
THE ORDER OF THE DRAGON AS REFLECTED IN HUNGARIAN AND CROATIAN HERALDRY

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The Order of the Dragon

On March 18, 2006 an exhibition (TAKÁCS ed. 2006) opened at the Budapest Museum of Fine Arts, dedicated to Emperor and King Sigismund of the house of Luxemburg (b. Feb. 15, 1368 – King of Hungary, Croatia, Slavonia and Dalmatia 1378-1437 – Margrave of Brandenburg 1378 – crowned King of Hungary March 31, 1387 - Roman King July 21, 1411 – crowned King of Bohemia July 28, 1420 – crowned Roman Emperor in Rome May 31, 1433 - d. Znaim, Dec. 9, 1437). In July of the same year it was opened in Luxemburg, at the *Musée national d'histoire et art*, in a reduced version. Before this exhibition, a symposium was held in Luxemburg in 2005, as an introduction to the forthcoming exhibition (PAULY – REINERT eds. 2005). The authors of both papers presented at the symposium and of the exhibition catalogue have succeeded not only in bringing this ruler and his era closer to us, but also from a historical distance to present his character and deeds in an objective manner. The exhibition itself was excellent and well conceived.

At the Emperor Sigismund Exhibition one could, in one room (Section IV – *Die Welt der Drachenritter*), admire all the paraphernalia of the Order of the Dragon. It was a unique opportunity to see these items, gathered from all over Europe, assembled in one place for the first and probably the last time in history. The catalogue, for instance, listed the famous sword of King Charles Robert's Order of St. George with the dragon (from Vienna); the founding charter of 1408; the founding charter of the Austrian Order of the Dragon of 1409; the large embroidered gold dragon in relief from Munich; the unique, but rather clumsily cast specimen of the Order itself (the dragon suspended from the flaming cross), probably found in Lithuania, which is in Berlin; the ceremonial sword of 1416 from York; the drawing of various items, among them the Order, lost in the meantime, found in 1755 in what might have been Sigismund's tomb in Nágý

Várad (Oradea Mare, Grosswardein); the textile with the flaming cross bearing the Order's motto, from Vienna; portraits and tombstones of various knights of the Order, on which the Order itself could be seen, including the fragment of a tombstone of a Bosnian king from the Bobovac Castle; stove tiles showing the Order of the Dragon etc. A collection of ivory and bone saddles, said to have been used by the knights of the Order was also unique. On the so-called Jankovich saddle the Order of the Dragon is on the rear side. Dragons and St. George, killing the dragon, could also be seen on Sigismund's large ceremonial drinking horn, of the type King Henry V of England sent him as a gift to Calais in 1416. The Order could also be seen as depicted on charters by which King Sigismund granted coats of arms to the Palatine Nicholas (II) of Gara (Garai, Gorjanski) and to Andreas Csapi in 1416 and 1418 respectively. The founder of the Order too could be seen bearing it on a portrait by Pisanello and on several other portraits as well.

Sigismund, whose reign was a long one, does not seem to have attracted much sympathy either during his lifetime or later. On the contrary, both he and his second consort since 1405, Countess Barbara of Celje (Cilli; FÖSSEL 2005: 98-99; PÁLOSFALVI 2006), had a bad reputation and they continued to be vilified after their deaths (cf. BUDDAI, IV, 1722: 349-350; I, 1722: 318). Croatian historiography, literature and folk-lore agreed in this for several centuries. One of the leaders of this negative publicity was Enea Silvio Piccolomini, secretary of Emperor and King Friedrich III, who later became Pope Pius II (b. Pienza, Oct. 18, 1405 – pope Aug. 19, 1458 - d. Ancona, Aug. 14, 1464). Describing the emperor he wrote: «*Fuit autem Sigismundus egregie stature, illustribus oculis, fronte spaciiosa, genis ad gratiam rubescentibus, barba prolixa et copiosa, vasto animo, multivolus, inconstans tamen, sermone facetus, vini cupidus, in Venerem ardens, mille adulteriis crimosus, pronus ad iram, facilis ad veniam, nullius thesauri custos, prodigus dispensator; plura promisit quam servavit, finxit multa.*» (*Enee Silvii Piccolominei postea Pii pp. 2. De viris illustribus*. 1991: XXII. *De Sigismundo Cesare*). About the beautiful empress Barbara he wrote less in his *De viris illustribus* (ibid. XXXII. *De Barbara imperatrice*), and more in *Historia Bohemica*. Nevertheless, there wasn't much flattering in either.

In order not only to repair their reputation, protect their persons, support their political aims, but also befriend the most important feudal lords of their realms and tie them closer to their persons, Sigismund and Barbara – with king Charles Robert of Anjou's short-lived Order of St. George (*universitas societatis fraternalis militiae titulo Sancti Georgii insigniti*) of 1326 as its model - founded

the Society of the Dragon on December 12, 1408. The founding charter could also be seen at the exhibition (TAKÁCS ed. 2006: 338-339, No. 4.38). These statutes are also preserved in a more recent copy, in the Hungarian National Museum in Budapest. Its first twenty two knights were members of the leading Hungarian, Croatian, etc. aristocracy. The order's aim was, among other things, to protect the Christian faith and to ensure the female succession to the throne – something which appeared once more much later, under Charles VI, under the name of the Pragmatic Sanction, which ensured the succession of Maria Theresia.

The motto of the Order was “*O quam misericors and bonus est Deus/ O quam pius et justus*”. Among the first twenty two knights were: Stephen Lazarević and George Branković, despots of Serbia; counts and later princes of the Holy Roman Empire, Hermann of Celje (Cilli), the king's father-in-law, and his son Friedrich; Nicholas, the Palatine and John de Gara (Garai, Gorjanski); Stibor of Striborze, former Duke of Transylvania; Princes of Transylvania John Tamási and James Lacković (Lack de Szántó); John Morović (Maróti), Banus (Ban) of Mačva (Macsó); Pipo de Ozora (Ozorai), banus of Syrmia; Nicholas Széchy, treasurer; Count Charles of Krbava (de Corbavia, Korbáviai), supreme treasurer; John of Krbava, master of the court; Simon Széchény, guardian of the gates; John Alsáni, cupbearer; Peter Lévai Cseh, equerry; Paul of Bissen (Besenyő) and Paul de Pegh (Pécsi), both former viceroys (*banovi, ban*) of Croatia and Slavonia; Nicholas Csáki, former Prince of Transylvania; Nicholas Nádasdi; Peter and Emeric Perényi, secret counsellor. Already in 1412 Sigismund called all the Knights of the Order of the Dragon to take part in his war against Friedrich of Austria. The emblem of this Order was the dragon vert, turned either right or left, forming a circle, with its tail wound around its neck, and a cross gules on its back.

As P. Lövei, quoting Éva Kovács, wrote: «*with his Order of the Dragon Sigismund took part at the international stock exchange of orders*» (LÖVEI 2006: 260), his propaganda worked well and it has had far-fetched consequences, even down to our times. The dragon became a favourite element of Hungarian heraldry.

Already less than three months after the Order's foundation, in Sopron (Ödenburg), on February 16 1409 Sigismund incorporated 24 Austrian and Styrian noblemen into the Order, headed by Dukes Ernst the Iron One and Albrecht V (SEYLER 1885-1889: 466) (Figures 1, 2). Later in the same year a mighty Croatian aristocrat also became a member: Hrvoje Vukčić-Hrvatinić, Duke of Split and Bosnia. Several Italian aristocrats joined the Order in 1411, 1412, as well as after Sigismund's

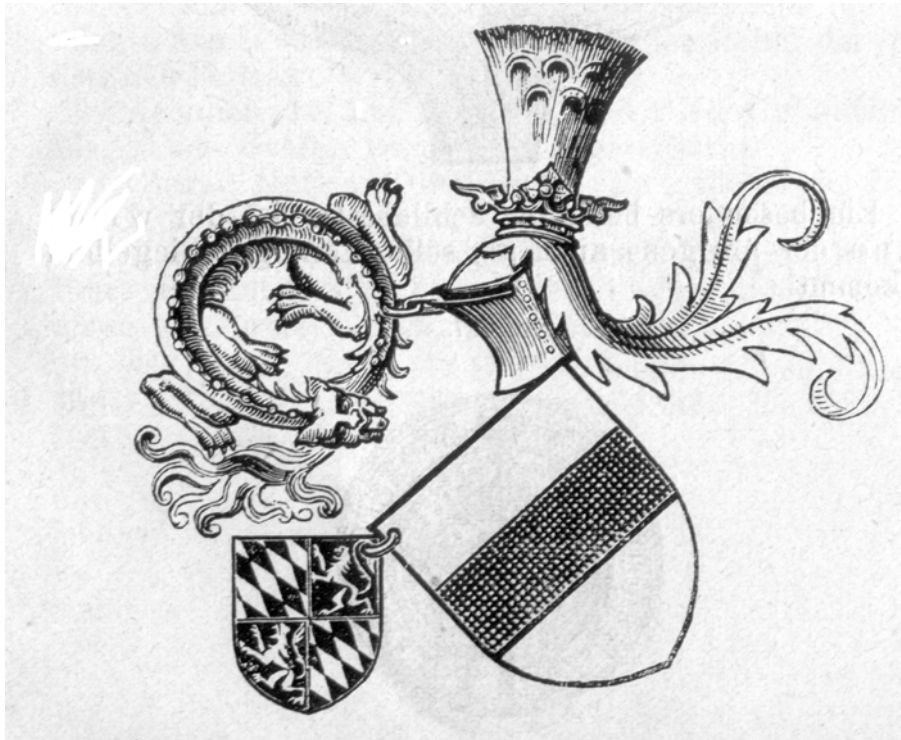


Figure 1. Arms of Albrecht von Habsburg of Austria and Ernst and Johanna of Bavaria, linked with the Order of the Dragon (SEYLER 1885-1889: 466)

coronation as Emperor in Rome 1433. In 1416 King Ferdinand of Aragon, his sons and 30 Aragonian noblemen became knights of the Order. Of particular interest is Sigismund's visit to England in the same year, from May onwards, when King Henry V made him Knight of the Order of the Garter on May 24 and was in his turn created Knight of the Order of the Dragon. The testimony of this event was Sigismund's sword, decorated with dragons, which was hung above his seat in St. George's Chapel at Windsor Castle: since 1439 this sword has been carried in front of the Lord Mayor of York and the City of York. One must remember that Sigismund's sister Anne was the queen of King Richard II of England (BÁRÁNY 2006).

In 1418 several more men were ennobled and also became knights, thus for instance Andrew of Chapi (together with the families Agócsy, Széchy, Szerdahelyi, Szürthey, Sóos de Sóvár, Bocskai) and Sigismund Guartius Fernandi, in 1419 King Eric of Denmark, in 1420 the Bohemian aristocrat Schanko von Wartenberg, in 1429 King Wladislaw Jagiello of Poland and Alexander Witold Grand Duke of Lithuania (who too was empowered to distribute the Order to others); in 1430 the notorious Vlad Dracul of Wallachia joined them. Pope Eugene confirmed the somewhat altered statutes on July 24, 1433.

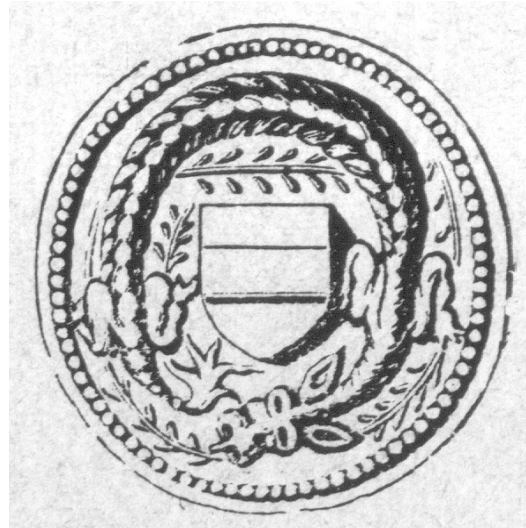


Figure 2. Arms of Albrecht von Habsburg on signet ring, with dragon surrounding the shield

Albrecht V (II) of Austria (b. Aug 10, 1397 – 1411 – crowned King of Hungary Jan. 1, 1438 - 1438 Emperor - d. Oct. 10, 1439) was the second grand master of the Order (SEYLER 1885-1889: 466; Figs 1, 2) and he conferred it to Alphons, Bishop of Burgos in 1438 and John Duke of Norfolk on June 22, 1439. They were empowered to knight 30 and six aristocrats each. Other rulers, Matthias Corvinus (b. 1443 – 1458 – crowned Aug. 29, 1464 – d. Apr. 6, 1490) and Friedrich III (V; b. Sept. 21, 1415 – Roman King 1440 – German Emperor Mar. 19, 1452 – d. Aug. 19, 1493), possibly Vladislaus II (crowned Sept. 21, 1490 – d. Mar. 13, 1516) and members of the Báthori family continued decorating aristocrats with the Order. Thus the Order of the Dragon can also be seen on several types of Transylvanian coins. The Order continued to exist in Hungary and Transylvania for some time, then ceased to function with the arrival of the Turks and fell into oblivion, but only partly. The dragon still survives as a very important element of Hungarian heraldry and the arms of some Hungarian nobles boast a dragon either protecting the shield or wound within the shield.

The Dragon in Hungarian and Croatian Heraldry

The dragon (WETZER – WELTE III, 1884: 2013-2014; BADURINA 1979: 592) can sometimes be seen on some variants of coats-of-arms of several states, in the past and present, such as Assam (RENTZMANN 1876: Pl.10, 88), Austria (RENTZMANN 1876: Pl.10, 92), «Celtae» (BANAC – NOVAK – KOLANOVIĆ 1991: 48); China (RENTZMANN 1876: Pl.10, 75, 77, 78), Cochinchina (RENTZMANN 1876: Pl.10, 97), Georgia (RENTZMANN 1876: Pl.10, 79), Hungary (RENTZMANN 1876: Pl.10, 74, 89), Poland (RENTZMANN 1876: Pl.10), Silesia (RENTZMANN 1876: Pl.10, 82, 91), and cities, such as Basle (RENTZMANN 1876: Pl.10, 81), Cincinnati (Ohio, RENTZMANN 1876: Pl.10, 80), Kolin, (Bohemia, LIND 1885: pl. II), Ljubljana (Slovenia, RENTZMANN 1876: Pl.10, 81; LIND 1885: pl. Dalmatien, Krain), Perast (ZMAJIĆ 1996: 53); Peru (Illinois, RENTZMANN 1876: Pl.10, 80), Pittsburgh (Pennsylvania, RENTZMANN 1876: Pl.10, 80), «Slavonia maris Balthici» (BANAC – NOVAK – KOLANOVIĆ 1991: 81); Sycamore (Illinois, RENTZMANN 1876: Pl.10, 80), and Verona (RENTZMANN 1876: Pl.10, 85).

On statues, reliefs, paintings, stained windows, seals, medals can be seen various saints killing the dragon. On coats-of-arms for instance depicting St. George of Cappadocia, Archangel Michael, St. Margaret, St. Martha, St. Philip the Apostle, St. Sylvester etc. there is a dragon. Daniel killed the dragon of Babylon (Dan. 14, 22). St. George is on the coats-of-arms of the following cities:

Kamnik, Slovenia (LIND 1885: pl. Krain); Pag, Croatia (LIND 1885: pl. Dalmatien); Senj, Croatia (LIND 1885: pl. Croatien und Slavonien; ZMAJIĆ 1971: Pl.xix,2; Suczawa, Poland (LIND 1885: pl. Galizien III); Szent-György, Hungary (LIND 1885: pl. Ungarn, V); Vis, Croatia (LIND 1885: pl. Dalmatien).

Archangel Michael is found on the coats-of-arms of: Alba Julia, Rumania (LIND 1885: pl. Siebenbürgen); Fünfhaus, Austria (LIND 1885: pl. I); Heiligenstadt, Austria (LIND 1885: pl. I); Łańcut, Poland (LIND 1885: pl. Galizien); Sechshaus, Austria (LIND 1885: pl. I); Šibenik, Croatia (ZMAJIĆ 1971: Pl.xxi,4); Tasnád-Trestenberg, Hungary (LIND 1885: pl. Ungarn, V).

The dragon itself also appears on some older coats-of-arms of various noble families from both kingdoms (Hungary and the Triune Kingdom of Croatia, Slavonia and Dalmatia), as well as the Principality of Siebenbürgen (Transylvania, Sedmogradska or Erdély), sometimes even before the establishment of the Order. A number are listed in Appendix 1.

The Order of the Dragon in Hungarian and Croatian Heraldry

In the heraldry of this part of Europe, it is sometimes difficult to distinguish between the dragon and the snake. The dragon is normally (though not always) winged, bears a crown and is coloured vert (sometimes or), though one can often only guess about the latter, unless a description of the coat-of-arms has been preserved. The real dragon of the Order also had a cross gules on its back. Of course, there are variants. The dragon typically has the tail wound around its neck, which we ought to consider as the order's authentic dragon, sometimes biting its tail. It occurs that genealogists and specialists in armoury are not sure whether the dragon wound around the shield is the genuine order, or just its reminiscence. There are many instances in which the dragon has slid onto the shield itself. In any case, the families boasting the Order of the Dragon around or on their shield considered this as a very prestigious detail.

In Hungarian, Transylvanian, as well as Croatian armoury there are more than thirty families boasting the Order of the Dragon listed in Appendix 2. (Figures 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11)



Figure 3. Arms of Stephen Bocskai of Transylvania on taler dated 1605, with dragon surrounding shield (Zagreb Archaeological Museum Numismatic Collection)



Figure 4 (left). The Chapi family coat-of-arms of 1418 (CSERGHEŐ I, 1885-1887: 96, Pl. 76)

Figure 5 (right) Another version of the Chapi arms



Figure 6. The Benjamin Kállay de Nagy-Kálló 1903 plaque (obverse and reverse) (Zagreb Archaeological Museum Numismatic Collection)

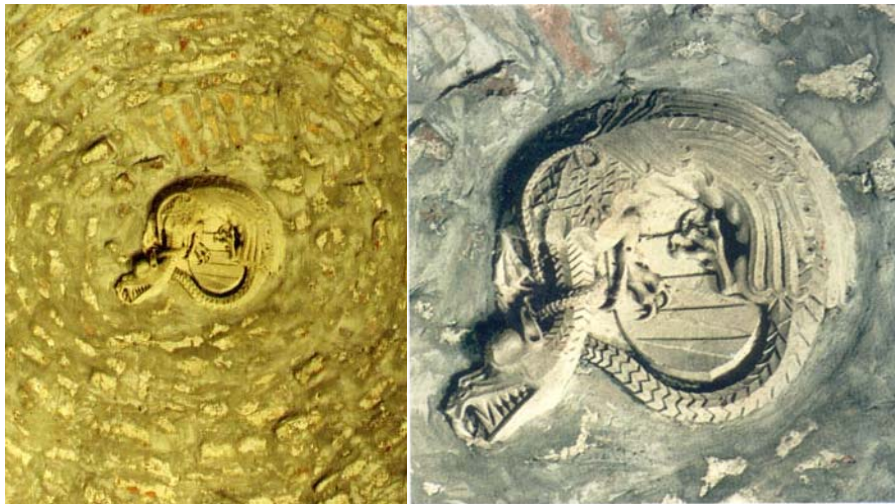


Figure 7 (left). The Morović coat-of-arms, Valpovo, Croatia (photograph by Drago Miletić)

Figure 8 (right) Detail of the Morović coat-of-arms, Valpovo, Croatia, (photograph by Ive Mažuran)

The Order of the Dragon with a double cross on its back can also be found on the coat-of-arms of the town of Hajdu-Bözsörmény in Hungary (LIND 1885: pl. Ungarn, II).

For Croatian heraldry, the most interesting and important are the two examples of stone reliefs with the coats-of-arms, where the order of the dragon is wound around the shield, one in Valpovo in continental Croatia, and the other in Dalmatia, near Trogir. The older coat-of-arms is that of one of the first knights of the order, Ivan of Morović de Genere Gutkeled (János Maróti, Maroth) Banus of Mačva (Macsó) (d. 1434/37), which is built into the top of the vault of the tower of the older part of the Valpovo Castle (Figure 7). It shows a very finely cut dragon, holding and partly covering the shield with the Morović coat-of-arms (MAŽURAN 2004: 18) (Figure 8).

Valpovo (Walpo, Valpó) Castle in Slavonia has a ground-plan resembling an irregular triangle, with the round tower at one of its corners and the chapel nearby. It was first owned by I. Solyag, then from 1397 by I. Morović, from 1481 by P. and M. Gerebi, from 1512 by E. Perényi; between 1543 and 1687 it was



Figure 9 (left). Seget nr. Trogir, Croatia, the Statileo Tower (photograph by Nikša de Kuščić)

Figure 10 (right) The Statileo coat-of-arms, Seget nr. Trogir, Croatia, the Statileo Tower (photograph by Nikša de Kuščić)

occupied by the Turks. After its liberation in 1687, from 1721 it was in the possession of the Hillebrand-Prandau baronial family, which rebuilt the mediaeval castle and added a new wing to it. In 1885, after the extinction of this family, it once more changed its owner and became the property of the counts Normann von Ehrenfels. Today it houses the local museum.

The other, more recent coat-of-arms of the Statilio (Statileo, Statilić, Stanošević) family, with the dragon wound around it, is dated to 1516. It is built into the southern facade of a 12 metre tower (Figure 9) which was constructed by this family at their possession Seget Donji near Trogir to protect it from Turkish incursions. The ground-plan of this tower is 4.8m square, with three floors and a flat roof, and is defended by three pinnacles on each side. There are consoles around the second floor, which used to carry a wooden gallery. At the height of the floor of the third floor there is a 1.15 m tall aedicula with the coat-of-arms and



Figure 11. The Széchy coat-of-arms 1418 (CSERGHEŐ IV, 1891/1892: 619-620, Pl. 419)

the enframed inscription below it: VIRTVS. STATILIOR/ ME. SIBI. VENDICAVIT./ .M.D.XVI. (FISKOVIĆ 1962: 100, Fig.14; CICARELLI 1964: 100, fig. 1; BABIĆ 1996: 135), the whole relief within an astragal border, resting on three consoles (Figure 10). The Statilio tower was therefore constructed upon the order of John Statilio or his nephews. It was in poor condition until 1958 when the Institute of Preservation of Cultural Heritage for Dalmatia had it restored (CICARELLI 1964). Unfortunately, since then, it has been closely surrounded by houses.

I. Babić found analogies for this coat-of-arms in Hungary, in Pécs, in the coat-of-arms of bishop George Szatmóry (BABIĆ 1996: 135). Older sources quote this family as of Transylvanian origin (HEYER 1873: 80-81) which came to Trogir and that Michael Statilio and his sons Matthew and John were awarded nobility and the title of „eques auratus“ by Maximilian I. In 1515. John Statilio was also granted French nobility by François I in 1528. It is a fact that Michael Stanošević, vulgo Statileo, is mentioned in the sources and that he died after 1510. The most illustrious member of this family was the above mentioned John (*c. 1472 +1533), Transylvanian bishop (ANDREIS 2006: 266). Šime Ljubić mentioned the same John Statilio, who arrived in Venice in 1521 as the secretary of the Hungarian king Ludovic II, with the aim of asking for help in the struggle against the Turks, and that he was nominated bishop of Transylvania:



Figure 12 (left). The Corbavia (Krbava, counts) coat-of-arms (BOJNIČIĆ 1899: 39, Pl. 30)

Figure 13 (right) The Jankovics (Janković) de Pribér et Vuchin (of Bribir and Voćin) coat-of-arms (BOJNIČIĆ 1899: 76, Pl. 54)

„STATILEO Giovanni di Traù, preposito Ursiense, segretario del re Lodovico d'Ungheria, dal quale fu mandato ambasciatore a Venezia per ricercare ajuto contro i Turchi nel 1521, e Andrea Morosini nel 1° libro della sua storia riporta l'orazione, che recitò in collegio. Fece ristampare la vita di S. Giovanni Ursino a sue spese. Venne da poi inalzato alla sede vescovile di Transilvania. Secondo Paolo Giovio (lib. 39) di nuovo fu mandato dal re Giovanni Sepusio di Polonia a Paolo III., Veneziani e Francesco re di Francia.“ (GLIUBICH 1856: 286).

The Dragon as Supporter

There are cases in which dragons are shown, usually in pairs, flanking and supporting the shield, a tradition which lasted from c. 1400 to 1918. These can be seen, for example on the coats-of-arms of:

Apafi, Michael (REICHENAUER - CSERGHEÖ – BÁRCZAY, 1898: 17, Pl. 16)

Corbavia (Krbava), counts (BOJNIČIĆ 1899: 39, Pl. 30) (Figure 12)

Drághffy de Béltek, barons 1507 (CSERGHEÖ I, 1885-1887: 143-144, Pl. 113;

BOJNIČIĆ 1899: 30-31, Pl. 23)

Fischer de Nagy-Szalatnya, barons 1603 (CSERGHEÖ II, 1887-1888: 174, Pl. 139)

Jankovics (Janković) de Pribér et Vuchin (of Bribir and Voćin, II), nobles, counts 1885 (CSERGHEÖ II, 1887-1888: 267, Pl. 203; BOJNIČIĆ 1899: 76, Pl. 54; DUIŠIN 1939: 53-54; ZMAJIĆ 1996: 71) (Figure 13)

Zolthay de Torda (REICHENAUER - CSERGHEÖ – BÁRCZAY, 1898: 256, Pl. 190)

The Dragon as Crest

There are also cases where the dragon is found as a crest:

Branković (Brankovich) (BANAC – NOVAK – KOLANOVIĆ 1991: 170)

Čarnojević (Zarnoevich) (BANAC – NOVAK – KOLANOVIĆ 1991: 173)

Dinjčić (Digncich) (BANAC – NOVAK – KOLANOVIĆ 1991: 213)

de Drago, nobles (HEYER 1873: 9, Pl. 5; Fig 89)

Frankopanović (Francopanovich) (BANAC – NOVAK – KOLANOVIĆ 1991: 299)

Gazzari, nobles (HEYER 1873: 46, 79, 107 Pls. 48, 61)

Jurčević (Jurčev), ancient Croatian nobility, of the Kačić clan (DUIŠIN 1939: 847)

Kacich (Kačić), ancient Croatian nobility (I, II) (HEYER 1873: 51-52, 114, Pl. 34; BOJNIČIĆ 1899: 81, Pl. 57; BANAC – NOVAK – KOLANOVIĆ 1991: 182)

Klešić (Klexich) (BANAC – NOVAK – KOLANOVIĆ 1991: 238)

Lenkovich (Lenković), nobles (BOJNIČIĆ 1899: 102, Pl. 73)

Miske, nobles (HEYER 1873: 62, Pl. 40; Fig 102)

Miossich (Miošić), nobles (HEYER 1873: 62, Pl. 40)

Pikjelomenović (Pichielomenovich) (BANAC – NOVAK – KOLANOVIĆ 1991: 279)

Semonich

Slavogosti, nobles (HEYER 1873: 79, 81 130, Pl. 48, 68)

Tarcarović (Tarzarovich) (BANAC – NOVAK – KOLANOVIĆ 1991: 244)

Zmajevich (Zmajević) (HEYER 1873: 92, Pl. 55; Fig 107; ZMAJIĆ 1971: Pl. X,20; 1996: 51)

Zrinski, counts (HEYER 1873: 92-03, Pl. 55-55; ZMAJIĆ 1971, pl. xx,1; 1996: 87; Fig 117); Nicholas III Zrinski, taler 1533)

The Brethren of the Croatian Dragon

The present Society known as the "Brethren of the Croatian Dragon" (LASZOWSKI 1942; KOLARIĆ and MIRNIK 2001; KEVO 2005) was founded on 16 November 1905 by Emilij de Laszowski Szeliga (PETKOVIĆ 2000), director of the Royal Croatian State Archives and Velimir Deželić Sen., director of the University and National Library in Zagreb (PETKOVIĆ 2000: 119-144; KOLARIĆ 2001: 11-23).

It is a Croatian fraternal and cultural society, founded upon the principles of friendship, brotherhood, free will, collective work and decision. Its aim is to preserve and renew the Croatian cultural heritage and to revive the memory of events from the Croatian past and of meritorious Croats. The brotherhood was conceived with the wish that this outspokenly Croatian and patriotic society would be entirely free of any political party. The unusual name was chosen after the above mentioned *Ordo equestris draconis* (The Knightly Order of the Dragon). Similar to the first order, a golden dragon with green wings, protecting the historical Croatian coat-of-arms (chequy gules and argent) became the emblem of the Brotherhood (Figure 14). Its patron is St. George, the motto is "*Pro aris et focis Deo propitio*" (For altars and hearths, with God's help). The statutes of the Brotherhood were approved in 1906, but they have been altered and completed on several occasions and there are signs that they might be changed once more.

It is not an exclusively male society as women were accepted as members from the very beginning, although in a smaller percentage. It can also be considered as a Catholic fraternity, as it has a chaplain and one of the Grand Masters was a priest. However, in spite of this, there have been Jews, Orthodox, and probably atheists among its members. Before the society was banned in 1946, the members were considered as the Croatian cultural, spiritual and in a way economic elite. Among the honorary and regular members are included the Blessed Cardinal Archbishop of Zagreb Alojzije Stepinac, Archbishop of Zagreb,

Figure 14 The emblem of the Brethren of the Croatian Dragon by Radoje Hudoklin (c. 1924)



Cardinal Archbishop of Zagreb Franjo Kuharić, Archbishop of Zadar Marijan Oblak, Bishop Gjuro Kokša, and among the aristocracy Archduke DDr. Otto von Habsburg, Count Jakob Eltz, Count Marin Gozze, Baron Janko Vranyczany Dobrinović, Antun de Celio Cega, Mo. Josip degl'Ivellio, Alojz Getliher (Göttlicher) von Bartenthal, Georg Jelačić de Bužim, Nikola Jelačić de Bužim, Professor Nikola Kállay de Nagy Kálló, Vidislav Kiš de Šaulovec, Aurel Kušević de Mala Mlaka, Emil de Laszowski Szeliga Jun., Professor Zvonimir Vrkljan of Sveti Rok, etc.

The statutes contain a detailed description of the ceremonies to be followed on different occasions (regular meetings, yearly conventions on April 23 and November 16, commemorations for deceased brethren, swearing in of the Grand Master and the Masters College, of regular brethren etc.) and there are also rules of blazon and a handbook of heraldry for regular members (PETKOVIĆ 1995: 91-118; KOLARIĆ 2001: 328-348). The rules concerning members' coats-of-arms run to seven chapters with 62 paragraphs. When accepted, elected by balloting and sworn in, each member chooses a predicate and his own arms accompanied by a motto. If he is of nobility he may keep the family predicate but only the shield of the family arms. The helmet, crest and mantling are identical for all members, the tinctures matching those in the shield. There are however, small variants to be seen in the crest, marking the member's rank and function. All these coats-of-arms are preserved in a codex.

In the hall above the Stone Gate in Zagreb there is a large heraldic tree containing coats-of-arms of all the members between 1905 and 1940, with the arms of the knights of the original Order of 1408 at the bottom.

The Brotherhood's activities are led by a Masters' College, consisting of the Grand Master and eight other Masters (Protonotary, Master of Sections, Treasurer, Chaplain, Keeper, Master of Ceremonies, Master of Boards, Majordomus), whose term lasts for five years. There is a *numerus clausus* for the members (91 regular members in Zagreb) and there are boards in almost every county. Members always choose to be active in one of the seven sections (Charity, History, Natural history, Arts, Law, Heritage, Education), each of them having its own colours. The office of the Grand Master has been held by Emilij de Laszowski Szeliga (1906-1935), Milutin Mayer (1935-1941), Mato Zuvčić (1943), Professor Mladen Deželić (1943-1945), and after its revival by Professor Antun Bauer (1990-1992), Professor Gjuro Deželić (1992-1993), the Right Reverend Professor Juraj Kolarić (1993-2001), architect Matija Salaj (1991-2006). The present Grand Master is Professor Dragutin Feletar (2006).

During the time of the Independent State of Croatia (1941-1945), the Brotherhood (without the knowledge of the members) was turned into a state institution named "The Knightly Order of the Croatian Dragon" by force of a decree, but was reinstated in its original form and name on May 7, 1945. The Dragons' outspoken Croatian and patriotic activities between 1905 and 1946 were developed through Dragons' boards (Dubrovnik) and earned much merit. In order to preserve the memory of illustrious Croats for future generations, the Dragons have unveiled numerous memorial tablets and monuments both at home and abroad. In 1907 they found the bones of Count Peter of Zrin and his brother-in-law Marquess Francis Christopher Frankopan, the last of the family, in Wienerneustadt, where they were beheaded in 1671, and brought them to Zagreb Cathedral (1919). They also buried the remains of the patriot Eugen Kvaternik and his companions (1921) and erected the monument at the place where the Croatian national anthem was composed at Zelenjak in Croatian Zagorje (1935). They also founded the now rich and flourishing Zagreb City Museum and the City Library (1906) and the Zagreb City Archives, the Ambulance Society (First Aid, 1909) in Zagreb, saved the mediaeval Stone Gate of the Old City from destruction, erected a memorial to the Croatian politician Ante Starčević in Šestine nr. Zagreb, initiated the big national celebration of the millenium of the Croatian Kingdom (925-1925), and unveiled the big Glagolitic inscription in the Zagreb Cathedral (1944).

The Society's seat is in the tower above the Stone Gate of the old (Upper) town of Zagreb. On July 28, 1928 the big mediaeval Ozalj Castle was presented to the Society by Prince Albert Lamoral of Thurn and Taxis and some years later vast woods were added to this donation. A rich museum and a library were opened in the castle and it became the favourite resort of members and their families and a cultural centre for the entire region. In 1935 they acquired the picturesque Bakar Castle on the Adriatic Coast and an old house nearby. Other possessions were a tower at Vrbovec nr. Zagreb, and the Zrinski mausoleum at Šenkovec nr. Čakovec, as well as some land in Zagreb. The public lectures, held regularly on Wednesdays for many years were famous. It also published several periodicals and other books. During the First World War the Society took an active part in charitable activities looking after the wounded and their families. The Confraternity was unjustly dissolved and prohibited by decision of the Ministry of Interior of the National Republic of Croatia on March 4, 1946 and all property was confiscated. Some items from the Ozalj museum were stolen by Italian occupation troops between 1941 and 1943 and some were destroyed by the communist forces in 1945. However, many objects were still at Ozalj and luckily others were taken to the Croatian Historical Museum where they are still kept.

The banning and many years of interruption of its activities were fortunately unable to uproot the Brotherhood. As soon as Croatia regained its independence and the independent and free state of the Republic of Croatia was founded, the Brotherhood was revived on June 23, 1990 in Zagreb and ceremonially reinstated on November 16, 1990. The society's continuity was ascertained by a certain number of old members, among whom the first Grand Master was elected. They also elected and swore in new members. The Society's seat is once more in the tower above the Stone Gate, which it restored (1993-1999; 2006), turning it into a base for its activities and a symbol of the city of Zagreb. During the Homeland War (1991-1995) the Dragons morally and materially helped Croatian soldiers, helped the children of fallen combatants of six regiments, unveiled many memorial tablets, erected several monuments, published a series of cultural and scholarly editions, and organized a considerable number of scientific conventions and lectures. The Society erected the bronze/red stone equestrian statue of its patron saint St. George, an Art Nouveau monument from the turn of the 19th to 20th c. by two Austrian sculptors Andreas Kompatscher and Arthur Winder in front of the Stone Gate (1994), initiated the embellishment of the Croatian Mound (the Sokol, i.e. "Falcon" Mound) in Maksimir, a big park in Zagreb (1994), restored the grave of Justina Mihanović de Petropolje, the mother of Antun de Mihanović, the poet

of the Croatian national anthem and decorated the memorial area dedicated to the Croatian Mother at Velika Erpenja (1997-1999). It also initiated the reinstatement of the Gjuro Deželić monument, the founder of Croatian fire brigades, to its original place in Prilaz Gjuro Deželića (1998) and unveiled the statue of Ante Starčević, Father of the Homeland in Zagreb (1999). It also gave its name to the tiny square in front of the Stone Gate in 1995.

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Appendix 1

Older coats of arms from Hungary and the Triune Kingdom of Croatia, Slavonia and Dalmatia as well as the Principality of Siebenbürgen (Transylvania, Sedmogradska or Erdély) using the dragon

- Aleksić, ancient Croatian nobility, of the Kačić clan (DUIŠIN 1938: 8)
- Andrijašević, ancient Croatian nobility, of the Kačić clan (DUIŠIN 1938: 19)
- Bányai, nobles (REICHENAUER - CSERGHEÖ – BÁRCZAY, 1898: 261, Pl. 192)
- Barišić, ancient Croatian nobility, of the Kačić clan (DUIŠIN 1938: 47)
- Bartulović, ancient Croatian nobility, of the Kačić clan (DUIŠIN 1938: 48-49)
- Bassegli, nobles, counts (HEYER 1873: 11-12, 27, Pls. 7, 18, 57)
- de Dragazzo, nobles (HEYER 1873: 9, Pl. 5)
- de Drago, nobles (HEYER 1873: 9, Pl. 5)
- Gazzari (Gazarović), nobles (HEYER 1873: 46, 79, 107 Pls. 48, 61; DUIŠIN 1938: 263-264)
- Gozze-Bassegli, nobles (HEYER 1873: 11, Pl. 7; DUIŠIN 1938: 284)
- Genus Hermán (CSERGHEÖ and CSOMA, suppl., 1894: 64, Pl. 41)
- Jurčević (Jurčev), ancient Croatian nobility, of the Kačić clan (DUIŠIN 1939: 847; Fig 94)
- Kacich (Kačić), ancient Croatian nobility (I, II) (HEYER 1873: 51-52, 114, Pl. 34; BOJNIČIĆ 1899: 81, Pl. 57; BANAC – NOVAK – KOLANOVIĆ 1991: 182; Figs 95-97)
- Lacz, Laczkovich (Lacković), nobles of German origin, extinct 1456 (I) (CSERGHEÖ III, 1889-1890: 353, Pl. 266; 255; REICHENAUER - CSERGHEÖ – BÁRCZAY, 1898: 184-185, Pl. 123; BOJNIČIĆ 1899: 101, Pl. 72; Fig 98)
- Lenkovich (Lenković), nobles (BOJNIČIĆ 1899: 102, Pl. 73; Fig 99)
- Lo Presti di Fontana d'Angioli, Spanish nobles, barons (CSERGHEÖ III, 1889-1890: 377, Pl. 282; Fig 100)
- Mancikovich (Manciković), nobles, 1711 (CSERGHEÖ III, 1889-1890: 395, Pl. 295; BOJNIČIĆ 1899: 109, Pl. 78; Fig 101)
- Miossich (Miošić), nobles (HEYER 1873: 62, Pl. 40; ZMAJIĆ 1996: 52; Fig 102)

Miske (CSERGHEÖ III, 1889-1890: 425, Pl. 314; Figs 103-104)

Semonich, nobles (Semonić; HEYER 1873: 78, Pl. 48; Fig 105)

Slavogosti, nobles (HEYER 1873: 79, 81 130, Pl. 48, 68; Fig 106-107)

Zmajevich (Zmajević) (HEYER 1873: 92, Pl. 55; ZMAJIC 1971: Pl.x,20; 1996: 51; Fig 108)

Appendix 2

Families using the Order of the Dragon in Hungarian, Transylvanian and Croatian armoury.

Azcell (II), nobles 1605 (CSERGHEÖ I, 1885-1887: 3, Pl. 2)

Agóczy (Agócsy), nobles, crest 1418 (CSERGHEÖ and CSOMA, suppl., 1894: 2, Pl. 1)

Bagossy de Bagos, nobles (CSERGHEÖ and CSOMA, suppl., 1894: 10, Pl. 6)

Balassa de Gyarmath, ancient nobility, barons 1568, counts 1721 (REICHENAUER - CSERGHEÖ – BÁRCZAY, 1898: 88, Pl. 37; BOJNICIĆ 1899: 9, Pl. 7)

Balassa de Gyarmath, counts, 1664 (I) (CSERGHEÖ I, 1885-1887: 293, Pl. 23)

Barlabasi de Héderfaja (REICHENAUER - CSERGHEÖ – BÁRCZAY, 1898: 120, Pl. 59)

Báthory, Vyda, the original coat-of-arms (REICHENAUER - CSERGHEÖ – BÁRCZAY, 1898: 7, Pl. 6)

Báthory, Stephen (+1535), the Palatine, signet ring 1522, crest (REICHENAUER - CSERGHEÖ – BÁRCZAY, 1898: 7, Pls. 6-7)

Báthory, Gabriel, prince, seal 1608 (REICHENAUER - CSERGHEÖ – BÁRCZAY, 1898: 8, Pl. 7); taler 1609; uniface taler 1611)

Báthory de Gagy, prince, seal 1555 (II) (CSERGHEÖ and CSOMA, suppl., 1894: 16, Pl. 10)

Báthory de Somlyó et Ecséd, counts (REICHENAUER - CSERGHEÖ – BÁRCZAY, 1898: 89, Pl. 37)

Berzeviczy de Berzevicze and Kis (Kakas)-Lomnicza, nobles, early 15th c., barons, 1775 (CSERGHEÖ I, 1885-1887: 60-61, Pl. 48; CSERGHEÖ and CSOMA, suppl., 1894: 21, Pl. 14)

Bethlen de Iktár, nobles 1420, counts 1742 (I) (CSERGHEÖ I, 1885-1887: 61-62, Pl. 49; REICHENAUER - CSERGHEÖ – BÁRCZAY, 1898: 89, Pl. 37; Figs 19-38); Gabriel B., talerklippe, 1627, Figs 29-30; taler 1627)

Bocskay (Bocskai) de Bocsko et Kis Maria (Marja), nobles 1418 (CSERGHEÖ I, 1885-1887: 68, Pl. 54)

Bocskay de Bocsko et Kis Maria (Marja), Stephen, prince, seal 1605, seal 1606, coin 1612 (REICHENAUER - CSERGHEÖ – BÁRCZAY, 1898: 7, Pl. 7), Stephen Bocskai, taler 1605 (Figure 3)

Bodroghy, nobles 1563 (CSERGHEÖ I, 1885-1887: 71, Pl. 56; III, 1889-1890: 480, Pl. 351)

Buzlay de Gergellak, nobles (II) (CSERGHEÖ and CSOMA, suppl., 1894: 29, Pl. 19)

Chapi (Csapi) de Eszén et Polyánka, nobles 1418 (CSERGHEÖ I, 1885-1887: 96, Pl. 76; TAKÁCS ed. 2006: 345-346, No. 4.46;) (Figures 4, 5)

Cheorge, nobles 1563 (CSERGHEÖ I, 1885-1887: 97, Pl. 76)

Csanády de Nagy Kerek (III) (CSERGHEÖ I, 1885-1887: 105, Pl. 81)

Galszéchy (CSERGHEÖ II, 1887-1888: 189, Pl. 152)

Gara (Gorjanski; cf CSERGHEÖ II, 1887-1888: 190, Pl. 152)

Gúthy de Kis et Nagy-Gúth, ancient nobility (CSERGHEÖ II, 1887-1888: 208-209, Pl. 164)

Istvánffy de Baranyavár and Kis-Asszonyfalva, nobles (CSERGHEÖ and CSOMA, suppl., 1894: 69, Pl. 46)

Kállay de Nagy-Kálló, ancient nobility (I) (CSERGHEÖ II, 1887-1888: 281-282, Pl. 212; Fig 49-50); Benjamin Kállay, plaquette 1903 (Figure 6)

Károly de Nagy-Károly, ancient nobility, barons 1609; counts 1712 (CSERGHEÖ II, 1887-1888: 290-291, Pl. 218)

Keményi, de Gyerő-Monostor, ancient nobility, barons, counts; Prince John's coins, 1661 (REICHENAUER - CSERGHEÖ – BÁRCZAY, 1898: 16, Pl. 16)

Kende de Kölcse, ancient nobility (CSERGHEÖ II, 1887-1888: 300, Pl. 225)

Kis-Várdai (Wárdai), nobles (CSERGHEÖ II, 1887-1888: 314, Pl. 237)

Kölcsey de Kölcse, ancient nobility (CSERGHEÖ III, 1889-1890: 300, Pl. 255)

Morović (Maroth, Maróthi, Maróti) (CSERGHEÖ III, 1889-1890: 402-403, Pl. 300; BOJNIČIĆ 1899: 113-114, Pl. 81; MAŽURAN 2004: 18) (Figures 7, 8)

Nadányi de Körös Nadányi, ancient nobility, barons 1659 (CSERGHEÖ III, 1889-1890: 437, Pl. 322; REICHENAUER - CSERGHEÖ – BÁRCZAY, 1898: 278, Pl. 207)

Pap aliter Bodroghy, nobles 1563 (CSERGHEÖ I, 1885-1887: 71, Pl. 56; III, 1889-1890: 480, Pl. 351)

Radvánszky de Radvány et Sajókaza, ancient nobility, barons since 1875 (b) (CSERGHEÖ IV, 1891/1892: 528, Pl. 381)

Salczer de Kolosvár (CSERGHEÖ and CSOMA, suppl., 1894: 105-106, Pl. 75; (REICHENAUER - CSERGHEÖ – BÁRCZAY, 1898: 214, Pl. 151)

Sárkány de Ilenczfalva, nobles (CSERGHEÖ and CSOMA, suppl., 1894: 106, Pl. 75)

Schirmer de Brassó, nobles, 1507 (I, II) (CSERGHEÖ IV, 1891/1892: 566, Pl. 404; REICHENAUER - CSERGHEÖ – BÁRCZAY, 1898: 215-216, Pl. 152)

Sigray de Felső et Alsó Surány, ancient nobility, barons 1724 and 1728 (b,c) (CSERGHEÖ IV, 1891/1892: 579, Pl. 412)

Sóos de Sóvár, ancient nobility, crest 1418, 1569 (I b, c) (CSERGHEÖ IV, 1891/1892: 591-592, Pl. 419)

Statilio (Statileo, Statilić, Stanošević), Dalmatian nobility, alteration of the coat-of-arms, 1515; French acknowledgement 1538 (HEYER 1873: 80-81, Pl. 49; FISKOVIĆ 1962: 100, Fig.14; ANDREIS 2006: 266-267) (Figure 10)

Széchy de Gál-Széché, nobles, arms 1418 (II, III) (CSERGHEÖ IV, 1891/1892: 619-620, Pl. 419) (Figure 11)

Szerdahelyi de Egyházas- and Vásáros-Szerdahely, ancient nobility, arms 1418 (I) (CSERGHEÖ IV, 1891/1892: 633, Pl. 445)

Szürthey de Szürthe, ancient nobility, crest 1418 (CSERGHEÖ IV, 1891/1892: 648-649, Pl. 454)

Vécsey de Hajnácsekeő and Hernád-Vécse, barons and counts, 1507, 1532 (I, a,b) (CSERGHEÖ IV, 1891/1892: 705, Pl. 483).