

# Život na Golom otoku kroz tetovaže

## / Life on Goli otok Through Tattoos

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Od početka vremena čovjek, kao misaono biće, ima potrebu ostavljati i odašiljati poruke drugim ljudima, bilo u obliku spiljskih crteža, kipova ili otisaka na svojoj koži. Kako će poruka koju prenosi izgledati u očima primaoca i hoće li je on htjeti prihvatiti kao takvu, u tom trenutku čovjek ne može znati. Čovjekova potreba za ostavljanjem traga nije stala na spiljskim slikarijama, već je svoje strahove, vjerovanja i ideale želio utkati u nešto više, nešto najvrjednije što postoji, a to je on sam. Otkrivši tehniku tetoviranja, njegovo tijelo postaje nositelj slike i teksta, a tetovaže svjedok načina života koji je živio. Tetoviranje, kao kulturna praksa i jedan od oblika tjelesnih modifikacija, zabilježeno je na svim stranama svijeta te datira još iz Brončanoga doba i nastavlja se sve do današnjice u raznim područjima ljudskoga djelovanja. Tetovaža je svjesna tjelesna modifikacija nastala pod utjecajem okoline i kulture u kojoj se individuum nalazi. U ovom radu opisan je bolesnik s brojnim tetovažama po tijelu njihovo značenje u bolesnikom životu te zatvorenički dani na Golom otoku. Možemo reći da su tetovaže način na koji neke osobe drugima dopuštaju da vide što oni misle, osjećaju ili kako doživljavaju sami sebe.

*/ Since the beginning of time, man has, as a thinking creature, felt the urge to leave and transmit messages to others, whether in the form of cave drawings, statues, or prints on his skin. At the moment of sending a message, one cannot know how the message will appear to the eyes of the recipient or whether they will want to accept it as such. Man's need to leave traces did not end with cave paintings, and he wished to weave his fears, beliefs, and ideals into something more, something of utmost value, which is man himself. Having discovered the technique of tattooing, his body became the bearer of image and text, and his tattoos evidence of the way he had lived his life. As a cultural practice and one of the forms of body modification, tattooing has been found in all parts of the world and dates from the Bronze Age, continuing until today in various fields of human activity. A tattoo is a conscious modification of the body created under the influence of an individual's surroundings and culture. This paper describes a patient with numerous tattoos, their meaning in the patient's life, and the days of imprisonment spent on Goli otok. We can say that tattoos are a way in which certain people allow others insight into what they think, feel, or how they perceive themselves.*

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Od početka vremena čovjek, kao misaono biće, ima potrebu ostavljati i odašiljati poruke drugim ljudima, bilo u obliku spiljskih crteža, kipova ili otisaka na svojoj koži. Kako će poruka koju prenosi izgledati u očima primaoca i hoće li je on htjeti prihvatiti kao takvu, u tom trenutku čovjek ne može znati. Upravo zbog toga, ljudska kultura, odnosno pojedinac sam se kasnije susreće s osuđivanjem prakse tjelesnih modifikacija, u ovom slučaju tetoviranja. Ukrašavajući svoje tijelo tetovažom, nositelj komunicira sa svijetom te jasno iskazuje svoje stavove, strahove i želje. Čovjekova potreba za ostavljanjem traga nije stala na spiljskim slikarijama, već je svoje strahove, vjerovanja i ideale želio utkati u nešto više, nešto najvrjednije što postoji, a to je on sam. Otkrivši tehniku tetoviranja, njegovo tijelo postaje nositelj slike i teksta, a tetovaže svjedok načina života koji je živio (1,2).

## Povijest tetoviranja

Riječ tetovaža, nastala je od engleske riječi „tattoo“, koja je anglikanizirana verzija tahićanske riječi „tatau“, što znači pisati ili označiti nešto, a u Europu ju je donio James Cook 1769. godine, kada se vratio sa svojeg putovanja na Tahiti i Novi Zeland (3).

Postojanje tetovaža na ljudskom tijelu dokumentirano je u povijesti mnogih kultura u cijelome svijetu, a najstarija, do danas pronađena tetovaža, nađena je na mumificiranom tijelu muškarca iz bakrenog doba otkrivenom u Ötzalskim Alpama u Austriji, popularno zvanom Ötzi (3). Ötzijeve tetovaže su nastale utrpljavanjem ugljena u prethodno izbušenu kožu. Vjeruje se da su tetovaže imale za cilj ublažavanje boli jer su napravljene na točkama koje se i danas koriste u akupunkturi (4).

Tetoviranje, kao kulturna praksa i jedan od oblika tjelesnih modifikacija, zabilježeno je na svim stranama svijeta te datira još iz Brončanoga doba i nastavlja se sve do današnjice u

Since the beginning of time, man has, as a thinking creature, felt the urge to leave and transmit messages to other people, whether in the form of cave drawings, statues, or prints on his skin. When sending a message, one cannot know how the message will appear to the eyes of the recipient or whether they will want to accept it as such. Precisely due to that, human culture and the individual himself has faced disapproval of the practice of body modification, in this case tattooing. Man's need to leave traces did not end with cave paintings, and he wished to weave his fears, beliefs, and ideals into something more, something of utmost value, which is himself. Having discovered the technique of tattooing, his body became the bearer of image and text, and his tattoos evidence of the way he had lived his life (1,2).

## The history of tattooing

The term tattoo comes from English, which is an anglicized version of the Tahitian word *tatau*, meaning to write or mark something, and was brought to Europe by James Cook in 1769 when returning from his trip to Tahiti and New Zealand (3).

The existence of tattoos on the human body has been documented in numerous cultures from around the world, and the oldest tattoo so far is one found on the mummified body of a man from the Copper Age discovered in the Ötztal Alps in Austria, known as Ötzi (3). Ötzi's tattoos were created by rubbing charcoal into previously punctured skin. It is believed that tattoos were supposed to reduce pain because they were located on points that are still used in acupuncture even today (4).

As a cultural practice and one of the forms of body modification, tattooing has been found in all parts of the world and dates from the Bronze Age, continuing until today in various

raznim područjima ljudskoga djelovanja (1). Tetoviranje je jedna od najčešćih i najpopularnijih vrsta tjelesnih modifikacija i *body-art-a* (5). Tetovaža je svjesna tjelesna modifikacija nastala pod utjecajem okoline i kulture u kojoj se individuum nalazi (5).

U našim krajevima se tetoviranje pojavilo za vrijeme turskih osvajanja, i to kod Hrvata katolika iz Bosne i Hercegovine koji su tetovirali djecu kako bi ih učinili odbojnim turskim osvajačima te ih tako spasili od otmice ili korištenja prava prve bračne noći (6). Migracijom stanovništva ovaj se običaj preselio i u Dalmatinsku zagoru, na područje između Šibenika i Sinja. Procjenjuje se da i danas postoji između 50 i 100 tetoviranih žena na tom prostoru, a tetovaže su najčešće smještene na člancima prstiju na šakama. Vjeruje se da je posljednja osoba tetovirana na ovaj, tradicionalan način, rođena 1969. godine, a tetovirana je oko 1984. godine (6).

U Guinnessovoj knjizi rekorda zabilježeno je da je čovjek s najviše tetovaža na svijetu Lucky Diamond Rich iz Australije čije tijelo je u potpunosti prekriveno tetovažama. Tetovirani su mu čak i kapci, desni te unutrašnjost ušnih školjaka (7).

Za razliku od arhitekture, kiparstva, slikarstva i sličnih oblika izražavanja, tetoviranje je teško precizno datirati, jer ostavlja malo arheoloških ostataka. Tetovaže žive i umiru zajedno sa svojim nositeljima, dok tetovirački alati zbog minijaturnosti i razgradivosti rijetko bivaju pro-



FIGURE 1.

fields of human activity (1). Tattooing is one of the most common and most popular forms of body modification and body-art (5). A tattoo is a conscious body modification created under the influence of an individual's environment and culture (5).

In these parts, tattooing appeared during Turkish conquests among Croatian Catholics from Bosnia and Herzegovina who tattooed children to make them unappealing to Turkish invaders and therefore save them from kidnapping or the use of the right of the first night (6). Migrations led to this custom spreading into the Dalmatian Hinterland, in the area between Šibenik and Sinj. It is estimated that nowadays there are between 50 and 100 tattooed women in that area, and the tattoos are most commonly found on the knuckles. It is believed that the last person tattooed in this way was born in 1969 and tattooed around 1984 (6).

According to the Guinness book of records, the man with the greatest number of tattoos in the world is Lucky Diamond Rich from Australia, whose body is almost entirely covered in tattoos. Even his eyelids, gums, and the insides of his ears have been tattooed (7).

Unlike architecture, sculpture, painting, and similar forms of expression, tattooing is difficult to date precisely because it leaves few archaeological traces. Tattoos live and die with their bearers, while tattooing tools are rarely found and their original use is rarely identified due to their miniature size and propensity to decompose. In addition to that, official archaeology often refuses to accept that ornamental surface decoration of statues of prehistorical cultures is in fact a depiction of tattoos. The beginning of the practice of tattooing is impossible to determine because it developed independently even in the remotest parts of the world (8). As Poon states, unlike antique pottery and cave paintings, tattooing is much more difficult to research be-

nađeni i pravilno prepoznati u svojoj izvornoj namjeni. Također službena arheologija često odbija prihvatiti da je ornamentalna površinska dekoracija kipova pretpovijesnih kultura u biti prikaz tetovaža. Početak tetoviranja je nemoguće odrediti, jer se neovisno razvijao i u svakom najzabačenijem kutku planete (8). Kako Poon navodi, za razliku od antičkog lončarstva i crteža u spiljama, tetoviranje je mnogo teže istraživati, jer je platno na kojem nastaju tetovaže upravo ljudska koža. Koža je kako znamo, jedan od artefakata koji se može najslabije očuvati, stoga ne možemo sa sigurnošću reći koja je godina ishodišna točka tetoviranja. Upravo zbog toga tetovaža je ujedno i stalan i nestalan trag identiteta. U svim kulturama plemstvo je, uz najbolje oružje, opremu, odjeću, hranu i nastambe posjedovalo najkvalitetnije i najskuplje tetovaže, u pravilu rad vrsnih, dobro plaćenih majstora. Često su postojali određeni simboli rezervirani isključivo za plemiće kao oznaka ranga i podrijetla. Povijest bilježi mnoge primjere tetoviranja heraldičkih simbola na pripadnicima europskih kraljevskih i plemićkih obitelji, kao i na plemenskoj aristokraciji Sjeverne Amerike, Azije, Afrike i Oceanije (paci-fička regija) (8).

Neke kulture smatraju da su umjetnost i kultura tetoviranja namijenjene samo onima višeg staleža, odnosno plemstvu. Npr. u kulturama poput maorske, polinezijske i inuitske, tetovaža simbolizira prelazak u svijet odraslih, dok u nekim kulturama tetovažama tijelo oslikavaju oni ljudi koji su najčešće u sukobu s vlastima i zakonom, čime zapravo označavaju pripadnost određenoj kriminalnoj skupini (8). Tetovaže mogu imati različito značenje i različitu ulogu, ovisno o nositelju: magična uloga, talisman, zaštita od bolesti, katastrofa ili zlih duhova, svojevrsna potvrda za prijelaz duše na drugi svijet u različitim religijama i konačno način da se iskažu unutarnje želje, afiniteti i predanost nečemu (9).

DeMello navodi kako je francuski antropolog Claude Lévi-Strauss rekao da tetovaže transfor-

cause its canvas is human skin. Skin is known to be among the artefacts that are the most difficult to conserve, which is why we cannot identify its year of origin with any certainty. Due to that, tattoos are both a permanent and an impermanent trace of identity. Along with the best weapons, equipment, clothes, food, and dwellings, aristocracies of all cultures also possessed the best and most expensive tattoos, created by highly skilled and well-paid masters. Certain symbols were often reserved exclusively for the aristocracy as a sign of rank and background. History holds many examples of tattooing heraldic symbols among the members of European royal and aristocratic families, as well as among the members of tribal aristocracies of Northern America, Asia, Africa, and Oceania (the Pacific region) (8).

Some cultures believe the art and culture of tattooing to be primarily reserved for those of higher rank, or the aristocracy. For example, in cultures such as Maori, Polynesian, and Inuit, a tattoo symbolizes the entrance into adulthood, while in other cultures tattoos are found only among those in conflict with the authorities and the law, which means that they actually show that they belong to a certain criminal group (8). Tattoos can have a variety of meanings and roles, depending on the bearer of the tattoo: a magical role, a talisman, a protection from diseases, catastrophes, or evil spirits, a kind of confirmation of the passage of a soul into the other world in a variety of religions, and finally a way of expressing their wishes, affinities, or a dedication to something (9).

DeMello points out that French anthropologist Claude Lévi-Strauss claimed that tattoos transform a person from a *raw animal* into a being of culture. In many cultures, bodies without modifications or some form of markings are not considered truly human. Non-tattooed individuals were also sometimes marginalized

miraju čovjeka iz „sirove životinje“ u kulturno biće. U mnogim kulturama tijela koja nisu modificirana ili obilježena na neki se način ne smatraju uistinu ljudskim. Netetovirani pojedinci u mnogim kulturama bili su marginalizirani i odbačeni od tadašnjeg društva. Mnogim pripadnicima zapadne kulture je veoma neobično čuti kako u tradicionalnim kulturama žene koje posjeduju tetovažu ili neku drugu tjelesnu modifikaciju djeluju privlačnije (10).

Tetovaže također mogu biti prelazak u svijet odraslih. Često zadobivene tijekom rituala prelaska tetovaže kao i druge tjelesne modifikacije pomažu novim članovima pri ulasku u društvo (11). Muškim pripadnicima nekih plemena tetovaže su kao i drugi brojni bolni rituali poput skarifikacije i obrezivanja bili pokazatelj da su zaslužili da ih se tretira kao odraslog člana društva (12). Koliko je važno tetoviranje nekim kulturama pokazuje nam pleme Samoanaca, gdje se od muškarca očekuje nošenje cijelog *pe'a*, tetovaže koja prekriva dio torza, stražnjicu i natkoljenice. Onaj muškarac koji ne uspije dovršiti svoj *pe'a* ne smatra se muškarcem. Čak i danas pripadnici plemena Samoa ne mogu odati priznanje onom muškarcu koji ne nosi *pe'a* (13). DeMello navodi kako su tetovaže duboko utkane u tradicionalno društvo. Iako dekorativne,

and rejected by their societies. Many members of Western culture find it unusual that women with tattoos or some other body modifications are considered more attractive in traditional cultures (10).

Tattoos can also signify an entrance into adulthood. Often acquired during rituals of entering adulthood, such tattoos and other body modifications aid new members in the process of entering society (11). For male members of some tribes, tattoos and other numerous painful rituals such as scarification and circumcision served as a sign that they had earned the right to be treated as an adult member of society (12). Some cultures place great importance on tattooing, as is the case with the Samoan tribe, which expects the man to bear an entire *pe'a*, a tattoo that covers a part of the torso, buttocks, and thighs. If a man fails to complete his *pe'a*, he is not considered a man. Even today, members of Samoan tribes cannot honour a man who does not have a *pe'a* (13). DeMello claims that tattoos are deeply woven into traditional societies. Although decorative, they are a means of communication and a symbol of status, religious beliefs, marital status, significant achievements, and other matters of great importance (12).

FIGURE 2.



one su sredstvo komunikacije i pokazatelj položaja, vjerskog opredjeljenja, bračnog statusa, važnih postignuća i ostalih važnijih stvari (12).

Prisjećajući se starih civilizacije, točnije gledano Perzijanaca, DeMello navodi da su u njihovoj kulturi tetovaže upotrebljavane u svrhu dehumanizacije čovjeka i obilježavanja istoga kao roba, zatvorenika ili vojnika koji pripadaju nekome. Ovakvo institucionalizirano nametanje tetovaža kao objektivizacije ljudi kasnije se nastavilo u 20. stoljeću prigodom nacističke propagande protiv pripadnika židovske vjeroispovijesti i ostalih zatvorenika koncentracijskog logora u Auschwitzu. Ironično je to što su navedeni bili prisilno tetovirani ne bi li ih se obilježilo, dok zatvorenici europskih, ruskih i američkih zatvora često sami odabiru svoje tijelo ukrasiti tetovažama ne bi li pokazali svoj status naspram drugih zatvorenika (13). DeMello ističe kako je povijesna povezanost tetovaža s marginaliziranim pripadnicima društva jedan od većih razloga zašto su one u zapadnoj kulturi negativno percipirane od strane srednjeg i višeg staleža (13). Tetovaže pripadnica Li naroda označavaju njihov ulazak u svijet odraslih i spremnost za udaju. Li djevojke smatrale su kako njihove tetovaže nisu samo lijepi geometrijski uzorci, već i sredstvo prepoznavanja nakon smrti od strane njihovih predaka (14). „Tvoja ogrlica se može slomiti, *frau* drvo se može raspuknuti, ali moje tetoviranje je neuništivo. Ono je svezvremenski dragulj kojeg ćeš ponijeti sa sobom u grob.“ (stih iz tradicionalne polinezijske pjesme, autor nepoznat) (2).

Afrička plemena osim po skarifikaciji poznata su po još jednoj vrsti tjelesne modifikacije, u ovom slučaju privremenog vida poput *body painting*-a. *Body painting* je uobičajena metoda ukrašavanja i modificiranja tijela pripadnika afričkih plemena pri izvođenju religijskih rituala, ceremonija slavlja i pokazivanja spolne zrelosti (15). Upotrebljavane boje su često, ako ne i uvijek, simboličke prirode: crvena boja simbolizira npr. krv, smrt ili plodnost (13).

Eskimi su vjerovali kako su njihova tijela staništa više duša te da svaka duša počiva u odre-

Thinking back to older civilizations, more precisely Persians, DeMello states that in their culture tattoos were used for dehumanizing people and marking them as slaves, prisoners, or soldiers who belonged to someone. Such institutionalized enforcement of tattoos as objectivization of people later continued in the twentieth century as part of Nazi propaganda against Jewish people and other prisoners of the Auschwitz concentration camp. It is ironic that they were forcibly tattooed in order to be marked, while prisoners of European, Russian, and American prisons often chose to decorate their bodies with tattoos in order to show their status was different than that of other prisoners (13). DeMello points out that the historical connection between tattoos and marginalized members of society is one of the reasons why tattoos are perceived as negative by members of the middle and upper class in Western culture (13). Tattoos among the Li women mark their entrance into adulthood and their readiness for marriage. Li girls believed their tattoos were not just beautiful geometric patterns, but also the means by which they would be recognized by their ancestors after death (14). “Your necklace may be broken, the *frau* tree may burst, but my tattoos are indestructible. This is the eternal jewel you shall carry to your grave” (a verse from a traditional Polynesian poem, author unknown) (2).

African tribes are known for scarification, but also for another type of body modification, in this case a temporary form like body painting. Body painting is a common method of decorating and modifying the bodies of members of African tribes during the performance of religious rituals, celebration ceremonies, and the display of sexual maturity (15). The colours they use are very often, if not always, of symbolic nature: red symbolizes blood, death, or fertility (13).

Eskimos believed their bodies were inhabited by multiple souls, and that each soul existed in

đenom zglobu. Zbog navedenog, tetovaže su imale veliku ulogu pri pogrebu u eskimskoj kulturi. Pogrebne tetovaže sastojale su se od malih točaka na različitim zglobovima (rame, lakat, zapešće, koljeno...) koje su svojim postojanjem na tijelu pokojnika omogućavale dušama da napuste tijelo i prijeđu na drugi svijet (16). Pripadnici naroda Ungan, Alutiiq i Chugach na području Aljaske kulturu tetoviranja i ostalih tjelesnih modifikacija povezuju sa svetim i kulturnim iskustvom (16). *Body art* za pripadnike navedenih naroda nije bio samo užitak, već je podizao socijalni status unutar plemena, duhovnu moć, ljepotu i obožavanje (16).

Krajem 19. stoljeća tetovaže su se preselile na karnevale i u cirkuse, gdje su pozornost plijenili potpuno tetovirani pojedinci, čija su tijela bila prekrivena tetovažama od glave do pete, a služila su im poput kostima. Identitet ovih cirkuskih dama i muškaraca nije bio povezan s oslobođenjem i poštovanjem, već s kapitalizmom i poslovnim ulaganjima (17).

DeMello navodi da su se razlozi tetoviranja uvelike promijenili, kao i njihova simbolika,



FIGURE 3.

a different joint. Due to that, in Eskimo culture tattoos played an important role during burial. Burial tattoos consisted of small dots on various joints (shoulders, elbows, wrists, knees...) and their presence on the body of the deceased enabled the souls to leave the body and cross into the other world (16). The Ungan, Alutiiq, and Chugach people from the Alaskan area associate the culture of tattooing and other body modification with a holy and cultural experience (16). For those people, body art did not just represent pleasure, but also increased social status within the tribe, as well as spiritual power, beauty, and admiration (16).

At the end of the nineteenth century tattoos moved to carnivals and circuses, where completely tattooed individuals attracted attention because their bodies were covered with tattoos from head to toe and served as a costume. The identity of those men and women from the circus was not related to liberation or respect, but with capitalism and business investments (17).

DeMello claims that reasons for tattooing have largely changed, and so has the symbolism of tattoos, thus making them one great cultural mixture (13). In fact, *the body as a project* is one of the most significant expressions used to describe ways that individuals treat their own bodies (1).

As societies changed, so did beauty standards. What was the ideal of beauty for a man from antiquity is nowadays the complete opposite, so it is no wonder we find ourselves in times of increasing numbers of surgical interventions on the body which, of course, follow certain trends. In 2011, Adamović and Maskalan claimed that there were at least two dominant trends among aesthetic changes of the body, which depend on whether they are aimed at *standardization* or *grotesquization* (1).

Tattoos are initiators and mediators within symbolic communication. As Wilson claims, tattoos are active, and in moments during which

čineći tetovaže uistinu jednom velikom kulturnom mješavinom (13). Upravo je „tijelo kao projekt“ jedna od značajnijih sintagmi kojom se opisuju načini na koje se individuumi odnose prema vlastitom tijelu (1).

S razvitkom društva mijenjaju se i standardi ljepote. Ono što je antičkom čovjeku bio ideal ljepote danas je upravo suprotno i obrnuto, stoga nije ni čudo da se nalazimo u vremenu kada svjedočimo sve većem porastu kirurških intervencija u tijelo pri čemu naravno pojedinac prati trendove. Godine 2011. Adamović i Maskalan navode kako postoje najmanje dva dominantna trenda estetskih promjena tijela ovisno jesu li navedene usmjerene ka „standardizaciji“ ili „groteskizaciji“ (1).

Tetovaža je pokretač, posrednik u komunikaciji simbola. Kako navodi Wilson, tetovaže su aktivne, u trenucima izloženosti drugima one projiciraju simbole drugima. Pojedincima tetovaže nisu samo oznaka koja je u tom trenutku bila ideja ili želja, već dio identiteta njih samih (18).

Wilson navodi kako tetovaža započinje impresijom, konceptom u mislima umjetnika, odnosno njezina dizajnera. Moglo bi se čak reći da je tetovaža psihička formacija kako njen nositelj vidi samoga sebe (18). U kulturi gdje je vanjštna veoma važna, koža, kao najveći ljudski organ, je platno na koje projiciramo naše najveće fantazije i najdublje strahove (19).

## Podjela tetovaža

Tetovaže možemo podijeliti u dvije skupine. Prvoj skupini pripadaju privremene tetovaže, odnosno one tetovaže koje traju od nekoliko dana do nekoliko tjedana, dok u drugu skupinu spadaju one tetovaže koje krase ljudsko tijelo zauvijek, izuzev „trajne šminke“ korištene u kozmetičke svrhe, čiji je vijek trajanja nekoliko godina (20).

Hustić navodi kako se u modernoj dermatologiji tetovaže, uz trajne i privremene, dijele još na one koje su zadobivene slučajnim umetanjem pigmenta u kožu (npr. ubod kemijskom

they are revealed to others they project symbols towards them. For some, tattoos are not simply a marking that was at a certain moment an idea or a wish, but a part of their own identity (18).

Wilson claims that a tattoo begins with an impression, a concept in the mind of the artist or its designer. One could say that a tattoo is a psychological image reflecting the way the bearer sees himself (18). In a culture in which appearance is very important, skin as the largest human organ functions as the canvas on which we project our greatest fantasies and deepest fears (19).

## Types of tattoos

Tattoos can be divided into two groups. The first one comprises temporary tattoos, meaning those tattoos that last from several days to several weeks, while the second group comprises tattoos that decorate the human body forever, apart from *permanent make-up*, which is used for cosmetic purposes and lasts for a few years (20).

Hustić claims that in modern dermatology tattoos are divided further into those gained through accidental insertion of pigment into skin (e.g. by being pricked by a pen), amateur and professional tattoos which include the drawing of various images on the body, cosmetic for permanent substitution of make-up (e.g. eyeliner), and medical ones used by doctors to mark parts of the body, most commonly for the purposes of radiation therapy (21).

As Poon claims, the first tattoo was probably the result of a pigment that accidentally remained in the body due to an injury, which later inspired people to modify their own physical appearance. Poon's dissertation also mentions four basic methods of inserting pigment into the skin recorded in ethnographic works: cutting and smearing, sewing, tapping, and pricking (8).

Like every other branch of human activity, tattooing is also not free of production that hap-



olovkom), amaterske i profesionalne tetovaže pri kojima se iscrtavaju raznoliki motivi na tijelo, kozmetičke za trajni nadomjestak šminke (npr. olovke za oči) i medicinske kojima liječnici označavaju dijelove tijela najčešće kod radijacijskog liječenja (21).

Kako Poon navodi, prva tetovaža je vjerojatno produkt slučajnog zaostajanja pigmenta u tijelu prigodom ozljede što je kasnije potaklo ljude na modifikaciju vlastitog tjelesnog izgleda. U svojoj disertaciji Poon također spominje četiri osnovna načina umetanja pigmenta u kožu zabilježena u etnografskim radovima: rezanje s premazivanjem, prošivanje, tapkanje i ubadanje (8).

Kao i svaka druga grana ljudskog djelovanja, tako i tetoviranje nije lišeno produkcije koja se odvija samo radi produkcije, a ne stvaranja nečeg umjetnički vrijednog. Nažalost, kako su se mijenjali trendovi u tetoviranju, tako su se pojavile i određene tetovaže koje i sami umjetnici, odnosno tetovirači, smatraju nisko vrijednim stvaralaštvom, odnosno kičem (16).

Tetovaže bivaju promovirane od strane mode i medija i postaju sve popularnije, osobito među mladima. Broj mladih osoba s nekom od tjelesnih modifikacija se u zadnjih desetak godina ubrzano povećava.

## Tetovaže i psihopatologija

D'Ambrosio i sur. navode kako različite studije pokazuju povezanost između tjelesnih modifikacija i sklonosti k samoozljeđivanju (16). Prema navodima D'Ambrosia i sur. u praksi je zamijećeno da većina pacijenata s tjelesnim modifikacijama nije generalno bila dobrog mentalnog zdravlja (16). Različite studije u zadnjih desetak godina pokazuju kako tetovaže mogu indicirati unutarnji nemir i biti pokazatelj psihopatološke bolesti, uključujući i sklonost već navedenom samoozljeđivanju (16).

Braitwaite i sur. u svojoj studiji iznose kako su ispitani subjekti s tjelesnim modifikacijama

pens purely for the purposes of production and not for the creation of something of artistic value. Unfortunately, as tattooing trends have changed, we have also witnessed the appearance of certain tattoos which the artists or tattooists consider to be of low artistic value, or kitsch (16).

Tattoos are promoted by fashion and the media, and are becoming more popular, especially among young people. The number of young people with some form of body modification has risen rapidly in the last ten years.

## Tattooing and psychopathology

D'Ambrosio *et al.* claim that different studies have shown the interconnection between body modifications and the tendency to self-harm (16). According to D'Ambrosio *et al.*, in practice it has been noted that most patients with body modifications were, generally speaking, not of good mental health (16). In the last ten years, a variety of studies have shown that tattoos may be an indication of inner unrest and a psychopathologic illness, including the tendency to self-harm (16).

In their study, Braitwaite *et al.* claim that the questioned subjects with body modifications (including tattoos) were most commonly exposed to marijuana and alcohol abuse and overuse of antidepressants and sedatives, which they used as evidence of an association between tattoos/piercing and harmful behaviour (5). Statistical analysis (ANOVA) conducted by D'Ambrosio *et al.* clearly showed a significant connection between piercing and tattoos and psychopathologic problems (13).

Dissocial personality disorder, borderline personality disorder, and alcohol and drug abuse are the most common psychiatric disorders associated with tattoos (22). An American study has shown that people with tattoos entering the American army are more prone to consuming large quantities of alcohol and smoking cigarettes, but also to engaging in risky behaviour

(koje uključuju u tetovaže) bili najčešće izloženi zloporabi marihuane i alkohola te pretjeranoj upotrebi antidepresiva i sedativa, čime su pružili dokaz o povezanosti između tetovaža/*piercing*-a i štetnog ponašanja (5). Statistička analiza (ANOVA) koji su proveli D'Ambrosio i sur. jasno pokazuje značajnu povezanost *piercing*-a i tetovaža i psihopatoloških smetnji (13).

Disocijalni poremećaj ličnosti, granični poremećaj ličnosti te zloporaba alkohola i droga najčešći su psihijatrijski poremećaji koji se povezuju s tetovažama (22). Američko istraživanje pokazalo je da su osobe s tetovažama koje pristupaju američkoj vojsci sklonije konzumaciji većih količina alkohola, pušenju cigareta, ali i rizičnom ponašanju kao što je vožnja s vozačem pod utjecajem alkohola (23). Povišena impulzivnost i rizično ponašanje nađeni su u vojnika s tetovažama i u toj skupini više je bolesnika dijagnosticirano s antisocijalnim poremećajem ličnosti u usporedbi s vojnicima bez tetovaža (24,25).

Bender i sur. pokazali su da je impulzivnost indirektno povezana sa suicidalnim ponašanjem te da je ova povezanost posredovana bolnim i provokativnim događajima koji također uključuju i tetoviranje. S druge strane, ima istraživača koji pokazuju da je tetovira-

like riding in a car driven by a person under the influence of alcohol (23). Increased impulsiveness and risky behaviour have been identified in soldiers with tattoos, and the same group contained more patients diagnosed with antisocial personality disorder than the group of soldiers without tattoos (24, 25).

Bender *et al.* have shown that impulsiveness is indirectly tied to suicidal behaviour and that this association is mediated through painful and provocative events that also include tattooing. On the other hand, there are researchers who have shown that tattooing is nowadays merely a fashion statement and not associated with a higher rate of risky behaviour and differences in personality (26-28). Based on their research, Zrno *et al.* have concluded that, despite being popular and no longer stigmatized, tattooing still carries some risky behaviour and potential behavioural risk factors (29).

Over the last ten years, various studies have shown that tattoos and piercing can be indicators of negative emotions and a potential psychopathologic indicator of illness, including self-harming types of behaviour (13). Results gained through analysing the risk of behaviour have shown that 99% of tattooed subjects abused alcohol, 92% often drove carelessly, 90% used



FIGURE 4.

nje u današnje vrijeme samo izraz mode i nije povezano s višom stopom rizičnog ponašanja i razlika u osobnosti (26-28). Zrno i sur. zaključuju da tetoviranje, prema rezultatima istraživanja, iako popularno i nije više stigmatizirajuće za osobe kao ranije, ipak nosi neka rizična ponašanja i moguće rizične čimbenike u ponašanju (29).

Različita istraživanja tijekom zadnjih deset godina rasvijetlila su da tetovaže i *piercing* mogu biti pokazatelji unutarnjeg lošeg osjećanja i mogu biti mogući psihopatološki pokazatelj bolesti uključujući samoozljeđujuća ponašanja (13). Rezultati dobiveni analizom rizika ponašanja ispitanika pokazali su da je 99 % onih s tetovažama imalo zlorabu alkohola, 92 % često nemarno vozilo, 90 % je koristilo psihoaktivne tvari, 45 % je imalo seksualne interakcije različite od uobičajenog, dok je 35 % ispitanika imalo povremene izvještaje o rizičnom ponašanju; 25 % odnosno 26 % ispitanika preveniralo je cijeljenje svojih rana i zanemarivalo terapijske upute, dok je 33 % pokazalo samoozljeđujuća ponašanja (13).

Swami ukazuje da, kada se mjeri kao pojedinačna psihološka razlika, a nasuprot aktualnom (ili samoprocijenjenom) ponašanju, nema značajne razlike u stavovima prema autoritetu kod tetoviranih i netetoviranih pojedinaca (30). Štoviše, Swami i sur. našli su da nije bilo značajnih razlika u pogledu tetoviranja s obzirom na spol, obrazovanje, maritalni status i nacionalnost (31). Najveća razlika između skupina tetoviranih i netetoviranih osoba bila je u pogledu impulzivnosti što ukazuje na tendenciju djelovanja trenutnim osjećanjem (32).

De Mello u svojoj knjizi „Bodies of Inscription“ navodi kako je tetovaža, kao umjetnički izraz identiteta, glavni razlog zašto se sve više pojedinaca u zadnjih nekoliko desetljeća odlučuje na ovakav oblik ukrašavanja tijela. Tetovaže se na prvi pogled mogu doimati površnim, čisto dekorativnim ukrašavanjem tijela, ali kada

psychoactive substances, 45% had out-of-the-ordinary sexual encounters, while 35% occasionally reported on risky behaviour; 25% prevented their wounds from healing, 26% neglected instructions regarding therapy, while 33% exhibited self-harming types of behaviour (13).

Swami points out that, when measured as individual psychological difference, and in contrast to current (or self-estimated) behaviour, there is no significant difference in attitudes toward authority in tattooed and non-tattooed individuals (30). Furthermore, Swami *et al.* found that there were no significant differences regarding tattoos when it comes to sex, education, marital status, or nationality (31). The most significant difference between groups of tattooed and non-tattooed subjects was regarding impulsiveness, which indicates a tendency to act according to current emotions (32).

In her book *Bodies of Inscription*, DeMello claims that tattoos are an artistic expression of identity, which is the main reason why increasing numbers of people over the past few decades have been choosing this type of body decoration. At

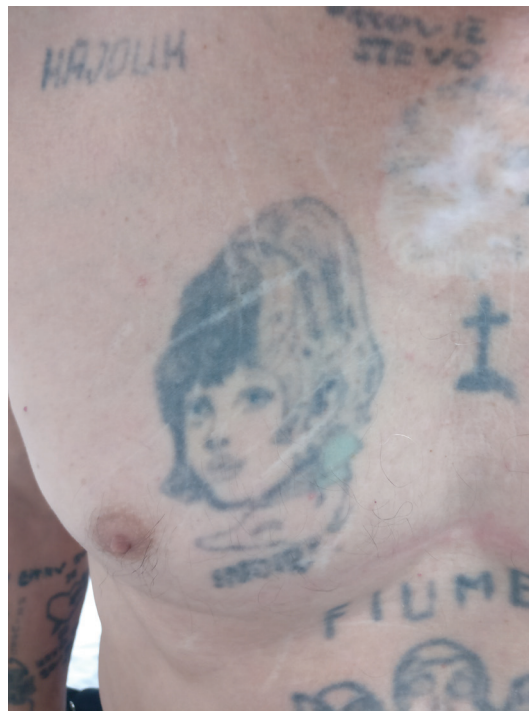


FIGURE 5.

poblje razmotrimo svijet tetovaža, možemo zaključiti da su one više nego površna maska (10).

Ako je čovjek sam refleksija onoga što se događa oko njega, možemo reći da je njegova koža ogledalo u njegov unutarnji svijet. Tetovaže su način na koji drugima dopuštamo da vide što mislimo, osjećamo ili kako doživljavamo sami sebe. Može se reći da je koža tzv. prijenosnik svog iskustva koje je pojedinac doživio tijekom svojeg života (2).

## PRIKAZ BOLESNIKA S TETOVAŽAMA I NJEGOVA PRIČA

Pacijent XY primljen je 2. 7. 2017. godine na liječenje u Zavod za biologijsku psihijatriju i psihogerijatriju Klinike za psihijatriju Vrapče. Na prijam je dovežen vozilom Hitne medicinske pomoći zbog suicidalnih promišljanja koja su oscilirala u intenzitetu i spram kojih je bolesnik bio kritičan. Uz primijenjenu psihofarmakoterapiju te suport u protektivnom bolničkom okruženju, pacijent je kritičniji prema događajima koji su prethodili hospitalizaciji, jasno otklanja suicidalne i heteroagresivne pulzije te ga se 5. 9. 2017. godina otpušta s bolničkog liječenja uz preporuke nastavka liječenja u ambulantom tretmanu.

Bolesnik je dao pisano dopuštenje da se objavi ovaj prikaz s fotografijama.

Za vrijeme hospitalizacije u našoj ustanovi provedeno je psihologijsko testiranje pacijenta. Prema rezultatima procjene ličnosti MMPI-2 inventarom postigao je sljedeće: na svim ljestvicama kontrole urednih rezultata, izuzev rezultata na Fb ljestvici koji upućuje na dekoncentriranost u odgovaranju na pitanja u posljednjem dijelu ispitne knjižice. Stoga ćemo se ograničiti na interpretaciju temeljnih kliničkih ljestvica i restrukturiranih kliničkih ljestvica. Na temeljnim kliničkim ljestvicama intenziteti na većini ljestvica nalaze se u

first sight, tattoos may appear superficial, or pure decoration of the body, but when we take a closer look at the world of tattoos, we can conclude that they are more than a superficial mask (10).

If man is a reflection of what happens around him, then we can say that his skin is a mirror of his inner world. By using tattoos, we allow others an insight into our thoughts, feelings, or the way we perceive ourselves. It can be said that skin is, in a way, a transmitter of the entirety of experience gained over an individual's lifetime (2).

## CASE PRESENTATION OF A PATIENT WITH TATTOOS AND HIS STORY

On the 2<sup>nd</sup> of July 2017, patient XY was admitted to the Institute of Biological Psychiatry at the Vrapče Psychiatric Hospital. He was brought by ambulance due to suicidal thoughts which oscillated in intensity, but patient showed insight into his condition. With psychopharmacotherapy and support in a protective hospital environment, the patient became more critically aware of events prior to hospitalization, clearly rejected suicidal and hetero-aggressive compulsions, and on the 5<sup>th</sup> of September 2017 was released from hospital care with a recommendation to seek outpatient treatment.

The patient signed a permission to publish this case presentation with photographs.

During his stay in our hospital, a psychological test was carried out on the patient. According to the MMPI-2 personality assessment, the patient showed the following results: the results were normal on all control scales apart from the Fb scale results, which indicated a lack of concentration while answering the questions in the final part of the questionnaire. Therefore, we shall limit ourselves to the interpretation of basic clinical scales and restructured clinical scales. On most of the basic clinical scales, the intensities were within the normative boundaries. There

okvirima koje toleriraju norme. Aktualno se ističu, i to blago, ljestvica paranoidnosti (Pa) koja ukazuje situacijsku paranoidnost, osjećaj da ga drugi ne razumiju i s njim ne postupaju pošteno. Naglašena je i Sc ljestvica u blažim intenzitetima povišenja koji upućuju na neke shizoidne karakteristike ličnosti kao što su prisutnost neobičnih vjerovanja, mogućnost ekscentričnog ponašanja uz sklonost pretjeranom oslanjanju na maštu/imaginaciju. Sumnjičav je, može imati osjećaj da se s njim loše postupa, osjetljiv na potencijalnu kritiku od strane drugih, na koju može pretjerano reagirati. Sklon projekciji, generalno povišeno hostilan, može biti sarkastičan, iritabilan, općenito zazoran, emocionalno labilan. Bazično se radi o poremećaju ličnosti (dosta crta ličnosti u okviru Pd ljestvice). Društveno je hladnokrvan, osjeća se sigurno i lišeno anksioznosti u različitim socijalnim situacijama, ima izražene stavove o nizu društvenih situacija koje je spreman žestoko braniti. Opisuje svoju obitelj kao obitelj bez podrške i ljubavi. Osobe ovih kodova rezultata često u svojoj povijesti imaju poteškoće sa zakonom i zloporabu alkohola. Restrukturirane kliničke ljestvice aktualno upućuju na dominaciju Rc1 ljestvice koja opisuje prisutnost somatskih tegoba. Zaključno, procjena ličnosti upućuje na bazični poremećaj ličnosti, a sada prevladavaju blaža situacijska paranoidnost i višestruki somatski simptomi.

„Tetovaža je bila dosadna igra, ali ako si bio tetoviran, nešto si značio...” – tim riječima šezdesetčetverogodišnji pacijent Klinike za psihijatriju Vrapče započinje svoju priču o tetovažama nastalim na Golom otoku. Tijekom dviju godina, koliko je boravio na Otoku, napravio je na svojem tijelu 128 tetovaža. Dok je odjeven, većina ih se ne vidi, ali odmah za oko zapadnu hrvatski grb i križ na vratu te tekst „AKO LAŽEM TU ME SJECI“ (sl. 1.). Sve tetovaže su mu nacrtali drugi kažnjenici, a crtane su otopljenom gumom s potplata cipela.

was mild irregularity on the paranoia scale (Pa), which indicated situational paranoia, a feeling of being misunderstood and treated unfairly by others. There was an increase on the Sc scale as well, with mild intensities, which points to certain schizoid personality characteristics such as unusual beliefs and the possibility of eccentric behaviour with a tendency to excessively rely on imagination or fantasy. The patient was suspicious, sometimes felt that he was being treated badly, and was sensitive to potential criticism received from others to which he may react in an exaggerated way. He was prone to projection, generally highly hostile, could be sarcastic, irritable, generally wary, and emotionally unstable. Basically, this is a case of personality disorder (numerous personality traits are within the limits of the Pd scale). The patient was socially cold, felt secure and free of anxiety in a variety of social situations, had distinct attitudes on several social situations, which he is prepared to vigorously defend. He described his family as a family without support and love. People with such results have often had previous problems with law and alcohol abuse. Restructured clinical scales currently indicate a dominant Rc1 scale, which describes the presence of somatic difficulties. To conclude, the personality assessment indicated a basic personality disorder, with a currently prevailing mild situational paranoia and numerous somatic symptoms.

“Tattooing was just an boring game, but if you had a tattoo, you meant something...” – these are the words the sixty-four-year-old patient of the University Psychiatric Hospital Vrapče used to begin his story of tattoos created on Goli otok. Over two years, which is how long he spent on the island, he made 128 tattoos on his body. Most cannot be seen while dressed, but the ones immediately noticeable are the tattoos of a Croatian coat of arms and a cross on his neck, along with the inscription “IF I’M LYING, CUT ME HERE” (Fig. 1). All the tattoos were created by other inmates using melted rubber from the

Svaka tetovaža, na neki način, predstavlja crticu iz njegovog života. 21 tetovaža su imena drugih kažnjenika s kojima je u određenom razdoblju zajedno izdržavao kaznu. Kaže kako ne zna gdje su danas i jesu li uopće živi. Osim tri koje su na desnom bedru, sve ostale tetovaže se nalaze na gornjem dijelu tijela. S ponosom pokazuje veliku tetovažu preko trbuha za koju kaže da je grb Golog otoka te da je on jedini koji ima tu tetovažu. Napravljena je iz više dijelova, a sastoji se od tri „mrtvačke glave“, mača zabodenog u otvorenu knjigu u kojoj piše „Bio sam rob“, pera te natpisa „Goli otok“ (sl. 2.). Najdraža tetovaža mu je na desnoj šaci gdje je podvučena riječ „SMRT“, a ispod toga piše „VOLIM TE MAMA“ (sl. 3.). Ne sjeća se kako je nastala ni zašto je to napisao, ali ju svakodnevno gleda i za njega ima posebnu vrijednost. Tetovaže erotskog karaktera nisu bile osobito popularne, ali on ima dvije takve na leđima. Navodi da je to bila šala od strane drugog zatvorenika te da on nije znao što će mu nacrtati. Jedna tetovaža prikazuje muškarca koji gura kolica u kojima nosi svoje veliko spolovilo, a na drugoj su prikazane dvije gole žene u trenutku intimnosti (sl. 4.). Zatvorenici su si relativno često tetovirali lica dragih osoba i djevojaka. Jednu takvu tetovažu nam pokazuje i naš pacijent na desnoj strani svojih prsiju (sl. 5.). Kaže da je to lice njegove velike ljubavi iz mladosti te da je on nacrtao sliku po kojoj je nastala tetovaža. Navodi da je ta slika ubrzo postala popularna pa je kasnije veći broj kažnjenika imao jako sličnu tetovažu na svojem tijelu. Ni prije ni poslije boravka na Golom otoku nije napravio nijednu tetovažu. Na Otoku su mu one bile zaštita: „Ako si bio tetoviran, ljudi su ti se micali, drugi robijaši nisu ulazili u konflikt s tobom. Što si ih više imao, to bolje.“ Zbog brojnih tetovaža, kroz život je imao više problema nego koristi. Da može vratiti vrijeme u nazad, kaže, nikada se ne bi tetovirao, no tada nije razmišljao o posljedicama. Kasnije je primijetio da mu ljudi pristupaju s predra-

soles of shoes. In a way, each tattoo represents an event from his life. Twenty-one tattoos are names of other prisoners with whom he served time during a certain period. He claims he does not know where they are today or whether they are even alive. Apart from three on his right thigh, all other tattoos are on the upper part of his body. He shows a large tattoo on his stomach with pride, saying it is the emblem of Goli otok, and adding that he is the only one who has it. It is made of several parts, and consists of three death's heads, a sword impaled on an open book with the text "I was a slave", a feather, and an inscription saying "Goli otok" (Fig. 2). His favourite tattoo is on his right fist, and consists of the underlined word "DEATH", under which there is an inscription saying, "I LOVE YOU MOM" (Fig. 3). He does not remember how it was created or why he wrote that, but he looks at it every day and it carries a special value for him. Tattoos with erotic content were not especially popular, but he has two such tattoos on his back. He claims that it was a joke by another prisoner, and that he did not know what the prisoner was going to draw. One tattoo shows a man pushing a cart with his large penis, and the other shows two naked women in a moment of intimacy (Fig. 4). Prisoners would relatively often tattoo faces of their loved ones and their girlfriends. Our patient showed us one such tattoo on the right side of his chest (Fig. 5). He said it was the face of his great love from his youth and that he drew the picture that the tattoo is based on. He says that the picture soon became popular, so a great number of prisoners later had a very similar tattoo on their bodies. He did not make any tattoos before or after his stay on Goli otok. On the island, they served as his protection: "If you were tattooed, people stepped out of your way, other prisoners didn't get into fights with you. The more you had, the better." His numerous tattoos have caused him more harm than good in his life. If he could turn back time, he says, he would never get a tattoo, but back then he did not think of the consequences. Later he noticed that people

sudama, samo na temelju njegovog izgleda. Često je imao i neugodnosti s policijom, ali i s mladićima koji su se htjeli dokazivati izazivajući ga. Tek kada bi ga malo bolje upoznali, osjećao je da ga gledaju kao osobu, a ne samo kao tetoviranog čovjeka.

## ZAKLJUČAK

U ovom radu opisan je bolesnik s brojnim tetovažama po tijelu te je opisano njihovo značenje kroz bolesnikov život i zatvoreničke dane na Golom otoku. Možemo reći da su tetovaže način na koji neke osobe drugima dopuštaju da vide što oni misle, osjećaju ili kako doživljavaju sami sebe (2). Naš bolesnik je rekao: „Tetovaža je bila dosadna igra, ali ako si bio tetoviran, nešto si značio...“ – i time najbolje objasnio značenje tetovaža u njegovom životu.

Zaključno možemo reći da kulturu tetoviranja pronalazimo na svim stranama svijeta u različitim razdobljima ljudskog bivanja. Ovakvi trajni tragovi, ponekad jednostavni, a ponekad složeni od više dijelova s jakim pozadinskom pričom, služili su kroz povijest kao statusni simboli, srećonoše, prikazi ljubavi, simboli vjervovanja, pa čak i oblici kazne (2). Ako je čovjek sam refleksija onoga što se događa oko njega, možemo reći da je njegova koža ogledalo u njegov unutarnji svijet, što je potvrdio i bolesnik opisan u ovom radu.

## ZAHVALA

Zahvaljujemo našem bolesniku što se spremno odazvao pozivu da ispriča svoju priču o nastanku njegovih tetovaža i dopustio da isto objavimo.

were prejudiced against him merely based on his appearance. He often had problems with the police, and with young men who wanted to prove themselves by teasing him. Once they got to know him better, he felt they perceived him as a person, and not just as a tattooed man.

## CONCLUSION

This study describes a patient with numerous tattoos on his body and their significance throughout the patient's life and days of imprisonment spent on Goli otok. We can say that for some people tattoos serve as a way of allowing others to see what they think, feel, or how they perceive themselves (2). Our patient said: "Tattooing was just an boring game, but if you had tattoos, you meant something..." – and thus gave the best explanation of the importance of tattoos for his life.

To conclude, we can say that the culture of tattoos can be found in all corners of the world in a variety of periods during human history. Such permanent markings, sometimes simple, and sometimes composed of several parts with a strong background story, have served throughout history as status symbols, good luck charms, depictions of love, symbols of beliefs, and even forms of punishment (2). If man reflects what takes place around him, then we can say that his skin is a mirror of his inner world, which was confirmed by the patient described in this study.

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