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THE GALLERY OF RADE GERBA: A HISTORICAL ANACHRONISM IN THE TWILIGHT OF THE AUSTRO-HUNGARIAN MONARCHY*

Abstract

Key words: Radovan (Raimund, Rade) Gerba, heraldry, coats of arms, Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, propaganda, image-making

The Gallery of Coats of Arms of the Commanders of the Croatian-Slavonian Military Frontier and Commanders of General Military Command in Zagreb was established in the first decade of the 20th century, on the order of Lieutenant Marshal Radovan (Raimund, Rade) Gerba. Coats of arms were exhibited with related portraits in the premises of the General Military Command in Zagreb, and were handed over to the National Museum in Zagreb (today the Croatian History Museum) after the break-up of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. Made for memorial purposes, the Gallery is associated with the way that the Habsburg state cultivated and represented certain norms, values and behaviour, in this case by bringing military dignitaries into prominence, based on a solid heraldic heritage. It also illustrates the social and political significance of military nobility and institutions in the time of the crisis of the Monarchy, especially during the period of the settlement of the Eastern Question and on the eve of the outbreak of World War I.

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https://www.doi.org/10.17234/9789533792170.24

INTRODUCTION – WHO WAS RADE GERBA?

The Gallery of Coats of Arms of Lieutenant Marshal Radovan (Raimund, Rade) Gerba is kept in the holdings of Croatian History Museum. It consists of 131 coats of arms and portraits (although not in the same number) of the commanders of the Croatian-Slavonian Military Frontier from 16th to 19th century and the commanders of General-Commando zu Agram (the General Military Command in Zagreb) until 1918. These are coats of arms and portraits of carefully chosen historical figures relevant to Croatia's political and military past, especially those who held the functions of *bans*, high-ranking officers of the Austro-Hungarian army and bearers of the Commander's Cross of the Military Order of Maria Theresa (**fig. 1**).

In order to begin an analysis of the Gallery, it is important to refer to the biography of Radovan (Raimund, Rade) Gerba (1849–1918). As the son of a Military Frontier Captain, Gerba's education and profession were predetermined. He graduated from the Military Cadet School in Rijeka, and in 1868 he became a lieutenant at the Engineering Academy of the 71st Infantry

* This work has been partly supported by the Croatian Science Foundation under the project IP-2018-01-9364 *Art and the State in Croatia from the Enlightenment to the Present.*

Regiment in Klosterbruck near Znojmo. After holding a teaching position at the Infantry Cadet School in Brno, in 1874 he was assigned to the Reserve Command of the 29th Infantry Regiment in Veliki Bečkerek (Großbetschkerek). After schooling in 1875/1876 at the War School in Vienna, he was promoted to First Lieutenant, and in 1877 he was assigned to the General Staff at the Military Command in Bratislava (*Pozsony/Pressburg*). The following year, he was transferred to the 71st Infantry Brigade, with which he participated in the occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1878 and Sandžak in 1879. He was appointed as Captain of the Main Military Headquarters in 1879 and assigned first to the command in Sarajevo. Then, in 1880, he was transferred to the 6th Infantry Company Division in Graz and, following this, in 1882 to the General Command in Prague. It is worth mentioning that from 1886 to 1890 he worked in the military history department of the Vienna War Archives, after which he published military history books on Eugene of Savoy. He also wrote about military events in Bosnia and Herzegovina, as well as Montenegro, and was active in Austrian and Croatian periodicals.

<image><image><image><image><image>

Fig. 1. *Radovan (Raimund, Rade) Gerba*, photolithography after a photo by Atelier Mosinger, Zagreb, published by the Photographic Institute R. Mosinger d.d., Zagreb, around 1910, inv. no. HPM/PMH-4534, Croatian History Museum, Zagreb.

In 1888, he was promoted to the rank of Major, and in 1890 to the rank of Lieutenant Colonel and appointed

Chief of the General Staff of the 1st Infantry Division in Sarajevo. In late 1891, he was assigned to the 97th Infantry Regiment, in 1893 he was promoted to Colonel, and in 1894 he was appointed commander of the 97th Infantry Regiment. In 1899 he became the commander of the 52nd Home Guard Infantry Brigade in Litoměřice, and at the end of the year he was promoted to General.

Crucial for this paper is the fact that Gerba was appointed Commander of the 7th Croatian-Slavonian Home Guard District in Zagreb in 1903, and, in the following year, promoted to Lieutenant Marshal. His military career reached its peak in 1908 when he was appointed as royal secret adviser and Commander of the 13th Military Corps, as well as the commanding General of General-Commando zu Agram (the General Military Command in Zagreb). He became commander of infantry in 1909 and owner (*Inhaber*) of the 78th Infantry Regiment in 1910. In 1912 he was relieved of his command, and he retired in 1913. He was awarded with the Knight's Cross of the Order of Leopold in 1906, the Grand Cross of the Order of Franz Josef in 1908 and the Order of the Iron Crown of the 1st class in 1913.¹

^{1 &}quot;Grba, Radovan (Gerba; Rade, Raimund)", Hrvatski biografski leksikon [Croatian Biographical Lexicon] (2002), accessed on March 15, 2022, https://hbl.lzmk.hr/clanak.aspx?id=7483.



Fig. 2. Coat of Arms of General Josip Jelačić Count von Bužim, Ban of Croatia etc., Vienna or Zagreb, around 1904, inv. no. HPM/PMH-22712, Croatian History Museum, Zagreb.

Fig. 3. Count Josip Jelačić von Bužim painted by Franz Schrotzberg, lithographed by Eduard Kaiser, printed in k.k. Hof und Staatsdruckerei, Vienna, 1850, inv. no. HPM/PMH-4638, Croatian History Museum, Zagreb.



Fig. 4. Coat of Arms of Colonel Gottfried Baron von Stadl, Vienna or Zagreb, around 1904, inv. no. HPM/PMH-22729, Croatian History Museum, Zagreb.

Fig. 5. Baron Gottfried von Stadl, photoreproduction of an engraving by an unknown artist published in Leipzig 1721– 1726, unidentified photographer, Vienna or Zagreb, around 1900, inv. no. HPM/PMH-4492, Croatian History Museum, Zagreb.





Oberst

GOTTFRIED FREIHERR VON UND ZU STADL

1619 - 1621.

ANALYSIS OF THE GALLERY

From documentation in the Croatian History Museum and Gerba's biography, we can conclude that the creation of the Gallery was closely related with Gerba's arrival in Zagreb, and more precisely with his promotion to Lieutenant Marshal in 1904. Coats of arms and portraits are registered in the documentation museum items whose as order was initiated by Lieutenant Marshal Rade Gerba.² Gerba's arrival was directly connected with the creation of the Gallery $_{341}$ with which he decorated the premises of the General Command in Zagreb (today Klovićevi dvori Gallery on Jesuit Square in Zagreb). According to the handover records of the National Museum from 1918. portraits and coats of arms were "(...) hung on the walls of the hallway and some rooms."3

The coats of arms are painted on 131 oval iron sheets, cut and bent like a

2 Vojno zapovjedništvo u Zagrebu [Military Command in Zagreb], November 8, 1918, no. 68/918. Old scripts from the National Museum, Documentation and Information Department, Croatian History Museum, Zagreb (hereafter cited as CHM Documentation); inventory books and catalogues (see Footnote no. 14). Also see the following article: Dubravka Peić Čaldarović, "Grbovi hrvatskog plemstva – činjenice kulturnog nasljeđa i čimbenici identiteta" [Coats of Arms of Croatian Nobility – Facts of Cultural Heritage and Identity],

in *Povijesni prilozi*, no. 31 (2006): 87–100. In the article, Čaldarević names the Gallery as the Collection of Rade Gerba. 3 "Zapisnik o preuzeću [Handover record], November 8, 1918, bo. 68/918. CHM Documentation. All translations are by the author.

shield in equal dimensions (61 x 46 centimetres). All are painted on a gilded base trimmed with a thin black border. Each of them is surrounded by a text in stencilled, black letters that contains the following data: the bearer's name with predicate and military rank above the coat of arms, and the years of active command service under the coat of arms. There are slight inconsistencies in the writing of names, nobility predicates and the use of punctuation marks (**fig. 2, fig. 3, fig. 4, fig. 5**).

Such painted coats of arms are examples of excellent professional work, made in accordance with the rules of the Viennese Heraldic Office and the historicist style of the time. The coats of arms are not signed, but were probably painted by specialized heraldic artists whose identities remain to be researched. It is important to mention that at that time Austrian artist Ernst Krahl was active in the Heraldic Office as the coats of arms censor (*Wappencensor*).⁴ He painted and signed all granted coats of arms in the period from 1892 to 1918. In this respect, the Grants of Arms from the Collection of Heraldry and Sphragistics of the Croatian History Museum signed by Krahl are a valuable comparative source for the study of Gerba's painted coats of arms.⁵ Coats of arms are identical, from the lettering font, decorative frames and ornaments to their colors, and they reflect the historicist style, which was the "trademark" style of the Monarchy for a long period of time.⁶

Since the production of coats of arms continued during the World War I, i.e. until 1918, it is evident that some iron sheets are of lower quality, as well as some coats of arms that are not quality artworks due to their inferior drawing, modeling, color quality and deviation from heraldry rules. These were possibly executed during the war period by local craft workshops or perhaps even by a person within the Military Command. As for the portraits of commanders, they are mainly lithographs from the end of 19th and beginning of 20th century and reproductions of graphics from the 18th and early 19th century. Together with coats of arms, they form a meaningful and representative ensemble.

For the creation of the Gallery, it was necessary to secure financial resources; Gerba, as a high-ranking officer and secret royal adviser, probably succeeded in this. Also, Gerba's connections with the military history department of the Vienna War Archives, where he worked from 1886 to 1890, were crucial

⁴ Hanns Jäger-Sunstenau, "Die Wappenzensoren in den Hofkanzleien in Wien 1707–1918" [Coats of Arms Censors in the Court Chancellery in Vienna 1707–1918], in *Genealogica & Heraldica: XVIth International Congress of Genealogical and Heraldic Sciences 1984*, ed. Tom C. Bergroth (Helsinki: Finnish National Committee for Genealogy and Heraldry, 1986), 362–363.

⁵ Grant of Arms of the Family Weingärtner of Velika Mlaka, Wien, 1897, HPM/PMH-33143; Grant of Arms of the Family Petras of Novigrad, Vienna, 1904, HPM/PMH-32754; Grant of Arms of the Family Rukavina of Klanačko polje, Vienna, 1914, HPM/PMH-2077, Heraldry and Sphragistics Collection, Croatian History Museum, Zagreb.

⁶ Matea Brstilo Rešetar, "The Identity of the Military Nobility in Croatia from the Austro-Hungarian Compromise to the Break-Up of the Monarchy," in *Genealogica et Heraldica: Identität in Genealogie und Heraldik. XXIX. Internationaler Kongress der genealogischen und heraldischen Wissenschaften*, ed. Rolf E. Sutter (Stuttgart: PRO HERALDICA, 2012), 140–153.

Fig. 6. Rade Gerba, Ivan Tomičić, Za kralja i dom: slike, životopisi i crtice 230 hrvatskih generala... [For the King and the Home: Pictures, Biographies and Cartoons of 230 Croatian generals ...] (Bjelovar: Tisak i naklada knjižare LAV. WEISSA, 1908), cover page. Digitalna knjižnica Point d.o.o., Varaždin, accessed December 15, 2022, https://library.foi.hr/lib/knjiga. php?B=1&item=X01654.



during his work on the creation of coats of arms and collecting of portraits.⁷ Although Gerba was retired in 1913, work on the Gallery continued and lasted until 1918, that is, until the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, as is evident from the years of service of commanders of the General Military ³⁴³ Command written on the coats of arms.⁸ Gerba died on March 18th, 1918.

Another work by Gerba testifies to the structure and representativeness of the gallery. This work was connected to the the celebration of the 60th anniversary of the reign of Emperor Franz Josef. For this occasion, Rade Gerba and Ivan Tomičić published a book titled *Za kralja i dom: slike, životopisi i crtice 230 hrvatskih generala* (For the King and the Homeland: Pictures, Biographies and Illustrations of 230 Croatian Generals), which was printed and prepared in Vienna.⁹ An analysis of this anniversary book gives us clearer insight into

⁷ Gerba's active work on collecting data and portraits for Gallery can be seen from correspondence which is kept at the Kriegsarchiv Wien (Vienna War Archives). Correspondence refers to the period from 1910 to 1917 between Gerba and the institution regarding the acquisition of 15 portraits of the bearers of the Military Order of Maria Theresa, Korrespondenz Gerba Raimund (Correspondence of Raimund Gerba), September 19, 1910–1917, Signature AT-OeStA/KA BA MMTHO III D, Österreichisches Staatsarchiv, Vienna. The collection of the Heeresgeschichtliches Museum (Museum of Military History in Vienna) today includes: the Portrait of General Raimund Gerba (1849–1918), heliogravure, k. u.k. Militärgeogr. Institute (Military Geographical Institute), Vienna, undated, signature: 9643/2013, Heeresgeschichtliches Museum, Vienna and Portrait of general Raimund Gerba, oil on canvas, unknown painter, signature: 2583/2016, Heeresgeschichtliches Museum, Vienna.

⁸ Last coat of arms refers to "FELDMARSCHALLEUTNANT JOSEF SEIPKA EDLER VON AUENSTAETT. // 1915-1918", HPM/PMH-22741, Croatian History Museum (see Appendix no. 34).

⁹ Rade Gerba and Ivan Tomičić, Za kralja i dom: slike, životopisi i crtice 230 hrvatskih generala / prema sastavcima Njih. Preuzvišenosti gospodina podmaršala Rade Gerbe, zapovjednika c. i kr. 13. vojnog zbora i zapovjedujućeg generala u Zagrebu, te podmaršala u m. Ivana Viteza Tomičića od Gorice, u Beču [For the King and the Homeland: Pictures, Biographies and Illustrations of 230 Croatian Generals / According to Their Compositions. His Excellency Mr. Lieutenant Marshal Rade Gerba, Imperial and Royal Commander, 13th Military Corps and Commanding General in Zagreb, and Lieutenant Marshal in Peace Ivan Tomičić, Knight of Gorica, in Vienna (Bjelovar: Tisak i naklada knjižare LAV. WEISSA, 1908). Digitalna knjižnica Point d.o.o., Varaždin, accessed December 15, 2022, https://library.foi.hr/lib/knjiga.php?B=1&item=X01654.

the concept and purpose of the Gallery. As the subtitle suggests, the book provides 230 biographies of generals and the same number of portraits, printed on 23 plates with following data: name, military rank, nobility predicate (if present) and years of service. Work on the gallery and the book took place simultaneously, and the influence of one on the other cannot be ignored considering the amount of data that Gerba collected (**fig. 6**).

INTERPRETATION – HISTORICAL CONTEXT AND MUSEOLOGICAL VALORIZATION OF THE GALLERY

The anniversary book and the Gallery are not isolated examples of propaganda activities on the part of the Habsburg Empire aimed at creating an image of power and state identity. The founding of the Gallery can be also associated with the cultivation of military tradition, which aspired to point to certain norms of valuation and behaviour by promoting military dignitaries based on a solid heraldic heritage (i.e., through their identification using heraldic tradition).¹⁰ Furthermore, Gerba's selection of the coats of arms of the commanders of the Croatian-Slavonian Military Frontier for the premises of the General Military Command in Zagreb was not accidental. The selection was based on the importance of the Croatian-Slavonian Military Frontier as a centuries-old "institution" that played a key role both in the education and the creation of high-ranking military personnel, as well as in the very history of the Croatian Lands.¹¹

The gallery also testifies to the spirit and worldview of high-ranking officers such as Gerba, as well as the perspective of the military in general, which was one of the last cohesive forces of the supranational and conservative state in the all-encompassing crisis that had beset the Monarchy.¹² In the period from

¹⁰ Gerba's activity was not an isolated example of the creation of heraldic galleries or collections within military institutions. On the territory of Croatia, one can mention the coat of arms of Austrian Lands from the Military School in Kamenica or the portraits and graphics from Regiments which are also handed over to the National Museum in 1918 after the break-up of the Monarchy. *Old Scripts from the National Museum*, 1918, CHM Documentation.

¹¹ The Military Frontier (*Militargränze*) was a special territorial unit that, in the 16th Century, was detached from the territory of the Croatian state as it existed in the Middle Ages. It was organised and structured as a military defence system for the sake of defending the Kingdom of Croatia and the Habsburg lands against the Ottomans. From the second half of the 16th Century, when the Kingdom of Croatia began to be ruled by the Habsburgs, the military government and command of the Frontier were taken over by the Austrian archdukes, who allotted titles of nobility and coats of arms to the military staff of the Frontier according to their services in the wars against the Ottomans. The concept and appearance of the military nobility and their coats of arms are a specific topic in Croatian historiography. The Military Frontier existed until 1881, when it was abolished and incorporated into the Kingdom of Croatia and Slavonia. See more in: Matea Brstilo Rešetar, "Heraldičko nazivlje na temu ratovanja s Osmanlijama" [Heraldic Symbols on the Coats of Arms of the Military Nobility as Vehicles for Memories of Struggles against the Ottomans], in *Povijesni prilozi*, no. 38 (2010): 71–96.

¹² A helpful study of the process of granting titles of nobility in Hungary can be found in: Hanns Jäger Sunstenau, "Sozialgeschichtliche Statistik der Nobilitierungen in Ungarn 1700–1918" [Social-historical Statistics of Ennoblement in Hungary 1700–1918], in *ADLER – Zeitschrift für Genealogie und Heraldik*, 14. (XXVIII.) Band, 3. Heft, 2. Teil (1986–1988): 578–583. The statistics for the period of 1867–1918 evidently show a continuous increase in the share of military nobility in comparison to the share of the status of nobility granted to other professions (bureaucrats, notaries, lawyers, judges, doctors and teachers). From 1903 to 1918, the numbers significantly exceed the previous figures. This mostly refers to bearers of titles of nobility, while baronetcy and countship appear more frequently in the Austrian part of the Monarchy. The increase in the num-

Zenisnik

o preuzeću nekih portrete poklonjenih po vojnom zapovjedničtvu u Zagrebu zemaljikoj vladi, odjelu za bogoštevlje i nastavu, sastavljen dne 8. studenoga 1918 .

Vojno zapovjedničtvo u Zagrebu javilo je hrv. slav. dalm. zemaljskoj vladi, odjelu za bogoštovlje i nastavu, da je voljno istom zemaljsko-vladnom odjelu pokloniti sve prednaka portrete nekadašnjih vojnih zapovjednika u Hrvatskoj i vitezova reda Marije Terezije, što ih je bio sakupio i poklonio tome vojnom zapovjedničtvu pokojni zborni zapovjednik zagrebački general infant terije Rade Gerba.

Zemaljskovladni odjel za bogoštovlje i nastavu primajuć, sa zahvalnošću ovaj dar odlučuje , da se slike preuzmu i pohrane u arheološko-histričkom odjelu hrvetskoga narodnoga muzeja.

Kao izaslanik kemaljske vlade prisustvovao je preuzimanju vladin savjetnik Peter Knoll, a u ime arheološko - historičkoga odjela hrvatskoga narodnoga muzeja preuzeo ih je čuvar u istom muzejskom odjelu dr. Viktor Hoffiller.

Pronadjeno je u svem 130 / stotinu i trideset/ komada uokvirenih portreta te četiri uokvirena popisa istih. Dva su okvira bila prazna , t. j. slike su već bile prije iz njih izvadjene. Nad 94 slike visjeli su grbovi neslikani na ovalnim limenim pločama, koji su pripadali naslikanim osobama. Od mnogih naslikanih osoba nisu se našli grbovi, a kod 36 grbova, koji su se načli, manjkali su pripadajući portzeti, jer su ili već prije bili po nekom odneseni ili ih pokojni darovatelj uopće nije mogao pribaviti.

Stogod se je našlo, to se je sve prenijelo u narodni muzej, te je prema tome u svem preuzeto:

130 portrets,

4 uokvirena popisa portreta

94 grba naslikanih osoba i

36 grbova bez pripada jućih portreta.

O preuzetim predmetima sastavljen je priviti popis, a vojnom zapovjed-

Fig. 7. Handover Records, November 8th, 1918, Old scripts from National Museum, Documentation and Information Department, Croatian History Museum, Zagreb.

the Austro-Hungarian Settlement in 1867 to the collapse of the Monarchy, the military, its potential and its activities became increasingly important for the maintenance and preservation of the state. In relation to the historical context of the creation of the Gallery, it is also worth mentioning that after the introduction of the dualist system, an increase in the number of members of the military nobility resulted from the reorganization of the army, motivated by the foreign policy activities of Austria-Hungary, i.e. its engagement in attempts to resolve the Eastern Question in the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina, which was occupied by the Monarchy in 1878, and subsequently annexed in 1908. The political significance of military institutions in the time of the preservation of the Monarchy, especially after 1878 and on the eve of the outbreak of World War I, is also evident from the idea of the establishing the Gallery.

Coats of arms with the related portraits were handed over to the National Museum in 345 Zagreb after the break-up of the Monarchy. This donation was received on behalf of the National Museum on November 8, 1918, by the museum director Dr. Viktor Hoffiler through the Department of Religion and Education of the Land Government, following the consent of Dr. Mate Drinković, military commissioner of the National Council of the State of Slovenes, Croats and Serbs at that time. According to

the handover record, "Whatever was found was transferred to the National Museum, and therefore the following items were taken over: 130 portraits, framed lists of portraits, 94 coats of arms of painted persons and 36 coats of arms without accompanying portraits. A short list has been compiled of the items taken over (....)."¹³ Today, the Gallery, which was donated to the National Museum, forms the bulk of the Heraldic and Sphragistics collection of the Croatian History Museum, as one of its successors. (fig. 7).

ber of members of the military nobility in the territory of the Kingdom of Croatia-Slavonia is also visible from Military Schematismus and the armorials of Ivan Bojničić, Der Adel von Kroatien und Slavonien [The Nobility of Croatia and Slavonia], Nürnberg: Bauer & Raspe, 1899, and Antun Viktor Duišin, Zbornik plemstva u Hrvatskoj, Slavoniji, Dalmaciji, Bosni-Hercegovini, Dubrovniku, Kotoru i Vojvodini [Nobility in Croatia, Slavonia, Dalmatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Dubrovnik, Kotor and Vojvodina, Zagreb: self-published, 1938.

The fact that the coats of arms were displayed on the walls together with portraits visualizing their bearers makes this context necessary for their museological presentation. As museum items, they testify to conscious, planned action – the production of carefully selected coats of arms and communication through heraldic tradition, symbols and their meaning, which, although anachronistic, is highly representative. It should be noted that after the breakup of Austria-Hungary in 1918, with the establishment of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, the practice of granting titles and their use were abolished; after a short time, only the coats of arms of cities and districts remained in official use. Therefore, the Gallery has historical, artistic and social value crucial for the Croatian national tradition, its culture and identity within the broader European cultural tradition, and deserves permanent protection.

Today, coats of arms and portraits are continuously professionally processed, catalogued, published, and exhibited at thematic historical exhibitions of the Croatian History Museum.¹⁴ Since 2010, the coats of arms undergone thorough restoration.¹⁵

TO CONCLUDE

The establishment of the Gallery of Rade Gerba was closely related to Gerba's arrival in Zagreb, and more precisely with his promotion to Lieutenant Marshal in 1904. Work on the Gallery, which included collecting portraits and painting coats of arms, lasted until collapse of Austro-Hungarian Monarchy in 1918. This essay has tried to establish a framework for understanding the formation of a high-ranking officer cadre of the Monarchy - both, their professionalization in relation to military activity and in relation to the normative-value context. In the case of Rade Gerba, one can also talk about individual action and engagement, which also supports the claim that the Gallery was connected to the way that the Habsburg state cultivated and represented certain norms, values and behaviour, in this case by promoting military dignitaries based on a solid heraldic heritage. Today, the era of the gallery's creation appears as a historical anachronism due to the ongoing processes of modernization and national integration at the time. Nonetheless, as this essay illustrates, the social and political significance of military institutions remained high throughout the time of the preservation of the Monarchy, especially during the period of the settlement of the Eastern Question and on the eve of the outbreak of World War I. Finally, as part of the holdings of the Croatian History Museum, the Gallery testifies to strong and valuable connections with the European heraldic and cultural tradition.

¹⁴ The coats of arms from the Gallery are catalogued and published in the Museum catalogue: Vlasta Brajković, *Grbovi, grbovnice i rodoslovlja* [Coats of Arms, Grants of Arms and Genealogies] (Zagreb: Croatian History Museum, 1993), 61–110. The portraits are found in: Marina Bregovac Pisk, *Portreti u Zbirci grafika Hrvatskog povijesnog muzeja* [Portraits in the Print Collection of the Croatian History Museum] (Zagreb: Croatian History Museum, 1993).

¹⁵ Over time, some coats of arms were badly retouched and the shields were mechanically damaged, due to which the paint cracked in places and resulted in "illegibility" of the heraldic symbols. In 2010, the Croatian History Museum started the process of systematic restoration of all 131 coats of arms, which includes necessary cleaning and removal of dust and corrosion, metal conservation and protection of the original image, removal of bad retouching and partial reconstruction of coats of arms and texts (where necessary for the clarity of blazons and inscriptions).

APPENDIX

Coats of arms arranged by their inventory numbers in the Croatian History Museum (names written as they appeared on the shields):

- 1. BAN. NIKOLAUS GRAF ZRINY // 1543–1556, inv. no. HPM/PMH-22708.
- BANUS NIKOLAUS IX FRANKOPAN GRAF VON TRŽAC // 1616– 1662, inv. no. HPM/PMH-22709.
- 3. OBERST WOLF CHRISTOF FRANGEPANI GRAF ZU TRŽAC // 1619, inv. no. HPM/PMH-22710.
- 4. FELDMARSCHALL GUIDOBALD GRAF VON STARHEMBERG // 1698–1734, inv. no. HPM/PMH-22711.
- FELDZEUGMAISTER JOSEF GRAF JELAČIĆ DE BUŽIM BANUS VON CROATIEN ETC. // 1848–18 // "ŠTO BOG DADE I SREĆA JUNAČKA.", inv. no. HPM/PMH-22712.
- FELDMARSCHALLEUTENANT JOSEF FREIHERR VON REICHER // 1889–1891, inv. no. HPM/PMH-22713.
- OBRIST ANDREAS FREIHERR VON AUERSPERG // 1589–1593, inv. no. HPM/PMH-22714.
- FELDZEUGMEISTER SIEGMUND FRIEDRICH GRAF GAISMEK // 1749–1753, inv. no. HPM/PMH-22715.
- FELDMARSCHALLEUTNANT MAXIMILIAN FREIHERR VON PETRASEK // 1721–1724, inv. no. HPM/PMH-22716.
- 10. FELDMARSCHALL AENEAS GRAF CAPRARA // 1683–1701, inv. no. HPM/PMH-22717.
- 11. FELDMARSCHALL-LIEUTENANT JOHANN GRAF CORONINI CRONBERGER // 1859–1860, inv. no. HPM/PMH-22718.
- 12. FELDMARSCHALLEUTENANT WENZEL GRAF COLLOREDO-WALDSEE // 1784–1786, inv. no. HPM/PMH-22719.
- FELDMARSCHAL-LIEUTENANT JOSEF FREIHERR VON ŠOKČEVIĆ, BANUS VON CROATIEN ETC. // 1860–1867, inv. no. HPM/PMH-22720.
- 14. FELDMARSCHAL-LIEUTENANT DEMETER FREIHERR RADOSSEVICH VON RADOS // 1831–1832, inv. no. HPM/PMH-22721.
- GENERAL DER CAVALLERIE ALEX FÜRST DIETRICHSTEIN ZU NICOLSBURG GRAF VON MENSDORF-POUILLY // 1869–1870, inv. no. HPM/PMH-22722.
- 16. FELDZEUGMEISTER PHILIP LEVIN VON BEEK // 1763–1768, inv. no. HPM/PMH-22723.
- 17. FELDZEUGMEISTER JOSEF ANTON GRAF MITTROWSKY // 1786–1790., inv. no. HPM/PMH-22724.

4 Feliheugmeister anne Freiherr G.1473 1810-1813 anhalleutmant Fels Johanne Freiherr von Hrabowsky 1846 - 1848 Arak Hauptmann der Geressaner Albert Jellacie 22.124 Bas fellacie von Buzim 1848 - 1859 Hazelan burbave hisego Nikola furisi Obersthofmeister Frank Christoph Khevenhiller Gra 1647. 1650. Feldmarschall Lurvig Andreas Graf Thevenhille. 1734-1744 29134 hart Ludwig Graf Khevenhiller Felinewamiiste Kleefeld her Hnogelo Wenzel 1441 - 1446 Felbeugmeiste Freiher von Klobus tobate. 1002 29132

Fig. 8. List of coats of arms and portraits from Military Command in Zagreb, Referent no.: 68/918, page 11, 1918, Old scripts from National Museum, Documentation and Information Department, Croatian History Museum, Zagreb, 11.

- 18. OBRISTLEUTNANT ANDREAS FREIHERR VON AUERSPERG // 1581–1582, inv. no. HPM/PMH-22725.
- 19. GENERAL DER KAVALLERIE HEINRICH LXIV FÜRST REUSS. KÖSTRITZ. // 1844–1846, inv. no. HPM/PMH-22726.
- 20. GENERAL FELDWACHTMEISTER, JOHANN WILHELM FRH. VON PFEFFERSHOFEN. // 1735–1738, inv. no. HPM/PMH-22727.
- 21. FELDMARSCHALL JOHANN GRAF PALFFY VON ERDÖD, BANUS. // 1704–1731, inv. no. HPM/PMH-22728.
- 22. OBERST GOTTFRIED FREIHERR VON UND ZU STADL. // 1619– 1621, inv. no. HPM/PMH-22729.
- 23. FELDMARSCHALLEUTNANT, ASCANIO MARCHESE GUADAGNI. // 1738–1749, inv. no. HPM/PMH-22730.
- 24. EHRNREICH GRAF VON U. Z. TRAUTTMANSDORFF. // 1660–1667, inv. no. HPM/PMH-22731.
- 25. FELDZEUGMEISTER GEORG WILHELM FREIHERR LÖFFELHOLZ V. COLBERG. // 1713–1717, inv. no. HPM/PMH-22732.

- 26. BANUS FRANZ FRANKOPAN GRAF VON SLUNJ // 1567–1572, inv. no. HPM/PMH-22733.
- 27. FELDMARSCHALL MAX LUDWIG GRAF BREUNNER // 1705–1716, inv. no. HPM/PMH-22734.
- 28. FELDZEUGMEISTER IGNATZ GRAF GYULAY VON MAROS-NEMETH UND NADASKA BANUS VON CROATIEN ETC. // 1806-1817, inv. no. HPM/PMH-22735
- 29. GENERAL-FELD-WACHTMEISTER JOHANN WILHELM FREIHERR VON KUSCHLAN. // 1696–17(04)., inv. no. HPM/PMH-22736.
- 30. FELDMARSCHALL-LIEUTENANT JOHANN FREIHERR HRABOVSKY VON HRABOVA // 1848, inv. no. HPM/PMH-22737.
- FELDMARSCHALLEUTNANT CARL GRAF KÖNIGSEGG. // 1728– 1731, inv. no. HPM/PMH-22738.
- 32. OBERST RUDOLF FREIHERR VON PAAR AUF HARTBERG. // 1622–1626, inv. no. HPM/PMH-22739.
- FELDMARSCHALL-LIEUTENANT FRANZ XAVER VON PAULICH. // 1797–1799, inv. no. HPM/PMH-22740.
- 34. FELDMARSCHALLEUTNANT JOSEF SEIPKA EDLER VON AUENSTAETT. // 1915–1918, inv. no. HPM/PMH-22741.
- 35. BAN THOMAS GRAF ERDÖDY //1607–1613, inv. no. HPM/PMH-22742, inv. no. HPM/PMH-22742.

- FELDZEUGMEISTER LAVAL GRAF NUGENT // 1840–1842 // TRIA JUNCTA IN UNO, inv. no. HPM/PMH-22743.
- 37. FELDZEUGMEISTER JOSEPH FREIHERR DE VINS. // 1788–1790, inv. no. HPM/PMH-22744.
- OBERST HANS WILHELM FREIHERR VON GALLER. // 1650, inv. no. HPM/PMH-22745.
- 39. FELDMARSCHALLEUTNANT EUGEN VON SCHEURE. // 1914– 1915, inv. no. HPM/PMH-22746.
- 40. GENERAL-FELD-WACHTMEISTER EUGEN FREIHERR VON SCHERZER. // 1746–1755., inv. no. HPM/PMH-22747.
- 41. FELDMARSCHALLEUTNANT, DEMETER FREIHERR VON RADOSSEVICH VON RADOS. // 1832–1834, inv. no. HPM/PMH-22748.
- 42. BAN GENERAL DER CAVALLERIE JOHANNES GRAF ERDÖDY // 1790–1806, inv. no. HPM/PMH-22749.
- 43. BAN FELDMARSCHALL JOSEPH GRAF ESTERHAZY DE GALANTHA // 1739–1742, inv. no. HPM/PMH-22750.
- 44. FELDZEUGMEISTER JOSEPH FREIHERR DE VINS. // 1783–1786., inv. no. HPM/PMH-22786.

- 45. BAN, GEORG GRAF ZRINYI. // 1622–1626., inv. no. HPM/PMH-22787.
- 46. OBERST SIEGMUND FRIEDRICH GRAF V. U. Z. TRAUTTMANSDORF // 1603–1631, inv. no. HPM/PMH-22788.
- 47. BAN FELDMARSCHALL CARL JOSEPH FÜRST BATHYANYI // 1743–1756, inv. no. HPM/PMH-22789-.
- 48. FELDZEUGMEISTER ADAM FREIHERR ZUTRAUTTSMANDORFF. // 1617–1618., inv. no. HPM/PMH-22790.
- 49. OBERST FERDINAND ERNST GRAF V. U. Z. TRAUTTMANSDORF. // 1671–1682, inv. no. HPM/PMH-22791.
- 50. FRANZ GRAF NADASDY AUF FOGARAS, FELDMARSCHALL. BANUS. // 1756–1783. // SI DEUS PRO NOBIS QUIS CONTRA NOS, inv. no. HPM/PMH-22792.
- 51. OBRISTLEUTNANT, GEORG VON SAUER. // 1559–1560., inv. no. HPM/PMH-22793.
- 52. OBRISTLEUTNANT JOHANN FREIHERR VON AUERSPERG // 1575–1578, inv. no. HPM/PMH-22794.
- FELDMARSCHALL CARL EUGEN HERZOG VON CRVY //1689– 1694, inv. no. HPM/PMH-22795.
- 54. OBRISTAMSTVERWALTER STEPHAN GRÄSSWEIN. // 1591–1594., inv. no. HPM/PMH-22796.
- 55. BANUS JOHANN III. GRAF DRASKOVICH VON TRAKOSTYAN // 1640–1646, inv. no. HPM/PMH-22797.
- 56. FRANZ GRAF NADASDY AUF FOGARAS FELDMARSCHALL. // 1783, inv. no. HPM/PMH-22798.
- 57. GENERALMAJOR, GEORG LUDWIG GRAF ZU SCHWARZENBERG. // 1631–1646., inv. no. HPM/PMH-22799 .
- 58. OBERST WOLF FREIHERR ZU EGGENBERG UND EHRENHAUSEN // 1612–1617, inv. no. HPM/PMH-22800.
- 59. BANUS THOMAS II. GRAF ERDÖDY VON MONYORÓKERÉK. 1557-1567, inv. no. HPM/PMH-22801.
- 60. BAN SIGMUND GRAF ERDÖDY // 1627–1639, inv. no. HPM/PMH-22802
- 61. FELDMARSCHALLEUTNANT FRANZ CARL GRAF VON AUERSPERG // 1694–1705, inv. no. HPM/PMH-22803.
- 62. V. BAN, LAZAR OREHOCZY. // 1670–1680, inv. no. HPM/PMH-22804
- 63. FELDMARSCHALL-LIEUTENANT FREIHERR VON VLASITS. // 1832–1840, inv. no. HPM/PMH-22805.
- 64. FELDMARSCHALLEUTNANT LUDWIG FREIHERR VON PULZ // 1881, inv. no. HPM/PMH-22806.

- 65. FELDZEUGMEISTER WENZEL GRAF KAUNITZ RIETBERG. // 1791–1797, inv. no. HPM/PMH-22807.
- 66. BANUS, BENEDIKT THUROCZY. // 1614-1616., Inv. no. HPM/PMH-22808
- 67. FELDZEUGMEISTER MARCUS FREIHERR VON CSOLLICH // 1834–1844, inv. no. HPM/PMH-22809.
- 68. GENERAL DER KAWALLERIE MAXIMILIAN GRAF AUERSPERG // 1842–1848, inv. no. HPM/PMH-22810.
- 69. FELDZEUGMEISTER, JOHANN FREIHERR VON HILLER. // 1810– 1812, inv. no. HPM/PMH-22811.
- 70. BANUS PETER II. GRAF ERDÖDY ZU EBERAN // 1557–1567, inv. no. HPM/PMH-22812.
- 71. FELDMARSCHALLEUTNANT FELIX GRAF ORSINI UND ROSENBERG // 1905, inv. no. HPM/PMH-22813.
- 72. OBERST WEIGHARD FREIHERR VON AUERSPERG // 1579–1584, inv. no. HPM/PMH-22814.
- 73. GENERAL-FELD-WACHTMEISTER JOHANN SIEGMUND MAGUIRE. // 1749–1752, inv. no. HPM/PMH-22815.
- 74. OBRIST, HANS SIEGMUND FREIHERR ZU HERBERSTEIN. // 1594– 1603, inv. no. HPM/PMH-22816.
- 75. GENERAL FELD-WACHTMEISTER CARL ERNST GRAF GALLER. // 1744–1746, inv. no. HPM/PMH-22817.
- 76. GENERALFELDWACHTMEISTER, NIKOLAUS GRAF ZRINYI. // 1646-1664, inv. no. HPM/PMH-22818–.
- 77. FELDMARSCHALL-LIEUTENANT WENZEL FREIHERR HNOGEK VON KLEEFELD. // 1771–1776, inv. no. HPM/PMH-22819.
- FELDMARSCHALLEUTNANT JOHANN VON DRAŠKOVIĆ // 1732– 1738, inv. no. HPM/PMH-22820.
- 79. FELDMARSCHALL, LEOPOLD GRAF HERBERSTEIN. // 1717–1728, inv. no. HPM/PMH-22821.
- VINZENZ FREIHERR KNESEVICH VON ST. HELENA. FELDMARSCHALLEUTNANT. // 1810–1812, inv. no. HPM/PMH-22822.
- 81. BAN JOHANN GRAF DRAŠKOVIĆ // 1595–1607, Inv. no. HPM/PMH-22823.
- 82. FELDMARSCHALL WENZEL GRAF COLOREDO-WALDSEE // 1797, inv. no. HPM/PMH-22824.
- 83. OBRIST JOBST JOSEF GRAF VON THURN. // 1582–1589, inv. no. HPM/PMH-22825.

- 84. OBRISTAMSTVERWALTER, HANS VON GLOBITZ. // 1591, inv. no. HPM/PMH-22826.
- 85. GRB "BAN ADAM GRAF BATTHYANY // 1693–1703, Inv. no. HPM/ PMH-22827.
- 86. FELDMARSCHALLEUTNANT ADOLF FREIHERR V. RHEMEN ZU BARENSFELD. // 1912–1914, inv. no. HPM/PMH-22828.
- 87. FELDZEUGMEISTER HUGO FREIHERR VON KLOBUS. // 1902– 1905, inv. no. HPM/PMH-22829.
- 88. GENERAL-FELD-WACHTMEISTER JOSEF GRAF RABATTA. // 1710–1730, inv. no. HPM/PMH-22830.
- 89. OBERSTLEUTNANT KASPAR FRANGEPANI GRAF ZU TERŽAC // 1652, inv. no. HPM/PMH-22831.
- 90. OBERSTLEUTNANT HANS FERNBERGER VON AUER // 1574–1779, inv. no. HPM/PMH-22832.
- 91. OBERST JOHANN JACOB FREIHERR VON GALLER // 1646, inv. no. HPM/PMH-22833.
- 92. FELDMARSCHALL, LUDWIG ANDREAS GRAF KHEVENHÜLLER. // 1734–1744, inv. no. HPM/PMH-22834.
- 93. FELDMARSCHALLEUTNANT JOHANN FRANZ FREIHERR VON
- PREISS. // 1768–1771, inv. no. HPM/PMH-22835.
- 94. BANUS GEORG GRAF DRASKOVICH VON TRAKOSTYAN // 1567– 1578, inv. no. HPM/PMH-22836.
- 95. GENERALFELDWACHTMEISTER FERDINAND ERNST GRAF V. U. Z. TRAUTTMANSDORF. // 1685–1688, inv. no. HPM/PMH-22837.
- 96. FELDMARSCHALL(EUTNANT) ... VON CSERNELHAZA // 1799– 1807, inv. no. HPM/PMH-22838.
- 97. FELDMARSCHALLEUTNANT ANTON GRAF LOCATELLI. // 1729– 1732, inv. no. HPM/PMH-22839.
- 98. FELDMARSCHALL WILHELM MARKGRAF VON BADEN // 1669– 1671, inv. no. HPM/PMH-22840.
- 99. GENERAL DER CAVALLERIE HERMAN FREIHERR VON RAMBERG. // 1881–1889, inv. no. HPM/PMH-22841.
- 100. HANS JAKOB FREIHERR VON GALLER. // 1650-1660, inv. no. HPM/PMH-22842
- 101. FELDMARSCHALL-LIEUTENANT JOHANN FREIHERR VON HILLER. // 1807–1810, inv. no. HPM/PMH-22843.
- 102. OBERSTFELDHAUPTMANN, HANS UNGNAD FRH. VON WEISSENWOLF ZU SANEGG. // 1553–1556, inv. no. HPM/PMH-22844.

- 103. BANUS, CHRISTOF UNGNAD, FREIHERR ZU SUNEGG. // 1577– 1584, inv. no. HPM/PMH-22845.
- 104. BAN NIKOLAUS GRAF ERDÖDY // 1680–1693, inv. no. HPM/PMH-22846.
- 105. OBERSTLEUTNANT HERBARD (VIII) FREIHERR VON AUERSPERG // 1568–1574, inv. no. HPM/PMH-22847.
- 106. FELDMARSCHALLEUTNANT PHILIPP ERASMUS FÜRST VON U. ZU LIECHTENSTEIN. // 1701, inv. no. HPM/PMH-22848.
- 107. OBERSLEUTNANT WOLF ENGELBERT FREIHERR VON AUERSPERG // 1589, inv. no. HPM/PMH-22849.
- 108. BAN, PETER GRAF ZRINYI. // 1665–1670, inv. no. HPM/PMH-22850.
- 109. OBERST GEORG FREIHERR VON LENKOVICH. // 1593–1601, inv. no. HPM/PMH-22851.
- 110. GENERAL DER CAVALLERIE FREIHERR VON MAUCHENHEIM GENANNT BECHTOLDSHEIM // -, inv. no. HPM/PMH-22852.
- 111. FELDMARSCHALLEUTNANT EDLER VON CHAVANNE // 1906– 1907, inv. no. HPM/PMH-22853.
- 112. FELDMARSCHALLEUTNANT KARL GRAF AUERSPERG // 1905– 1906, inv. no. HPM/PMH-22854.
- 113. GENERAL DER CAVALLERIE LUDWIG VON GABLENZ // 1867– 1869, inv. no. HPM/PMH-22855.
- 114. FELDZEUGMEISTER IGNATZ GRAF GYULAY VON MAROS-NEMETH UND NADASKA, // 1812–1814, inv. no. HPM/PMH-22856.
- 115. FELDMARSCHALL-LIEUTENANT WENZEL GRAF VETTER VON LILIENBERG. // 1829–1831, inv. no. HPM/PMH-22857.
- 116. FELDMARSCHALLEUTNANT JOH. GEORG GRAF HERBERSTEIN. // 1744–1746, inv. no. HPM/PMH-22858.
- 117. FELDMARSCHALL-LIEUTNANT PAUL FREIH. VON RADIVOJEVICH. // 1814 (?), inv. no. HPM/PMH-22859.
- 118. FELDZEUGMEISTER RITTER ... VON MONTE PASTELLO. // 1870–1877, inv. no. HPM/PMH-22860.
- 119. GENERAL FELD-WACHTMEISTER FRIEDRICH LUDWIG GRAF DOENHOF // ..., inv. no. HPM/PMH-22861.
- 120. OBERSTFELDHAUPTMANN, HANS FREIHERR VON LENKOVICH ZUM FREIENTHURM A.D. KULPA // = 1556–1566, inv. no. HPM/ PMH-22862.
- 121. OBERST VEIT VON KISSL FREIHERR VON GONOBITZ. // 1601– 1609, inv. no. HPM/PMH-22863.

- 122. OBERST MARQUART FREIHERR ZU EGKH UND HUNGERSBACH // 1618–1618, inv. no. HPM/PMH-22864.
- 123. BANUS KASPAR ALAPIĆ // 1574–1577, inv. no. HPM/PMH-22817.
- 124. FELDZEUGMEISTER, HANS JOSEF GRAF ZU HERBERSTEIN. // 1669–1689, inv. no. HPM/PMH-22866.
- 125. FELDMARSCHALL LUDWIG RADUIT GRAF DE SOUCHES. // 1671–1682, inv. no. HPM/PMH-22867.
- 126. FELDMARSCHALLEUTNANT ANTON FREIHERR MALOWETZ VON MALOWITZ UND KOŠOR. // 1905, inv. no. HPM/PMH-22868.
- 127. GENERAL FELDWACHTMEISTER HERBAD X. DIETRICH GRAF VON AUERSPERG // 1652–1669, inv. no. HPM/PMH-22869.
- 128. GENERAL FELDWACHTMEISTER FRANZ VON STUBENBERG. // 1732–1738, inv. no. HPM/PMH-22870.
- 129. FELDMARSCHALL JOSEPH FRIEDRICH PRINZ ZU SACHSEN HILDBURGSHAUSEN. // 1744–1749, inv. no. HPM/PMH-22871.
- 130. FELDZEUGMEISTER FRANZ FREIHERR PHILIPPOVICH VON PHILIPPSBERG // 1877-1881, inv. no. HPM/PMH-22872.
- 131. OBERHAUPTMANN, LUKAS ZÄCKHL ZU KEVENDT FREIHERR ZU FRIEDAU. // 1566–1568, inv. no. HPM/PMH-22873.