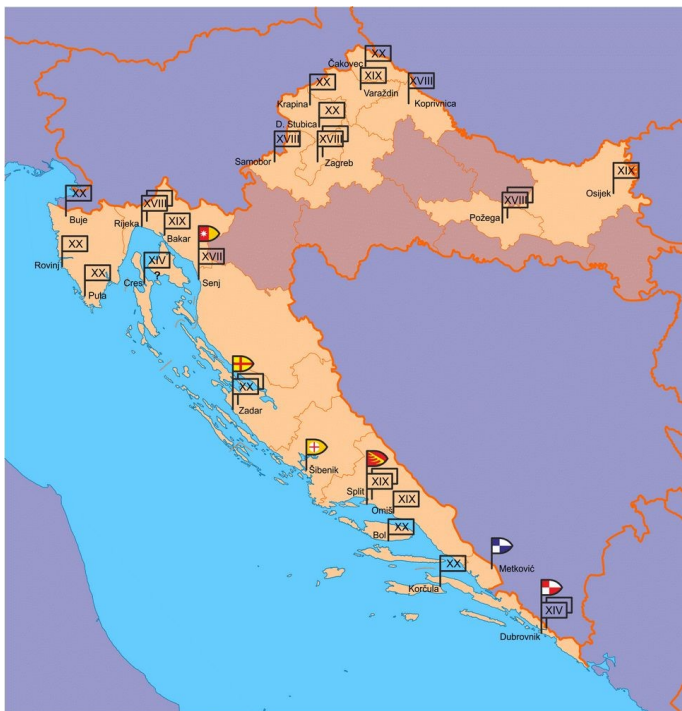
The current national legislation provides for municipalities to adopt a coat of arms and a flag, subject to the approval of the Ministry of Administration.³ The Ministry prescribe how these are approved and what basic conditions they must

2 Ž. Heimer, 'The Croatian County Flags', in J.O. Engene (ed.), *Proceedings of the XX International Congress of Vexillology, Stockholm, 27 July-1 August 2003* (Bergen: Nordic Flag Society, 2004), pp. 305-59.

3 The legislation defines the competent body as the 'central state body with jurisdiction over local and regional government' and this has changed title over the years: *Ministarstvo pravosuđa i uprave* / Ministry of Justice and Administration (1990-3), *Ministarstvo uprave* / Ministry of Administration (1993-9), *Državno ravnateljstvo za državnu upravu i lokalnu samoupravu* / State Directorate for State Administration and Local Government (1999-2000), *Ministarstvo pravosuđa, uprave i lokalne samouprave* / Ministry of Justice, Administration and Local Government (2000-3), *Središnji državni ured za upravu Vlade Republike Hrvatske* / Central State Office for Administration of the Government of the Republic of Croatia (2003-9), and *Ministarstvo uprave* / Ministry of Administration (2009 to date).



fulfil to be eligible for approval.⁴ Among the most basic guidelines both for the coat of arms and for the flags there is a principle that a design based on historical examples, if such were recorded, should be used. The same guidelines require the adoption of historical coat of arms, i.e. its shield and the contents (charges), but the omission of all extra-escutcheonal elements (such as crowns, supporters, orders of merit etc.). At the very beginning of the approval process in the first half of the 1990s, several cities managed to 'squeeze through' these limitations and got their complex historical coats of arms approved. At the same time, several complex⁵ city flags were also approved. But the policy quickly became quite strict and consistently applied. Nevertheless, several cities managed to get their complex flag approved based on attested historical precedents.



Map showing municipalities with recorded pre-1990 historical flags, as well as current state and county borders: flags found in portolans are individually marked; other symbols display the century of the oldest recorded flag; a double flag marks municipalities with several flag designs; counties shown in a darker shade have no recorded historical municipal flags

By mid-2017, the Ministry had approved in total 445 of 576 coats of arms and flags for units of local government (77 per cent): all 20 counties, 99 of 127 cities (78 per cent), and 326 of 429 communities (76 per cent).⁶ Initially, the Ministry

4 'Pravilnik', *Narodne novine*, 80/94, 26/95, 94/98, and 68/04.

5 The description 'complex' is very relative. The general guidelines require city flags to use one of the five heraldic colours (gules, azure, vert, or and argent), with the approved coat of arms set in the centre or off-set to the hoist, so anything more complex than this is included, even the simple tricolour of Bakar (see below).

6 See Ž. Heimer, 'Ceremonial Flags of the Croatian Units of Local Government: A New Phenomenon Emerging from the People?', in M. van Westerhoven (ed.), *Proceedings of the 25th International Congress of Vexillology*,



indicated if its approval was granted after consulting a historical coat of arms, but it dropped this practice around 2000 and newer approvals no longer include this. In the course of his research, the author has identified 45 approvals that include such a note, and at least another 15 to 20 coats of arms that were granted on the basis of a known historical pattern. For flags, however, the count is less straightforward, as the approvals do not state if the historical flag was consulted.

As this paper will show, the author has identified two dozen municipalities in Croatia that used flags at various periods prior to 1990, in various shapes and formats. It should be understood at the outset that this may not be the final number. Although the author has studied the municipal flags of Croatia for over two decades, new data becomes available every day and 'new' old flags are regularly revealed in various sources. The ever-increasing digitisation of library and archival collections makes this ever more likely, while municipal flags are also certainly preserved in a number of local museums and collections of which the author is unaware.

Nevertheless, the selection of historical and modern municipal flags of Croatia presented here will provide an excellent overview of the development of municipal vexillology in the territory of modern Croatia from the Crusades until the present day.

As a peculiarity of modern Croatian municipal vexillology, most but not all cities and communities also use ceremonial flags – a particular flag of more festive and richer manufacture, often using a gonfalon, a banner-like form, made in single copy to represent the municipality on particularly ceremonial occasions.⁷

In this paper all the flags are presented as drawings, including all appropriate flags from museum collections. Such decisions by the author perhaps require some justification. One may expect that photographs of these flags could be provided. Most, if not all of them, have already been published in the appropriate scientific literature by their custodians, as indicated in the references. However, even when these flags are restored to their best, becoming true pearls of heritage, some details of the elements of their design are not always sufficiently clear in the photos and can only be made apparent through their interpretation in drawings. Of course, these drawings are not meant to compete with the artistic mastery of painters and embroiderers for many historical unique flags – that may be appreciated neither through photos nor drawings. Then, there are other flags drawn here, known only from written reports, that are frequently very vague, even when they appear in scientific literature. Such examples are provided as 'attempted reconstructions' and indicated with an appropriate symbol.⁸ Other period flags and symbols were

Rotterdam, The Netherlands, 4-10 August 2013 (Nederlandse Vereniging voor Vlaggenkunde and Stichting Vlaggenparade Rotterdam, 2016), pp. 414–39

7 For more on these ceremonial flags, see Heimer, 'Ceremonial Flags of the Croatian Units of Local Government'. They resemble, but are not always entirely identical to, the modern Italian practice of municipal gonfalons.

8 The flag identification symbols were first (widely) published in W. Smith: *Flag through the Ages and across the World* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1975), p. 207. FIAV adopted part of this proposal as the Flag Information Code (see, for example, *Info-FIAV*, 41 (2016), pp. 32-3), but these symbols were not included. Nevertheless they have been used subsequently in



used as inspiration for these reconstructions, but we should bear in mind that these are simply the illustrator's interpretations of what it might have been. They must be treated at best as 'educated guesses'. *Caveat lector*.







Historical municipal flags in Croatia

Municipal flags in manuscripts and portolans, 1200-1600

There are two types of sources on municipal flags in Croatia – written and illustrated documents. The former are primarily legislation (statutes) and related documents, such as the minutes of city councils, preserved in some littoral medieval communes, and also rare examples of flags being mentioned in contemporary historical accounts.

From the thirteenth and fourteenth century we have preserved texts of the statutes or collections of customary laws from various individual communes along the Adriatic coast and on the neighbouring islands. Among the oldest are the 1272 statutes of Dubrovnik, see below, while other followed. Some were written in Latin, others in Croatian or Italian, and some mention flags. Thus the statutes of Senj of 1388 prescribe a penalty for a ship entering port without displaying a flag.⁹ It follows that hoisting of ensigns was already a common practice at the period not only in that city, but among any ships that customarily sailed there from other ports.

The detailed two-volume chronicle *Obsidio Iadrensis*, written by an anonymous local nobleman a few years after the events, describes the siege of Zadar (1345-6). The town – held by the Croatians and Louis I the Angevin, King of Hungary – was besieged by the Venetians aided by crusaders. The chronicle mentions a number of flags: the flags with royal devices used by the defenders,¹⁰ flags captured from the Venetians,¹¹ and the city flag of St Chrysogonus the Martyr, patron saint of Zadar, carried before the troops.¹² A manuscript of 1402, describing the ceremonies held when King Ladislav visited Zadar, also mentions the hoisting of the city flag of St Chrysogonus alongside the flags of the King and of the Hungarian Kingdom.¹³ This seems to be confirmed in drawings in the early fourteenth century portolans, as discussed below.

many vexillological resources. The symbols used in this paper are:  sinister hoisted (design shown with the hoist on the viewer's right),  reconstruction (design based on written sources only),  variant (one of two or more variants of the same basic design),  alternate (one of two flags used simultaneously, or under special circumstances for the same function),  two-sided (reverse side is unlike design shown),  reverse (design shown is reverse side of the flag). The prescribed or recorded proportions of hoist to length is indicated with a ratio, e.g. 1:2, approximate proportions as 1:2~.

9 L. Margetić, 'Senjski statut iz godine 1388', *Senjski zbornik*, 34 (2007), pp. 5-160, § 50 (51).

10 *Obsidio Iadrensis*, 2 vols, Monumenta spectantia historiam Slavorum meridionalium 54 (Zagreb: Hrvatska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, 2007), pp. 164-5.

11 *Ibid.*

12 *Ibid.*, pp. 236-7.

13 S.F. Fabijanec and M. Sardelić, 'Slavljenje blagdana na srednjovjekovnom hrvatskom priobalju', in L. Čoralić and S.Slišković (eds), *Humanitas et litterae. Zbornik u čast Franje Šanjeka* (Zagreb: Dominikanska naklada Istina and Kršćanska sadašnjost, 2009), pp. 284-5.



The flag of Zagreb is mentioned in documents in the fourteenth century without any hint of description, and again in a 1422 document written by John IV Alben, Bishop of Zagreb, describing an event when a 'bloody flag' (*vexillum curenium*, probably meaning a red flag) was hoisted from the belfry of St Mark's church.¹⁴

These are only isolated examples and there must be many more. A systematic study of these sources for vexillological contents has not even begun.

The author is not aware of municipal flags appearing depicted in medieval works of art. Even if flags are depicted, they are, as a rule, furled or simply too small to admit the inclusion of any details.¹⁵ Virtually the only source of flags depicted for the period is the portolans – richly decorated navigational maps often including drawings of flags flying at the more important ports.

In the portolans made between the fourteenth and seventeenth centuries, no more than six littoral cities are marked with their own flag (with a scattering of ports marked with flags of foreign rulers, like Rijeka with the Habsburg double eagle). These are, north to south, Senj, Zadar, Šibenik, Split, Neretva, and Dubrovnik.¹⁶ Since they are not really direct predecessors of the modern city's identity symbols, the flags from portolans are in the paper mentioned below, while dealing with more modern examples of the flags used by their respective cities, and only two with no intermediate flags are covered here.

Anyway, even if the available evidence provides frustratingly little detail, at least it confirms that municipal flags were used in the period, and that these already formed an important element of municipal identity.

Šibenik

While most cities along the eastern Adriatic were founded in antiquity, Šibenik (*Sebenico*) was established by the eleventh-century Croatian kings as their main port. After falling under Venetian control in the fifteenth century, it remained an important port until a catastrophic plague in the 1500s, from which the city was slow to recover. Šibenik is identified consistently in numerous portolans by a flag of a yellow field with a white disk bearing a red cross.¹⁷

A notable exception is the remarkable case of Aguiar's portolan (1492), showing

14 Ž. Heimer, *Grbovi i zastave Grada Zagreba* (Zagreb: Leykam International, 2009), p. 35.

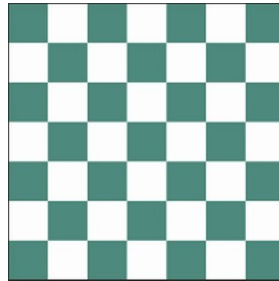
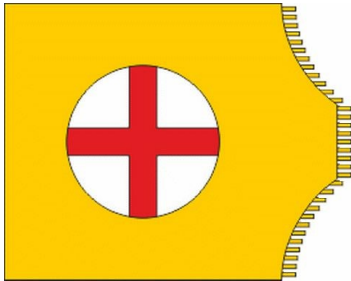
15 For example, the chest of St Simeon in Zadar includes a depiction of the arrival of King Louis I with his flags unfurled; the barry and semy fields of the Angevin coat of arms are recognisable but the city flag is not depicted. See detail in Jelena Borošak Marijanović, *Zastave kroz stoljeća: zbirka zastava i zastavnih vrpca Hrvatskog povijesnog muzeja* (Zagreb, Hrvatski povijesni muzej, 1996), p. 25.

16 T. Todorović, 'Zastave jadranskog priobalja na portolanskim kartama (1. dio)', *Grb i zastava*, 21 (2017), pp. 13-17.

17 Examples of portolans include: Angelino Dulcert, 1339; Abraham Cresques, *Catalan Atlas*, c.1375; Guillem Soler, c.1385; Cresques workshop, late 14th century; Mecia de Viladestes, 1413; Gabriel de Vallseca, 1447 (all Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris); Angelino Dalorto, 1330 (Biblioteca Principe Corsini, Florence); Lopo Homen, 1554 (Istituto e Museo di Storia della Scienza, Florence); Battista Beccario, 1426 (Bavarian State Library, Munich); Gabriel Vallseca, 1439; Pietro Russo, 1508 (all Maritime Museum, Barcelona).



Šibenik with a 7×7 green and white chequered square flag.¹⁸ This coincides with the oldest known use of the chequy shield for Croatia (in the Zeller house, Innsbruck, 1495)¹⁹ and may thus well represent the oldest known chequy flag/coat of arms representing Croatia.²⁰ However, that particular issue falls out of scope of this paper.



Šibenik: top left, flag in 15th- or 16th-century portolans; above, flag from 1492 portolan; left, flag adopted 24 July 1998

There is no known record of such flags used by Šibenik from other sources,²¹ while the orb with the cross is certainly a reference to St Michael, the patron saint of the city, as one of his regular attributes in the Christian iconography. From the thirteenth century, the city used seals with its patron saint spreading his wings over the city holding a similar orb in one hand and in the other a

18 Portolan, Jorge de Aguiar, 1492 (Yale University, New Haven CT). Todorović wondered if this flag was meant to represent Trogir, shown on the map next to Šibenik, as its staff appears to fall between the two towns. However, this seems unlikely on current evidence.

19 The chequy shield enters the heraldic area by 1500 and its use grows gradually until in 1527 it appears on a seal as the arms of the kingdom at the election of Ferdinand Habsburg as the Croatian king. See D. Peić Čaldarović and N. Stančić, *Povijest hrvatskoga grba: Hrvatski grb u mijenama hrvatske povijesti od 14. do početka 21. stoljeća* (Zagreb: Školska Knjiga, 2011), pp. 47-73.

20 The earliest depiction of a chequy pattern on a flag representing Croatia is claimed to be that in the *Emperor Maximilian I Triumphal Procession* (1512), see D. Peić Čaldarović, 'Nalazi Géze Pálffyja o najstarijim hrvatskim zastavama (Géza Pálffy's Findings on the Oldest Croatian Flags)', *Grb i zastava*, 20 (2016), pp. 1, 9-10. Also note that azure and argent chequy appears occasionally as an alternative design for Croatia until the late 17th century; see, for example, Čaldarović and Stančić, *Povijest hrvatskoga grba*, p. 59.

21 For a more detailed discussion of the '*Historical flags of Šibenik*', see <http://www.crwflags.com/fotw/flags/hr-si-si.html> ; for possible connections with Bosnia, Slavonia / Croatia and depiction in the *Libro del Conosçimiento* (c.1385), see J. Rubio Tovar (ed.), *El libro del conosçimiento de todos los regnos e tierras e señoríos que son por el mundo e de las señales e armas que han cada tierra e señorío por sí e de los reyes e señores que los proveen*, in Joaquín Rubio Tovar (ed.), *Viajes medievales*, vol. 1 (Madrid: Fundación José Antonio de Castro, 2005), pp. 347-404.

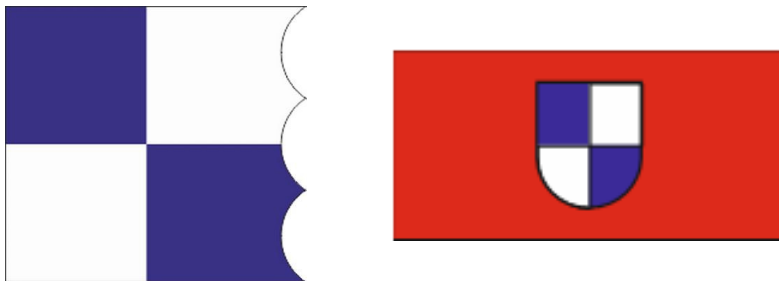


spear killing a devil beneath him.

No further city flag was recorded, not even when the 1993 coat of arms reverted to depicting the patron figure over the city, following the emblem depicting the city used in the 1980s. The design of the current coat of arms was adopted on 24 July 1998 from a drawing by Mladen Stojić (Heraldic Art d.o.o. Rijeka), when a blue flag with golden outlined coat of arms in its centre. These were approved by the Ministry on 21 October 1998.²²

Metković

A wider region around the confluence of the Neretva (*Narent*) river retained its independent or semi-independent status for centuries after the Christianisation of the Croats. Piracy was its most profitable industry well into the late medieval period. Its centre, far inland along the river from the location of modern Metković, was generally named after the river, although several locations are known to have used the name sequentially.²³



*Metković: left, flag of Narent in 15th-century portolans;
right, flag adopted 28 May 1996*

The oldest portolans include its flag with a blue and white quartered field.²⁴ Eventually, since the mid-fifteenth century the flag is (mis?)identified as the flag of Dubrovnik and is found in later portolans as such (see below), while Narent lost its importance.

22 'Statut Grada Šibenika, 15.4.1994', *Službeni vjesnik Županije šibenske*, 4/1994, 5.5.1994; *Duje Šilović - Priručnik grafičkih standarda za uporabu grba grada Šibenika* [unseen by author]; 'Odluka o grbu i zastavi Grada Šibenika, 24.7.1998', *Službeni vjesnik Šibensko-kninske županije*, 14/1998, 10.11.1998; 'Napomena uz Odluku o grbu i zastavi Grada Šibenika, 30.10.1998', *Službeni vjesnik Šibensko-kninske županije*, 14/1998, 10.11.1998; *Rješenje Ministarstva uprave, KLASA: UP/I-017-02/98-01/35, URBROJ: 515-04-03/1-98-2, 21.10.1998*; 'Statut Grada Šibenika, 27.11.2001', *Službeni vjesnik Šibensko-kninske županije*, 18/2001, 20.12.2001; 'Odluka o komunalnom redu, 23.7.2002', *Službeni vjesnik Šibensko-kninske županije*, 12/2002, 21.8.2002; 'Statut Grada Šibenika (pročišćeni tekst), 12.4.2006', *Službeni vjesnik Šibensko-kninske županije*, 6/2006, 28.4.2006; 'Statut Grada Šibenika, 8.7.2010', *Službeni glasnik Grada Šibenika*, 8/2010, 9.7.2010.

23 The actual location of medieval Narent is identified as the microlocation of the town of Drijeva near modern Gabela, slightly upstream of Metković in modern Bosnia and Herzegovina.

24 For further discussion, including a purple and white quartered flag in the *Libro del Conosçimiento* and possible links with Bosnia, see 'Narent (Croatia, 14th century)', http://www.crwflags.com/fotw/flags/hr_neret.html



The city of Metković developed from the fifteenth century, gaining in importance in the nineteenth century as the port for railway line to Bosnia. In the twentieth century, with establishment of the port of Ploče, further towards the confluence, it rather lost significance.

No flags were recorded for the city, which adopted a period-specific coat of arms in 1974, replaced in 1990 with another design, not approved by the Ministry. Eventually a design based on the ancient flags of Narent was adopted for the coat of arms on 28 May 1996, designed by Nikola Vučković. It is set in the centre of a red flag. The symbols were approved by the Ministry on 12 July 1996.²⁵

Maritime merchant ensigns, 1300-1700

Independent or semi-independent ports in the eastern Adriatic conducted important merchant traffic between the Middle East and the Western Europe. Further north-west, Venice of course was the most notable, but various lesser cities contested and competed with her at various periods. Merchant ships would have flown flags to denote their home port, as we know from the statutes mentioned above and the penal regulations they included.²⁶ Dubrovnik (*Ragusa*) was the most powerful Venetian adversary, but a number of others appeared from time to time. We have a suggestion on a possible flag used by Cres, but other cities – Split, Trogir, Šibenik, Makarska – may also have had their own at times.²⁷ Until such time that more material buried in local archives is revealed, we have only portolans to speculate on their fidelity.

25 'Odluka o grbu i zastavi Grada Metkovića, 28.5.1996', *Neretvanski glasnik*, 2/1996; *Rješenje Ministarstva uprave, KLASA: UP/I-017-02/96-01/50, URBROJ: 515-04-03/1-96-2, 12.7.1996*; 'Odluka o izmjenama i dopunama Odluke o grbu i zastavi Grada Metkovića, 15.7.1996'; 'Odluka o izmjeni Odluke o grbu i zastavi Grada Metkovića, 18.12.1998', *Neretvanski glasnik*, 3/1998, 30.12.1998; 'Odluka o davanju odobrenja za uporabu grba Grada Metkovića, 14.7.2006', *Neretvanski glasnik - Službeno glasilo Grada Metkovića, Grada Opuzena i općina Slivno, Zažablje, Kula Norinska, Pojezerje*, 6/2006, 1.9.2006; 'Statut Grada Metkovića (pročišćeni tekst), *Neretvanski glasnik - Službeno glasilo Grada Metkovića, Grada Opuzena i općina Slivno, Zažablje, Kula Norinska, Pojezerje*, 5/2007, 25.7.2007; 'Statut Grada Metkovića, 15.7.2009', *Neretvanski glasnik - Službeno glasilo Grada Metkovića, Grada Opuzena i općina Slivno, Zažablje, Kula Norinska, Pojezerje*, 4/2009, 27.7.2009; 'Statut Grada Metkovića (pročišćeni tekst), 30.10.2013', *Neretvanski glasnik - Službeno glasilo Grada Metkovića*, 7/2013, 5.11.2013.

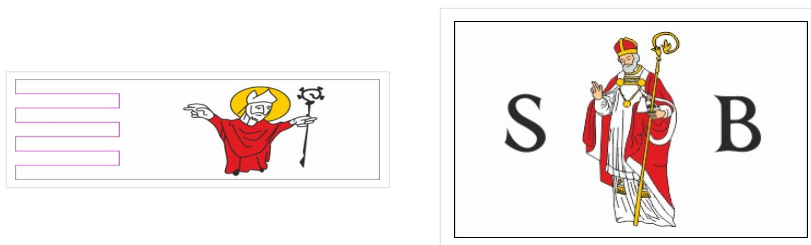
26 English vexillological sources often cite the Convention of Bruges (1297) as the earliest treaty ordering the use of a distinctive flag to denote a ship's nationality; for the full text, see 'Agreement entered into at Bruges between [King] Edward I and Guy, Count of Flanders, as to the behaviour at sea of English and Flemish ships, national flags, and redress of piracy' (Chancery Miscellanea, bundle 27, file 3, no. 19), cited in R.G. Marsden, *Documents Relating to Law and Custom of the Sea*, vol. 1 (The Navy Records Society, 1915), p. 46. The Cinque Ports may have followed the custom even earlier – see E.M.C. Barraclough, *Flags of the World* (London and New York: Frederick Warne and Co., 1965), p.22; also J. Luetić, 'O državnoj zastavi dubrovačke Republike', *Pomorski zbornik*, 5 (1967), p. 5 – and the statutes of Adriatic cities prescribe such a requirement at least two centuries earlier.

27 And the notable example of Zadar, mentioned above and covered in more detail below.



Dubrovnik

The statutes of Dubrovnik codified the traditional customary legislation of the city-republic in 1272, including a reference to the 'vexillum Beati Blasii'.²⁸ Saint Blasius had been venerated in Dubrovnik since the tenth century, and the elected rector (head of state) would have been sworn in under that flag. Merchant ships used as their principal ensign a white flag depicting the saint as a bishop, holding a crozier and a model of the city, flanked by the initials 'S B'; they also used a secondary ensign inscribed 'LIBERTAS', and a particular flag depicting the city arms, mostly used to indicate that high officials were present on board. The last was based on a treaty with the Croatian-Hungarian Kingdom (1358) that required the ships of Dubrovnik to fly the royal ensign (i.e. the flag of Louis I the Angevin, King of Hungary).²⁹ Grakalić cites Rešetar in noting several occasions during the following century when the city council ordered or discussed flags.³⁰



*Flags of Dubrovnik depicted in the Vesconte portolan (1320):
left, principal flag; right, principal ensign*



*Flags of Dubrovnik depicted in the Vesconte portolan (1320):
left, secondary flag and ensign; right, special ensign (rank flag)*

The three city flags mentioned above appeared in numerous artistic variations

28 *Liber Statutorum Civitatis Ragusii compositus anno MCCLXXII (Statut grada Dubrovnika sastavljen godine 1272)*, edited and translated into Croatian by Ante Šoljić, Zdravko Šundrica and Ivo Veselić; introductory study by Nella Lonza (Dubrovnik: Državni arhiv u Dubrovniku, 2002), p. 84. The phrase 'vixillum S. Blasij' may be an alternative reading from various points in the manuscript – see Luetić, 'O državnoj zastavi dubrovačke Republike', pp. 7, 12, 16; J. Luetić, 'Sveti Vlaho: državna zastava Dubrovačke Republike', *Croatica Christiana periodica*, 16 (1992), pp. 29, 81. Luetić, 'O državnoj zastavi dubrovačke Republike' also cites other names used for the flag in the minutes of the Republic's government: 'Vexillum nostrae reipublicae' (1684) and 'Vexillo nostrae nationes' (1696).

29 See also Ž. Heimer, 'The Naval Flags on the Eastern Adriatic', in F. Gregoric (ed.), *Vexillobaires 2005: Proceedings of the XXI International Congress of Vexillology, Buenos Aires, 1-5 August 2005* (Buenos Aires: Vexillobaires 2005 Organization Committee, 2009), pp. 211-50.

30 Marijan Grakalić, *Hrvatski grb (Grbovi hrvatskih zemalja)*, p. 66.



in different sources over the centuries.³¹ While some portolans depict the St Blasius flag,³² we should note that other portolans and early flag charts present flags that are perhaps bogus but were copied from edition to edition and have thus entered various vexillological works. Among them are a white flag with three blue diagonal stripes, originating as a heraldic banner from a coat of arms erroneously ascribed to Dubrovnik,³³ a quartered blue and white flag (misplaced for Narent as mentioned above),³⁴ and a similar red and white quartered flag³⁵ that may be a miscolouring of the above, possibly influenced by Croatian (and Hungarian, and thus also Dubrovnik) colours. The author is inclined to believe that the simple quartered flag of nearby Narent was misplaced in a portolan – an error perpetuated thereafter by copying (and perhaps also because illustrators preferred a simple flag instead of one depicting a human figure).

On 27 December 1807 the Republic was occupied by the French army under Napoleon, and that same day Général de division Alexandre Lauriston, commander of the occupying forces, banned the use of Dubrovnik's flag on ships, to be replaced by the Napoleonic Italian ensign. Napoleon decreed the end of the Republic on 31 January 1808, when the use of the ancient flag was finally ended.³⁶ The use of banners with St Blasius was nevertheless retained, used ever since as ecclesiastic processional banners, especially in connection with the Feast of St Blasius, on 3 February, and the city flag was eventually used as an element of cultural heritage in the twentieth century. The secondary ensign, with its inscription in various graphical formats, mostly as a red flag with yellow letters, was resurrected as the flag of the Dubrovnik Summer Festival, the most prestigious Croatian festival with a programme of classical music, theatre, opera and dance instituted in 1950. The flag was hoisted during the festival on the main standard (see below). From 1990, a white version with further variations of the inscription artwork is increasingly used instead.



*Dubrovnik:
modern city flag adopted
29 December 1993*

However, when the city debated its flag after the 1993 administrative reforms, it returned to the historical St Blasius flag, adopted on 29 December 1993 and confirmed in all municipal statutes since.³⁷ It is probably approved by the central

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- 31 E.g. portolan, Pietro Vesconte, 1320 (Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Pal. lat. 1362 A, p.5v; Vat.lat.2972, p. 109r).
32 E.g. portolan, Francesco de Cesanis, 1421 (Museo Correr, Venice).
33 E.g. portolan, Vesconte Maggiolo, 1519 (Bavarian State Library, Munich).
34 E.g. portolan, Pietro Russo, 1508 (Maritime Museum, Barcelona).
35 E.g. portolan, Joan Martines, 1567 (Bodleian Library, Oxford).
36 Luetić, 'O državnoj zastavi dubrovačke Republike', p. 15.
37 'Odluka o grbu i zastavi Grada Dubrovnika, 29.12.1993', *Službeni glasnik Županije Dubrovačko-neretvanske, Grada Dubrovnika, Općine Konavle, Općine Mljet, Općine Ston*, 1/1994, 2.2.1994; 'Zaključak o isticanju zastave Republike Hrvatske na Orlandovu stupu, 27.8.2002', *Službeni glasnik Grada Dubrovnika*, 6/2002, 3.9.2002; 'Statut Grada Dubrovnika (pročišćeni tekst)', *Službeni glasnik Grada Dubrovnika*, 1/2001, 23.1.2001; 'Statut Grada



authorities but formal documentation is not currently extant.

Cres

From 1993, the statutes of the city of Cres (Italian *Cherso*, German *Kersch*) include a preamble that, among other points regarding its history, mentions the ancient city symbols. The preamble, entitled *Historical Foundations*, claims that the coat of arms of Cres was 'in use by 1300, and consisted of a shield and a small horse standing on two legs, with a lion's tail and an open mouth showing a long tongue', a more or less decent description of a heraldic hippopanther.

The claim continues with a description of the flag 'Equally, the flag of Cres consisting of alternating blue and gold stripes with the traditional coat of arms in its centre, has already been used for seven centuries.'³⁸



Cres: top left, 'flag in use for seven centuries' reconstructed according to the Statutes 1993-2009; above, flag adopted 2 January 1995; left, ceremonial flag prescribed 2001

While the former claim regarding the coat of arms could be easily confirmed,³⁹

Dubrovnik, 30.11.2001', *Službeni glasnik Grada Dubrovnika*, 9/2001, 3.12.2001; 'Statut Grada Dubrovnika (pročišćeni tekst)', *Službeni glasnik Grada Dubrovnika*, 2/2006, 27.1.2006; 'Statut Grada Dubrovnika, 3.7.2009', *Službeni glasnik Grada Dubrovnika*, 4/2009, 3.7.2009; 'Statut Grada Dubrovnika (pročišćeni tekst), 2.4.2013', *Službeni glasnik Grada Dubrovnika*, 6/2013, 8.4.2013.

38 'Statut Općine Cres, 9.12.1993', *Službene novine Županije primorsko-goranske*, 17/1993, 9.12.1993; 'Statut Grada Cresa, 11.10.2001', *Službene novine Primorsko-goranske županije*, 25/2001, 11.10.2001; 'Statut Grada Cresa (pročišćeni tekst)', *Službene novine Primorsko-goranske županije*, 37/2007, 5.10.2007; 'Statut Grada Cresa, 23.7.2009', *Službene novine Primorsko-goranske županije*, 29/2009, 25.7.2009.

39 J. Ćus Rukonić, 'Grbovi grada Cresa', *Kačić*, 41-3 (2009-11), pp. 852-62, <https://www.yumpu.com/xx/document/view/20883537/grbovi-grada-cresa>



the latter on the flag is rather dubious. The author found no source to confirm it, while the authority on the Cres heraldry Ms Ćus Rukonić also remains puzzled as to where the municipal assembly got the idea.⁴⁰ But further research may eventually reveal more.

In any case, when the city was adopting its symbols in accordance with the contemporary legislation the historical coat of arms was adopted in modern graphical style by Mladen Stojić (Heraldic Art d.o.o. Rijeka) on 2 January 1995, differing only in minor artistic details from the historic representations. However, the city flag was adopted blue with the coat of arms in the centre, outlined in gold.⁴¹ The design of the coat of arms and the flag were approved by the Ministry, probably in the same year, but the author was unable to locate the approval document. The ceremonial flag probably produced in the meantime, appears in decisions only from 2001. It is a gonfalon ending in a single point, with the coat of arms in the centre, the city name in two curves above and ornaments of olive branches and a bunch of grapes below.

City flags of military origin, 1600-1800

The municipal flags of inland towns are recorded later than those of the ports, although they would have been used in similar manner in the preceding centuries – but none have been preserved to the present time. As noted above, their mentions in manuscripts are mostly vague. However, cities that had certain status, such as free and royal cities had also an obligation to maintain military units of certain sizes. The units provided by these cities would have been equipped with one or more flags. Such flags were recorded in Senj, Koprivnica, Požega, Zagreb and Samobor. It seems be the case that once these flags became obsolete as military equipment, they continued in use as ceremonial city flags.⁴²

From this period we have record of practice that must have already been traditional in the entire Adriatic littoral if not even more widespread among the coastal cities of Mediterranean. Namely, each coastal city had a special mast, usually on the main square, termed the city standard or simply the standard (with variants in local dialects such as *štandardc*), that would hoist the city flag, or at time the appropriate flag of foreign rulers. The city of Rijeka gained its first flag indeed through the practice of defacing the Austrian flag with the city arms.

[accessed 22 October 2022]; G. Oštrić, *Monumenta heraldica, izbor iz heraldičke baštine primorsko-goranske županije* (Rijeka: Pomorski i povijesni muzej hrvatskog primorja Rijeka, 2002), p. 63.

40 Personal communication with Ćus Rukonić, 2008.

41 'Odluka o grbu i zastavi Općine Cres, 2.1.1995', *Službene novine Županije primorsko-goranske*, 1/1995, 20.1.1995; 'Odluka o izmjeni i dopuni Odluke o grbu i zastavi Općine Cres, 7.12.1995', *Službene novine Županije primorsko-goranske*, 27/1995, 27.12.1995; 'Odluka o grbu i zastavi Općine Cres (pročišćeni tekst), 7.12.1995', *Službene novine Županije primorsko-goranske*, 27/1995, 27.12.1995; 'Statut Grada Cresa, 11.10.2001', *Službene novine Primorsko-goranske županije*, 25/2001, 11.10.2001; 'Odluka o uporabi i zaštiti grba i zastave Grada Cresa, 5.12.2001', *Službene novine Primorsko-goranske županije*, 32/2001, 15.12.2001; 'Odluka o izmjenama Odluke o uporabi i zaštiti grba i zastave Grada Cresa, 20.2.2003', *Službene novine Primorsko-goranske županije*, 5/2003, 7.3.2003.

42 Such flags dated 1723 and 1801 were recorded in the small noble community of Draganić; briefly described in E. Laszowski, 'Draganićke zastave', *Vjesnik Hrvatskog arheološkog društva*, NS 5 (1901), p. 244.



Senj

While the oldest recorded flags of Senj (Italian *Segna*, German *Zengg*) are from the portolans, depicting virtually the banner of arms of its Frankopan rulers (per fess gules a mullet argent and or), it must have been rather obsolete while these maps were still being produced and copied. Although relatively simple flag, it was, no doubt through numerous copying from each other, deformed into many variations, the (eight- or six-pointed) mullet in the red field being sometimes shown as a golden or silver disk, or as golden or silver saltires or as a combined saltire and cross, occasionally omitting the yellow fly part at all.⁴³ Eventually, these were all but forgotten in the collective municipal memory.



Senj: above left, flag from 15th or 16th-century portolans; above, reconstruction of the 17th-century flag; left, flag adopted 15 April 1992

The city of Senj was using seals with iconographic depiction of St George killing the dragon from at least 1268, and this was 'heraldised' into a shield shape by the seventeenth century. However, in 1607 King Rudolf I of Croatia (Rudolf II of the Holy Roman Empire) confirmed the municipal rights and granted a somewhat modified coat of arms that has been used ever since interchangeably with the old one. The Rudolf design was used in the city flag, one with a tricoloured background of red, green and blue.⁴⁴ This flag was not preserved, and was possibly in a banner form of vertical stripes with the coat of arms in the centre.

In 1992 the city adopted a modified historical coat of arms depicting St George killing the dragon on a blue shield in front of a stylised chequy red pattern reminiscent of the national arms, figuratively representing the Nehaj fortress in Senj. The shield is enclosed within an ornate wreath. The flag adopted was a tricolour of red-blue-green horizontal stripes with the shield of the arms (without the ornamental wreath) in the centre. The symbols were approved by

⁴³ Todorović, 'Zastave jadranskog priobalja'.

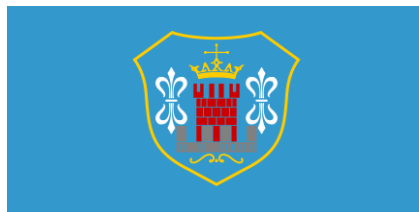
⁴⁴ E. Ljubović, 'Povijesni razvoj grba Grada Senja (The Development of the City of Senj Coat of Arms)', *Grb i zastava*, 3 (2008), pp. 5-7; A. Gulin, 'Pečati i grbovi grada Senja', *Senjski zbornik*, 20 (1993), pp. 55-78; E. Laszowski, 'Prilog k hrvatskoj sfragistici II', *Vjesnik Hrvatskog arheološkog društva*, NS 5 (1901), p. 83.



the Ministry probably in 1993 or 1994, but the document is unknown. The symbols are described in subsequent city statutes.⁴⁵

Koprivnica

The seal of Koprivnica (Hungarian *Kapronca*, German *Kopreinitz*) of 1545 depicts a tower with two severed Ottoman heads displayed from it between two double fleurs de lys and ensigned with a crown.



Koprivnica: left, the 1718 flag; right, flag adopted 9 April 1991

The coat of arms was used subsequently in various artistic representations, eventually modified by the removal of the severed heads.

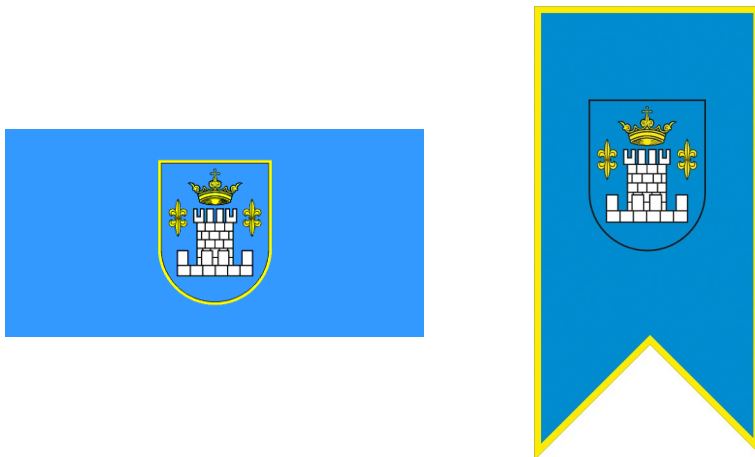
The 'ideological' elements – the crown and initially also the fleurs de lis (soon to reappear) were also removed and replaced with a red five-pointed star in the second half of the twentieth century (1966).

A city flag of 1718 is preserved in the Croatian History Museum collection. It is swallow-tailed, double-sided, and fabricated from a single piece of damask silk, coloured dark red and measuring 107×132 cm. In the centre of the obverse there is a depiction of the Austrian coat of arms with the ruler's insignia, with a breast medallion depicting, in icon form, the Mother of God with the Christ Child.

Above the iconographic-heraldic depiction is inscribed, *AVXILIUM CHRISTIANORUM* ('Help of Christians'), and below, the year: *17-18*. On the reverse there is the coat of arms of the city of Koprivnica within a wreath, with the inscription above *CIVIT: CAPRON:* (i.e. *Civitas Capronitza*, the City of Koprivnica). The year *17-18* is inscribed here below the wreath as well. Wool canvas is sewn along the top edge of the flag for the sleeve. The flag is edged with dark red silk fringe, 2 cm wide. It was restored in the Croatian Restoration Institute in 2013.⁴⁶

45 'Statut Grada Senja, 23.6.2009', *Službeni glasnik Grada Senja*, 6/2009, 29.6.2009; 'Statut Grada Senja (pročišćeni tekst), 10.9.2013', *Službeni glasnik Grada Senja*, 10/2013, 10.9.2013.

46 V. Bošnjak, 'Zastava Slobodnog i kraljevskog grada Koprivnice iz 1718: od fragmenta do izvornog oblika (The 1718 Flag of the Free and Royal City of Koprivnica: From Fragments to the Original Shape)', *Grb i zastava*, 16 (2014), pp. 1, 10–11; Jelena Borošak Marijanović, 'Zastava slob. i kr. grada Koprivnice iz 1718. godine', *Podravski zbornik*, 26/27 (2000/01), pp. 87-90.



*Koprivnica: left, flag prescribed 23 March 2010;
right, ceremonial flag adopted 28 March 1996*

No other flag was recorded until 9 April 1991, when a graphically modernised version of the historical coat of arms, designed by Josip Gregurić, was introduced, set in the centre of a light blue flag.⁴⁷ The design did not gain Ministry approval, and it was eventually replaced on 28 March 1996 with the current one designed by Draženka Jalšić Ernečić, including basically the same elements, and approved on 12 July 1996. The ceremonial flag, in swallow-tailed gonfalon form with a golden border was prescribed at the same time. Eventually in 2010, very minor artistic details were modified in the design (including addition of the yellow outline around the coat of arms) and the golden border from the ceremonial flag was dropped.⁴⁸

Zagreb

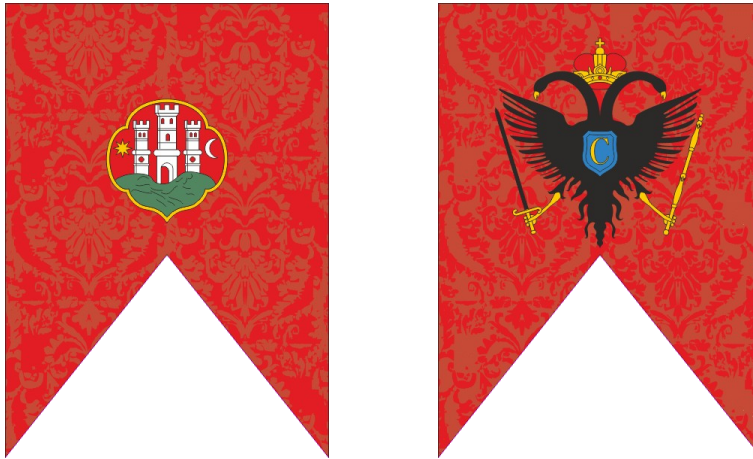
As mentioned above, there are written evidence that Zagreb (German *Agram*, Hungarian *Zágráb*) was already using a flag in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, but beyond a hint that it was red, we know nothing of it.⁴⁹ The oldest preserved flag is actually a flag of a Zagreb military unit made in the first half of

47 F. Horvatić, 'Grbovi i zastave Grada Koprivnice', *Podravski zbornik*, 18 (1992), pp. 65-70

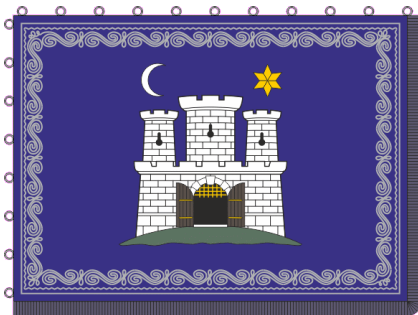
48 D. Ernečić, *Grbovi i zastave Koprivničko-križevačke županije* (Muzej Grada Koprivnice, 2003); 'Odluka o grbu i zastavi Grada Koprivnice', *Službeni glasnik Općine Koprivnice*, 3/1991, 26.4.1991; 'Statut Grada Koprivnice, 6.12.1993', *Službeni glasnik Županije Koprivničko-Križevačke*, 5/1993, 14.12.1993; 'Odluka o grbu i zastavi Grada Koprivnice, 28.3.1996', *Glasnik Grada Koprivnice*, 1/1996, 1.4.1996; 'Odluka o izmjeni i dopuni Odluke o grbu i zastavi Grada Koprivnice, 24.4.1996', *Glasnik Grada Koprivnice*, 2/1996; *Rješenje Ministarstva uprave, KLASA: UP/I-017-02/96-01/39, URBROJ: 515-04-03/1-96-3*, 12.7.1996; 'Odluka o izmjenama Odluke o grbu i zastavi Grada Koprivnice, 26.9.2002', *Glasnik Grada Koprivnice*, 9/2002, 27.9.2002; 'Statut Grada Koprivnice (pročišćeni tekst), 14.6.2005', *Glasnik Grada Koprivnice*, 4/2005, 14.6.2005; 'Odluka o izmjeni i dopuni Odluke o grbu i zastavi Grada Koprivnice, 17.3.2008', *Glasnik Grada Koprivnice*, 1/2008, 18.3.2008; 'Statut Grada Koprivnice, 3.7.2009', *Glasnik Grada Koprivnice*, 4/2009, 6.7.2009; 'Odluka o utvrđivanju mjerila za uporabu grba i zastave Grada Koprivnice, 23.3.2010', *Glasnik Grada Koprivnice*, 2/2010, 24.3.2010; 'Statut Grada Koprivnice (pročišćeni tekst), 7.10.2013', *Glasnik Grada Koprivnice*, 3/2013, 25.10.2013.



the eighteenth century, and afterwards used as a civil flag. The flag is a swallow-tailed banner of red silk, not much different from the Koprivnica flag described above.



Zagreb: flag of Gradec (Zagreb), made 1711-40, obverse and reverse



Zagreb: above left, flag adopted 5 May 1902, manufactured 1916; above right, flag prescribed 26 June 1964; left, flag adopted 1999

On its obverse is painted the city coat of arms in a cartouche: gules on a hill vert three towers argent between a crescent and a star. The reverse depicts the black Habsburg double-headed eagle displayed, topped with a crown and holding a sword and a sceptre, bearing an escutcheon azure with a cipher 'C' or – for *Carolus VI*, the Croatian-Hungarian king Charles VI (Emperor Charles III).⁵⁰

The flag fell into disuse by the second half of the nineteenth century, and in any case the city was reorganised in 1850 and adopted a new coat of arms in 1896,

49 For a detailed report on the Zagreb flags, see Ž. Heimer, 'Flags of Zagreb', in Gerd Vehres (ed.), *Proceedings of the XXII International Congress of Vexillology, 'FlagBerlin 2007', Berlin, 6-10 August 2007* (Berlin, Deutsche Gesellschaft für Flaggenkunde, 2009), pp. 359-86; also Heimer, *Grbovi i zastave Grada Zagreba*.

50 N. Premerl, *Vodič Muzeja grada Zagreba* (Zagreb: Muzej grada Zagreba, 2002).



featuring a blue background and other minor differences. A new flag was adopted based upon it in 1902,⁵¹ but manufactured only in 1916 in a single example. The flag is banner of arms: blue with the three-towered city argent issuant from a mount vert between in the chief a mullet or and a crescent also argent. The field is bordered with a silver ornamental scrollwork and it was attached to a staff with a gallery. After the Second World War it was defaced with a red five-pointed star in the chief and eventually delivered for safekeeping to the Zagreb City Museum.

The 1964 statutes prescribed basically the same undefaced flag as the city flag – blue with the charges from the coat of arms without the shield, repeated in the 1968 statutes, while the 1975 statutes added a red five-pointed star in the canton, again repeated in the 1988 statutes. In 1992 a statutory decision prescribed a blue flag with the (complete) coat of arms in the centre, included in the 1993 temporary statutes, and eventually on 14 December 1999 the current design by Mladen Stojić was adopted and received approval on 4 May 2000.⁵²

Samobor

A seal of Samobor (German and Hungarian *Szamobor*) is preserved from the sixteenth century depicting a tower on a rocky mount between two branches of thorns. It was confirmed by King Leopold II in 1525 and also by King Ferdinand I in 1528.⁵³

Documents mention flags of Samobor in the seventeenth century, when there were two city flags, one for hoisting on the city square and the other 'to be carried in war'. The flag preserved in the City Museum of Samobor is dated 1756, and it is considered to have been made following the design of one or other of the two previously mentioned.⁵⁴

51 'Zapisnik skupštine gr. zastupstva, 4. kolovoz 1902', Državni arhiv u Zagrebu (State Archives in Zagreb)

52 'Statut grada Zagreba, 26.6.1964', *Službeni glasnik grada Zagreba*, 14/1964, 12.7.1964; 'Statut grada Zagreba, 8.5.1968', *Službeni glasnik grada Zagreba*, 8/1968, 15.5.1968; 'Ispravak Statuta grada Zagreba, 27.12.1968', *Službeni glasnik grada Zagreba*, 22/1968; 'Statut grada Zagreba (pročišćeni tekst)', *Službeni glasnik grada Zagreba*, 6/1971, 20.4.1971; 'Statut grada Zagreba, 30.6.1975', *Službeni glasnik grada Zagreba*, 12/1975, 10.7.1975; 'Statut Grada Zagreba (pročišćeni tekst)', *Službeni glasnik grada Zagreba*, 8/1988, 3.3.1988; 'Statutarna odluka o grbu i zastavi Grada Zagreba, 12.11.1992', *Službeni glasnik Grada Zagreba*, 17/1992, 12.11.1992; 'Privremeni statut Grada Zagreba, 15.4.1993', *Službeni glasnik Grada Zagreba*, 9/1993, 26.4.1993; 'Statut Grada Zagreba, 14.12.1999', *Sl. glasnik Grada Zagreba*, 19/1999, 14.12.1999; 'Statutarna odluka o izmjenama i dopunama Statuta Grada Zagreba, 13.12.2001', *Sl. glasnik Grada Zagreba*, 19/2001, 13.12.2001; 'Statut Grada Zagreba (pročišćeni tekst), 19.12.2001', *Sl. glasnik Grada Zagreba*, 20/2001, 24.12.2001; 'Statutarna odluka o izmjenama i dopunama Statuta Grada Zagreba, 27.10.2005', *Sl. glasnik Grada Zagreba*, 18/2005, 27.10.2005.

53 E. Laszowski, 'Prilog k hrvatskoj sfragistici', *Vjesnik Hrvatskog arheološkog društva*, 1/1 (1895), pp. 120–36.

54 I. Brekalo, 'Iz pismohrane samoborskog muzeja: Samoborske zastave kroz stoljeća – "Varošku zastavu u muzikom sprevajali..."', *Samoborski glasnik*, Samobor, 2 March 2002; D. Feletar, *Samobor: u povodu 762. obljetnice grada Samobora: pretisak 1943* (Samobor: Meridijani, 2004), p. 6.



Samobor: flag of 1756

The flag is of red silk, semée with roses or. On the obverse, a double eagle displayed sable, both heads crowned, beaked and haloed or, membered also or holding in the dexter a sceptre and in the sinister a sword, and between the two heads an orb. On the breast the coat of arms of the city is set in a golden cartouche: gules a tower argent issuant from rocks proper and in the chief the cypher *MT* (Maria Theresa) argent. A sentinel in armour stands on the tower gates. The shield is crowned and surrounded with a blue ribbon with an inscription or, *Sigillum Communitatis Szamobor* (ie *Seal of the Community of Samobor*). Along the hoist in a blue cartouche inscribed or in four lines, *Vexillum privilegiati oppidi / oppidanorum expensis ivdex / 17. Civivm Szamobor 56. / F. F.* ('The flag of citizens of the privileged city presented at the expense of the judge of the City of Samobor, 1756, F. F.')⁵⁵ The flag is bordered on the three outer edges compony gules and argent. The reverse, also red semée with roses, depicts crucified Jesus, inscribed along the hoist, *Salvator Mvndi salva nos* ('Saviour of the World, Save Us').⁵⁶

This was the ceremonial flag that was hoisted during the elections, on other important events and on church holy days, and is still documented in use in 1830. It may also have been in use on particular occasions as late as 1918 or even afterwards. In 1943, it was reported to be in the municipal archives, and is today preserved in the City Museum, awaiting restoration.

In the 1990s Samobor adopted a white flag with the coat of arms based on the historical design. It had a wide golden border and the branches with seven green leaves each flanking the tower. The city name was inscribed in the chief and the year 1242 (when the city gained its free and royal status) in the base. This was not approved by the Ministry.⁵⁷

Eventually on 28 February 2007 the city adopted a modernised solution

55 From 15 September 1753 to 3 February 1764, the judge of Samobor was Marko Regović, who presumably financed the production of this flag, see Feletar, *Samobor: u povodu 762. obljetnice grada Samobora*, p. 16. The text *F.F.* may stand for the manufacturer's initials or for *Filius Fecit* ('made by [his] son').

56 I. Brekalo (ed.), *Arhivska građa za povijest Samobora: XIII-XIX. stoljeće: povodom obilježavanja 750. godišnjice Samobora* (Samobor: Samoborski muzej, 1993)

57 'Statut Grada Samobora', *Službene vijesti Grada Samobora*, 1/1993, 1/1994, 1/1995, 9/1998, 2/2001 [unseen by author]; 'Statut Grada Samobora, 5.6.2002', *Službene vijesti Grada Samobora*, 4/2002; 'Statut Grada Samobora (pročišćeni tekst), 3.4.2006', *Službene vijesti Grada Samobora*, 2/2006, 11.4.2006.



designed by Aida Čorbo Grozić and Romano Grozić, which included the arms within a golden border on a white flag. It was approved on 2 April 2007.⁵⁸



Samobor: left, flag in use in the 1990s;
right, flag adopted 2007

Požega

The coat of arms of Požega (German *Poschegg*, Hungarian *Pozsega*, 1921–1991 officially *Slavonska Požega*) has been in use at least since 1702, and was officially granted on 1 September 1765 by Empress and Queen Maria Theresa, granting the town the status of a Free and Royal City.⁵⁹ (Unfortunately, the original document was lost to fire in 1842). It consists of a blue shield in a baroque ornamented border, with three towered city walls below a golden falcon with spread wings, silver crescent and star, and a golden radiating sun.

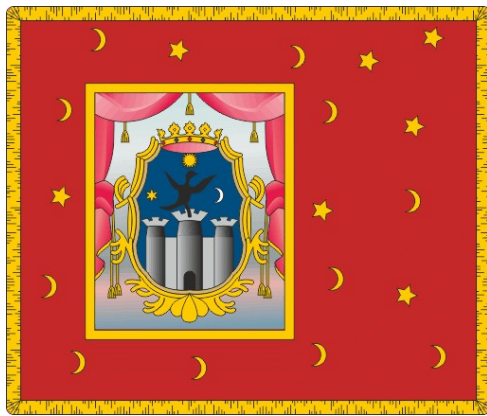
The flag of the civic infantry company (*Phalanga civica*, *Militia civica*) was dated c.1800, of red rectangular silk flag semée with golden embroidered mullets of five points and crescents, with a golden edged rectangular painted panel off-set to the hoist. The panel depicts the city arms surrounded with pink curtains on the obverse, and patron saints of the city, SS. Roch and Florian. The entire flag is edged on all four edges with a golden fringe. As in some other examples mentioned above, the company originally had general order and security functions, but by the end of the nineteenth century it was merely a ceremonial unit, while the flag it used was symbolic of the city itself.⁶⁰

The flag was used well into the twentieth century and in 1930 was delivered in bad shape to the city museum, where it was restored in 2007. No other city flag was made until 1977, when one was created for the occasion of the city's 750th anniversary. The city assembly actually adopted a decision on a new city flag in late 1974, and the flag was embroidered in the Sisters of Mercy workshop in Zagreb from a design by Prof. Frane Paro. It was publicly presented at the ceremonial sesoctocentennial assembly session held on 12 September 1977.

58 'Statutarna odluka o izmjenama i dopunama Statuta Grada Samobora, 28.2.2007', *Službene vijesti Grada Samobora*, 1/2007, 12.3.2007; 'Odluka o pečatu, grbu i zastavi Grada Samobora, 28.6.2007', *Službene vijesti Grada Samobora*, 4/2007, 29.6.2007; 'Rješenje Središnjeg državnog ureda za upravu, KLASA: UP/I-017-01/07-01/15, URBROJ: 515-10/06-07-3, 2.4.2007; 'Statut Grada Samobora: pročišćeni tekst, 24.8.2009', *Službene vijesti Grada Samobora*, 6/2009, 26.8.2009; 'Statut Grada Samobora: pročišćeni tekst', 19.11.2012, *Službene vijesti Grada Samobora*, 7/2012, 29.11.2012.

59 Original grant destroyed in fire in 1842; for a transcript see J. Kempf, *Požega - zemljopisne bilješke iz okoline i prilozi za povijest slob. i kr. grada Požege i Požeške županije* (Požega, 1910), pp. 347-52.

60 M. Šperanda, *Zastave povijesne zbirke Gradskog muzeja Požege: Izložbena dvorana od 14. do 22. svibnja 2003. godine* (Požega: Gradski muzej Požega, 2003), pp. 4-5; M. Šperanda, 'Restauracija zbirke zastava i odora u Povijesnom odjelu Gradskog muzeja Požege', *Vjesnik Gradskog muzeja Požege*, 6 (2009), pp. 22-3.



Požega: militia flag, c.1800



Požega: 1977 anniversary flags



Požega: flag adopted 9 September 1993, obverse and reverse

The blue silk flag is fringed with gold. The obverse depicts the city coat of arms, with the red five-pointed star incorporated in the ornament, and the city name inscribed below it. The reverse contains an ornament of ears of corn and vines with the years of the anniversary surrounded with rays formed by flowers symbolically representing surrounding villages. The inscriptions name the Požega Valley in Latin and in Croatian, *Vallis Aurea - Požeška kotlina*. After the



celebrations, the flag was delivered for safekeeping to the Požega city museum.⁶¹

The original coat of arms was readopted on 9 September 1993, when a new flag was devised as well, somewhat inspired by the 1977 design, and also may be considered a kind of a ceremonial flag, even if it was produced in more than a single example. The symbols were approved by the Ministry on 28 October 1993.⁶²

The city flag has on the obverse the embroidered coat of arms above the inscription *POŽEGA* in the blue field and on the reverse three richly ornamented roundels containing depictions of Fra Luka Ibrišimović, the leader of an uprising against the Turks and the liberator of the city in 1688, Saint Teresa of Avila, patron saint of the city, and the column of the Holy Trinity, erected in the city centre in 1749, in memory of 798 citizens who died in the plague of 1739 (when city numbered only 2,000 inhabitants). While the original ceremonial flag is preserved in the city museum, its replicas, also produced in rich embroidery, are used by the city authorities. Printed versions with minor variations in colours and details were also made. Flags with the coat of arms printed on both sides in the horizontal layout and the more usual 1:2 ratio were also noted in use, however, these are not official.

Rijeka

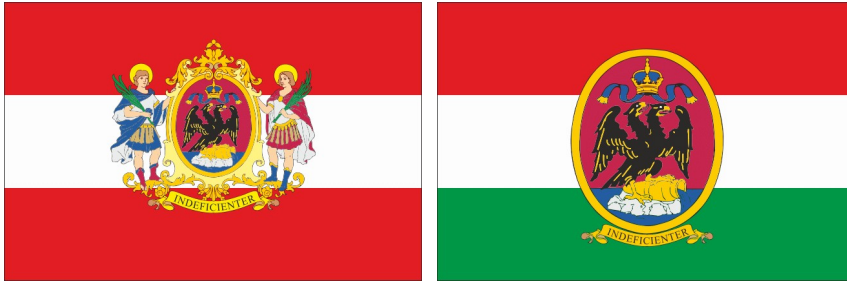
The complex history of the port of Rijeka or Fiume, together with the complex designs of flags can only be presented briefly here.

After the Napoleonic wars, the city was restored to Habsburg control. It was given the right to fly the red-white-red triband on the city standard defaced with the city arms granted by King Leopold I on 6 June 1659 depicting on gules a double eagle ensigned with an imperial crown facing sinister standing on a rock in a sea holding with its sinister claw a vase pouring water. The oval shield had a ribbon beneath inscribed *Indeficienter* ('Inexhaustible').

- 61 E. Geber (ed.), 'Zastava grada Slavonske Požege', *Vjesnik Muzeja Požeške kotline* (Slavonska Požega), 1 (1977), p. 137, front and back covers; Šperanda, *Zastave povijesne zbirke Gradskog muzeja Požege*, pp. 6-7; Šperanda, 'Restauracija zbirke zastava i odora', p. 25.
- 62 'Odluka o grbu, zastavi i danu Grada Požege, 9.9.1993', *Službeno glasilo Grada Požege*, 2/1993, 10.9.1993; 'Statut Grada Požege', *Službeno glasilo Grada Požege*, 3/1993 [unseen by author]; 'Rješenje Ministarstva uprave, KLASA: UP/I-017-02/93-01/17, URBROJ: 515-04-03/1-93-2, 28.10.1993; 'Statut Grada Požege (pročišćeni tekst), 1.6.1998', *Službene novine Grada Požege*, 5/1998, 3.6.1998; 'Odluka o izmjeni Odluke o grbu, zastavi i Danu Grada Požege, 30.4.1999', *Službene novine Grada Požege*, 4/1999, 3.5.1999; 'Statut Grada Požege, 11.10.2001', *Službene novine Grada Požege*, 7/2001, 12.10.2001; 'Statut Grada Požege (pročišćeni tekst)', *Službene novine Grada Požege*, 19/2003 [unseen by author]; *Izmjena Statuta*, 22/2003 [unseen by author]; 'Odluka o izmjeni i dopuni Odluke o grbu, zastavi i danu Grada Požege, 26.9.2007', *Službene novine Grada Požege*, 15/2007, 27.9.2007; 'Statut Grada Požege, 19.6.2009', *Službene novine Grada Požege*, 15/2009, 19.6.2009; 'Odluka o izmjeni i dopuni Odluke o grbu, zastavi i danu Grada Požege, 10.9.2009', *Službene novine Grada Požege*, 18/2009, 11.9.2009; 'Odluka o izmjeni i dopuni Odluke o grbu, zastavi i danu Grada Požege, 9.2.2010', *Službene novine Grada Požege*, 2/2010, 10.2.2010; 'Statut Grada Požege, 8.2.2013', *Službene novine Grada Požege*, 3/2013, 15.2.2013.



By this time, supporters were usually added in the figures of SS Vitus and Modestus, patron saints of Rijeka, clad as Roman soldiers, both holding palm branches. Returning to the status of *corpus separatum* of the Hungarian crown in 1835, the flag was changed to the Hungarian tricolour, mainly used without the supporters around the coat of arms. In 1849, to resolve the ambiguity, a separate flag was proposed to be displayed from the standard, based on the armorial colours of carmine red, golden-yellow, and ultramarine blue.⁶³ Then the city administration was disbanded until 1857, and thus unable to use a flag.



Rijeka: left, Austrian merchant flag defaced with the city arms, used c.1813-35 and 1858-70; right, Hungarian version used 1835-48

In 1858 the red-white-red flag ('the maritime ensign of Austrian merchant vessels') with the arms was readopted,⁶⁴ and eventually after much political struggle, approval by the Hungarian interior ministry was gained for the red-yellow-blue flag only on 18 November 1870.⁶⁵ Since c.1900 the coat of arms is used mostly without the supporters.⁶⁶

After the First World War Rijeka was granted a brief period of sovereignty and this flag was the flag of an internationally recognised Free City,⁶⁷ but in 1924 it became a part of the Kingdom of Italy.

The local politicians insisted on 'beheading' the double eagle in the coat of arms, i.e. replacing the 'German' double eagle with a 'Roman' single-headed one. Although the royal heraldic commission suggested otherwise, local politics was stronger and the single-headed eagle was used in the municipal coats of arms, set on the tricolour in most various artistic styles. Eventually, on 24 July 1941 the president of the government granted a new coat of arms with the so-

63 G. Kobler, *Memorie per la storia della liburnica città di Fiume* (Fiume: Stabilimento Tipo-litografico Fiumano di Emidio Mohovich, 1896), pp. 128–9

64 Decision No. 6452 of the City Magistrate of Rijeka, 10.8.1858; City Magistrate Protocol Extract, 2652, 9.9.1858 (Index of the Magistrate Registers, 1857-60; History Archive of Rijeka).

65 Conclusion of the City Assembly, 19.2.1870; Conclusion on the Vote in the City Assembly, 22.2.1870; Report of the Symbols Commission to the City Assembly, 8.5.1870; Note to the Ministry of the Interior in Pest, 10.6.1870; Decree of the Royal Administrator of Rijeka and the Hungarian-Croatian Littoral, 18.11.1870 (Index of the Royal Administrator of Rijeka and the Hungarian-Croatian Littoral, 1870; History Archive of Rijeka)

66 R. Breschi, *Bandiere Passato e Presente*, <http://www.rbvex.it/> [accessed 30 March 2017]; Oštrić, *Monumenta heraldica*, pp. 57-62.

67 J.O. Engene, 'Fristaten Fiume', *Nordisk Flaggkontakt*, 45 (2007), pp. 21–2; Ž. Heimer, 'City of Rijeka', *Nordisk Flaggkontakt*, 46 (2008), pp. 39–41.



called 'lictorial chief' (*capo del littorio*) added.⁶⁸



Rijeka: left, the city tricolour proposed in 1848/9 and used since 1870; right, the simplified version most often used since c.1900 (based on the coat of arms drawn by Roberto Breschi)



Rijeka: the flag and gonfalon granted in 1941

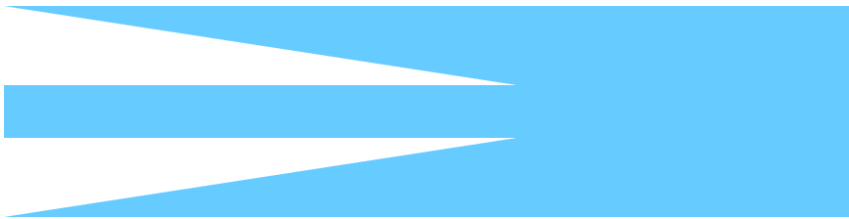
After the Second World War the territories returned to Croatian rule within Yugoslavia and the city tricolour was suppressed.

Eventually, in 1967 an entirely new design by Dorian Sokolić was chosen as the city flag and formally adopted on 29 December 1970.

In the unusual ratio of 1:4, it is light blue with two white rightangled triangles extending for 60 per cent of its length, leaving in between a central horizontal stripe one-quarter of the hoist wide.⁶⁹

68 'Prijedlog odluke o izmjeni Odluke o grbu i zastavi Grada Rijeke: Materijal za sjednicu Gradskog vijeća Grada Rijeke', Grad Rijeka, Gradsko vijeće, 14.7.2016, <https://www.rijeka.hr/wp-content/uploads/2016/07/Prijedlog-odluke-o-izmjeni-Odluke-o-grbu-i-zastavi-Grada-Rijeke-.pdf> [accessed 25 March 2016], 'Obrazloženje', point 9; also 'Decreto 1941-06-24 DCG (Decreto del Capo del Governo), riconoscimento di stemma, gonfalone e bandiera', cited in *Banca dati Fascicoli comunali* (2017).

69 *Riječki povijesni grbovi: izbor građe iz fonda Sveučilišne knjižnice u Rijeci* [exhibition], Sveučilišna knjižnica Rijeka, Sveučilište u Rijeci, 14-16 July 1999.



Rijeka: flag adopted 1970

The flag was formally replaced on 26 March 1998 with the resurrected historical tricolour of red-yellow-blue with an oval coat of arms and an inscribed ribbon in a graphical solution by Mladen Stojić, but it was not approved by the Ministry, allegedly because it considered the design inappropriate since 'it is also used by Italian irredentists'.⁷⁰ The coat of arms was then stripped of the imperial crown and the ribbon and set in a mono-coloured light blue flag adopted on 26 September 1998 that was approved on 19 January 1999.⁷¹



*Rijeka:
above left, flag adopted 1970; above
right, flag adopted 26 September
1998; left, flag adopted 15 July 2016
(not yet in use)*

A number of political parties in Rijeka were not satisfied with this explanation and actively worked to reverse the decision. On 14 July 2016 the tricolour was once again adopted as the city flag, with the current coat of arms, but at the time of writing it has not yet received approval or been introduced into official use.⁷²

70 E.g. D. Herceg, 'Riječku zastavu koristi iredenta u Italiji?!', *Vjesnik*, 9 November 1998; see also 'Prijedlog odluke o izmjeni Odluke o grbu i zastavi Grada Rijeke', 'Obrazloženje', point 12.

71 'Statut Grada Rijeke, 18.10.1993', *Službene novine Županije Primorsko-goranske*, 11/1993, 19.10.1993; 'Statut Grada Rijeke, 22.10.1997', *Službene novine Primorsko-goranske županije*, 22/1997, 31.10.1997; 'Odluka o grbu i zastavi Grada Rijeke, 26.3.1998', *Službene novine Primorsko-goranske županije*, 6/1998, 31.3.1998; 'Odluka o izmjenama Odluke o grbu i zastavi Grada Rijeke, 26.9.1998', *Službene novine Primorsko-goranske županije*, 24/1998, 4.12.1998; 'Rješenje Ministarstva uprave, KLASA: UP/I-017-02/98-01/13, URBROJ: 515-02-01/1-99-4, 15.1.1999; 'Statut Grada Rijeke, 1.10.2001', *Službene novine Primorsko-goranske županije*, 23/2001, 2.10.2001; 'Statut Grada Rijeke, 2.7.2009', *Službene novine Primorsko-goranske županije*, 24/2009, 3.7.2009; 'Odluka o izmjenama i dopunama Odluke o grbu i zastavi Grada Rijeke, 23.7.2009', *Službene novine Primorsko-goranske županije*, 29/2009, 25.7.2009.



Flags of civic associations, 1800-1900

By the end of the nineteenth century, the middle-classes in the gradually industrialising country were getting ever more sensitive regarding national, regional and local affiliations. Civic societies, political or otherwise, used the national tricolours and other local flags to highlight their identity. We have such flags recorded in Osijek, Varaždin and Bakar, but there are probably quite a number of others as well.

Osijek

The coat of arms was granted to Osijek (German *Esseg*, Hungarian *Eszék*) by King Francis on 24 March 1809 with the free and royal city status after the unification of three previous urban municipalities in 1786. The coat of arms in a circular seal shape depicted on a blue field a masoned three-arched bridge with a tower in its centre, flanked on each side with two golden displayed eagles and in the chief an inescutcheon or an arm embowed clad gules issuant from sinister holding a scimitar, topped with a royal crown and supported by two angels clad azure blowing trumpets. At this time, the coat of arms with the arm was briefly used by the Vienna heraldic authorities as the device for recently liberated Slavonia (of which Osijek is the main city), before reverting to the historical coat of arms with the addition of a marten, but it is otherwise known as the arms of Rama (a historical Bosnian region), used as the Habsburg heraldic device to indicate Bosnia.⁷³ However, it was also a popular emblem of anti-Ottoman struggle and it was left in the city arms nevertheless.

An example of such a flag is the flag of the Osijek Civic Guard from the First World War, preserved today in the Museum of Slavonia in Osijek.⁷⁴ It is a blue and white horizontal bicolour with the circular coat of arms set within a green wreath, bearing a golden embroidered inscription of the unit name above and the years 1914 to 1918 beneath.

The current flag of Osijek was adopted on 2 July 1985 and approved after the new legislation on 8 September 1993.⁷⁵ It is a rare example of a Croatian

72 'Prijedlog odluke o izmjeni Odluke o grbu i zastavi Grada Rijeke', *Poziv na 26. sjednicu Gradskog vijeća Grada Rijeke*, 6.7.2016; *Zaključak o Prijedlogu odluke o izmjeni Odluke o grbu i zastavi Grada Rijeke*, 15.7.2016.

73 D. Peić Čaldarović and N. Stančić, 'Varijante grba Slavonije od XV. do kraja XVIII. stoljeća (Variants of the Arms of Slavonia from the 15th until the End of 18th Century)', *Grb i zastava*, 11 (2012), pp. 8-13.

74 A. Grubišić, 'Stare zastave u Muzeju Slavonije (Old Flags in the Museum of Slavonia)', *Grb i zastava*, 18 (2015), pp. 1, 10-12.

75 *Odluka o upotrebi grba, pečata i zastave Grada Osijeka*, 2.7.1985, 1/8-488/1-198 and 'Privremeni statut Grada Osijeka', *Službeni glasnik Općine Osijek*, 3/1993 [unseen by author]; 'Rješenje Ministarstva uprave, KLASA: UP/I-017-02/93-01/5, URBROJ: 515-04-03/1-93-2, 8.9.1993; 'Statut Grada Osijeka, 25.1.1994', *Službeni glasnik Grada Osijeka*, 1/1994, 31.1.1994; 'Odluka o uporabi grba, zastave, imena i svečane pjesme Grada Osijeka, 14.2.1995', *Službeni glasnik Grada Osijeka*, 1/1995; 'Statut o izmjenama i dopunama Statuta Grada Osijeka, 16.2.1996', *Službeni glasnik Grada Osijeka*, 1/1996; 'Statut Grada Osijeka (pročišćeni test), 3.10.1997', *Službeni glasnik Grada Osijeka*, 5/1997; 'Statut Grada Osijeka, 25.9.2001', *Službeni glasnik Grada Osijeka*, 6/2001, 26.9.2001; 'Statut o izmjenama i dopunama Statuta Grada Osijeka, 22.4.2003', *Službeni glasnik Grada Osijeka*, 3/2003, 23.4.2003; 'Odluka o izmjenama Odluke o uporabi grba, zastave, imena i svečane pjesme Grada Osijeka, 21.7.2009', *Službeni glasnik Grada Osijeka*,



municipal flag that has not been modified in any way during the turbulent transition from socialist Yugoslavia in the early 1990s. It is a white and cobalt blue bicolour with the coat of arms set in the centre. The coat of arms is a modernisation of the Francis's seal, in a shield shape stripped of angels and eagles, and of a much simplified style: *azure a bridge argent ensigned with an inescutcheon argent an arm embowed gules holding a sabre also argent*. The flag is also used in vertical version, and often in much longer proportions than the prescribed ratio 1:2.



Osijek:
left, flag of the city guard, 1918;
below, flag adopted 2 July 1985,
horizontal and vertical variants



Varaždin

The city of Varaždin (German *Warasdin*, Hungarian *Varasd*) was granted a seal with the coat of arms by King Mathias Corvinus on 8 July 1464, and thus is the oldest granted municipal coat of arms in Croatia. It is *barry of eight gules and argent a rectangular tower argent roofed sable topped with a cross or between on the third bar gules a mullet of six and a crescent both or*. As a supporter behind the shield is an angle vested or and winged gules. Such coat of arms is also described in the 1896 city statutes.⁷⁶

The barry stripes of the arms are the origin of the red and white stripes of the city flag. Thus Ebner describes that on 18 May 1817 two city flags were consecrated, one of the city magistrate and the other of the civic guard, however, these were not described.⁷⁷ Varaždin County was using red and white

9/2009, 22.7.2009; 'Odluka o uporabi grba, zastave, imena i svečane pjesme Grada Osijeka (pročišćeni tekst), 29.10.2012', *Službeni glasnik Grada Osijeka*, 10/2012, 30.10.2012; 'Statut Grada Osijeka (pročišćeni tekst), 20.9.2013', *Službeni glasnik Grada Osijeka*, 11/2013, 20.9.2013.

⁷⁶ *Statut slobodnog i kraljevskog grada Varaždina*, 1910.

⁷⁷ L. Ebner, *Historisch statistisch topographische Beschreibung der koeniglichen Freystadt Varasdin* (Varaždin: 1827), p. 88.

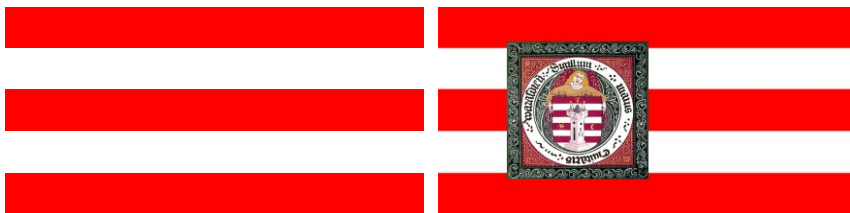


striped flags with its 1763 arms from 1778,⁷⁸ when the stripes were presumably inspired by the city arms, and we may only assume that the above-mentioned city flags followed the general design. An attempt to visualise what these may have been is provided in the figures.

By the end of the nineteenth century, the coat of arms is usually depicted as an angel holding a shield in front of it, or only as the shield. After the Second World War a shield-only depiction with modernised graphical elements was used, while the flag was not specifically prescribed. However, the flag was gradually introduced into use from the 1970s and was certainly in use by 1980 in connection with the city's 800th anniversary – a five striped red-white-red-white-red horizontal bicicolour. It was confirmed as the city flag in 1987.⁷⁹



*Varaždin:
left, reconstructed 1817 flag;
below left, mayoral flag
prescribed 15 May 1991;
below, flag used since 1970s,
prescribed 1987 and again 1991*



On 15 May 1991 the city reverted to using the original artwork of the arms from the 1464 grant, with the supporter, circular inscription and florally ornamented square background, but retained the simple five-striped flag. This was approved on 26 November 1993, among the first dozen approvals prior to the strict application of the style guidelines.⁸⁰

78 Heimer, 'The Croatian County Flags'.

79 Numerous articles in *Varaždinske vijesti*, e.g. 'Iz skupštinskog života', 6.5.1970; 'Usvojeni službeni simboli obilježavanja proslave', 4.12.1980; 'Zasjedanje Skupštine: 18. studenoga', 29.10.1987; also 'Statut Općine Varaždin', *Službeni vjesnik Općine Varaždin*, 8/86, 1/90, 8/90, 5/91, 4/92 [unseen by author].

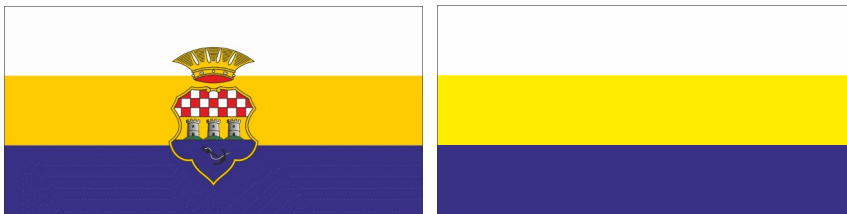
80 'Odluka o opisu i uporabi grba i zastave grada Varaždina, 15.5.1991', *Službeni vjesnik općine Varaždin*, 5/1991; 'Rješenje Ministarstva uprave, KLASA: UP/I-017-02/93-01/19, URBROJ: 515-04-03/1-93-2, 26.11.1993; 'Statut Grada Varaždina, 21.3.1994', *Službeni vjesnik Grada Varaždina*, 1/1994, 30.3.1994; 'Odluka o opisu i uporabi grba i zastave Grada Varaždina, 7.2.1995', *Službeni vjesnik Grada Varaždina*, 1/1995, 8.2.1995; 'Statut Grada Varaždina, 20.9.2001', *Službeni vjesnik Grada Varaždina*, 7/2001, 20.9.2001; 'Odluka o izmjeni Odluke o opisu i uporabi grba i zastave Grada Varaždina, 21.12.2004', *Službeni vjesnik Grada Varaždina*, 10/2004,



It should be mentioned that the 1991 decision also introduced a flag for the mayor, a kind of ceremonial or rank flag to be used in his presence, but it was dropped from subsequent prescriptions and was possibly never used. It contained the full coat of arms defacing the stripes.⁸¹

Bakar

The port of Bakar (Italian *Buccari*, Hungarian *Szádrév*) was the most important port of the northern Croatian littoral prior to the development of Rijeka. From the fifteenth century the city used seals depicting St Andrew and a mullet (the so-called Frankopan star), while another seal from 1681 depicts the Madonna and Child with St Andrew.⁸²



Bakar: left, flag used late 19th century;
right, flag adopted 24 June 1994

Ströhl presents an unusual uncharged shield of *gules* as the Bakar coat of arms.⁸³ However, in 1799 Empress Maria Theresa had granted the city a new design – 'tierced per fess, in chief 5x2 chequy gules and argent, in fess azure three towers argent embattled with a window and doors sable on as many mounts vert, and in base or an anchor in bend sable fouled argent' – which thenceforth was often used with the tinctures of the lower two fields inverted.⁸⁴

It was also recorded that in the late nineteenth century the city used a horizontal tricolour of white over yellow over blue, both with or without the coat of arms in the centre – a design that is preserved in postcards of the period.⁸⁵

22.12.2004; 'Statut Grada Varaždina, 1.7.2009', *Službeni vjesnik Grada Varaždina*, 5/2009, 14.7.2009; 'Odluka o opisu i uporabi grba, zastave i logotipa Grada Varaždina, 2.12.2013', *Službeni vjesnik Grada Varaždina*, 8/2013, 3.12.2013; 'Statut Grada Varaždina (pročišćeni tekst), 15.7.2013', *Službeni vjesnik Grada Varaždina*, 4/2014, 24.3.2014.

81 It may have been dropped because for its similarity to a flag adopted by Varaždin County, setting its coat of arms defacing the stripes, following the 1778 example; see Heimer, 'The Croatian County Flags'.

82 G. Oštrić, *Grbovi u gradu Bakru* (Rijeka: Pomorski i povijesni muzej hrvatskog primorja Rijeka, 1996), pp. 4, 11-14.

83 H.G. Ströhl, *Städtewappen von Österreich-Ungarn* (Wien: 1904; reprint Archiv Verlag, 2002), p.97.

84 B. Fučić, 'Srednjovjekovni pečatnjaci grada Bakra', *Vjesnik Historijskih arhiva u Rijeci i Pazinu* (Rijeka), XVII (1972[73]), pp. 31-6; Oštrić, *Monumenta heraldica*, pp. 62-3; J. Matker, 'O grbu grada Bakra (On the Coat of Arms of the City of Bakar)', *Grb i zastava*, 5 (2009), pp. 15-18.

85 Watercolour by Matija Mažić, Bakar City Museum, see Oštrić, *Grbovi u gradu Bakru*, p. 14, no. 7; also Matker, 'O grbu grada Bakra'. Oštrić, *Grbovi u gradu Bakru*, p. 11 implies that the 1799 design was used only as an uncoloured seal until the colours were ordained by statute (*Štatut slobodnoga i kraljevskoga grada Bakra*) of 4 November 1896; also that the



The city adopted a modernised historical coat of arms on 24 June 1994 from the artwork of Mladen Stojić accompanied by the simple undefaced white-yellow-blue tricolour. These were approved by the Ministry on 29 April 1996 in spite of the tricolour breaching the strict guidelines for municipal flags because they follow a historical precedent.⁸⁶

The late nineteenth-century national revival in Dalmatia

Habsburg rule over Croatian lands had separated the southern coastal region, where the early medieval Croatian state was flourishing, to eventually form a separate administrative area under the ancient name of Dalmatia, which old Croatian kings had used for the littoral cities. While the inland Croatian parliament managed on several occasions to ensure the use of the name of the Triune Kingdom of Dalmatia, Slavonia and Croatia, the actual administration of Dalmatia remained separate, under direct Habsburg control. This was further emphasised with the Austrian-Hungarian Compromise of 1867, where the two parts were split between the two divisions of the Monarchy. The Austrian administration supported the local autonomist parties in Dalmatia, with their pro-Italian tendencies, while trying to suppress the nationalist, pro-Croatian political options. However, with modernisation and industrialisation, nationalist positions gained greater support and towards the end of the nineteenth century the pro-Croatian parties gained control over an ever greater number of individual municipalities, introducing the Croatian language in administration and promoting national symbols. One way of doing that, while remaining within the limits of strict monarchical censorship, was the adoption of the Croatian tricolour as the city flag, defacing it with the city arms.

While some cities had their older historical coats of arms, a number of municipalities obtained new changed symbols and others received their first symbols in the nineteenth century, through approvals granted by the Austrian Ministry of Interior.

Omiš

The city of Omiš (Italian *Almissa*), an important port at the confluence of the Cetina river and seat of notorious pirates, used its coat of arms from the sixteenth century (used in, for example, a stone relief of 1541, and in the *Ducala*, a Venetian charter of 1579).⁸⁷ These depict a cross and a mace or on an

tricolour flag without the coat of arms was ordained by this same statute.

86 'Odluka o osnivanju i imenovanju članova Komisije za zastavu i grb Općine Bakar, 10.3.1994', *Službene novine Županije primorsko-goranske*, 15/1994, 16.5.1994; *Rješenje Ministarstva uprave, KLASA: UP/I-017-02/96-01/26, URBROJ: 515-04-03/1-96-1*, 29.4.1996; 'Odluka o grbu i zastavi Grada Bakra', 24.6.1994, *Službene novine Primorsko-goranske županije*, 16/2000, 11.8.2000; 'Statut Grada Bakra', 21.12.2006, *Službene novine Primorsko-goranske županije*, 54/2006, 27.12.2006; 'Statut Grada Bakra', 10.7.2009, *Službene novine Primorsko-goranske županije*, 25/2009, 10.7.2009; 'Odluka o grbu i zastavi Grada Bakra, 29.10.2009', *Službene novine Primorsko-goranske županije*, 44/2009, 29.10.2009; 'Izmjene i dopune Statuta Grada Bakra, 28.2.2013', *Službene novine Primorsko-goranske županije*, 7/2013, 6.3.2013; 'Statut Grada Bakra, 26.9.2013', *Službene novine Primorsko-goranske županije*, 40/2013, 8.11.2013.

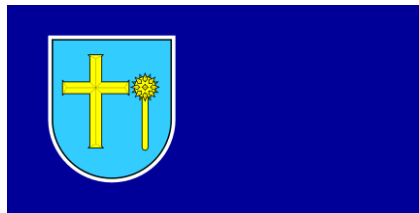
87 Ströhl, *Städtewappen von Österreich-Ungarn*, p. 83; M. Brstilo Rešetar, 'Kameni grbovi iz stalnog postava Gradskog muzeja Omiš (Stone Coats of Arms in the Permanent Exhibition of the City Museum of Omiš)', *Grb i zastava*, 16 (2014), pp. 12-15; M. Brstilo Rešetar, 'Omiška dukala (The



azure shield. In the late nineteenth century the Ministry of Interior granted the use of a new design showing on a blue shield with two steep golden rocks issuant from the flanks, a lion on the dexter and St George defeating the dragon on the sinister and in the chief a cross-topped staff and a fleury sceptre in saltire, all or. These arms were still in use after the First World War, together with a blue flag bearing them.⁸⁸ According to contemporary research,⁸⁹ no such flag is preserved, nor is it mentioned elsewhere in the sources, although a systematic research of a wider range may result in a pleasant surprise.⁹⁰



Omiš: left, reconstructed late 19th-century flag; below left, flag adopted 28 December 1999; below right, flag adopted 13 December 2002



The city adopted its modernised historical coat of arms on 28 December 1999: *azure a cross and a mace or*. It was set on a dark blue flag off-set to the hoist. The design was not approved by the Ministry, requiring artistic improvements, and it was abandoned in 2001. A new artistic design by Petar Jakelić from Split of the same blazon was adopted on 13 December 2002, which got approved on 26 November 2003. At the same time, a white outline was also added to the coat of arms on the flag.⁹¹

Ducala of Omiš', *Grb i zastava*, 17 (2015), pp. 10-14.

88 E. Laszowski, *Grbovi Jugoslavije* (Zagreb: Kava Hag, 1932), pp. 46-7.

89 Personal communication with Brstilo Rešetar, 2015.

90 The city adopted a coat of arms by a decision of 1977, modified in 1989. 'Odluka o grbu Grada Omiša', *Službeni glasnik općine Omiš*, 11/1977 and 7/1989 [unseen by author].

91 'Odluka o grbu i zastavi Grada Omiša', *Službeni glasnik Grada Omiša*, 7/1999, 28.12.1999; 'Odluka o izmjeni Odluke o grbu i zastavi Grada Omiša', 6.4.2001', *Službeni glasnik Grada Omiša*, 2/2001, 6.4.2001; 'Statutarna odluka o grbu i zastavi Grada Omiša, 13.12.2002', *Službeni glasnik Grada Omiša* 8/2002, 13.12.2002; 'Rješenje Ministarstva pravosuđa, uprave i lokalne samouprave, KLASA: UP/I-017-02/95-01/13, URBROJ: 514-09-03-9, 26.11.2003', *Službeni glasnik Grada Omiša*, 1/2004, 2.3.2004; 'Ispravak Službenog glasnika broj 8 od 13. prosinca 2002. godine', *Službeni glasnik Grada Omiša*, 5/2006, 31.7.2006; 'Statut Grada Omiša, 14.7.2009', *Službeni glasnik Grada Omiša*, 4/2009, 14.7.2009.



Split

The stone-carved coats of arms of Split (Italian *Spalato*) in a rectangular shape depicting the façade of the Diocletian's Palace with the belfry of St Domunus (*Dujam, Duje*), are preserved from the early fourteenth century, as were the town's seals. The belfry was flanked with coat of arms of sovereigns and governors who ruled the city at that time; however, these flanking arms were often vandalised in the years that followed and are mostly not preserved.⁹² In the nineteenth century the coat of arms was sometimes shaped as classical heraldic shield, as a rule without the shields around the belfry, and this was confirmed on 6 May 1887.⁹³ However, medieval portolans rarely show Split with a flag. It appears in one as a red flag depicting a golden wing (the arms of the dukes of Šubić of Bribir);⁹⁴ in another, the details of an apparently blue flag are unfortunately undiscernible today.⁹⁵



Split: flag from 1508 portolan

At elections held on 9 November 1882 the (Croatian) People's Party won for the first time, and on 22 November the Croatian tricolour with the city's historical coat of arms was hoisted on the standard at the Hrvoje tower. The flag is preserved in the Split City Museum, a red-white-blue tricolour, with the coat of arms: azure a representation of Diocletian's Palace with the belfry argent, within a rich golden cartouche.⁹⁶



*Split: flag hoisted
22 November 1882*

92 C. Fisković, 'Najstariji kameni grbovi grada Splita', *Vjesnik Hrvatskoga arheološkoga društva*, NS 17 (1936), pp. 183–94.

93 Ströhl, *Städtewappen von Österreich-Ungarn*, p. 85; Laszowski, *Grbovi Jugoslavije*, pp. 56-7.

94 Portolan, Pietro Russo, 1508 (Maritime Museum, Barcelona). For more on the dukes of Šubić, see M. Horvat, 'Novi heraldički simbol knezova Bribirskih? (A New Heraldic Symbol of the Dukes of Bribir?)', *Grb i zastava*, 20 (2016), pp. 11-15; also M. Buovac and M. Kalcina, 'Ostrovica u Općini Lišane Ostrovičke: Lokalitet prvog grba Dalmacije/Hrvatske (Location of the Oldest Coat of Arms of Dalmatia/Croatia: Ostrovica in the Lišane Ostrovičke Community)', *Grb i zastava*, 20 (2016), p. 29.

95 Portolan, Jacopo Russo, 1550 (British Library, London).

96 A. Sapunar (ed.), *Hrvatski narodni preporod u Splitu 1882* (Split: Društvo prijatelja kulturne baštine, 1982).



With the end of the Second World War the use of the coat of arms of Split ceased in practice in any form, and it was only in 1969 that a new version was adopted, with the appropriate emblems of the period. To the dexter of the belfry was set the historical Croatian chequy shield, while to the sinister was a mullet of five points gules on a shield argent. The official descriptions were changed slightly in 1974 and 1978, but that did not affect the drawing. When needed, a blue flag with generic depiction of a white Diocletian's palace was sometimes used, but it was not prescribed.⁹⁷



*Split coat of arms: left, c.1933;
below left, 1969; below right, 1991*



In 1991 the five-pointed star in the coat of arms was replaced with depiction of St Dominus in argent on a shield azure, dressed as a bishop with his dexter hand raised in blessing and carrying a crozier in his sinister. The flag was not official. However in 1996, Split was to celebrate its 1,700th anniversary, and in connection with the celebrations a septendecennial flag was devised in the early 1990s, a blue vertical flag depicting a white typographical logo: the palace with belfry composed of the inscription 1700 and the word *SPLIT* repeated several times, topped with a cross. This celebration flag became *de facto* the only municipal flag in use well into twenty-first century.

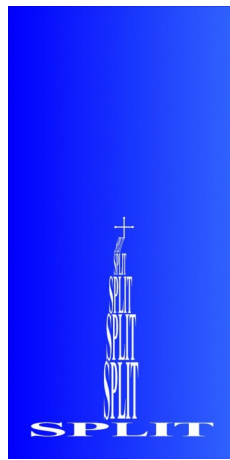
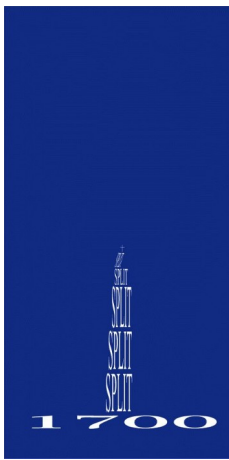
Around 2007, the anniversary flag became moot, and the numeral in the logo was simply replaced with yet another inscription *SPLIT*. The flag field was prescribed to have a graduated shade of blue from light one in the top towards a darker shade in the base. It has not been formally adopted with a decision issued in the official gazette.⁹⁸ Consequently neither the coat of arms nor the

97 *Službeni glasnik Općine Split*, 14.4.1969, 16, 7, Split 1969 (18. travnja), str. 103; *Službeni glasnik Općine Split*, 23.2.1974, 21, 3, Split 1974 (27. veljače), str. 41, članak 5; *Službeni glasnik Općine Split*, 15.6.1978, 15.6.1978, 24, 8, Split 1978 (16. lipnja), str. 131, članak 5; *Službeni glasnik Općine Split*, 23.4.1991, 37, 6, Split 1991 (23. travnja), str. 1, članak 2; Ivanišević, 2003.

98 *Službeni glasnik Općine Split*, 23.4.1991, 37, 6, Split 1991 (23. travnja), str. 1, članak 2; *Službeni glasnik Grada Splita*, 29.12.1993, 39 (1), 11, Split 1993 (29. prosinca), str. 3, članak 6; 'Rješenje o osnivanju i imenovanju Povjerenstva za objavljivanje i provođenje javnog nadmetanja za utvrđivanje vizualnog identiteta Grada Splita, 18.5.2007', *Službeni glasnik Grada Splita*, 14/2007, 21.5.2007; 'Statut Grada Splita (Pročišćeni tekst -



flag were approved by the Ministry.



Split: left, anniversary flag used 1990s; right, flag used c.2007-

Bol

Among the places covered in this paper, the town of Bol on the island of Brač (Italian *Brazza*) is certainly the smallest. As a municipality it was granted a coat of arms on 8 October 1888 by the Ministry of Interior: 'azure on a base vert a lion statant looking to sinister or and in chief an arm embowed to sinister proper clad or holding a laurel branch vert'.⁹⁹



Bol: left, reconstructed early 20th-century flag;
right, flag adopted c.1995

Probably from this date, but certainly by the beginning of the twentieth century, Bol was using a red-white-blue tricolour flag with this coat of arms in the centre. It seems that the actual flag is not preserved.

At some time in the 1990s, the modern community adopted and received

normativni dio), 11.11.2008', *Službeni glasnik Grada Splita*, 33/2008, 27.11.2008; 'Statut Grada Splita (Pročišćeni tekst - normativni dio - ispravljani tekst), 11.11.2008', *Službeni glasnik Grada Splita*, 33A/2008, 27.11.2008; 'Statut Grada Splita, 15.7.2009', *Službeni glasnik Grada Splita*, 17/2009, 15.7.2009; 'Statut Grada Splita (pročišćeni tekst), 24.10.2013', *Službeni glasnik Grada Splita*, 46/2013, 7.11.2013.

99 Ströhl, *Städtewappen von Österreich-Ungarn*, p. 83; 'Urkunde, Wien, 8 Oktober 1888' (document on display in the Community of Bol): 'Im blauen Schilde ein auf erdigem Boden linkswärts stehender und vorwärts sehender goldener Löwe, übersiegern vor einer aus einem braunen roth gesütlerten Halbärmel links hervorgehenden überbogenen bloszen Hand, welche einen grünen Oliven-zweig emporhält. Der Schild umgicht eine goldene Arabeskeneinsassung.'

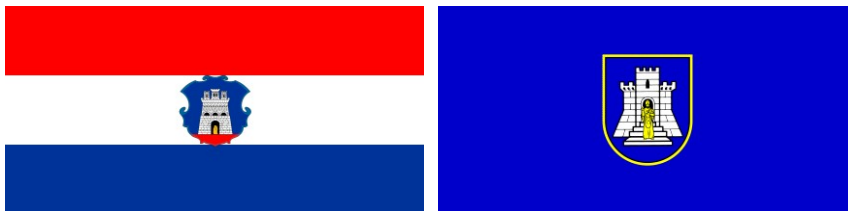


approval for a modernisation of the coat of arms after a drawing by Mladen Stojić, and a dark blue flag with the coat of arms outlined in yellow in the centre.¹⁰⁰

Korčula

The city of Korčula (Italian *Curzola*) on the island of the same name has been using seals depicting a fortified city with a saint in its gates since the Middle Ages. The Ministry of Interior granted its use as a coat of arms on 17 August 1898, depicting St Mark standing at the gates of a white three-towered white city on a red base all on a blue shield.¹⁰¹

A flag dating to the early years of the twentieth century is preserved in the Korčula City Museum, a tricolour with the coat of arms painted in the centre of the white stripe. The design of the arms in the flag matches well with the rendering by Ströhl and the one by Laszowski, although they both depict simpler shield shapes.



Korčula: left, early 20th-century flag; right, flag adopted 16 July 1996

The coat of arms adopted on 16 July 1996 after the design of Francesca Danese-Katić enlarged the figure of the saint and uses the actual towers from the surviving city fortifications as the model for the depiction. Thus the central part depicts the Revelin tower with its stairways and the main city gates, while the towers at each side take the appearance of the towers of Kanavelić and Zakerjan. The flag is a plain blue with the coat of arms outlined yellow in the centre of it. The Ministry approved it on 10 July 1996.¹⁰²

100 'Statut Općine Bol, 3.2.2006', *Službeni glasnik Općine Bol*, 1/2006, 4.2.2006; 'Statut Općine Bol, 22.9.2009', *Službeni glasnik Općine Bol*, 5/2009, 23.9.2009; 'Statut Općine Bol (pročišćeni tekst), 6.10.2014', *Službeni glasnik Općine Bol*, 11/2014, 7.10.2014; 'Statut Općine Bol (pročišćeni tekst), 27.1.2015', *Službeni glasnik Općine Bol*, 1/2015, 23.2.2015.

101 Ströhl, *Städtewappen von Österreich-Ungarn*, p. 84; Laszowski, *Grbovi Jugoslavije*, pp. 36-7.

102 'Odluka o grbu i zastavi Grada Korčule, 16.7.1996', *Službeni glasnik Grada Korčule*, 4/1996; 'Rješenje Ministarstva uprave, KLASA: UP/I-017-02/96-01/31, URBROJ: 515-04-03/1-96-1, 10.7.1996; 'Odluka izmjeni i dopuni Odluke o grbu i zastavi Grada Korčule?', *Službeni glasnik Grada Korčule*, 3/1998 [unseen by author]; 'Statut Grada Korčule, 15.11.2001', *Službeni glasnik Grada Korčule*, 5/2001; 'Odluka o načinu i zaštiti uporabe grba i zastave Grada Korčule, 22.3.2002', *Službeni glasnik Grada Korčule*, 2/2002, 18.6.2002; 'Odluka o izmjenama Odluke o načinu i zaštiti uporabe grba i zastave Grada Korčule, 20.10.2003', *Službene stranice Grada Korčule*, www.korcula.hr 29.11.2003; 'Odluka o izmjenama i dopunama Odluka Grada Korčule kojima su previđene globe odnosno novčane kazne za prekršaje, 7.7.2008', *Službeni glasnik Grada Korčule*, 5/2008, 14.7.2008; 'Statut Grada Korčule, 1.9.2009', *Službeni glasnik Grada Korčule*, 6/2009, 3.9.2009; 'Statut Grada Korčule (pročišćeni tekst), 12.4.2013', *Službeni*



Municipal flags of foreign influence in the early twentieth century

The end of the Second World War brought radical changes to Croatian territory, involving the general modernisation and industrialisation of society, but also the break-up of ancient monarchies and the creation of new nation states in south-eastern Europe. Under the new boundary arrangements, parts of the national territory remained under the rule of foreign powers, while a new state of Slavic peoples was formed around Croatia. In the period we record the emergence of municipal flags in areas that were at one time outside the boundaries of Croatia and Serbs-Croatians-Slovenes/Yugoslavia. These were situated mainly on the Adriatic coast and the islands in Istria and Dalmatia forming part of the Kingdom of Italy, as well as the northernmost tip of modern Croatia named Međimurje (German: *Murinsel*, Hungarian: *Muraköz*), part of the newly independent Hungarian Kingdom.

Zadar

The city of Zadar (Italian *Zara*, Latin *Iadera*) was the administrative centre of the Austrian-Hungarian province of Dalmatia, and contained the largest concentration of Italian-speaking bureaucrats and thus the densest Italian-speaking population. The Kingdom of Italy gained a complex exclave around the city on the eastern Adriatic coast and provided a perpetual point of tension between the new South-Slavic state and the new Italian province of Dalmatia.

As discussed above, the earliest portolans depict the city flag as white with the iconographic depiction of St Chrysogonus (Croatian *Krševan*, Italian *Crisogono*) clad in red mounted on a black horse.¹⁰³ After the fourteenth century, this disappears, but occasionally in some fifteenth century portolans the port is marked by a long tapering white or yellow flag with a red cross, usually depicted as borne by the patron saint in the arms.¹⁰⁴

The city of Zadar continued to use its ancient coat of arms, as mentioned above, and as confirmed by Austria in the late eighteenth century, when the city and its surroundings was granted the status of a duchy. After the 1920 Treaty of Rappallo confirming the city as Italian, the coat of arms was retained in use with stylistic and period modifications, depicting the ancient St Chrysogonus as a rider with a shield and a flag (*gules a cross argent*) flying from a lance, riding a white horse charging to the sinister, in a landscape depicting the city in the background. The shield was ensigned with the Italian civic gold mural crown with five towers, on which stood the Venetian winged lion of St Mark holding an open book. Along the bottom was set a red ribbon inscribed *Vrbs Dalmatina ladra pollet hoc Duce* ('Dalmatian City of Zadar Pride of the Leader'). A general flag (*bandiera*) was not prescribed, but a gonfalon (*gonfalone*) was granted 20 September 1941:¹⁰⁵ a red banner with a sleeve of eight segments at the top and

glasnik Grada Korčule, 4/2013, 17.4.2013.

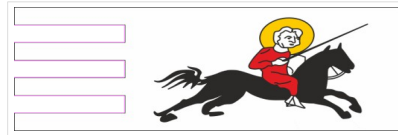
103 Portolan, Pietro Vesconte, 1320; see note 31.

104 Portolan, Vesconte Maggiolo, 1519 (Bavarian State Library, Munich).

105 Coat of arms confirmed by Decree of the Chief of Government, 28.11.1941; gonfalon granted by Royal Decree, 20.9.1941. G. Giovinazzo, 'Comuni passati alla Jugoslavia dopo la seconda guerra mondiale', *Araldica Civica* (2017), <http://www.araldicacivica.it/enti-abrogati/comuni-abrogati-2/comuni-passati-alla-jugoslavia-dopo-la-seconda-guerra-mondiale/> [accessed 19 March 2017]; *Decreto 1941-11-28 DCG (Decreto del Capo del Governo), riconoscimento di stemma* and *Decreto 1941-09-20 RD (Regio Decreto), concessione di gonfalone*, cited in *Banca dati Fascicoli comunali* (2017).

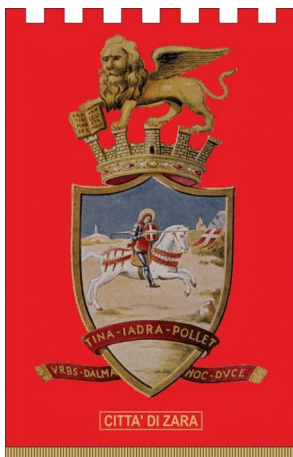


golden fringe along the bottom, with the coat of arms in the centre and inscription *Città di Zara* in a golden outlined box in the base. The flag was reportedly taken out of the city into Italy in 1944 with the exiles and since 2002 has been preserved in the Gold Medal Museum in Rome.¹⁰⁶



*Zadar: left, from the Vesconte portolan (1320);
right, from 1519 portolan*

Soon afterwards, on 28 November 1941, a new coat of arms was granted (or 'recognised') depicting azure on a grassy base a rider on a white horse with a lance with flag charging toward sinister, on the chief azure a lion of Venice or and over that the 'lictorial chief'. The shield is topped with the mural city crown and flanked with olive and oak branches tied together with a tricolour ribbon. As far as is known, it was not used on flags.



*Zadar: gonfalon used
until 1943*

After the Second World War the city was reunited with the surrounding Croatian territory within Yugoslavia. The historical coat of arms was eventually reintroduced, now often depicted with the horseman carrying a red flag. In the 1970s a graphical design of red over white over blue patterned shield with triple-wattle ornament in the base, St Chrysogonus changing to dexter, bearing a shield with a bar and a undefaced flag and topped with a five-pointed red star was introduced. This was retained in the early 1990s without the star. There is no record of any city flag actually used in the period.

On 16 November 1994 the city adopted a new design following the new heraldic style, still with the red-white-blue patterned background: *gules in front of the embattled walls argent over a base wavy azure St Chrysogonus armoured or caped azure on a horse sable bearing in his sinister a shield argent a cross gules and in his dexter a flag of the same on a pike or*. This was edged in yellow

106 'Solenne cerimonia durante la festa dei decorati al valore: Lo Storico Gonfalone Di Zara Nel Museo Delle Medaglie D'Oro', *Il Dalmata*, Maggio-Giugno 2002, p. 1; <https://www.dalmaziaeu.it/docs/26.pdf> [accessed 21 October 2022].



on a dark blue flag.¹⁰⁷



*Zadar: flag adopted
16 November 1994*

These symbols were approved at some unspecified date. The decisions also prescribe a ceremonial flag in a gonfalon form, but the details of the design remain unpublished, while it seems that no such flag was produced.

Rovinj

In the post-First World War redistribution of territories the border between the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats & Slovenes/Yugoslavia and Italy was set much more to the east than the modern one, roughly in a line north-westwards from Rijeka, with the latter gaining a briefly Free State status. The territories of the Habsburg Margravate of Istria remained well in Italian territory, including the city of Rovinj (Italian *Rovigno* or *Rovigno d'Istria*).

It is known from some documents dated 1208 that Rovinj used neither seal nor coat of arms, but at some point during the thirteenth century the pomegranate was established as the city's symbol. However, eventually a coat of arms of *argent a cross gules* prevailed, even if the pomegranate was not completely forgotten as the municipal emblem. In its graphical depiction, the horizontal arms of the cross were often depicted embowed, as a result of convex shape of the shield.

Thus by the end of the nineteenth century the use of a gold edged white shield with a red embowed cross was well established, ensigned with a gold coronet and flanked with an olive and an oak branch, tied together with a ribbon of the Italian tricolour. From around 1920 a postcard is recorded depicting the city flag of blue with a yellow edged shield of the city arms.¹⁰⁸

On 2 February 1938 the coat of arms and the gonfalon were 'recognised' by the Chief of the Government's Decree, but for the time being the details of the grant are unknown.¹⁰⁹

107 'Odluka o grbu i zastavi Grada Zadra, 16.11.1994', *Glasnik Grada Zadra*, 9/1995, 5.1.1995; 'Odluka o izmjeni i dopuni Odluke o grbu i zastavi Grada Zadra, 27.11.1995', *Glasnik Grada Zadra*, 16/1995; 'Odluka o izmjeni i dopuni Odluke o grbu i zastavi Grada Zadra, 9.1.1996', *Glasnik Grada Zadra*, 1/1996; 'Statut Grada Zadra, 13.11.2001', *Glasnik Grada Zadra*, 7/2001; 'Statut Grada Zadra, 7.7.2009', *Glasnik Grada Zadra*, 9/2009, 16.7.2009; 'Odluka o izmjenama i dopunama Odluke o grbu i zastavi Grada Zadra, 27.8.2009', *Glasnik Grada Zadra*, 11/2009, 3.9.2009; 'Odluka o grbu i zastavi Grada Zadra (pročišćeni tekst), 11.3.2010', *Glasnik Grada Zadra*, 21/2010, 12.3.2010.

108 G. de Angelini, *Araldica Rovignese* (Arupinum, 2001), <http://digilander.iol.it/arupinum/> [accessed 4 April 2017].

109 *Decreto 1938-02-02 DCG (Decreto del Capo del Governo), riconoscimento di stemma e gonfalone* quoted in *Banca dati Fascicoli comunali* (2017).



Rovinj: flag used c.1920

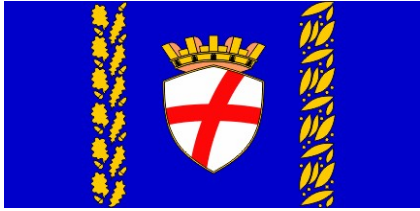
The current design of the Rovinj arms was adopted on 29 March 1994 in a modern shield shape¹¹⁰ with a five towered mural crown over it. A flag and a gonfalon were to follow on 12 July 1996, blue with that coat of arms in the centre. However, besides the arms the flag contains also golden columns of oak and olive ornaments, making it a rather unique design among the civic flags of Croatia and even further afield.

The flag is also recorded in use in vertical version, when the ornaments are in short vertical lines either side of the shield. These symbols were not approved by the Ministry.¹¹¹

The gonfalon has a blue field gradually changing from light blue at the top to dark blue at the base, edged with golden ribbon all around. The sleeve is formed of four segments, while there are three rectangular tails in the base, the central one being longer. The city name is inscribed in golden letters in two rows in Croatian and in Italian. The ornamental columns extend into the side tails, while the central tail includes a golden pomegranate. The exact design of the pomegranate is not known, here depicted according to emblems otherwise used in the city.

110 This is tentatively termed 'roofed heart shape' if only for use in this paper.

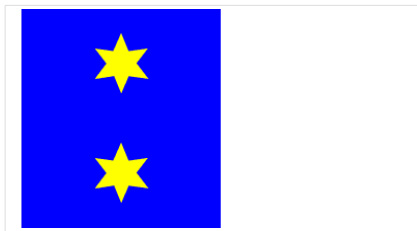
111 'Odluka o grbu Grada Rovinja / Delibera sullo stemma della Citta di Rovigno, 29.3.1994', *Službeni glasnik Grada Rovinja / Bollettino ufficiale della Citta' di Rovigno*, 2/1994; 'Odluka o grbu, zastavi, stijegu i imenu Grada Rovinja / Delibera sullo stemma, la bandiera, il gonfalone e il nome della Citta di Rovigno, 12.7.1996', *Službeni glasnik Grada Rovinja / Bollettino ufficiale della Citta' di Rovigno*, 5/1996; 'Odluka o izmjeni i dopuni Odluke o grbu, zastavi i stijegu i imenu grada Rovinja / Delibera di modifica e integrazione alla Delibera sullo stemma, la bandiera, il gonfalone e il nome della citta' di Rovigno, 18.6.1999', *Službeni glasnik Grada Rovinja / Bollettino ufficiale della Citta' di Rovigno*, 4/1999; 'Statut Grada Rovinja-Rovigno / Statuto della Citta di Rovinj-Rovigno, 22.10.2009', *Službeni glasnik Grada Rovinja / Bollettino ufficiale della Citta' di Rovigno*, 4/2009; 'Statut Turističke zajednice Grada Rovinja-Rovigno / Statuto della Comunita turistica della Citta di Rovinj-Rovigno, 23.12.2009', *Službeni glasnik Grada Rovinja / Bollettino ufficiale della Citta' di Rovigno*, 1/2010; 'Odluka o izmjeni Odluke o grbu, zastavi, stijegu i imenu Grada Rovinja-Rovigno / Delibera di modifica alla Delibera sullo stemma, sulla bandiera, sul gonfalone e sul nome della Citta di Rovinj-Rovigno, 25.2.2010', *Službeni glasnik Grada Rovinja – Bollettino ufficiale della Citta' di Rovigno*, 2/2010; 'Statut Grada Rovinja-Rovigno (pročišćeni tekst) / Statuto della Citta di Rovinj-Rovigno (testo emendato), 26.11.2015', *Službeni glasnik Grada Rovinja / Bollettino ufficiale della Citta' di Rovigno*, 11/2015.



Rovinj: flag and gonfalon adopted 12 July 1996

Čakovec

The city of Čakovec (Hungarian *Csáktornya*, German *Tschakathurn*) was established in the thirteenth century, and by the sixteenth century it was ruled by the influential family of Zrinski. A seal of the town dated 1596 depicts on azure the eponymous tower on a masoned wall argent between two mullets or.



*Čakovec: left, flag introduced 1941;
right, flag adopted 28 October 1994*

Between the two World Wars, the newly independent Kingdom of Hungary developed a system of municipal flags based on municipal coats of arms, employing rather simple geometric divisions of the flag or at most simple heraldic charges in banners-of-arms style. Out of 100 of all city flags recorded in Greater Hungary in 1941¹¹² after the invasion of Yugoslavia, Čakovec is the only one in the territories of present-day Croatia. In the Axis division of Yugoslavia, Hungary regained, among others, the Međimurje district it had lost though the Treaty of Trianon in 1920. The flag of Čakovec must therefore have been devised after 11 April 1941 when Hungarian troops entered the city, or possibly even after 16 August of that year when the civil administration took over. In any case, the flag of Čakovec was simply vertically divided bicolor of blue and white, based on the main colour of the coat of arms. The flag might have been in use still after the German occupation of Hungary in March 1944 until the very last weeks of the war in April 1945 when the region was finally liberated by the Yugoslav Army.

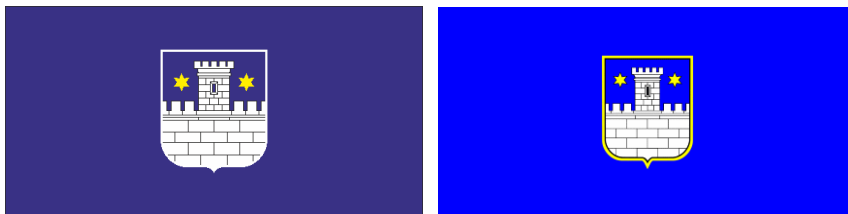
¹¹²S. Széll, *Városaink neve, címere és lobogója. Történeti és heraldikai tanulmány* (Budapest: Vármegyei Szociográfiák Kiadóhivatala, 1941).



Čakovec continued to use its historical coat of arms more or less continually in nearly the same graphical style, but no flag was recorded after the Second World War. After the independence of Croatia, the city reaffirmed its coat of arms on 13 December 1993 and adopted a flag on 28 October 1994.

This design showed a remarkable similarity with the Hungarian design of 1941, but there is no evidence that the designers were even aware of that predecessor. The new flag was a blue and white bicolour, with an additional thin white stripe along the hoist and with two yellow six-pointed stars, one over the other, in the blue half. The overall ratio was prescribed as the unusual 6:11.

The coat of arms was approved by the Ministry on 29 December 1993 (the only known case that only arms were approved without a flag), but the flag did not gain approval. There is no evidence that this flag was ever used.¹¹³



Čakovec: left, flag adopted 20 March 1996;
right, flag adopted 9 July 2009

In any case, on 20 March 1996 the new flag was adopted, following the new general regulations pattern, being a monocolour with the coat of arms – dark blue in this case, with golden outlined coat of arms in the centre. The flag gained approval on 7 May 1996 and the design of the coat of arms was refreshed in artistic minor details on 8 July.¹¹⁴ New artwork with very minor differences was authorised in 2009.¹¹⁵

113 'Odluka o privremenom ustrojstvu Grada Čakovca, 13.4.1993', *Službeni glasnik Županije Međimurske*, 1/1993, 24.4.1993; 'Odluka o grbu Grada Čakovca, 13.12.1993', *Službeni glasnik Županije Međimurske*, 3/1993, 31.12.1993; *Rješenje Minsitarstva uprave (o odobrenju grba)*, KLASA: UP/I-017-02/93-01/18, URBROJ: 515-04-03/1-93-3, 29.12.1993; 'Statut Grada Čakovca, 19.4.1994', *Službeni glasnik Županije Međimurske*, 4/1994, 30.4.1994; 'Odluka o zastavi Grada Čakovca, 28.10.1994', *Službeni glasnik Županije Međimurske*, 6/1994, 4.11.1994.

114 'Odluka o izmjeni i dopuni Odluke o zastavi Grada Čakovca, 20.3.1996', *Službeni glasnik Grada Čakovca*, 1/1996, 21.3.1996; *Rješenje Ministarstva uprave (o odobrenju zastave)*, KLASA: UP/I-017-02/94-01/53, 515-04-03/1-96-2, 7.5.1996; 'Odluka o izmjeni i dopuni Odluke o grbu Grada Čakovca, 8.7.1996', *Službeni glasnik Grada Čakovca*, 3/1996, 16.7.1996.

115 'Statut Grada Čakovca, 1. i 4.3.1999', *Službeni glasnik Grada Čakovca*, 1/1999, 15.3.1999; 'Statut Grada Čakovca, 27.9.2001', *Službeni glasnik Grada Čakovca*, 5/2001, 9.10.2001; 'Statut Grada Čakovca (pročišćeni tekst), 22.9.2006', *Službeni glasnik Grada Čakovca*, 10/2006, 30.10.2006; 'Odluka o grbu Grada Čakovca, 9.7.2009', *Službeni glasnik Grada Čakovca*, 9/2009, 10.7.2009; 'Statut Grada Čakovca, 9.7.2009', *Službeni glasnik Grada Čakovca*, 9/2009, 10.7.2009; 'Statut Grada Čakovca (pročišćeni tekst), 17.4.2013', *Službeni glasnik Grada Čakovca*, 3/2013, 18.4.2013.



Modern graphical design, 1945-2000

After the Second World War, in new social and ideological circumstances, municipal flags, coats of arms and other emblems of the overthrown reactionary regime were quickly shunned. Although some old city flags continued in use, defaced with the red star (see Zagreb above), municipal flags virtually disappeared.

Their gradual re-emergence as a concept seems to date from the 1960s. The new taste in emblems brought a radically different style of new municipal symbols. The style was also, no doubt, influenced by the newly developing art of graphical design and the worldwide phenomenon of 'logomania', when ancient heraldic devices were reinterpreted in new ways, either intentionally or mistakenly ignoring traditions of heraldic expression. Municipal flags often became monocolours (although some had been such before), bearing a silk-screened printed 'logo' in another colour (see also Zagreb above).

Buje

Like a number of other Istrian towns, Buje (Italian: *Buie*) used the coat of arms *argent a cross gules*, recorded as early as the fifteenth century. Obviously, the cross was not a favoured symbol during the socialist period, and the 1976 municipal statutes (and possibly even earlier) prescribed a different design instead.



*Buje: left, flag adopted 28 April 1976;
right, flag adopted 30 July 1993*

The coat of arms was not described but comprises a roofed shield in outline,¹¹⁶ inscribed with four curved lines issuing from the base – two dexter curving to the dexter flank and two sinister to the sinister flank – forming a kind of pall. The flag of 28 April 1976 was red with the coat of arms 'embroidered in golden yellow'.¹¹⁷ This was official until the adoption of the current flag on 30 July 1993.

At that date the historical coat of arms was reintroduced with the new statutes, and a new flag was prescribed after artwork by Sergio Gobbo. It is prescribed only as a vertical red flag with the coat of arms off-set towards the top, with rectangular indentations along the bottom forming four tails, the entire edge

¹¹⁶ See note 89 above.

¹¹⁷ 'Statut Općine Buje / Statuto del Comune di Buie', *Službeni vjesnik Općine Buje / Gazzetta Ufficiale del Comune di Buie*, 4/1976, 28.4.1976.



edged with a yellow ribbon. However, horizontal flags without indentations, with or without the yellow edge and with minor variations in the coat of arms artwork are also recorded in use. The design was not approved by the Ministry.¹¹⁸

Pula

In the medieval period the city of Pula (Italian *Pola*) was ruled by the lords of Castropola under Venetian sovereignty from the mid-fourteenth century, and no particular coat of arms was recorded for the city. It is only with the Napoleonic reforms that the city gained its status and started using a coat of arms, similar to many other Istrian municipal arms in form of a simple cross on a shield. The colours of green and gold were chosen as the alleged livery colours of the historical Castropola family. The arms of vert a cross or with a mural crown over the shield were confirmed by the Austrian administration in 1846.¹¹⁹ After the First World War Pola was made the capital of the Italian province of the same name, and the city arms were confirmed by a decree in 1930. In 1941 the right to ensign the arms with a comital crown¹²⁰ was also confirmed.¹²¹ However, no particular flag was recorded.



*Pula: left, flag recorded in use 1980s;
right, flag adopted 12 November 1993*

After the Second World War, in socialist Yugoslavia the use of the arms was dropped, and eventually in late 1950s an entirely new design of the period style was introduced: a blue samnitic shield within a border of white rope with a white representation of the Arena (the ancient Roman amphitheatre), in front

118 'Odluka o grbu i zastavi Grada Buja i lenti gradonačelnika Grada Buja, 30.7.1993; *Statut Grada Buja / Città di Buie*, 30.9.1993; 'Statut Grada Buja, 31.10.2001', *Službene novine Grada Buja*, 5/2001; 'Statut Grada Buja, 30.7.2009', *Službene novine Grada Buja*, 11/2009, 31.7.2009.

119 V. Venier, *Lo stemma di Pola*, L'Arena di Pola website (6 September 2007), <http://www.arenadipola.it/index.php/90-notizie-ultime/71-lo-stemma-di-pola> [accessed 21 October 2022]; Ströhl, *Städtewappen von Österreich-Ungarn*, p. 54.

120 Heraldic crown of a *conte*, consisting of a golden jewelled coronet with nine visible protrusions each topped by a white pearl.

121 *Decreto 1930-09-01 DCG (Decreto del Capo del Governo), riconoscimento di stemma*, and *Decreto 1941-12-26 DCG, riconoscimento di corona comitale* quoted in *Banca dati Fascicoli comunali* (2017).



of it a gold bow of a cargo ship under construction with a gold crane to its dexter and a red five-pointed star in the sinister corner. This was simplified in the late 1960s to only a blue shield edged in white with the white Arena, white waves in the base and a red five-pointed star in upper sinister corner. This was used on a blue flag at least in 1980s.¹²²

In 1992 the city abandoned this flag and adopted a new set of symbols. The details remain unknown,¹²³ but they were possibly similar or identical to those adopted on 12 November 1993. The old yellow cross in a green shield was adopted in two forms (regular and ceremonial shield shape), while the flag based on it was introduced – green flag with a yellow 'Scandinavian'¹²⁴ cross. In the flag of the usual 1:2 ratio the arms are 1/5 of the hoist wide. The length of the green rectangles next to the hoist is 3/5 of the hoist.¹²⁵ It is not known if these symbols gained Ministry approval, but they are certainly widely used.

Donja Stubica

The 'armorial' emblem adopted by Donja Stubica prior to 1976 depicts, on a stylised shield shape, a city on a hill with three roofed towers, a flag hoisted from the central one, and in the base, on each side of the path leading towards it, a flail and a scythe. Over the shield is set a ribbon inscribed *Stubica* between two five-pointed stars. The drawing was used uncoloured, depicted either black or brown. The weapons and tools symbolise the peasant revolt of 1573. The emblem set on a lyre was and still is used by the cultural-artistic society Stubica, with the establishment year 1976 inscribed. The municipal flag was light blue with a gold emblem in the centre.¹²⁶

After the administrative reorganisation in 1993 the Community of Donja Stubica adopted its new symbols on 28 December 1994.

The coat of arms was per bend dancetty vert and azure overall a church or and in the base two barrulets wavy also or. The flag was vertical blue flag edged yellow with two rectangular indentations in the bottom, with the coat of arms in the centre, inscribed *Donja Stubica* above and the year 1209 (the first mention of the city in documents) below. The serrated division line cants for *stuba*, meaning a stair. The design did not receive Ministry approval but was used nevertheless.¹²⁷

122 A. Jansen, 1986, in personal communication with Jan Mertens, 12 March 1987; photo taken by Jansen, 5 July 1986; cited at <http://www.crwflags.com/fotw/flags/hr-pn-pu.html>

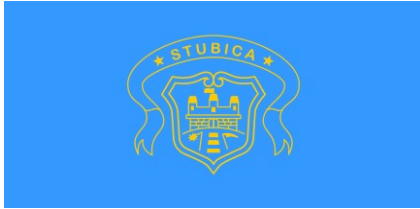
123 'Odluka o uporabi i načinu zaštite grba i zastave Općine Pula', *Službene novine Općine Pula*, 9/1992 [unseen by author].

124 The decisions and statutes call it a 'Latin cross'.

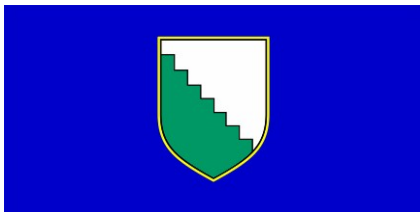
125 'Odluka o grbu i zastavi Grada Pule, 12.11.1993', *Službene novine Grada Pule*, 9/1993; 'Odluka o izmjenama i dopunama Odluke o grbu i zastavi Grada Pule, 3.8.2000', *Službene novine Grada Pule*, 6/2000, pp. 105-6; 'Statut Grada Pule (pročišćeni tekst), 7.11.2006', *Službene novine Grada Pule*, 9/2006, 8.11.2006; 'Statut Grada Pula / Pola, 14.7.2009', *Službene novine Grada Pule / Bollettino ufficiale della Città di Pola*, 7/2009, 15.7.2009; 'Statut Grada Pula / Pola (pročišćeni tekst), 5.4.2013', *Službene novine Grada Pule / Bollettino ufficiale della Città di Pola*, 1/2013, 5.4.2013.

126 Personal communication, Šipek, 2014.

127 'Odluka o grbu i zastavi Općine Donja Stubica, 28.12.1994', *Službeni glasnik Županije Krapinsko-zagorske*, 29/1994, 29.12.1994; 'Odluka izmjeni Odluke o grbu i zastavi Općine Donja Stubica, 19.4.1995', *Službeni glasnik Županije*



*Donja Stubica: left, flag used since 1970s;
right, flag adopted 28 December 1994*



Donja Stubica: flag and gonfalon adopted 22 September 2000

Eventually, the design was changed and gained approval on 12 July 2000, before its official adoption on 22 September 2000.¹²⁸ The canting part was retained, now simply *per bend dancetty argent and vert*. It is edged in yellow set on a blue flag. The ceremonial flag is a blue gonfalon ending in a triangle with two vine branches under the coat of arms, the name of the city above it and in the tail the year 1209.

Krapina

The city of Krapina was granted coat of arms by King Sigismund, used in a seal in the fourteenth century, and confirmed by King Rudolf II in 1588. It depicts a fortified city with a central embattled tower, between two smaller roofed towers and flanked with yet two smaller sentry towers. The colours were finally

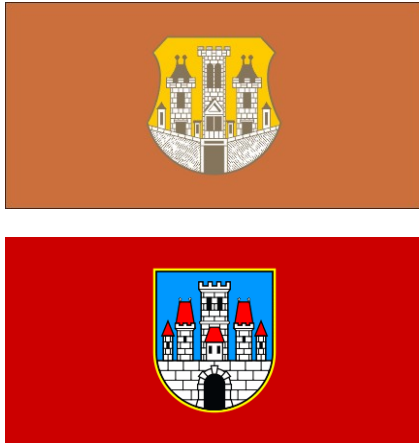
Krapinsko-zagorske, 5/1995, 19.5.1995.

128 'Statut Grada Donja Stubica, 11.12.1997', *Službeni glasnik Krapinsko-zagorske županije*, 14/1997, 22.12.1997; 'Rješenje Ministarstva pravosuđa, uprave i lokalne samouprave, KLASA: UP/I-017-01/00-01/133, URBROJ: 514-09-01-00-2, 12.7.2000; 'Statutarna odluka o grbu i zastavi Grada Donja Stubica, 22.9.2000', *Službeni glasnik Krapinsko-zagorske županije*, 1A/2001, 26.1.2001; 'Statut Grada Donja Stubica, 7.7.2009', *Službeni glasnik Krapinsko-zagorske županije*, 14/2009, 14.7.2009.



established in the nineteenth century.

Krapina is an example of a city that retained its historical heraldry well into the socialist period. The city flag was adopted before 1967 and retained the same design as late as 1997. The shield of the arms was yellow, while the charges were white with brown outlines. This coat of arms was set in a 'brick red' coloured flag.¹²⁹



*Krapina: top left, flag adopted 1960s;
above, flag and gonfalon adopted 9 October 1997*

The design was refreshed graphically in the modern municipal heraldic style on 9 October 1997 after a drawing by Mladen Stojić, using the nineteenth century colouring. It was outlined in yellow and placed on a red flag. The design was approved by the Ministry on 27 October 1997.¹³⁰ The ceremonial flag is a gold edged red gonfalon with three pointed tails with tassels. The coat of arms in the centre is topped with the city name in two arches, and beneath the arms there are two linden branches in saltire.

Conclusion

Historical municipal flags of Croatian cities display great variety, not only in regard with period when they appeared, but also in their form and functions.

On the oldest recorded flags, it is known from accounts in written documents that cities used flags, but we know no details on their appearance. The oldest known municipal flags whose design we know are those of merchant ports in the eastern Adriatic that employed them as ensigns and probably also as the

¹²⁹ 'Opet pod starom zastavom', *Varaždinske vijesti*, 13.3.1971, p. 6; 'Statut Grada Krapine, 31.3.1994', *Službeni glasnik Županije Krapinsko-zagorske*, 4/1994, 31.3.1994.

¹³⁰ 'Statut Grada Krapine, 3.7.1997', *Službeni glasnik Županije Krapinsko-zagorske*, 7/1997, 25.7.1997; 'Odluka o opisu i uporabi grba i zastave Grada Krapine, 9.10.1997', *Službeni glasnik Krapinsko-zagorske županije*, 12/1997, 2.12.1997; 'Rješenje Ministarstva uprave, KLASA: UP/I-017-02/95-01/16, URBROJ: 515-04-03/1-97-6, 27.10.1997; 'Statut Grada Krapine, 1.10.2001', *Službeni glasnik Krapinsko-zagorske županije*, 12/2001, 19.10.2001; 'Statut Grada Krapine, 30.6.2009', *Službeni glasnik Grada Krapine*, 4/2009, 30.6.2009; 'Odluka o izmjeni i dopuni Odluke o opisu i uporabi grba i zastave Grada Krapine, 30.6.2010', *Službeni glasnik Grada Krapine*, 5/2010, 30.6.2010.



symbol of their sovereignty on standards in the main city square.

Another set of oldest known flags are those depicted on the early navigational maps known as portolans, where significant ports were indicated by their respective flags. Some of these are actually the flags of feudal rulers who had most important influence on these ports. These designs were copied from one cartographer to the other, often introducing imprecisions and deviations in patterns. In some cases symbols of some short-term rulers recorded in one portolan would be propagated in these maps long after the actual symbols were quite obsolete.

Municipal flags inland first appear as military unit flags, produced for the use of the municipal militia these cities had to maintain as part of their feudal obligations. Once these were not used by the military any more, they continued to be used by the cities as their civil flags.

In the late nineteenth century the gradually industrialised bourgeois society exhibited their municipal affiliation through flags of various civil associations that displayed the city symbols – and eventually these designs became associated with the entire municipal identity. These flags display heraldic origins, but usually sport the multi-coloured equally-sized stripes of post-French Revolution vexillology, as a rule ornamented with the municipal coat of arms or some other appropriate device.

With the growth of national movement in Dalmatia in the second half of the nineteenth century, and after the national parties managed to outvote autonomous (Italian) parties in local assemblies, the Croatian tricolour of red-white-blue appeared as a municipal flag defaced with local coats of arms. In mainland Croatia such flags also appeared in quantity: not as municipal flags but rather as the flags of various bourgeois societies – sporting, hunting, singing etc. – some again defaced with the municipal coats of arms, others with other appropriate charges and inscriptions.

In the first half of the twentieth century in regions that had once been part of other countries, flags appeared in accordance with vexillological tradition of those countries. Thus in the Italian-held regions monocoloured flags with the municipal coat of arms appeared, as well as the gonfalon-type of banners, again with the municipal arms in ornate embroidery. In the Hungarian region, flags were devised as simple geometric regular divisions of two or three main colours from the municipal arms, with no defacing of any kind.

After the Second World War all local symbols were quickly suppressed as ideologically unsuitable. However, gradually from 1960 a new kind of municipal heraldry was emerging in artistic taste of the period, although examples of simply modernised heraldic design were also recorded. Flags were as a rule monocoloured with the coat of arms usually as single coloured line drawing.

After Croatian independence and the subsequent administrative reform of 1993 the majority of Croatian municipalities – cities and communities – adopted a set of coat of arms and flag during the next two and a half decades. The national legislation prescribed rather strict rules for the restored heraldic style and a monotonous pattern of single-colour flags on which to display them, with just only a few exceptions of established historical precedent. While over sixty municipalities have readopted historical coats of arms, only two dozen have flags whose histories extend beyond the 1990s. They are presented in this



paper in one of seven groups determined by the period when the flag emerged.

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Službeni glasnik Županije Dubrovačko-neretvanske, Grada Dubrovnika, Općine Konavle, Općine Mljet, Općine Ston, Dubrovnik
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Author biography



Lieutenant Colonel Dr. Željko Heimer FF was born in 1971 in Zagreb, Croatia. He graduated in Industrial Electronics in 1997 from the University of Zagreb, Faculty of Electrical Engineering and Computing; since 1999 he has served as an officer in the Croatian Armed Forces, currently holding the rank of lieutenant colonel in the Information Technologies Service. He earned his Master of Science in Electronics in 2005. He was awarded a Ph.D. in sociology in 2013 by the University of Zagreb, Faculty of Humanities and Social Studies, focusing on the topic of military flags from the Homeland War and the visual identity of the Armed Forces (English translation published by the *Flag Heritage Foundation*, 2017).

Since 1995 he has been an active member of Flags of the World (FOTW), the international association maintaining the world's largest website devoted to vexillology, serving since 1996 as its web editor, and since 1996–7 as its vice-director. He participated in the International Congresses of Vexillology held in York (2001), Stockholm (2003), Buenos Aires (2005), Berlin (2007), Yokohama (2009), Washington (2011), Rotterdam (2013), and Sydney (2015), and in the International Congresses of Heraldic and Genealogical Sciences held in Stuttgart (2010) and Maastricht (2012).

In 2005 he prepared an exhibition of Norwegian flags in Zagreb, followed by exhibitions in other venues in Croatia and Norway. In 2006 he co-founded the Croatian Heraldic and Vexillological Association (HGZD) and became its president and editor of its semi-annual journal, *Grb i zastava*. He maintains the website 'Flags and Arms of the Modern Era' (FAME), where he publishes the results of his study of current and historical flags, mainly in the Balkan countries of Croatia, Slovenia, and Bosnia and Herzegovina.

He has published monographs on the coats of arms and flags of Croatia (2008) and Zagreb (2009), a study of heraldic and vexillological descriptions (2016), and a number of scientific, professional, and popular articles in Croatia and abroad. He is an associate member of the Académie internationale d'héraldique and has been an honorary member of the Bulgarian Heraldic



and Vexillological Society (BHVS) since 2009, and of the Macedonian Heraldic Association (MHZ) since 2011. For his work in promoting and preserving this part of his country's heritage, in 2010 he was awarded the Order of Croatian Wattle by the president of Croatia.

In 2015 he was made a Fellow of the *Fédération internationale des associations vexillologiques* (FIAV) in recognition of his contributions to vexillology.