

## Čudovište iz Kaštelanskog zaljeva – sredozemna medvjedica

*U radu je razjašnjena pojava sredozemne medvjedice u Kaštelanskom zaljevu 1438. godine i reakcija stanovništva na izrazitu agresivnost te životinje. Incident je u Splitu zabilježio španjolski putopisac Pero Tafur, ali glavni doprinos daljem poznavanju ovog događaja napravio je Poggio Bracciolini, jer su njega prepisivali brojni europski prirodopisci, demonolozi, ali i drugi koje je privukla bizarnost priče. Neki su se uporno u opisima takvih bića služili antičkim autorima, a drugi su svoje prosudbe zasnivali na vjerskim knjigama. U tom kontekstu spomenut je stav Marka Marulića. Važan prilog memoriranju slučaja napravio je Albrecht Dürer izradivši bakrorez nadahnut pričom. U drugom dijelu prikazani su svi najstariji zapisi hrvatskih autora u kojima se bilježi pojava medvjedice na različitim lokacijama u Jadranskom moru, posebice oni kod Šibenika. Ovaj morski sisavac postao je iznimno rijedak na hrvatskoj obali već sredinom 19. stoljeća.*

**Ključne riječi:** čudovište, bestijarij, humanizam, Jadran, Kaštelanski zaljev, sredozemna medvjedica.

## The Monster from the Kaštela Bay - The Mediterranean Monk Seal

*The present paper clarifies the appearance of the Mediterranean monk seal in the Kaštela Bay in 1438 and the reaction of the population to the extreme aggressiveness of this animal. Pero Tafur, a Spanish travel writer, recorded the incident in Split, but it was Poggio Bracciolini who strongly contributed to obtain further knowledge of this event since his records have been copied by numerous European naturalists, demonologists and others who were attracted by the bizarreness of the story. Some persistently used ancient authors in their descriptions of such creatures, while others based their conclusions on religious books. In this context, the views of Marko Marulić were mentioned. An important contribution in memorising the case was made by Albrecht Dürer, who, inspired by the story, created a copper engraving on this subject. The second part of the paper presents all the oldest records of Croatian authors in which the appearance of the monk seal is described at various locations in the Adriatic Sea, especially those near Šibenik. This marine mammal has become extremely rare on the Croatian coast already in the mid-19th century.*

**Keywords:** monster; bestiary, humanism, Adriatic Sea, Kaštela Bay, Mediterranean monk seal.

## Uvod

Svako biće ili stvor koje je prepoznato kao čudo(vište) ili *monstrum*,<sup>1</sup> *mostro* ili *Wunder*,<sup>2</sup> iznimno je snažno privlačilo pozornost kasnosrednjovjekovnog i ranonovovjekovnog čovjeka diljem Europe. Živeći uronjen u prirodu, dakako više ako je bio poljodjelac, stočar, pomorac ili ribar, nego kao obični građanin,<sup>3</sup> poznavao je životinjski svijet sa svim njegovim podjelama, osobinama i pravilima. Potvrđivalo se kako znanje ne daje prostora strahu, ali zahtijeva oprez. Njegovo iskustvo bilo je upotpunjeno informacijama dobivenima u crkvi, i, s jedne strane, zahvaljujući njima jačao je svoje samopouzdanje, istaknut kao vrh Božjeg stvaranja i vladar svih životinja. Naime, Sveto pismo govori: ... *Stvori Bog morske grdosije i svakovrsne žive stvorove što mile i vrve vodom i ptice krilate svake vrste. (...) I stvori Bog svakovrsnu zvjerad, stoku i gmizavce svake vrste. ... I onda dalje: ... Doista, sav rod zvijeri i ptica, gmazova i morskih životinja dade*

## Introduction

Any being or creature recognized as a monster or *čudovište* (*čudo* meaning *wonder*; *translator's note*) or *monstrum*,<sup>1</sup> *mostro* or *Wunder*<sup>2</sup> attracted very much attention of the late medieval and early modern man throughout Europe. Living immersed in nature, and even more if he was a farmer, cattle breeder, sailor or fisherman than a common citizen,<sup>3</sup> he knew the animal world with all its divisions, characteristics and rules. It has been argued that knowledge does not give room to fear, but requires caution. His experience was complemented by information obtained in the church, and, on the one hand, thanks to it he strengthened his self-confidence, highlighted as the pinnacle of God's creation and the ruler of all animals. Namely, the Holy Scripture says: ... *God created great sea-serpents and every kind of living creature with which the waters teem, and every kind of winged creature. (...) And God made every kind of wild beast, every kind*

<sup>1</sup> U latinskom jeziku kao sinonimi za riječ *monstrum* figuriraju: *miraculum, ostentum, portentum, prodigium, signum*.

<sup>2</sup> Faust Vrančić u svom petojezičnom *Dictionariumu* nije sasvim jasan jer uvrštava četiri riječi koje se značenjski preklapaju, no ipak se izdvaja ova četvrt: 1. *ANIMAL / animale / Thier / Zvür-Xiuina / Allath ...*; 2. *BELLUA / Bestia / Ein grausam thier / Bestia / Bestia*; 3. *BESTIA / Bestia / Ein Thier / Bestia / Bestia*; 4. *MONSTRUM / Mostro / Ein vvunder / Csudò / Chodà*. Vidi: Vrančić 1595, str. 8, 13, 63, 118.

<sup>3</sup> Ovo „obični građanin“ odnosi se na osobe čija je djelatnost bila gotovo isključivo ograničena gradskim zidinama, pa stoga tu ne pripadaju plemstvo, tj. patriciji, a ni trgovci i više svećenstvo. Oni su radijus svojeg kretanja imali proširen u bližu i dalju okolicu zbog obilazaka imanja i crkava, ratnih djelovanja, trgovačkih putovanja i slično. Poznavanje morske faune dokazuju, primjerice, obični mornari kojima ulješura unatoč nesvakidašnjim veličinama tijela nije nešto neprirodno. Vidi: Kužić 2013, str. 210, 425.

Od naših ljudi to potvrđuju Marko Marulić i Petar Hektorović u svojim djelima. Istaknimo kako je Marulić pojedine životinje i vrste poznavao prema iskustvu, Bibliji, crkvenim ocima i antičkim autorima, a ribe je spominjao u velikom broju primjera. Upravo za ovu temu od najveće je vrijednosti podatak da je posjedovao djelo Opijana Cilicijskog *De natura piscium*. Vidi: Marulić 1950, str. 20/21; Marulić 1979, str. 22; Marulić 1985a, str. 67/434, 142/506, 325/680. (dvobrojevi označavaju stranice hrvatskog prijevoda i latinskog izvornika); Marulić 1985b, str. 176/571, 200/592; Hektorović 1986, str. 39, 64; Margetić 2005, str. 36-37, 40-41, 44-45, 68-69.

<sup>1</sup> In Latin, as synonyms for the word *monstrum* appear: *miraculum, ostentum, portentum, prodigium, signum*.

<sup>2</sup> Faust Vrančić in his five-language “*Dictionarium*” is not entirely clear because he includes four words that overlap in meaning, but still the fourth stands out: 1. *ANIMAL / animale / Thier / Zvür-Xiuina / Allath ...*; 2. *BELLUA / Bestia / Ein grausam thier / Bestia / Bestia*; 3. *BESTIA / Bestia / Ein Thier / Bestia / Bestia*; 4. *MONSTRUM / Mostro / Ein vvunder / Csudò / Chodà*. See: Vrančić 1595, p. 8, 13, 63, 118.

<sup>3</sup> This term “common citizen” refers to persons whose occupation was almost exclusively limited by the town walls, which means that neither the nobility, i.e. the patricians nor the merchants and the higher clergy were included there as their radius of movement extended to the near and far surrounding areas because they had to visit their estates and churches, were involved in war activities, trade journeys and the like. Knowledge of marine fauna by ordinary sailors, for example, is confirmed by the fact that they knew the cachalot, which, despite its unusual body size, was not something unnatural to them. See: Kužić 2013, p. 210, 425.

Among the Croatian authors, Marko Marulić and Petar Hektorović confirm this in their works. It should be noted that Marulić knew certain animals and species according to experience, the Bible, church fathers and ancient authors, while he mentioned fish in a large number of examples. Precisely for this topic, the fact that he possessed the work *De natura piscium* by Oppian of Cilicia is extremely valuable. See: Marulić 1950, p. 20/21.; Marulić 1979, p. 22.; Marulić 1985a, p. 67/434, 142/506, 325/680. (double numbers indicate the pages of the Croatian translation and the Latin original); Marulić 1985b, p. 176/571, 200/592.; Hektorović 1986, p. 39, 64.; Margetić 2005, p. 36-37, 40-41, 44-45, 68-69.

se ukrotiti, i rod ih je ljudski ukrotio, ...<sup>4</sup> No, s druge strane, nije sve bilo idilično jednostavno – postojala su i „čudovišta“. Strah su izazivali redci knjige o Joni: ... *Jahve zapovijedi velikoj ribi da proguta Jonu (...) Tada Jahve zapovijedi ribi i ona izbljuva Jonu na obalu. ...*<sup>5</sup> Srednjovjekovna popularna književnost također je tendirala prema jačanju straha. Iako je imala ograničeno čitateljstvo (gradska elita i više zemaljsko plemstvo), zacijelo je njihovim posredstvom prenosila zastrašujuće informacije o takvim stvorenjima na puk, a tadašnja književna uspješnica *Aleksandrida* ima cijeli niz redaka koji se odnose na čudovišta.<sup>6</sup> Ovdje je jasno, ali valja naglasiti kako čudovište nije isto što i nadnaravno biće. Ovo drugo pripadalo je duhovnoj sferi, također utemeljenoj na crkvenim učenjima, što sve nalazimo u podjeli na angelologiju i demonologiju,<sup>7</sup> no uz velik utjecaj poganskih prežitaka, još uvijek jakih u

*of cattle, and every kind of land reptile. ...It further says: Let them be masters of the fish of the sea, the birds of heaven, the cattle, all the wild beasts and all the reptiles that crawl upon the earth,...*<sup>4</sup> But, on the other hand, not everything was so idyllic and simple - there were also “monsters”. Fear was caused by the lines of the book of Jonah: ... *Yahweh had arranged that a great fish should be there to swallow Jonah (...) Then Yahweh spoke to the fish, which then vomited Jonah on to the shore....*<sup>5</sup> Medieval popular literature also tended to intensify fear. Although it had a limited readership (urban elite and higher landed gentry), it surely served to convey frightening information about such creatures to the populace through it, while the then successful novel *Aleksandrida* (the Alexander Romance) has a whole series of lines relating to monsters.<sup>6</sup> Although evident here, it still should be emphasized that a monster is not the same as a supernatural being. The latter belonged to the spiritual sphere, also based on ecclesiastical teachings, all of which we find in the division into angelology and demonology,<sup>7</sup> but with the great influence of pagan vestig-

<sup>4</sup> *Jeruzalemska Biblija* 1996, str. 14 (Post 1 21,25); str. 1730. (Jak 3 7); *Biblia sacra* 1914, str. 1. (Gen 1 21) - ... *Creavitque Deus Cete grandia ...*; Štefanić 1973, str. 180. - ... *Stvori b(og) b kiti velikie ...*

Naš Marulić dosljedno zastupa to učenje. Vidi: Marulić 1985a, str. 142/506; Marulić 1985b, str. 176/571.

O tome identično govori Albrecht Dürer: ... *in einem Menschen, der da ein besunder Geschöpf Gottes ist, dem ander Creaturen unterworfen sind. ...* Heidrich 1910, str. 48.

<sup>5</sup> *Jeruzalemska Biblija* 1996, str. 1335-1336. (Jon 2 1,11); *Biblia sacra* 1914, str. 875. (Jon 2 1,11) - ... *Et praepravit Dominus piscem grandem ut deglutiret Ionam (...) Et dixit Dominus pisci: et evomuit Ionam in aridam. ...*

<sup>6</sup> Jagić 1871, str. 209, 234-235, 244-245, 250, 263, 286; Štefanić 1969, str. 320.

Posebno je zanimljiv odlomak *Od ribe velike*, u kojemu se navodi kako je „riba“ natjerala Aleksandra na bijeg iz vode, a onda je krenula na suho. Nakon što ju je ubio, tu noć su „žene“ iz vode žalobno pjevale. „Riba“ je čudovište, a „žene“ su sirene. Rukopis je pripadao hrvatskoj plemićkoj obitelji Kolonić, koja je potjecala s podgrmečkog područja Kninske biskupije, a taj kraj je imao jake veze sa Zadrom. Upravo u tom gradu, u jednom inventaru iz 1389. godine, identificirana je *Aleksandrida* pisana hrvatskim jezikom i glagoljicom, a dalji prijenos vrlo uvjerljivo je objasnio Stipčević. Vidi: Jireček 1903, str. 157; Stipčević 2012, str. 49, 53-54, 58.

<sup>7</sup> Fučić 1990, str. 115-117; 540-541.

Vladala je učena rasprava oko toga jesu li čudovišta: prirodna – potprirodna – protuprirodna ili natprirodna bića. Marulić je dopuštao da demoni mogu uzeti obličje čudovišta kako bi iskušali čovjekovu vjeru tjerajući ga u strah. Vidi: Marulić 1985a, str. 306/662. - ... *Apparet (...) aliquando monstrosum et horribilem se estendit, ut exterreat. ...*

Vidi mnogo širu analizu: Grubišić 2003, str. 56-57.

<sup>4</sup> *Jeruzalemska Biblija* 1996, p. 14 (Gen 1 21,25); p. 1730. (James 3 7); *Biblia sacra* 1914, p. 1. (Gen 1 21) - ... *Creavitque Deus Cete grandia ...*; Štefanić 1973, p. 180. - ... *Stvori b(og) b kiti velikie ...*

Marulić consistently advocates this teaching. See: Marulić 1985a, p. 142/506.; Marulić 1985b, p. 176/571.

Albrecht Dürer speaks in the same way about this: ... *in einem Menschen, der da ein besunder Geschöpf Gottes ist, dem ander Creaturen unterworfen sind. ...* Heidrich 1910, p. 48.

<sup>5</sup> *Jeruzalemska Biblija* 1996, p. 1335-1336. (Jon 2 1,11); *Biblia sacra* 1914, p. 875. (Jon 2 1,11) - ... *Et praepravit Dominus piscem grandem ut deglutiret Ionam (...) Et dixit Dominus pisci: et evomuit Ionam in aridam. ...*

<sup>6</sup> Jagić 1871, p. 209, 234-235, 244-245, 250, 263, 286; Štefanić 1969, p. 320.

Particularly interesting is the passage in *Od ribe velike* (*From the Big Fish*), which states that the “fish” forced Alexander to escape from the water, and then set off to dry land. After he killed it, “women” sang mournfully from the water that night. “Fish” is a monster and “women” are mermaids. The manuscript belonged to the Croatian noble family Kolonić, who came from the area at the foot of the Grmeč mountain in the Knin diocese, which had strong ties with Zadar. It was in Zadar, i.e. in an inventory from 1389, that the *Aleksandrida*, which was written in Croatian and Glagolitic, was identified, while its further transmission was very convincingly explained by Stipčević. See: Jireček 1903, p. 157.; Stipčević 2012, p. 49, 53-54, 58.

<sup>7</sup> Fučić 1990, pp. 115-117; 540-541.

There has been a scholarly debate over whether mon-

15. stoljeću, a uz to ojačanih humanističkim revitaliziranjem antike. Upravo takvo renesansno ozračje davalo je prostora da čudovišta postanu dekorativni element u nekakvom raskošnom interijeru ili čak na plovilu.<sup>8</sup> Glede sotone općenito je bio raširen poriv njegova ikonografskog oslikavanja – kao cijele životinje u obliku zmije, zmaja ili lava uz mnoštvo fantastičnih hibrida – ili dodavanja dijelova tijela pojedinih životinja: šišmiševih krila, kozjih papaka i rogova (tu se prepoznavaju satiri iz antike), majmuskog repa, lavljih kandži, žabljih opni i slično. Takva dva demona nalazimo na škrinji sv. Šimuna u Zadru.<sup>9</sup> Sasvim je jasno kako je i maštovitost i sugestivnost prikaza uvišestručena pojavom tiska, ali uvijek valja imati na umu kako stanovništvo raznih europskih krajeva nije bilo jednako pismeno, a ni bogato da može nabaviti knjige, pa je ostalo usmjereno na crkvene portale i slike po zidovima u potpori vizualizacije čudnovatoga / čudovišnoga. No neuništiva sklonost vjerovanju u postojanje čudovišta nalazila je svoje dugotrajno zaklonište i u znanstvenim vodama.<sup>10</sup>

Iz hrvatskog srednjovjekovnog bestijarija izvući ćemo dva primjera koji potkrepljuju navedene retnke, a zgodna je okolnost što su iz najbliže okolice tematske pozornice. Romanički luk (ili oblučnik) pod svodom zvonika katedrale u Splitu privukao je rano pozornost stručnjaka. Za autora tog osebujnog djela smatra se majstor Otto iz prve polovice 13. stoljeća, što je gotovo aklamativno prihvaćeno<sup>11</sup> Figuralni niz sastavljen od nekoliko ljudskih likova, kao i manjeg broja prepoznatljivih životinja, dopunjavanja i reljefni prikaz stvora na lijevom početnom segmentu oblučnika koji je Eitelberger prepoznao kao morskog zmaja, dok su drugi u njemu vidjeli „samo“ krilatog zmaja. Čitava kompozicija proizvela je sukob tumačenjâ koja se svode na lovački prizor ili simbolične scene religiozno-antičke provenijencije.<sup>12</sup> Međutim, ako promotrimo „zmajev“

es, still strong in the 15<sup>th</sup> century, and reinforced by the humanistic revitalization of antiquity. Precisely such a renaissance atmosphere gave space for monsters to become a decorative element in some luxurious interior or even on a boat.<sup>8</sup> Regarding Satan, there was a widespread urge for its iconographic representation - as a whole animal in form of a snake, dragon or lion with many fantastical hybrids - or with added body parts of other animals: bat wings, goat's hooves and horns (satyrs from antiquity are recognisable here), a monkey tail, lion claws, frog membranes and the like. Examples of such two demons are visible on the Chest of Saint Simeon in Zadar.<sup>9</sup> It is quite clear that both the imagination and the suggestiveness of the depiction were multiplied by the appearance of the press. However, one should always bear in mind that the population in the different regions of Europe was not equally literate and rich enough to obtain books, so the focus remained on church portals and paintings on the walls in support of the visualization of the peculiar / monstrous. But the indestructible penchant to believe in the existence of monsters also found its long-term refuge in the scientific world.<sup>10</sup>

Within the scope of the Croatian medieval bestiary, we will show two examples that support the above-said, and, conveniently, they derive both from the immediate vicinity of the theme. The Romanesque architectural arch under the vault of the bell tower of the cathedral in Split attracted the attention of experts very early. Master Otto from the first half of the 13<sup>th</sup> century is considered to be the author of this distinctive work, which was widely met by acclamation.<sup>11</sup> The figural series of several

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sters are: natural - subnatural - unnatural or supernatural creatures. Marulić allowed demons to take the form of a monster to test a man's faith by driving him into fear. See: Marulić 1985a, p. 306/662. - ... *Apparet (...) aliquando monstrosum et horribilem se extendit, ut exterreat...*

For a broader analysis, see: Grubišić 2003, pp. 56-57.

<sup>8</sup> Sanudo 1899, p. 355. - ... *adornato di tapezarie et con do mostri marini ...*

<sup>9</sup> Petricioli 1983, p. 19, 21, fig. 4, fig. 24, fig. 25, fig. 39, fig. 40.

<sup>10</sup> This will be discussed in more detail in the second section of the paper. See: Roling 2010, pp. 43-44, 56-71.; Hendriks 2018, p. 127, 132.

An interesting stance had the learned Olivetan Lancelotti (1583-1643), who claimed that there are no deviations in the number of miracles and monsters over time. See: Lancelotti 1623, p. 514.

<sup>11</sup> Jelić 1895, pp. 72-73; Kečkemet 1955, p. 113; Karaman 1959, p. .; Čapeta Rakić 2015, p. 21.

<sup>8</sup> Sanudo 1899, str. 355 - ... *adornato di tapezarie et con do mostri marini ...*

<sup>9</sup> Petricioli 1983, str. 19, 21, sl. 4, sl. 24, sl. 25, sl. 39, sl. 40.

<sup>10</sup> Ovo će biti opširnije obrađeno u drugom odlomku rada. Vidi: Roling 2010, str. 43-44, 56-71; Hendriks 2018, str. 127, 132.

Zanimljiv stav imao je učeni olivetanac Lancelotti (1583. - 1643.) koji tvrdi kako u broju čuda i čudovišta kroz vrijeme nema odstupanja. Vidi: Lancelotti 1623, str. 514.

<sup>11</sup> Jelić 1895, str. 72-73; Kečkemet 1955, str. 113; Karaman 1959, str. 6; Čapeta Rakić 2015, str. 21.

<sup>12</sup> Eitelberger von Edelberg 1884, str. 272; Jelić 1895, str.

lik maštovito „obogaćen“ zmijom i krilima, ipak su nam preostali dijelovi tijela dovoljni da dočaramo sredozemnu medvjedicu koja plazi obalom na prednjim udovima. Od drugih fantastičnih bića spomenut ćemo sirene koje su bile ukomponirane na nekoliko mjesta po zvoniku.<sup>13</sup>

Slavni majstor Radovan i njegovi učenici poslije 1240. godine ostavili su nam likove morskog bika, morskih zmija, sirene i morskog konja u Trogiru.<sup>14</sup> No, u pogledu njihovog značenja struka je podijeljena, pa tako jedni zastupaju tezu o vrsnom realističnom prikazu povijesti, života i prirode, a drugi drže kako se radi o simbolizmu nadahnutom i ispunjenom djelu.<sup>15</sup> Međutim, Radovan ili neki njegov pomoćnik, u kompoziciji protumačen kao „zavodnica sirena bere grozd“ (sl. 1) nevjerojatno precizno dočarava mnogo kasnije zabilježenu priču o sredozemnoj medvjedici koja običava izlaziti na obalu i jesti grožđe u vinogradu. Je li Radovan, koji je isklesao vjerne likove mnogih životinja, znao kako u stvarnosti izgleda ovaj morski sisavac? Ili nije znao, ili nije htio izaći iz bestijarijskog kataloga, ali je „znao“ da je sklon ovim plodovima!

Jedan Zadrani (iz obitelji Matafar?, Cigalis?, Zadulinis?), anonimni, ali iznimno vrijedan kao pisac *Opsade Zadra*, bio je upoznat sa svim događanjima tijekom ove vojno-pomorske operacije mletačkih ekspedicijskih snaga protiv Zadrana i njihovih saveznika (1345. - 1346.) te uključen u njih.<sup>16</sup> Međutim, opis pojave nekog fantastičnog bića, prepoznatog kao „žena“, iz 1346. godine, dobio je posredno, od očevidaca jednog okršaja pa je time bio podložan njihovoj imaginaciji. Anonim, dakle, navodi kako je : ... *Et quamdiu sic mutuo partes certantes, visa est quedam mulier, armata vsque ad femora, in mari sita et in potentia duorum lacertorum rem gubernatoris violenter eripuisse. Deinde remigatores videntes spiritu deficere videbantur. Siquis melius poterat, in magna pressura in mare*



Sl. 1. Radovanov prikaz sirene koja drži grozd, s portala trogirске katedrale (oko 1240.), (preuzeto iz: Fisković 1989, str. 95)

Fig. 1 Radovan's depiction of a mermaid holding a bunch of grapes, from the portal of the Cathedral in Trogir (around 1240), (taken from: Fisković 1989, p. 95)

human figures and a small number of recognizable animals is complemented by the relief depiction of a creature on the left initial segment of the architectural arch, which Eitelberger recognized as a sea dragon, while others saw “only” a winged dragon. The whole composition produced a conflict of interpretations, reducing it to a hunting scene or symbolic scenes of religious-ancient provenance.<sup>12</sup> However, if we examine the figure of the “dragon” that is imaginatively “enriched” by a snake and wings, the remaining parts of the body are still sufficient to evoke the image of a Mediterranean monk seal crawling along the shore on its front limbs. Among the other fantastical creatures that are worth mentioning are also the mermaids which were incorporated in several places on the bell tower.<sup>13</sup>

After 1240, the famous master Radovan and his students left us figures of a sea bull, sea snakes, a mermaid and a seahorse in Trogir.<sup>14</sup> However, in

64; Kečkemet 1955, str. 110-111; Čapeta Rakić 2015, str. 21-23.

<sup>13</sup> Jelić 1895, str. 84-85.

<sup>14</sup> Fisković 1989, str. 17, 21, sl. 53, sl. 70, sl. 72, sl. 95, sl. 99.

<sup>15</sup> Kusić 1994, str. 118; Kapitanović 1994, str. 125; Belamarić 1994, str. 142, 146; Jurković 1994, str. 166, 168.

<sup>16</sup> Djelo nema strukturu vremenski neposrednog dnevnika, a uz to u tekstu nema pobliže istaknutu osobu autora, nego je bliže memoarima jer se nastanak datira u vrijeme poslije borbi, ali prije 1348. godine.

Kurelac, Karbić 2007, str. 15-18.

<sup>12</sup> Eitelberger von Edelberg 1884, p. 272; Jelić 1895, p. 64; Kečkemet 1955, pp. 110-111. Čapeta Rakić 2015, pp. 21-23.

<sup>13</sup> Jelić 1895, pp. 84-85.

<sup>14</sup> Fisković 1989, p. 17, 21, fig. 53, fig. 70, fig. 72, fig. 95, fig. 99.

*saliebat*. ...<sup>17</sup> Ovaj agresivni stvor ženska je verzija ratnika, kakvog u muškom izdanju nalazimo u jednoj flamanskoj minijaturi (sl. 2<sup>18</sup>), pa bismo stoga trebali „krivnju“ za završni opis ipak pripisati autoru *Opsade*, odnosno njegovoj načitanosti.

U europskim razmjerima jačala je težnja da se dotada usustavljeni prikazi čudovišnih bića prenesu na novi medij – tisak, jer je zanimanje bilo vrlo jako. Tako ovdje navodimo djelo Jacoba Meydenbacha, *Ortus sanitatis*, objavljeno 1491. godine. Iz njega ističemo sljedeća bića: ... *monachus* + *syrena* (jednorepa),<sup>19</sup> *equus marinus*, *vacca*,<sup>20</sup> *monachus marinus*,<sup>21</sup> *orcha*<sup>22</sup> i *syrena* (dvorepa).<sup>23</sup> Posebno mjesto dobilo je i morsko čudovište naoružano u skladu s vremenom – nosilo je ime *zitiron*.<sup>24</sup> Osim u priručnicima, čudovišta su našla mjesto i u kartografskim djelima i na globusima, gdje su zbog izvjesnosti susreta izazivala osjećaj jeze kod neupućenih korisnika – putnika, više po moru nego po kopnu.<sup>25</sup> Tako nekoliko godina prije Meydenbacha, njemački hodočasnik Felix Fabri<sup>26</sup> na povratku s



Sl. 2 Mitološko biće zvano *zitiron* prikazano kao naoružani ratnik. (prema: Maerlant oko 1350, 111r.)

Fig. 2 A mythological creature called *zitiron* depicted as an armed warrior. (According to: Maerlant around 1350, 111r.)

<sup>17</sup> Glavičić, Vratović 2007, str. 200-201. - ... *I dok su se tako obje strane međusobno borile, prikaza se u moru neka žena oboružana do bedara, koja snagom dviju ruku silovito istrigne kormilarevo veslo. Tada se vidjelo kako veslačima, kad su to opazili, ponestaje daha. Kako je tko bolje mogao, u velikoj je žurbi skakao u more. ...*

U rukopisu kojim je prepisivač Fumatis spasio anonimov tekst stoji izraz *lacertus*, no možda je krivo shvatio ili rekonstruirao izvorno *lacerta* (gušter) i susjedni kontekst. Vidi: Miroslav Kurelac, Damir Karbić, Uvod, u: B. Glavičić, V. Vratović (prir.), *Opsada Zadra / Obsidio Iadrensis*, Zagreb 2007, str. 19-20.

Na ovome mjestu srdačno zahvaljujem Zoranu Ladiću na informaciji o ovoj epizodi iz *Opsade*.

<sup>18</sup> Flamanski pjesnik Jacob van Maerlant (1200. - 1272.) napisao je i iluminirao oko 1270. rukopis *Der naturen bloeme* (Cvijet prirode), a kasnije je prepisan u nekoliko izdanja. Vidi: Maerlant oko 1350, str. 111r; Tuczay 2015, str. 28.

Nastanak priče locira se u franački prostor. Vidi: Roling 2010, str. 57-58.

<sup>19</sup> Meydenbach 1491, str. 334v.

<sup>20</sup> Meydenbach 1491, str. 344r.

<sup>21</sup> Meydenbach 1491, str. 352v.

<sup>22</sup> Meydenbach 1491, str. 353r.

<sup>23</sup> Meydenbach 1491, str. 358r.

<sup>24</sup> Meydenbach 1491, str. 363v.

<sup>25</sup> Duzer 2013, str. 71-75, 81-82.

<sup>26</sup> Felix Fabri (ili Schmid) (1441./43. - 1502.) potječe iz plemićke obitelji iz Züricha. Nakon školovanja u Baselu zaredio se za dominikanca te otišao u Ulm, gdje je bio predavač. U Svetu Zemlju je hodočastio dva puta, 1480. i 1483. godine. Na temelju bogatog iskustva, što je sam naveo, napisao je djelo koje se smatra najboljim putopi-

terms of their meaning, there is a division among experts, as some of them advocate the thesis that is an excellent realistic depiction of history, life and nature, while others hold that it is a work inspired and filled with symbolism.<sup>15</sup> However, Radovan or one of his assistants, in the composition interpreted as the “seductive mermaid picking a grape” (fig. 1), incredibly accurately depicts the much later recorded story of a Mediterranean monk seal that tends to come ashore and eat grapes in the vineyard. Did Radovan, who carved the faithful figures of many animals, know what this marine mammal really looked like? Either he didn’t know, or he didn’t want to move away from the bestiary catalogue, but he “knew” that it was prone to these fruits!

A man from Zadar (belonging to the family of Matafar ?, Cigalis ?, Zadulinis?), who was anonymous but extremely valuable as a writer of the *Opsade Zadra* (*The Siege of Zadar*), was involved and familiar with all the events during this naval military operation of the Venetian expeditionary forces against Zadar and their allies (1345-1346).<sup>16</sup>

<sup>15</sup> Kusić 1994, p. 118; Kapitanović 1994, p. 125; Belamarić 1994, p. 142, 146; Jurković 1994, p. 166, 168.

<sup>16</sup> The work does not have the structure of a diary written directly at that time, and in addition the text does not have a more prominent person as the author, but is rather a memoir because its creation dates back to the time after the battles, but before 1348.

Kurelac, Karbić 2007, pp. 15-18.

hodočašća početkom 1484. godine bilježi kako na obali otočića Sv. Nikola, ispred Poreča (sl.3), ... *vidimus, supra rupem, quae de mari prominebat, stare quoddam monstrum, cujus forma haec erat: longitudo ejus forte quatuor hominum, non multum grossum aut corpulentum respectu tantae longitudinis, sed erat quasi truncas altus nigri coloris, et movebatur sine progressu, quasi fortiter tremens. Quod cum attonitus unusquisque tacitus aspiceret, antequam unus alteri loqueretur, lapsus impetuosum recepit in mare et nusquam comparuit; quid autem hoc fuerit, nec barcarii nec alli poterant nobis dicere, sed affirmabant, se prius tale quid numquam vidisse ...*<sup>27</sup> Jasno je kako je učeni dominikanac iz Ulma bio neupućen u faunu Jadranskog mora, jer je to bila odlika i većine njegovih sunarodnjaka, ali je vrlo intrigantno da životinju nisu poznavali ni domaći ljudi, uz to zanimanjem navezani na more. Gotovo u isto vrijeme šibenski pjesnik Juraj Šižgorić<sup>28</sup> spominje 1487. godine čudovišta ispred Šibenika, ... *Ostenduntur interdum et mira piscium monstra prius numquam visa ...*<sup>29</sup>. A onda, stotinjak i više godina poslije njega, hvarski vlastelin Marin Gazarović,<sup>30</sup> diveći se darovima prirode i posebice mora kojima je obilovao Vis, obrazlaže ... *Zatoy nemani u gnjemu bilaye toliko moguchia Kraglieuina ... Malo zatim piše ... Ni ska-*

som srednjega vijeka, tj. rane renesanse. Vidi: Röhricht, Meisner 1880, str. 500-501; Krasić 2001, str. 147-148.

<sup>27</sup> Hassler 1849, str. 381; Krasić 2001, str. 204. - ... *na kamenu koji je stršio iz mora ugledasmo kako stoji neko čudovište. Ovako je izgledalo: dužina mu je možda iznosila četiri ljudske dužine. Ne bijaše naročito debelo i veliko u odnosu na toliku dužinu, nego izgledaše kao visoko deblo crne boje. Kretalo se bez pomicanja kao da se jako tresse. Ono, kada ga svaki od nas zabezegnuto pogleda, prije nego jedan s drugim progovorismo, naglo skoči u more ne izronivši više. O čemu se radilo, ne znadoše nam reći ni lađari niti bilo tko drugi, nego govorahu da takvo nešto nikad prije nisu vidjeli. ...*

Sliku koju prilažemo izradio je Erhard Reuwich za Bernharda von Breidenbacha, koji je putavao zajedno s Felixem Fabrijem duž jadranske obale 1483. i 1484. godine. Vidi: Kužić 2013, 36-37, 55, 62; *Veliki atlas* 2002, str. 81.

<sup>28</sup> Juraj Šižgorić (~1445. - 1509.), šibenski plemić, doktor crkvenoga i svjetovnog prava, kanonik, pjesnik i nadasve humanist u punom profilu interesa i tema koje mu je nametala stvarnost vremena u kojem je živio. Šupuk 1981, str. 103-104, 113; Franičević 1983, str. 283-286.

<sup>29</sup> Šižgorić 1981, str. 44-45. - ... *Ponekad se tu pokažu i neobična morska čudovišta, nikad prije videna. ...*

<sup>30</sup> Dukić 1998, str. 623-624.

However, he received the description of the appearance of a fantastical creature, recognized as a “woman”, in 1346, indirectly from eyewitnesses of the encounter, so he was subject to their imagination. The anonymous therefore stated that: : ... *Et quamdiu sic mutuo partes certantes, visa est quedam mulier, armata vsque ad femora, in mari sita et in potentia duorum lacertorum remum gubernatoris violenter eripuisse. Deinde remigatores videntes spiritu deficere videbantur. Siquis melius poterat, in magna pressura in mare saliebat. ...*<sup>17</sup> This aggressive creature is a female version of a warrior, which we, in the male version, encounter in a Flemish miniature (fig. 2)<sup>18</sup>, and therefore we should nonetheless “blame” the author of the *Siege* for the final description, i.e. his erudition.

On a European scale, the desire to transfer the until then systematized depictions of monstrous creatures to the new medium - the press - was growing due to the very strong interest. In this regard, we cite the work *Ortus sanitatis* by Jacob Meydenbach here that was published in 1491, emphasizing thereby the following beings described in it: ... *monachus + syrena (one tail)*,<sup>19</sup> *equus marinus, vacca*,<sup>20</sup> *monachus marinus*,<sup>21</sup> *orcha*<sup>22</sup> and *syrena* (two tails).<sup>23</sup> A special place was given to the sea

<sup>17</sup> Glavičić, Vratović 2007, pp. 200-201. - ... *And while both sides were fighting with each other, a woman armed to the thigh appeared in the sea, who violently pulled out the helmsman's oar with the strength of both hands. Then it was seen that the rowers, when they noticed this, were running out of breath. As best as they could, they jumped into the sea in a great hurry. ...*

The manuscript, by which the scribe Fumatis saved the anonymous text, contains the term *lacertus*, but he may have misunderstood or wrongly reconstructed the original *lacerta* (lizard) and the adjacent context. See: Miroslov Kurelac, Damir Karbić, Introduction, in: Branimir Glavičić, Vladimir Vratović (ed.), *Opsada Zadra / Obsidio Iadrensis*, Zagreb 2007, pp. 19-20.

Here, I would like to cordially thank Zoran Ladić for the information about this episode from *Opsada*.

<sup>18</sup> The Flemish poet Jacob van Maerlant (1200-1272) wrote and illuminated around 1270 the manuscript *Der naturen bloeme* (Flower of Nature), which was later transcribed in several editions. See: Maerlant around 1350, p. 111r; Tuczay 2015, p. 28.

The origin of the story is located in the Frankish region. See: Roling 2010, pp. 57-58.

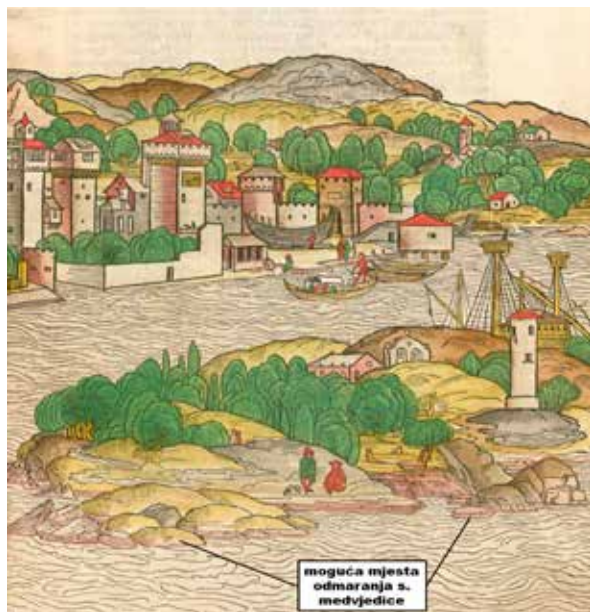
<sup>19</sup> Meydenbach 1491, p. 334v.

<sup>20</sup> Meydenbach 1491, p. 344r.

<sup>21</sup> Meydenbach 1491, p. 352v.

<sup>22</sup> Meydenbach 1491, p. 353r.

<sup>23</sup> Meydenbach 1491, p. 358r.



Sl. 3. Desni dio akvareliranog crteža Poreča s otočićem Sv. Nikolom u prednjem planu, prema Erhardu Reuwichu (iz putopisa Bernharda von Breidenbacha napisanog na temelju putovanja iz 1483./84.), (preuzeto iz: Breidenbach 1486, str. bez paginacije) *Fig. 3 The right part of the watercolor drawing of Poreč with the islet of St. Nicholas in the foreground, according to Erhard Reuwich (from Bernhard von Breidenbach's travelogue written on the basis of a journey from 1483/84), (taken from: Breidenbach 1486, p. without pagination)*

*zan morska niedna na sfti ...*<sup>31</sup> Ni od njih dvojice se ne bi očekivala atribucija neke morske životinje u skupinu čudovišta, ponajprije jer su bili dobro upoznati sa životinjskim svijetom i krajem koji je tema ili oslonac njihovih djela. No Gazarović je izgleda bio previše jako vezan na djelo *Il Corsaro Arimante*, odnosno vokabular i strukturu autora L. Aleardija.<sup>32</sup> Naposljetku, barem u dva od tri ova slučaja neizbježno se postavlja pitanje: što su pisci vidjeli?

#### Kaštelanski slučaj

**Pero (Pedro) Tafur** (1410. - 1487.), kastilski plemić (*hidalgo*) iz primorskog mjesta San Lúcar de Barrameda kod Córdoba poduzeo je od 1435. do

<sup>31</sup> Gazarović je u djelo uklopio cijeli niz riba i mekušaca: srdela, skuša, kunjka, ogrc, salpa, hobotnica, trlja, morski pauk, murina, morski pas, škarpina, ... Gazarović 1974, str. 52, 70-71.

<sup>32</sup> Gazarović je preveo i adaptirao djelo Lodovica Aleardija u pogledu imena likova i toponima, ali i mitoloških bića. Primjerice, u predgovoru piše *Tritoni, e Ninfe*. Vidi: Aleardi 1610, str. 7, 9; Franičević 1983, str. 700.

monster armed in accordance with the time, called *zitiron*.<sup>24</sup> In addition to being included in compendia, monsters also found their place in cartographic works and on globes, where, due to the certainty of an encounter, they caused a feeling of horror among uninformed users - travellers, more by sea than by land.<sup>25</sup> Thus, a few years before Meydenbach, the German pilgrim Felix Fabri,<sup>26</sup> returning from a pilgrimage in early 1484, recorded that on the shores of the island of Saint Nicholas in front of Poreč (fig. 3), ...*vidimus, supra rupem, quae de mari prominebat, stare quoddam monstrum, cujus forma haec erat: longitudo ejus forte quatuor hominum, non multum grossum aut corpulentum respectu tantae longitudinis, sed erat quasi truncas altus nigri coloris, et movebatur sine progressu, quasi fortiter tremens. Quod cum attonitus unusquisque tacitus aspiceret, antequam unus alteri loqueretur, lapsus impetuosum recepit in mare et nusquam comparuit; quid autem hoc fuerit, nec barcarii nec alli poterant nobis dicere, sed affirmabant, se prius tale quid numquam vidisse ...*<sup>27</sup> It is clear that the learned Dominican from Ulm was not informed about the fauna of the Adriatic Sea, as it was the case with most of his compatriots, but it is very intriguing that the animal was not even known by the local people, who were connected to the sea by their work. Almost at the same time, the poet Ju-

<sup>24</sup> Meydenbach 1491, p. 358r.

<sup>25</sup> Duzer 2013, pp. 71-75, 81-82.

<sup>26</sup> Felix Fabri (or Schmid) (1441/43-1502) derived from a noble family from Zürich. After his education in Basel, he was ordained as a Dominican and went to Ulm, where he was a lecturer. He made two pilgrimages to the Holy Land in 1480 and 1483. Based on his rich experience, which he himself stated, he wrote a work that is considered to be the best travelogue of the Middle Ages, i.e. the early Renaissance. See: Röhrich, Meisner 1880, pp. 500-501; Krasić 2001, pp. 147-148.

<sup>27</sup> Hassler 1849, p. 381; Krasić 2001, p. 204. - ... *on a rock jutting out of the sea we saw a monster standing. This is what it looked like: its length may have been four human lengths. It was not particularly thick and large in relation to such a length, but looked like a tall black trunk. It moved without moving as if it were shaking violently. When each of us looked at it in bewilderment and silence, before we spoke to each other, it jumped abruptly into the sea without emerging again. Neither the boatmen nor anyone else could tell us what it was, but said that they had never seen anything like it before. ...*

The depiction we enclose was made by Erhard Reuwich for Bernhard von Breidenbach, who traveled with Felix Fabri along the Adriatic coast in 1483 and 1484. See: Kužić 2013, pp. 36-37, 55, 62; *Veliki atlas* 2002, p. 81.



1439. godine četiri velika putovanja,<sup>33</sup> od kojih je ono drugo za nas posebno zanimljivo jer je tijekom toga, krenuvši iz Venecije, proplovio Jadransko more na putu za Svetu Zemlju, a tako je učinio i na povratku. U osobno sastavljenom putopisu zapisao je kako je početkom svibnja 1438. godine:

... é fuemos costeando por la Esclavonia por entre muchas ysclas, dellas pobladas é dellas non, que paresçe al Alçapiélago, aunque en grandeça nin en pueblo non son tales, é fuemos á una villa que llaman Espalato, que es en la mesma Esclavonia, é allí nasció Sant Gerónimo é Sant Xpoval, é en un braço de mar, que pasa de una aldea á la villa de Espalato, dizen que Sant Xpoval pasava á la gente pobre que non tenía con que pagar la barca, é áun agora ay memoria de la casa del uno é del otro. En este golfo, que entra en la tierra, acaesçió muchas veçes que, estando las mugeres curando de sus lienços, alguna vez fallavan ménos alguna dellas, sin jamás saber raçon della; é fué así que un dia, estando las mugeres en el agua como solían, un **mostruo** medio pescado de la çinta ayuso é de allí arriba forma humana con alas como morciélago – é esta figura en Castilla fué trayda é por todo el mundo, – arremetió á una muger é travó della, é metiôla al fondo del agua, é dió voçes, é fué acorrída de las otras luégo é de muchos onbres que cerca de allí estavan, é fueron é falláronla como el **mostruo** la tirava dentro é nin por su venida dellos la quería soltar, é allí lo ferieron é sacaron en tierra bivo, é estuvo tres oras é más que non murió; é de allí se cree que las mugeres que de ante fallaçían, aquel las oviese fecho ménos; é abriéronlo é saláronlo é embiaron á la Señoría de Veneja, para que lo embiase al papa Eugenio<sup>34</sup>. Esto yo non lo vi, pero dicho me fué é que avía poco que avía acaesçido. ...<sup>35</sup>

<sup>33</sup> Molina Molina 2011, str. 644.

<sup>34</sup> Papa Eugen IV. (1431. - 1447.) bio je rodом Mlečanin, po imenu Gabrielle Condulmer. Vidi: Fichtinger 1995, str. 118-119.

<sup>35</sup> Tafur 1874, str. 192-195. - ... *I ploveći obalom Slavonije među mnogim otocima, nekima naseljenim, nekima ne, koji su poput Arhipelaga, iako po veličini i naseljenosti nisu takvi, otišli smo u grad zvan Split, koji je u istoj Slavoniji. Tamo su rođeni sveti Jeronim i sveti Kristofor, u jednom morskom rukavu, koji prolazi pored seoceta u grad Split, kažu da je sveti Kristofor prijeko prenosio siromahe koji nisu imali čime platiti brod. I još uvijek pamte kuće jednog i drugoga. U ovom zaljevu, koji ulazi u kopno, događalo se mnogo puta da su žene, kada su prale svoja platna, nestajale, a da nitko nikad nije doznao razlog za to. I kada je jednoga dana, kad su žene*

raj Šižgorić<sup>28</sup> from Šibenik mentioned monsters in front of Šibenik in 1487, ... *Ostenduntur interdum et mira piscium monstra prius numquam visa ...*<sup>29</sup>. And then, a hundred and more years later, Marin Gazarović<sup>30</sup>, a squire from Hvar, admiring the gifts of nature and especially the sea, which abounds in Vis, explains ... *Zatoy nemani u gnjemu bilaye toliko moguchia Kraglieuina ...* A little later he writes ... *Ni skazan morska niedna na sfti ...*<sup>31</sup> Neither of them would be expected to attribute a sea animal to a group of monsters, primarily because they were well acquainted with the animal world and the region which is the theme or the base of their works. However, Gazarović seemed to be too strongly attached to the work *Il Corsaro Arimante* or to the vocabulary and structure of the author L. Aleardi respectively.<sup>32</sup> Finally, in at least two of these three cases, the question inevitably arises: what did the writers see?

#### The case of Kaštela

**Pero (Pedro) Tafur** (1410-1487), a Castilian nobleman (hidalgo) from the coastal town of San Lúcar de Barrameda near Córdoba, undertook four great voyages from 1435 to 1439,<sup>33</sup> the second of which is particularly interesting to us because during this journey, which started in Venice, he sailed the Adriatic Sea on his way to the Holy Land, and did so on his return. In a personally compiled travelogue, he wrote that in early May 1438:

... é fuemos costeando por la Esclavonia por entre muchas ysclas, dellas pobladas é dellas non, que

<sup>28</sup> Juraj Šižgorić (1445-1509), a nobleman from Šibenik, doctor of ecclesiastical and secular law, canon, poet and above all a humanist in the full sense of the word in terms of interests and topics imposed on him by the reality of the time in which he lived.

Šupuk 1981, pp. 103-104, 113; Franičević 1983, pp. 283-286.

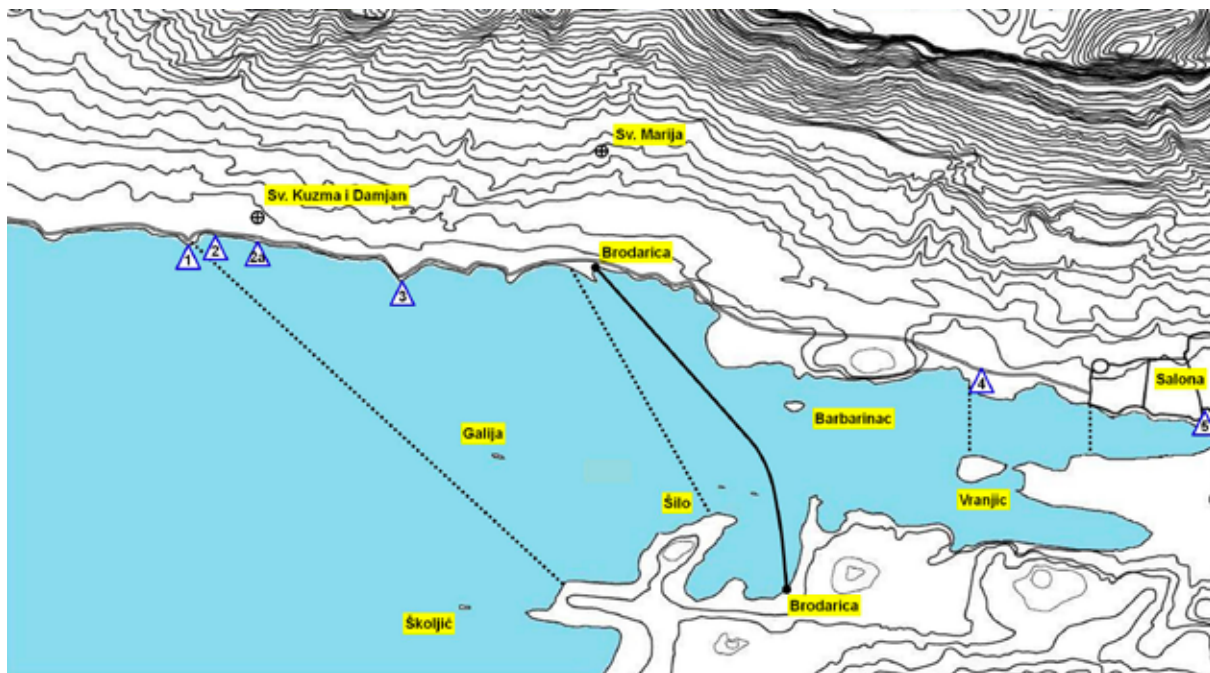
<sup>29</sup> Šižgorić 1981, pp. 44-45. - ... *Sometimes strange sea monsters appear here, which were never seen before....*

<sup>30</sup> Dukić 1998, pp. 623-624.

<sup>31</sup> Gazarović incorporated a whole range of fish and molluscs into his work: sardines, mackerel, Arca Noae, periwinkle, salema porgy, octopus, striped red mullet, sea spider, muraena, shark, red scorpionfish, ... Gazarović 1974, p. 52, 70-71.

<sup>32</sup> Gazarović translated and adapted the work of Lodovico Aleardi regarding the names of characters and toponyms, but also mythological creatures. For example, in the preface it says *Tritoni, e Ninfe*. See: Aleardi 1610, p. 7, 9; Franičević 1983, p. 700.

<sup>33</sup> Molina Molina 2011, p. 644.



Sl. 4. Zemljovid istočnog dijela Kaštelanskog zaljeva s označenim ušćima potokâ i rijeke Jadro ( $\Delta$ 1-5), hridima i otočićem Barbarincem te položajima dviju Brodarica

Fig. 4 Map of the eastern part of the Kaštela Bay with marked estuaries of the streams and the river Jadro ( $\Delta$ 1-5), cliffs and the islet of Barbarinac and the positions of the two locations named Brodarica.

U Tafurovu tekstu nalazimo nekoliko indikativnih podataka koji nam pomažu da uz velik stupanj vjerojatnosti odredimo lokaciju na kojoj se incident dogodio. Kao prvo, španjolski hodočasnik govori o morskom rukavu, dakle, o užem akvatoriju uvučenom dublje u kopno, što je značajka krajnjeg istočnog dijela Kaštelanskog zaljeva.<sup>36</sup> Taj morski prostor smješten je između sjeverne i južne obalne crte koje su omeđene točkama – na sjeveru: ušće potoka Lisičine –  $\Delta$ 1 (Kaštel Gomilica) do nekadašnjega

*bile u vodi kao obično, čudovište u obliku poluribe od pojasa nadolje, a odatle nagore ljudskog oblika s krilima poput šišmiša – taj lik su nosili po Kastiliji, i po cijelom svijetu – skočilo je na jednu ženu, ščepalo je i odnijelo na dno mora. Ona je povikala, a druge žene, kao i mnogi muškarci koji su bili tamo blizu, čuvši njeno zapomagajanje, otrčali su na mjesto gdje se čudovište borilo s njom, ali ono je nije htjelo pustiti, čak ni kada su ga oni napali. Ljudi su ranili zvijer i odvukli je na obalu, i trebalo je tri sata i više dok crkne. Odatle se vjeruje da su žene koje su nestale prije toga, bile odvučene od tog čudovišta. I otvorili su ga, poslali i poslali mletačkom gospodstvu, tako da ga mogu poslati papi Eugenu. Ja ga nisam vidio, ali rekli su mi za nj, a to je bilo kratko vrijeme nakon što se ovo dogodilo. ...*

<sup>36</sup> Kaštelanski zaljev je najveći zaljev u srednjoj Dalmaciji. Duljina po pravcu zapad-istok iznosi 14,8 km, a po pravcu sjever-jug širok je 6,6 km. Najveća dubina mu je 56 m. Vidi: Rogić 1976, str. 533; Veliki atlas 2002, str. 155.

*pareçe al Alçapiélago, aunque en grandeça nin en pueblo non son tales, é fuemos á una villa que llaman Espalato, que es en la mesma Esclavonia, é allí nasció Sant Gerónimo é Sant Xpoval, é en un braço de mar, que pasa de una aldea á la villa de Espalato, dizen que Sant Xpoval pasava á la gente pobre que non tenía con que pagar la barca, é áun agora ay memoria de la casa del uno é del otro. En este golfo, que entra en la tierra, acaesçió muchas veçes que, estando las mugeres curando de sus lienços, alguna vez fallavan ménos alguna dellas, sin jamás saber raçon della; é fué así que un dia, estando las mugeres en el agua como solian, un **mostruo** medio pescado de la çinta ayuso é de allí arriba forma humana con alas como morciélago – é esta figura en Castilla fué trayda é por todo el mundo, – arremetió á una muger é travó della, é metiôla al fondo del agua, é dió voçes, é fué acorrida de las otras luégo é de muchos onbres que cerca de allí estavan, é fueron é falláronla como el **mostruo** la tirava dentro é nin por su venida dellos la quería soltar, é allí lo ferieron é sacaron en tierra bivo, é estuvo tres oras é más que non murió; é de allí se cree que las mugeres que de ante fallaçian, aquel las oviese fecho ménos; é abriéronlo é saláronlo é embiaron á la Señoría de Veneja, para que lo embiase al papa*

srednjovjekovnog kamenog mosta (starog ušća rijeke Jadro - Δ5) u Solinu<sup>37</sup> (dužina po pravcu oko 7.930 m), i na jugu: od tog mosta, odnosno ušća, do poluotoka i rta Šilo prema zapadu (dužina oko 5.450 m).<sup>38</sup> Širina na zapadnoj strani od Gomilice do rta Šilo iznosi oko 3.720 m, odnosno od Sućurca oko 2.430 m. Još su manje udaljenosti između ušća potoka Plandišće - Δ4 i Vranjica (oko 580 m), a odatle se postupno suzuju na oko 450 m između točaka obale kod salonitanskog amfiteatra do Vranjica i dalje do riječnog ušća. (sl. 4<sup>39</sup>).

Kao drugo, spomenuto je prevoženje ljudi preko tog rukava, a ta djelatnost, iako je zabilježena već u 14. stoljeću – 1341., 1342. i 1343. te 1371. godine<sup>40</sup>, morala je imati mnogo starije postanje. O tome posredno svjedoče dva toponima Brodarica, jedan sa splitske,<sup>41</sup> a drugi s kaštelanske strane zaljeva (oba su nazivana i Barkanj, odnosno *barchaneum* ili *Barcagno* u ispravama na latinskom i talijanskom jeziku).<sup>42</sup> Splitska Brodarica nalazi(la) se sjevernije od Glavičina uz uvalu Supaval, a kaštelanska u uvali Gojača, istočno od stare jezgre Kaštel Sućurca (sl. 4). Udaljenost ovih točaka iznosi oko 2.800 m, a splitske Brodarice prema istočnije smještenoj sućuračkoj uvali Solinama – oko 2.350 m. Spomenimo samo kako je Marko Marulić imao posjede na području obiju Brodarica.<sup>43</sup> Sveti Kristofor se vrlo dobro uklapa u ovu priču, jer je bio nebeski zaštitnik putnika, brodarica i mornara od nevremena, ali, što je vrlo znakovito, i zaštitnik od čudovišta i demona.<sup>44</sup> U Splitu je na protironu Peristila Dioklecijanove palače od početka 13. stoljeća postojala njegova slika na otvorenom koja se mogla vidjeti sljedećih tristo godina, a možda i duže.<sup>45</sup>

Treći podatak iz Tafurova teksta govori nam kako su žene prale odjeću i druga platna u vodi, ali nije jasno jesu li to radile u nekom vodotoku, pri ušću ili izravno u moru. Glede hidrografije istočnog dijela Kaštela i susjednog Solina, potoci u Kaštel Gomilici od zapada prema istoku su sljedeći: potok

*Eugenio*<sup>34</sup>. *Esto yo non lo vi, pero dicho me fué é que avía poco que avía acaesçido. ...*<sup>35</sup>

In Tafur's text, we find several indicative data that help us to determine with a high degree of probability the location where the incident occurred. First of all, the Spanish pilgrim talks about a sea arm, i.e. a narrow area of the sea that is tucked deeper into the mainland, which is a feature of the furthest eastern part of the Kaštela Bay.<sup>36</sup> This part of the sea is located between the northern and southern coastlines that are bounded by these points - in the north: the estuary of the stream Lisičine - Δ1 (Kaštel Gomilica) to the former medieval stone bridge (old estuary of the river Jadro - Δ5) in Solin<sup>37</sup> (length along this line is about 7,930 m), and in the south: from said bridge or the estuary respectively to the peninsula

<sup>34</sup> Pope Eugene IV (1431-1447) was a Venetian by birth, named Gabrielle Condulmer. See: Fichtinger 1995, pp. 118-119.

<sup>35</sup> Tafur 1874, pp. 192-195. - ... *So, coasting along Dalmatia, and passing many islands, some inhabited and some uninhabited, like the Archipelago, although in size and population they are not so notable, we came to a town called Spalato, which is also in Dalmatia. St. Jerome and St. Christopher were born in this town, and there is an arm of the sea which passes by a hamlet, where they say St. Christopher carried the poor people across who could not pay for a boat, and even to-day there is some remembrance of the houses of both those saints. In the gulf, which strikes inland here, it happened on several occasions that women who were washing their linen disappeared without anyone knowing the reason. One day, when the women were in the water as usual, a monster, half fish from the middle downwards, and having human shape above, with wings like a bat, attacked one of the women and seized her and carried her down under the water. The other women, and also some men who were there, hearing her cries, ran to the place where the monster was struggling with her; but not even when they attacked it would it let her go. They wounded the beast and dragged it ashore alive, and it was three hours or more before it died. There was then little doubt that the women who had disappeared before had been seized by this monster. They cut it open and salted it, and sent it to the Seigniorship of Venice so that it might be dispatched to Pope Eugenius, and a picture was made and carried all over Castile and throughout the world. I did not see the beast, but they told me of it, and it was only a short time since it happened....*

<sup>36</sup> The Kaštela Bay is the largest bay in central Dalmatia. The length in the west-east direction is 14.8 km and its width in the north-south direction is 6.6 km. Its greatest depth is 56 m. See: Rogić 1976, p. 533; *Veliki atlas* 2002, p. 155.

<sup>37</sup> Alduk 2018, p. 107, 115.

<sup>37</sup> Alduk 2018, str. 107, 115.

<sup>38</sup> Mjerenja su rađena na temelju *Topografske karte* 1979.

<sup>39</sup> Na ovome mjestu zahvaljujem Katji Marasović na poslanom predlošku slijepe karte.

<sup>40</sup> Stipišić, Nazor 2002, str. 38, 41, 98, 214-215; Rismondo 1954, str. 99.

<sup>41</sup> Petrić 1984, str. 26; Petrić 1986, str. 81-82, 87, 95.

<sup>42</sup> Omašić 2001, str. 41, 57.

<sup>43</sup> Margetić 2005, str. 48-53.

<sup>44</sup> Stritzky 1994, str. 1174-1176.

<sup>45</sup> Belamarić 2018, str. 84, 86.

Lisičine ili Ribola - Δ1 (na granici s Kambelovcem), potok Torac - Δ2, potok Gajine - Δ3 (granica sa Sućurcem), odnosno Krtine (sl.4).<sup>46</sup> Vodotoci u Kaštel Sućurcu idu dalje, redom: potok Žuvančev, potok Peca, potok Strabežnik, potok Bucavica, potok Vri-  
lo, potok Trstenik, potok Plandišće ili Plandište - Δ4 (granica sa Solinom).<sup>47</sup> Potoci na području Solina koji su tekli s južnih padina Kozjaka prema moru, odnosno istočnom dijelu Kaštelanskog zaljeva, su sljedeći: potok Mrtvenica, potok Slano, potok Ošac i potok Kapljuč.<sup>48</sup>

Četvrti pokazatelj je navod kako su se tamo našli, osim žena, i mnogi muškarci. Takvo brojnije okupljanje pučanstva indicira postojanje ili neke ceste s relativno intenzivnim protokom ljudi ili nekakvog naselja u blizini događaja. S obzirom na prvo, iako je promet naslijeđenom starom antičkom cestom (Salona-Tragurium) bio u kasnom srednjem vijeku sve življi, jer je imao razne povode za rast,<sup>49</sup> ipak bi toliko okupljanje bilo malo vjerojatno i ulazilo bi u sferu spekulativnih koincidencija. Naime, nakon prelaska na desnu obalu Jadra, dionica ceste koja je prolazila uz ruševine Salone pripadala je teritoriju grada Klisa, pa su zbog toga Splićani nakon velikih diplomatskih napora isposlovali slobodu prometa ljudi, robe i prolaska životinja do granice svojega potkozjačkog posjeda.<sup>50</sup> Upravo taj problem opterećivao je ponajprije njih i njihove seljane u Dilatu

and cape Šilo to the west (length about 5,450 m).<sup>38</sup> The width on the west side from Gomilica to Cape Šilo is about 3,720 m, i.e. from Sućurac about 2,430 m. The distances are even smaller between the estuary of the creek Plandišće - Δ4 and Vranjica (about 580 m), and decreasing from there to about 450 m between the coast near the Salonitan amphitheatre to Vranjica and further to the river mouth. (fig. 4)<sup>39</sup>

Secondly, the transportation of people across this arm was mentioned, and this activity, although recorded as early as the 14<sup>th</sup> century -in 1341, 1342, 1343 and 1371,<sup>40</sup> must have had a much older origin. This is indirectly evidenced by the two toponyms Brodarica, one located on the Split side<sup>41</sup> and the other one on the Kaštela side of the bay (both were called Barkanj, or *barchaneum* or *Barcagno* in documents in Latin and Italian).<sup>42</sup> Brodarica in Split was/is located north of Glavičine next to the cove Supaval, whereas the one in Kaštela is in the cove Gojača, east of the old centre of Kaštel Sućurac (fig. 4). The distance between these points is about 2,800 m. The distance from Split's Brodarica to the cove Soline in Sućurac that is located in the eastern direction is about 2,350 m. Worth mentioning is also the fact that Marko Marulić had estates in the area of both Brodarica.<sup>43</sup> Saint Christopher fits very well into this story, for he was the heavenly protector of travellers, ship-owners and sailors against storms, but, which is very significant, also the protector against monsters and demons.<sup>44</sup> From the beginning of the 13<sup>th</sup> century, there was a depiction of him outside on the protyron of the Peristyle of Diocletian's Palace in Split that could be seen for the next three hundred years, and perhaps longer.<sup>45</sup>

A third piece of information from Tafur's text tells us that women washed clothes and other linen in water, but it is not clear whether they did so in some watercourse, at the estuary or directly in the sea. In terms of the hydrography of the eastern part of Kaštela and neighbouring Solin, the streams in

<sup>46</sup> Na ovome mjestu srdačno zahvaljujem gospodinu Ivanu Carevu na podatcima o potocima u Gomilici.

U reambulaciji iz 1397. umjesto imena Torac navodi se opća imenica *Potoch*, ali se spominje lokalitet *Toraz* i oko njega posjedi samostana sv. Benedikta, Papaličâ i Dujma Bosne te javni put. Vidi: Rendić-Miočević 1990, str. 260.

<sup>47</sup> Marasović 1999, str. 140; Šuta 2011, str. 116-117.

<sup>48</sup> Jeličić-Radonić, Pereža 2010, str. 168, 188.

<sup>49</sup> Barada 1950, str. 20-21 (putovanje 21. srpnja 1274. trogorskog arhiđakona u Solin radi sastanka s banom i Šibenčanima); Barada 1951, str. 99 (putovanje 25. srpnja 1272. iz Trogira u Solin radi odlaska u mlin); Barada 1988, str. 410 (19. rujna 1312., odlazak u mlin); Smičiklas 1911, str. 422-423 - ... *iuxta litus maris* ... (22. listopada 1328., dolazak pregovarača Jurja II. Šubića i Splićana kod crkvice sv. Kuzme i Damjana); Ljubić 1874, str. 283-284 (1. kolovoza 1390., zastupnici u postupku utvrđivanja granice između Klisa i Splita); Katić 1958, str. 205; Rendić-Miočević 1990, str. 251, 259 (20. kolovoza 1397., obilazak posjeda splitske nadbiskupije od Solina do stupa pod Ostrogom); Novak 1978, str. 277-293, 303-309 (29. rujna 1400., vojska sastavljena od Splićana, Klišana, Poljičana i Radobiljana upada na trogirski teritorij i pljačka ga); *Zlatna knjiga* 1996, str. 146-151 (1435., prolazak trgovačkih karavana od Klisa prema Trogiru).

<sup>50</sup> Smičiklas 1911, str. 422-423; Katić 1958, str. 192.

<sup>38</sup> Measurements were made on the basis of the *Topographic Map* 1979.

<sup>39</sup> At this point, I thank Katja Marasović for sending me the template of the blank map.

<sup>40</sup> Stipišić, Nazor 2002, p. 38, 41, 98, 214-215; Rismondo 1954, p. 99.

<sup>41</sup> Petrić 1984, p. 26; Petrić 1986, pp. 81-82, 87, 95.

<sup>42</sup> Omašić 2001, p. 41, 57.

<sup>43</sup> Margetić 2005, p. 48-53.

<sup>44</sup> Stritzky 1994, pp. 1174-1176.

<sup>45</sup> Belamarić, Zagreb 2018, p. 84, 86.

od davnih vremena, što je bio glavni motiv ustanovljenja broskog prijevoza kao pričuvnog smjera komunikacije iz Splita i prema Splitu. Stoga ćemo pozornost usmjeriti na spomenutu antičku cestu. Nakon izlaska iz perimetra zapadnog dijela gradskih zidina Salone ona je vodila podalje od mora preko predjela Stačuline,<sup>51</sup> a odatle se spuštala prema uvali Soline. Cesta je u Kaštel Sućurcu išla iznad grebena na kojem je podignuta nadbiskupska utvrda, a odatle se nastavljala prema zapadu uz more, što je vidljivo na karti F. Grandija.<sup>52</sup> Nadalje, prema karti A. Barbierija, u Gomilici je cesta išla neposredno uz obalu.<sup>53</sup> Ono što treba naglasiti je činjenica da je potoke prelazila uz sama ušća (sl. 4).

Glede naselja, s obzirom na veći broj nazočnih osoba u blizini mjesta napada, opravdana je i pretpostavka kako je nedaleko bilo neko selo. Naime, dok su se žene bavile pranjem, muškarci su mogli biti na vinogradarskim ili nekim drugim poljodjelskim poslovima. U tom smislu na uskom priobalnom prostoru od ušća potoka Lisičine do zidina koje su od mora okruživale ruševine Salone nije postojalo nijedno naselje. Ona su bila većinom podalje od mora, pa su tako na zapadu bili Lažane, Kruševik (Selišće), Donja Kozica (Opatičino Selo), Gornja Kozica, Sućurac (Sela), Donji Smoljevac (Vela Vlaka) i Smoljevac.<sup>54</sup> Od strane istoka Smoljevcu je najbliže selo bilo Ozebli(k). Ono se nalazilo pod upravom grada Klisa, a njegovi stanovnici bavili su se uzgojem žitarica.<sup>55</sup> I konačno, na prostoru oko ruševina Salone nalazilo se i selo Orašac.<sup>56</sup> Među svima nabrojenima Donja Kozica je bila najbliža morskoj obali, i prema vlasničko-posjedovnim ispravama bila je smještena oko crkvice sv. Kuzme i Damjana podignute u 12. stoljeću.<sup>57</sup> Ovo zdanje nalazi se oko 200 m od obalne crte, pa se toliko ili nešto više može procijeniti i udaljenost seljačkih nastambi (sl. 4). Valja kazati kako je jedan od preduvjeta za formiranje sela bilo postojanje zajedničkog nepresušnog izvora, a takvih je upravo u tom predjelu bilo nekoliko, i to vrlo blizu obale, pa je stoga i Donja Kozica bila najniže smještena. Glavni zemljoposjednici u ovom selu bile su spomenute

Kaštel Gomilica from west to east are as follows: stream Lisičine or Ribola - Δ1 (on the border with Kambelovac), stream Torac - Δ2, stream Gajine - Δ3 (border with Sućurac), or Krtine (fig. 4).<sup>46</sup> Watercourses in Kaštel Sućurac continue in the following order: stream Žuvančev, stream Peca, stream Strabežnik, stream Bucavica, stream Vrilo, stream Trstenik, stream Plandišće or Plandište - Δ4 (border with Solin).<sup>47</sup> The streams in the area of Solin that flowed from the southern slopes of Kozjak towards the sea or the eastern part of the Kaštela Bay respectively, are as follows: stream Mrtvenica, stream Slano, stream Ošac and stream Kapljuč.<sup>48</sup>

The fourth indication is the remark that, next to the women, there were also many men there. A larger gathering of the population like this indicates to the existence of either some road with a relatively intense flow of people or some settlement near the place the incident occurred. Regarding the first, although traffic was increasingly lively on the inherited old ancient road (Salona-Tragurium) in the late Middle Ages as it had various reasons for growth,<sup>49</sup> such a gathering would be unlikely and would enter the realm of speculative coincidences. Namely, after crossing to the right bank of the river Jadro, the section of the road that passed along the ruins of

<sup>46</sup> At this point, I would like to thank Mr. Ivan Carev for the information about the streams in Gomilica.

In the reambulation from 1397, the general noun *Potoch* is mentioned instead of the name Torac, but the locality *Toraz* and the estates of the monastery of St. Benedict, as well as the estates of the Papalić family and Dujam of Bosnia and a public road are mentioned. See: Rendić-Miočević 1990, p. 260.

<sup>47</sup> Marasović 1999, p. 140; Šuta 2011, pp. 116-117.

<sup>48</sup> Jeličić-Radonić, Pereža 2010, p. 168, 188.

<sup>49</sup> Barada 1950, pp. 20-21 (trip on 21<sup>st</sup> July 1274 of the archdeacon of Trogir to Solin for a meeting with the ban and the people of Šibenik); Barada 1951, p. 99 (trip on 25<sup>th</sup> July 1272 from Trogir to Solin to go to the mill); Barada 1988, p. 410 (19<sup>th</sup> September 1312, visit to the mill); Smičiklas 1911, pp. 422-423. - ... *iuxta litus maris* ... (22<sup>nd</sup> October 1328., arrival of the negotiator George II Šubić and the people of Split at the church of St. Cosmas and Damian); Ljubić 1874, pp. 283-284 (1<sup>st</sup> August 1390, deputies in the process of determining the border between Klis and Split); Katić 1958, p. 205; Rendić-Miočević 1990, p. 251, 259 (20<sup>th</sup> August 1397, tour of the estates of the Split archdiocese from Solin to the pillar at the foot of Ostrog); Novak 1978, pp. 277-293, 303-309 (29<sup>th</sup> September 1400, an army composed of the citizens of Split, Klis, Poljica and Radobilja invades the territory of Trogir and plunders it); *Zlatna knjiga* 1996, pp. 146-151 (1435, passage of trade caravans from Klis to Trogir).

<sup>51</sup> Marasović 1999, str. 140; Šuta 2011, str. 111-115.

<sup>52</sup> Babić 1984, str. 77; Marasović, Plejić, Čurković 2013, str. 142-143.

<sup>53</sup> Babić 1984, str. 77; Duplančić 1993, str. 78, 81.

<sup>54</sup> Omašić 2001, str. 46, 51, 55, 61.

<sup>55</sup> Ljubić 1890, str. 421; Grgić 1962, str. 18, bilj. 2

<sup>56</sup> Gunjača 1981, str. 397. - ... *de Orasaz in Salona* ...

<sup>57</sup> Bego 1991, str. 707-710; Omašić 2001, str. 52, 68, 73.

benediktinke i splitski nadbiskupi, uz niz vlasnika manjih vinograda i oranica.<sup>58</sup> U kasnom srednjem vijeku redosljed obrade u vinogradarstvu, kao i u maslinarstvu i drugim kulturama bio je propisan ne samo pojedinačnim ugovorima vlasnika i seljaka nego i općim odredbama Splitskog statuta. Tako se u Knjizi trećoj određuje da poljodjelac mora vinovu lozu dva puta okopati, s tim da prvo okopavanje bude u mjesecu ožujku ili travnju,<sup>59</sup> a upravo je u travnju bio opisani događaj.

Dodatni indicij je Tafurov spomen pranja odjeće i platna. Zbog čega bi ova radnja koja je bila uobičajeni posao svake seljanke na nešto indicirala? Mogući odgovor leži u činjenici što su benediktinke iz splitskog samostana sv. Benedikta (kasnije sv. Rajnerija ili Arnira) trebale imati čiste habite, posteljenu i crkveno ruho, a priliku za pranje nisu imale u Splitu. Iz oporuke vojvotkinje Jelene Vukčić, koja je svoje posljednje godine provela u tom samostanu, vidljivo je kako su benediktinke dobile raznu odjeću i posteljenu,<sup>60</sup> a Marulić u jednoj svojoj šaljivoj pjesmi spominje neke djelove njihovih habita, haljina i posteljine.<sup>61</sup> Opatica, gospodarica sela davala je tu zadaću seljankama, a one su je obavljale ili na potoku Torac - Δ2, ili kod vrela - Δ2a, oko kojega je kasnije u 16. stoljeću podignuto utvrđeno selo (sl. 4).<sup>62</sup> Ova Tafurova bilješka daje nam temelja da pranje odjeće kao redovno zanimanje (gomiličkih) žena pomaknemo mnogo dalje u prošlost – u razdoblje pretkaštelanskih sela.<sup>63</sup>

Kad se sagleda svih ovih pet indicija, koje logično nadopunjuju jedna drugu, može se zaključiti kako se napad dogodio na obali današnje Kaštel Gomilice.

Kakva je bila sudbina ostataka, odnosno preparata ovog bića iz Kaštelanskog zaljeva? U vrijeme opisanog događaja splitski knez bio je mletački plemić Vettor Delfin (13. siječnja 1437. - 29. ožujka

Salona belonged to the territory of the town of Klis, so the people of Split, after great diplomatic efforts achieved freedom of movement of people, goods and animals to the border of their estates at the foot of the Kozjak hill.<sup>50</sup> Precisely this problem has burdened them and their villagers in Dilat since ancient times, and therefore they established a boat line to have a backup route of communication to and from Split. Therefore, we will turn our attention to the mentioned ancient road. After leaving the perimeter of the western part of Salona's city walls, it led away from the sea over the area of Stačuline<sup>51</sup>, and from there descended towards the bay of Soline. The road went in Kaštel Sućurac above the ridge on which the archbishop's fortress was built, and from there it continued west along the sea, which can be seen on the map of F. Grandi.<sup>52</sup> Furthermore, according to the map of A. Barbieri, the road went directly along the coastline in Gomilica.<sup>53</sup> It is important to note that the road crossed over the streams right at their estuaries (fig. 4).

Regarding the settlement, given the large number of people that were present near the place of the attack, it is justified to assume that a village was nearby. Namely, while women were washing clothes, men could have been working in vineyards or on the fields. In that sense, there was no settlement in the narrow coastal area from the mouth of the Lisičina stream to the walls that surrounded the ruins of Salona from the seaside. The settlements were mostly located away from the sea, so in the west there were Lažane, Kruševik (Selišće), Donja Kozica (Opatičino selo), Gornja Kozica, Sućurac (Sela), Donji Smoljevac (Vela Vlaka) and Smoljevac.<sup>54</sup> To the east of Smoljevac, the nearest village was Ozebli(k) that was under the administration of the town of Klis, and its inhabitants were engaged in the cultivation of cereals.<sup>55</sup> And finally, in the area around the ruins of Salona, there was the village of Orašac.<sup>56</sup> Among all the above named, village Donja Kozica was the closest to the coast, and according to title deeds and documents, it was located around the 12<sup>th</sup>-century church of St. Cosmas

<sup>58</sup> Smičiklas 1904, str. 130-131; Rendić-Miočević 1990, str. 260; Novak 1976, str. 564-567; Bego 1991, str. 702, 706. Benediktinke iz splitskog samostana sv. Benedikta (kasnije sv. Rajnerija ili Arnira) stekle su prvi posjed pod Kozjakom 1076. godine

<sup>59</sup> Cvitanić 1998, str. 564-565.

<sup>60</sup> Smičiklas 1912, str. 302-305.

Uz to je za crkvicu sv. Kuzme i Damjana bila određena jedna velika voštanica.

<sup>61</sup> Marulić 1979, str. 11, 263, 265-266, 269, 273, 275.

Marulićeva sestra Bira bila je članica redovničke zajednice u tom samostanu.

<sup>62</sup> Marasović 1996, str. 174.

<sup>63</sup> Babin 2013, str. 184-186.

<sup>50</sup> Smičiklas 1911, pp. 422-423; Katić 1958, p. 192.

<sup>51</sup> Marasović 1999, p. 140; Šuta 2011, pp. 111-115.

<sup>52</sup> Babić 1984, p. 77; Marasović, Plejić, Čurković 2013, pp. 142-143.

<sup>53</sup> Babić 1984, p. 77; Duplančić 1993, p. 78, 81.

<sup>54</sup> Omašić 2001, p. 46, 51, 55, 61.

<sup>55</sup> Ljubić 1890, p. 421; Grgić 1962, p. 18, bilj. 2

<sup>56</sup> Gunjača 1981, p. 397. - ... *de Orasaz in Salona* ...

1439.),<sup>64</sup> i on je, kako vidimo, poslao eksponat u Veneciju, ali ovaj odatle vjerojatno nije dospio i u Rim. Naime, budući da je namjera pošiljatelja eksponata bila da u drugom koraku čudovište pokažu papi Eugenu IV., ono je odneseno u Ferraru, zato što se papa već dulje vrijeme nalazio u tom gradu, udaljenom oko 86 km od Venecije.<sup>65</sup> Razlog tomu bio je koncil na kojem su pregovarali predstavnici Rimske katoličke crkve i Bizantske pravoslavne crkve, kao i bizantski car Ivan VIII. Paleolog oko vjerskih i političkih pitanja. Moguću potvrdu za to, na ovoj razini istraživanja, nalazimo u tekstu čiji je autor Gian Francesco Poggio Bracciolini, zvani Fiorentinac (1380. - 1459.). Njegovu vjerodostojnost potkrepljuje činjenica što je on u to vrijeme bio papin tajnik.<sup>66</sup> Ono što je izišlo iz njegova pera kasnije je objavljeno tiskom u nekoliko izdanja. U zbirci svojih *Facetia* (Smiješnih događaja) Poggio je napisao:

... XXXIV *Aliud de monstro – Aliud insuper constat, allatum esse Ferrariam imaginem marini monstri nuper in littore Dalmatico inventi. Corpore erat humano umbilico tenus, deinceps piscis, ita ut inferior pars quæ in piscem desinebat, esset bifurcata. Barba erat profusa [prolixa], duobus tanquam cornibus super auriculas eminentibus, grossioribus mammis, ore lato, manibus quatuor tantum digitos habentibus, a manibus usque ad ascellam atque ad imum ventrem alæ piscium protendebantur, quibus natabat. Captum hoc pacto ferebant. Erant complures fæminæ juxta littus lavantes lineos pannos. Ad unam earum accedens piscis, ut aiunt, cibi causa, mulierem manibus apprehendens [comprehendit] ad se trahere conatus est: illa reluctans (erat enim aqua modica), magno clamore auxilium cæterarum imploravit. Accurrentibus [Accurrentes] quinque numero, monstrum (neque enim in aquam regredi poterat) fustibus ac lapidibus perimunt: quod in littus abstractum, haud parvum terrorem aspicientibus præbuit. Erat corporis magnitudo paulo longior ampliorque forma hominis. Hanc ligneam ad nos Ferrariam usque delatam conspexi. Cibi gratia mulierem comprehensam argumento fuere pueri nonnulli, qui cum diversis temporibus ad litus lavandi causa accessissent, nusquam postea comperti sunt, quos postmodum ab eo monstro necatos [Ø] captosque crediderunt. ...*<sup>67</sup>

<sup>64</sup> Novak 1978, str. 1365.

<sup>65</sup> Diener, Schwarz 2002, str. 200, 204, 217-218, 226.

<sup>66</sup> Bigi 1971, 640-646.

<sup>67</sup> Uspoređena su sljedeća dva teksta i razlike su naznačene

and Damian.<sup>57</sup> This building was located about 200 m from the shoreline, so the peasant dwellings are assumed to have been located at more or less the same distance (fig. 4). It should be said that one of the preconditions for the establishment of the village was the existence of a common inexhaustible water source. There were several of them in that area and very close to the coast, making Donja Kozica the lowest and closest village to the shore. The main landowners in this village were the mentioned Benedictine nuns and the archbishops of Split, along with a number of owners of smaller vineyards and arable land.<sup>58</sup> In the Late Middle Ages, the order of cultivation in viticulture, as well as in olive growing and other crops was prescribed not only by individual contracts between owners and peasants, but also by the general provisions of the statute of Split. Thus, Book Three stipulates that the farmer must hoe the vine twice, with the first one in March or April,<sup>59</sup> and it was in April that the event was described.

Another indication is Tafur's mentioning of washing clothes and linen. Why would this action, which was the usual job of every peasant woman, indicate anything? A possible answer lies in the fact that the Benedictine nuns from the monastery of St. Benedict in Split (later St. Raynerius or Arnir) were supposed to have clean religious habits, bedding and robes, but didn't have the opportunity to wash them in Split. The will of Duchess Jelena Vukčić, who spent her last years in that monastery, shows clearly that the Benedictine nuns received various clothes and bedding,<sup>60</sup> and even Marulić mentions some parts of their habits, dresses and bedding in one of his humorous poems.<sup>61</sup> The abbess, who was the mistress of the village, gave this task to the village's women, who washed them either in the creek called Torac - Δ2, or at the spring - Δ2a, around

<sup>57</sup> Bego 1991, pp. 707-710; Omašić 2001, p. 52, 68, 73.

<sup>58</sup> Smičiklas 1904, pp. 130-131; Rendić-Miočević 1990, p. 260; Novak 1976, pp. 564-567; Bego 1991, p. 702, 706. Benedictine nuns from the monastery of St. Benedict in Split (later St. Raynerius or Arnir) acquired the first estate at the foot of the Kozjak mountain in 1076.

<sup>59</sup> Cvitanić 1998, pp. 564-565.

<sup>60</sup> Smičiklas 1912, pp. 302-305.

In addition, a large candle was assigned to the church of St. Cosmas and Damian.

<sup>61</sup> Marulić 1979, p. 11, 263, 265-266, 269, 273, 275.

Marulić's sister Bira was a member of the religious community in that monastery.

Ovaj odlomak kasnije su preuzimali mnogi europski kompilatori događaja u kojima su ovakva bića bila glavna tema njihovih djela. Za nas je pak od iznimnog značenja da su ovo Bracciolinijevo djelo poznavali Zadrani Jerolim Vidulić (~1440. - 1499.), ali i Marko Marulić.<sup>68</sup> Ovo daje temelja pitanju je li Marul ovu knjigu, koja se frivolnom i rugalačkom tematikom baš ne uklapa ni u njegove referentne materijale, a ni u njegov opus, kupio samo zato što se događanje jedne *facetie* locira u Dalmaciji? Ili je, štoviše, prepoznao događaj o kojemu je u njegovoj mladosti morala postojati kakva-takva usmena predaja, pa ga je to ponukalo da je nabavi? Naposljetku, potpuno hipotetski, možda je o tome nešto bio zabilježio njegov otac Nikola (umro 1476.) u onim, nažalost, nestalim rukopisima nazvanima *Collibetus* (Svaštice) i *Collecta* (Pabirci)?<sup>69</sup> S obzirom na Marulićeve veze s Vene-

which a fortified village was built later in the 16<sup>th</sup> century (fig. 4).<sup>62</sup> Tafur's note provides ground for placing the washing of clothes as a regular occupation of the women (in Gomilica) much further into the past - into the time when the known Kaštela villages had not been established yet.<sup>63</sup>

Taking into consideration all these five indications, which logically complement each other, we can conclude that the attack took place on the shores of today's Kaštel Gomilica.

What happened to the remains, i.e. the specimens of this creature from the Kaštela Bay? At the time of the described event, the Venetian nobleman Vettor Delfin (January 13, 1437-March 29, 1439)<sup>64</sup> was the duke of Split, and he, as we see, sent the exhibit to Venice, but it probably never reached Rome from there. Namely, since the intention of the senders of the exhibits was to eventually show the monster to Pope Eugene IV, it was taken to Ferrara, about 86 km from Venice, as the pope had been in that city for a long time.<sup>65</sup> The reason for this was the council during which representatives of the Roman Catholic Church and the Byzantine Orthodox Church, as well as Byzantine Emperor John VIII Palaiologos held negotiations on religious and political issues. A possible confirmation of this, at this level of research, is found in a text by Gian Francesco Poggio Bracciolini, called the Florentine (1380-1459). His credibility is corroborated by the fact that he was the papal secretary at the time.<sup>66</sup> The text he wrote was later published in print in several editions. In his collection *Facetia* (Humorous tales) Poggio wrote:

... XXXIV *Aliud de monstro – Aliud insuper constat, allatum esse Ferrariam imaginem marini monstri nuper in littore Dalmatico inventi. Corpore erat humano umbilico tenus, deinceps piscis, ita ut inferior pars quæ in piscem desinebat, esset bifurcata. Barba erat profusa [prolixa], duobus tanquam cornibus super aurículas eminentibus, grossioribus mammis, ore lato, manibus quatuor tantum digitos habentibus, a manibus usque ad ascellam atque ad imum ventrem alæ piscium protendebantur, quibus natabat. Captum hoc pacto ferebant. Erant complures fæminæ juxta littus lavantes lineos*

na način da je drugačija ili nedostajuća riječ u uglatim zgradama stavljena poslije odnosno riječi.

Poggio Bracciolini 1487, str. nepaginirano; Poggio Bracciolini 1879, str. 61-63. – ... XXXIV *Drugo čudovište – Isto tako nema sumnje kako su u Ferraru donijeli lik morskog čudovišta nedavno nađenog na dalmatinskoj obali. Dolje do pupka imalo je čovječje tijelo, a ispod je bilo ribe, i taj se niži i završni dio račvao. Imalo je bujnu bradu, dva roga, tako reći, stajali su iznad usiju. Imalo je velike bradavice, široku gubicu, ruke sa samo četiri prsta, a od šaka do pazuha i do trbuha bio je niz peraja, uz pomoć kojih je plivalo. Rekli su da je uhvaćeno na ovaj način: Nekoliko žena je bilo uz morsku obalu perući neka platna. Životinja se, oni rekoše, natjerana glađu približila jednoj od njih, šćepala ju svojim rukama i nastojala ju odvući. Voda je bila plitka, tako da je žena mogla pružiti otpor, a također je glasno pozivala upomoć svoje drugarice. Pet od njih požurilo je njoj u pomoć, i čudovište se nije moglo vratiti u duboku vodu. Ubili su ga prakljačama i kamenjem. Kad su ga izvukli na žal, zadalo je ne mali strah gledateljima. Tijelo je bilo nešto duže i krupnije nego u čovjeka. Vidio sam njegov drveni lik kojega su donijeli u Ferraru. Teži se pokazati da je čudovište šćepalo ženu kako bi se nahranilo njome. Činjenica je kako se za nekoliko djece više nije čulo, otkad su se u različito vrijeme kupali na plaži. Sada se vjeruje da ih je ovo čudovište bilo odvuklo i usmrtilo. ...*

<sup>68</sup> Stipčević 2012, str. 58; Margetić 2005, str. 46-47, 68-69.

<sup>69</sup> Naime, rođen je svega 12 godina poslije. Motiv također postoji u spomenutom Opijanovu djelu, u kojem se navodi izgnaništvo autorovog oca na otoku Mljetu. To svakako ne mora biti glavni razlog za kupnju.

Prema usmenoj informaciji dobivenoj od Bratislava Lučina, ne zna se sudbina navedenih rukopisa Nikole Marulića. Na tome mu najsrdačnije zahvaljujem.

Margetić 2005, str. 28-29, 46-47, 68-69; Opijan 1517, str. bez paginacije.

<sup>62</sup> Marasović 1996, p. 174.

<sup>63</sup> Babin 2013, pp. 184-186.

<sup>64</sup> Novak 1978, p. 1365.

<sup>65</sup> Diener, Schwarz 2002, p. 200, 204, 217-218, 226.

<sup>66</sup> Bigi 1971, pp. 640-646.



cijom i tamošnjim tiskarima, mogao je preko njih saznati za zanimljivu priču, no ne treba zanemariti ni mogućnost da je do knjige (tiskane na njemačkom prostoru) došao preko poznanikâ, prvenstveno zaslugom hrvatskog diplomata, biskupa Tome Nigera, njegovog kućnog prijatelja.<sup>70</sup> No, bilo kako bilo, Marulić je u dva stiha pokazao kako mu je postojanje sredozemne medvjedice kao obične životinje bilo poznato. Ti stihovi potječu iz pjesme *In somnum diurnum*:

... *Apta operi totos stertere coge dies.*  
*I preme silvestres ursos, vitulosque marinos,*  
*Vele quos flagitiis invigilare iuvat. ...*<sup>71</sup>

On je stavlja u ravan s kopnenim medvjedom u dva svojstva: voli spavati i hrkati.

Likovni prikazi čudovišta, kao što je rečeno, motivirali su brojne anonimne ili manje poznate umjetnike koji su u tehnici drvoreza ili bakroreza, ponekad akvarelirano, ilustrirali tekstove i time upotpunjavali i obogaćivali knjige s ovim temama. Među njima bilo je i slavnih autora, a za nas je posebno važan Albrecht Dürer (1471. - 1528.) iz Nürnberga. On je, prema nekim prosudbama, 1498. ili 1501. godine izradio bakrorez okoji je sam nazvao *Mehrwunder* (sl. 5)<sup>72</sup> – doslovno: morsko čudovište.

Dürer je općenito bio odličan animalist, što je dokazao i radom naslovljenim *Das dosig Thier* (Pospana zvijer). Indikativno je da ni tog morža, ni golemog kita nasukanog u Nizozemskoj nije nazvao čudovištem.<sup>73</sup> Realno gledano inspiraciju za

*pannos. Ad unam earum accedens piscis, ut aiunt, cibi causa, mulierem manibus apprehendens [comprehendit] ad se trahere conatus est: illa reluctans (erat enim aqua modica), magno clamore auxilium cæterarum imploravit. Accurrentibus [Accurrentes] quinque numero, monstrum (neque enim in aquam regredi poterat) fustibus ac lapidibus perimunt: quod in littus abstractum, haud parvum terrorem aspicientibus præbuit. Erat corporis magnitudo paulo longior ampliorque forma hominis. Hanc ligneam ad nos Ferrariam usque delatam conspexi. Cibi gratia mulierem comprehensam argumento fuere pueri nonnulli, qui cum diversis temporibus ad litus lavandi causa accessissent, nusquam postea comperti sunt, quos postmodum ab eo monstro necatos [Ø] captosque crediderunt. ...*<sup>67</sup>

This passage was later taken up by many European compilers of events whose main themes of works were such creatures. For us, however, it is extremely important that this work by Bracciolini was known to Jerolim Vidulić from Zadar (~ 1440-1499), but also to Marko Marulić.<sup>68</sup> This gives rise to the question if Marul bought this book, which

<sup>67</sup> The following two texts were compared and the differences were indicated by placing a different or missing word in square brackets after the word in question.

Poggio Bracciolini 1487, p. unpaginated; Poggio Bracciolini 1879, pp. 61-63. – ... XXXIV *Another prodigy* – *It is likewise beyond doubt that there was brought to Ferrara the effigy of a sea-monster recently found on the Dalmatian coast. Down to the navel it had a body of a man, below, that of a fish, and this lower and terminal part was forked. It had a flowing beard; two horns, as it were, stood out above its ears; it had large paps, a wide mouth, hands with only four fingers; from the hands to the arm-pits and to the abdomen were a succession of fins, by means of which it swam. This is the way it was said to have been captured. Several women were by the sea-side, washing some linen. The animal, impelled by hunger; they say, approached one of them, took hold of her with his hands, and endeavoured to drag her away. The water was shallow, so that the woman was able to make resistance, while calling loudly for help to her companions. Five of them hastened to her assistance, and the monster being unable to return into deep water, they killed it with staves and stones; when drawn up on the strand, it struck no small terror into the beholders. The body was somewhat longer and stouter than a man's. I have seen the wooden effigy of it, that was brought us in Ferrara. What tends to show that the monster had laid hold of the woman to feed on her, is the fact that several children who, at different times, had been to bathe on the beach, have never been heard of since; they are now believed to have been carried away and put to death by that beast...*

<sup>68</sup> Stipčević 2012, p. 58; Margetić 2005, pp. 46-47, 68-69.

<sup>70</sup> Uvidom u digitalnu zbirku Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, zabilježena su izdanja: Nürnberg 1472. i 1475.; Rim 1477.; Milano 1477.; Lyon 1478.; Nürnberg 1479.; Venecija 1487.; Leipzig 1491.; Venecija 1500. te 1519.

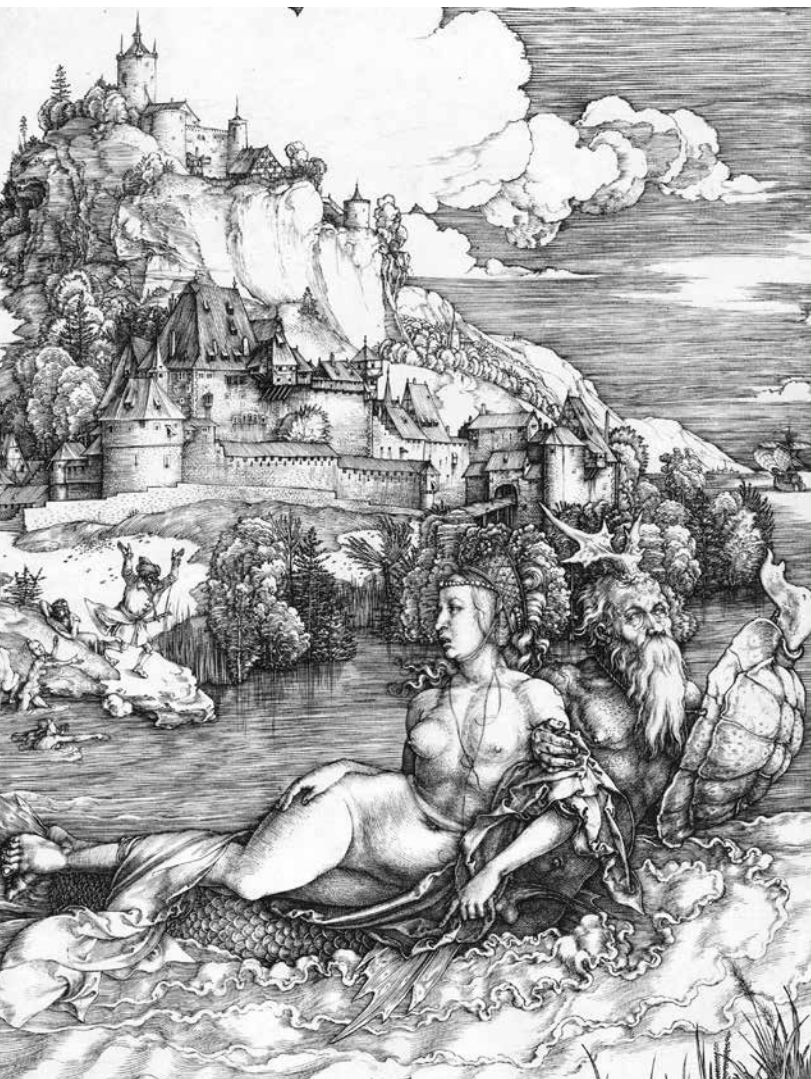
Za Opijanovo djelo navodimo: Firenca 1515.; Venecija 1517. Vidi: [https://www.digitale-sammlungen.de/index.html?c=digitale\\_sammlungen&l=de](https://www.digitale-sammlungen.de/index.html?c=digitale_sammlungen&l=de) [konzultirano 8. veljače 2021]

<sup>71</sup> Marulić 1950, str. 8-9 - (*Dnevnomu drimu*) ... *Tiraj ih, Sane, nek svu prohrču žiča si dob. / Pojdi i udrimaj medvide gorske i morske teoce, / Ili, ke opaki čin mami, da ostanu bdit. ...*

<sup>72</sup> Heidrich 1910, str. 68, 340; Rupprich 1956, str. 162, 189; Strauss 1973, str. 46-47.

Povjesničari umjetnosti u ovom prizoru pokušavali su prepoznati likove iz antičkih mitova pa je, unatoč Düreru, ovo djelo nazivano: *Otimanje Amimone, Glauko i Scila, Neso i Dejanira, Otmica Teodolinde te Perimela i Ahelej*. Već je Vasari 1568. godine to protumačio kao ... *una Ninfa portata via da un mostro, mentre alcun'altre Ninfe si bagnano* .... Vidi: Vasari 1568, str. 295.

<sup>73</sup> Heidrich 1910, str. 48, 69, 73, 80-81.



Sl. 5. Prizor u kojem morsko čudovište (*Mehrwunder*) odvodi ženu, prema Düreru (oko 1498.), (preuzeto iz: Strauss 1973, str. 47)

*Fig. 5 Scene in which a sea monster (Mehrwunder) takes a woman away, according to Dürer (around 1498), (taken from: Strauss 1973, p. 47)*

*Mehrwunder* mogao je dobiti na dva načina. Tijekom svojeg prvog boravka u Veneciji, 1494. - 1496. (drugi put je bio 1505. - 1507.), dakle na obalama Jadrana.<sup>74</sup> Ali mogao je umjetnički impuls osjetiti i ranije. Naime, već otprije je u tamošnjim širokim krugovima kružila priča o napadima morskih bića, proistekla iz tiskanih *Facetia*, čemu je prauzor bio spis koji je napisao spomenuti Poggio Bracciolini.<sup>75</sup> Kad se uspoređi njegov deskriptivni prikaz s

<sup>74</sup> Njegove veze s Jadranom možda su kasnije išle i preko tajnog savjetnika cara Maksimilijana I., Korčulanina Jakova Baničevića, kojemu je izradio portret. Vidi: Heidrich 1910, str. 46-47, 53, 338; Strauss 1973, str. vii, 30; Gjivoje 1983, 421-423.

<sup>75</sup> Lange 1900, str. 201-202.

with its frivolous and mocking themes did not fit into his reference material nor into his opus, just because the event of a *facetia* was located in Dalmatia? Or, moreover, did he recognize an event about which there must have been some kind of oral tradition in his youth, so that this fact prompted him to procure it? Finally, completely hypothetically, perhaps something about this was recorded by his father Nicholas (died 1476) in those, unfortunately, missing manuscripts called *Collibetus* (Svaštice) and *Collecta* (Pabirci)?<sup>69</sup> Considering Marulić's connections with Venice and the printers there, he could have found out about the interesting story through them, but we should not ignore the possibility that he obtained the book (printed in Germany) through acquaintances, primarily thanks to the Croatian diplomat Bishop Toma Niger, a friend of the family.<sup>70</sup> Anyhow, Marulić showed in two verses how the existence of the Mediterranean monk seal as an ordinary animal was known to him. These verses come from the poem *In somnum diurnum*:

... *Apta operi totos stertere coge dies.*

*I preme silvestres ursos, vitulosque marinos,*  
*Vele quos flagitiis invigilare iuvat. ...*<sup>71</sup>

He puts it on par with the bear in terms of two characteristics: it likes to sleep and snore.

The artistic depictions of monsters, as has been said, have motivated many anonymous or lesser-known artists who, in the technique of woodcut or chalcography, sometimes watercolored, illustrat-

<sup>69</sup> Namely, he was born only 12 years later. A motif could also be in said work of Oppian, which mentions the exile of the author's father on the island of Mljet. This certainly doesn't have to be the main reason for the purchase.

According to oral information received from Bratislav Lučin, the fate of the aforementioned manuscripts of Nikola Marulić is unknown. I thank him most sincerely for that.  
Margetić 2005, pp. 28-29, 46-47, 68-69; Oppian 1517, p. without pagination

<sup>70</sup> By accessing the digital collection of the Bavarian State Library, the following editions were recorded: Nürnberg 1472 and 1475; Rome 1477; Milano 1477; Lyon 1478; Nürnberg 1479; Venice 1487; Leipzig 1491; Venice 1500 and 1519.

Regarding Oppian's work, we cite: Florence 1515; Venice 1517. See: [https://www.digitale-sammlungen.de/index.html?c=digitale\\_sammlungen&l=de](https://www.digitale-sammlungen.de/index.html?c=digitale_sammlungen&l=de) [visited on 8<sup>th</sup> February 2021]

<sup>71</sup> Marulić 1950, pp. 8-9. - (*Dnevnomu drimu*) ... *Tiraj ih, Sane, nek svu prohrču žića si dob. / Pojdi i udrimaj medvide gorske i morske teoce, / Ili, ke opaki čin mami, da ostanu bdit. ...*

Dürerovim likovnim, gotovo sa sigurnošću se može kazati kako je ovaj Njrnberžanin bio inspiriran Fiorentinčevom XXXIV. pričom. Vidimo detalje koji se slažu: humanoidno hibridno tijelo, bujna brada, velike bradavice i peraje po truhu. Gubica se ne vidi, a nema dva roga, nego samo jedan, ali s dva simetrična paroška, dok ruke imaju svih pet prstiju. Scenografija je tipična za Dürerovo vrijeme – gotovo jezerska, ali da se radi ipak o moru vidljivo je po prikazu nekog broda – vjerojatno karake pod punim jedrima u daljini. Razumljivo je kako se ni umjetnik nije mogao odreći još nekih svojih intervencija: štita od kornjačina oklopa, pozadinskih likova: muškarca u turskoj odjeći, kao i nagih žena na kupanju, što mu je prepoznatljiva sklonost. Znamo da je Dürer izradio više otisaka ovog prizora, a za jedan sâm umjetnik u dnevniku bilježi da ga je prodao dok je boravio na jesen 1520. godine u Antwerpenu.<sup>76</sup> Dalju uporabu središnjeg motiva i lika ovog bakroreza možemo pratiti do kraja 17. stoljeća. Prvi korisnik, Gessner, naišao je na sliku čudovišta u Antwerpenu (!) i uvrstio ga je (odstranivši lik žene i okoline) u svoj *Nomenclator* iz 1560. godine, u sličnoj ležećoj/plivajućoj pozi, dajući mu ime *Meerteüffel* (Morski vrag).<sup>77</sup> Paré je objavio sliku promijenivši samo usmjerenost lika, a dao joj je ime *diable de mer* (Morski vrag) (sl. 6. a).<sup>78</sup> Aldrovandi rabi istu ilustraciju neznatno je promijenivši, ali je imenuje kao *Monstrum marinum Daemoniform* (Morsko čudovište demonskog obliča) (sl. 6. b) (T. 1).<sup>79</sup> Na

ed texts and thus complemented and enriched books with these themes. There were also famous authors among them, like Albrecht Dürer (1471-1528) from Nuremberg, who is especially important to us. He created, according to some assumptions, in 1498 or 1501, a copper engraving that he named *Mehrwunder* (fig. 5)<sup>72</sup> - literally: a sea wonder/ monster.

Dürer was generally an excellent animalier, as evidenced by his work *Das dosig Thier* (Sleepy Beast). It is indicative that he did not call the walrus or the huge whale stranded in the Netherlands a monster.<sup>73</sup> In real terms, he could have got the inspiration for the *Mehrwunder* in two ways; namely during his first stay in Venice - 1494-1496 (the second time was in 1505-1507), i.e. on the shores of the Adriatic Sea.<sup>74</sup> But he could have felt the artistic impulse even earlier. Namely, the story of the attacks of sea creatures was already circulating in the wide circles there, which originated from the printed *Facetia*, the archetype of which was the document written by said Poggio Bracciolini.<sup>75</sup> When one compares his descriptive account with Dürer's artistic image, it can almost be said with certainty that Dürer was inspired by the Florentine's story No. XXXIV. We see details that coincide: a humanoid hybrid body, a lush chin, large nipples and fins across the abdomen. The muzzle is not visible, and there are not two, but one horn, but with two symmetrical antlers, while the hands have all five fingers. The scenery is typical of Dürer's time - almost lake-like, but the fact that it is still the sea is evident from the depiction of a ship - probably a carrack under full sails in the distance. It is understandable that even the artist could not hold back some of his interventions: a shield from turtle shell, background characters: a man in Turkish clothes and naked

<sup>76</sup> Heidrich 1910, str. 68.

Dürera su kopirali Wenzel von Olmütz, Johann Ladenspelder i neki anonimni graveri. Jedan detalj na bakrorezu, koji nije primjećen u korištenoj literaturi, izaziva nagađanja. Radi se tome da je Dürerova glava „čudovišta“ gotovo identična glavi sv. Jeronima na slici pokorništa u divljini, prosuđenoj da je kronološki starija – iz 1496. godine. Iako su glave prikazane pod različitim kutovima, iste su im brade, brkovi, nosovi i lice te pročelava tjemena, a jedino je rog ono što „čudovište“ ima svojstveno, pomalo čudno, jelenji, nasaden na čelo. Vidi: Strauss 1973, str. 16-17, 46-47.

<sup>77</sup> Gessner 1560, str. 175-176; Paré 1573, 545.

O preuzimanju i kritičnosti prema ilustracijama vidi: Hendrikx 2018, str. 129-131.

<sup>78</sup> Paré 1573, str. 545-546.

<sup>79</sup> Aldrovandi 1642, str. 357. - ... *dum versaretur Venetiis, se a Dalmatis quibusdam spectatae fidei viris intellexisse, secus oppidum Dalmatiae, Spalatum nuncupatum, quandoque apparuisse marinum hominem, qui cunctis spectantibus summum terrorem incutiebat, et ab aliis, qui circa mare rubrum per longum temporis spatium versati sunt, illic marinos homines saepe capi solere, ex quorum*

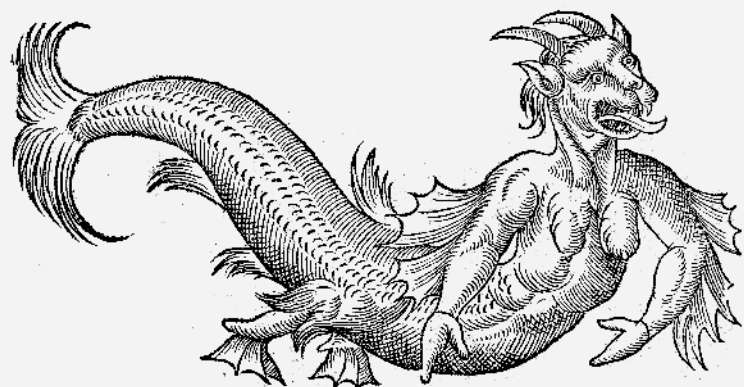
<sup>72</sup> Heidrich 1910, p. 68, 340; Rupprich 1956, p. 162, 189; Strauss 1973, pp. 46-47.

Art historians tried to recognize characters from ancient myths in this scene, so, despite Dürer, this work was called: *The Abduction of Amynone, Glaucus and Scylla, Nessus and Deianira, The Abduction of Theodelinda, and Perimele and Achelous*. Already in 1568, Vasari interpreted this as... *una Ninfa portata via da un mostro, mentre alcun'altra Ninfe si bagnano ...*. See: Vasari 1568, p. 295.

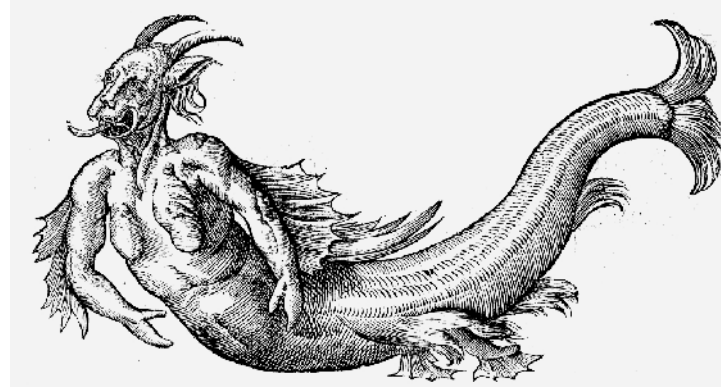
<sup>73</sup> Heidrich 1910, p. 48, 69, 73, 80-81.

<sup>74</sup> His connections with the Adriatic region may later have gone through the secret adviser of Emperor Maximilian I, Jakov Baničević from Korčula, to whom he made a portrait. See: Heidrich 1910, pp. 46-47, 53, 338; Strauss 1973, p. vii, 30; Gjivoje 1983, pp. 421-423.

<sup>75</sup> Lange 1900, pp. 201-202.



Sl. 6. a Čudovišno biće (*Diable de mer*) kako ga je zamišljao Paré (oko 1573.), (preuzeto iz: Paré 1573, str. 546)  
 Fig. 6a A monstrous creature (*diable de mer*) as imagined by Paré (around 1573), (taken from: Paré 1573, p. 546)



Sl. 6. b Čudovišno biće (*Monstrum marinum Daemoniform*) kako ga je zamišljao Aldrovandi (oko 1642.), (preuzeto iz: Aldrovandi 1642, str. 27)  
 Fig. 6b A monstrous creature (*Monstrum marinum Daemoniform*) as imagined by Aldrovandi (around 1642), (taken from: Aldrovandi 1642, p. 27)

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kraju Gessnerova kreacija nalazi mjesto u Astalerovoj kompilaciji pod istim imenom, *Meerteufel* (Morski vrag).<sup>80</sup>

#### Povijesni pregled

Spiridon Brusina (1845. - 1908.), jedan od najvećih hrvatskih prirodoslovaca, krajem je 19. stoljeća tvrdio kako je najstariji zapis o sredozemnoj medvjedici ostavio Dubrovčanin Vetranović.<sup>81</sup> S obzirom na tadašnju mogućnost proučavanja pisanih vrela i na činjenicu što su mnogi zapisi bili pod debelim slojem prašine, toj njegovoj tvrdnji ne može se zamjeriti. Šime Županović dodaje njegovom popisu još par imena, ali i on počinje s Vetranovićem.<sup>82</sup> Međutim, do našeg vremena, objavljivanjem nekoliko rukopisa, došlo se do ukupno sedam ranonovovjekovnih (od kraja 15. do kraja 17. stoljeća) spomena ovog morskog sisavca na hrvatskoj obali, a to su:

1. Juraj Šižgorić – prije 1487. godine (lokacija: kanal Sv. Ante ispred Šibenika), ... *hic vituli marini saepissime apparent* ...<sup>83</sup>

*durissimus pellibus calcei tam robusti fabrefiunt, ut ad quindecim annos durent. ...*

<sup>80</sup> Astaler 1687, str. 44-45.

<sup>81</sup> Vidi: Brusina 1889, str. 94.

<sup>82</sup> Županović 1966, str. 590-594. Među ove autore nisam ubrojio Gazarovića zbog toga što je slijedio u izričaju Aleardija, što ne znači da Hvaranin nije poznavao sredozemnu medvjedicu.

<sup>83</sup> Šižgorić 1981, str. 44-45; *Veliki atlas* 2002, str. 153.

women bathing, which is his recognizable preference. We know that Dürer made several prints of this scene. The artist himself records in his diary that he sold one print during his stay in Antwerp in the autumn of 1520.<sup>76</sup> Further use of the central motif and character of this copper engraving can be traced to the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> century. The first user, Gessner, came across a picture of the monster in Antwerp (!) and incorporated it (removing the figure of the woman and its surroundings) in his *Nomenclator* in 1560, in a similar lying / swimming position. He named it *Meerteüfel* (Sea Devil).<sup>77</sup> Paré published a painting by changing only the orientation of the character, and gave it the name *diable de mer* (Sea Devil) (fig. 6a).<sup>78</sup> Aldrovandi used the same illus-

<sup>76</sup> Heidrich 1910, p. 68.

Dürer was copied by Wenzel von Olmütz, Johann Ladenspelder and some anonymous engravers. One detail on the copperplate engraving, which has not been noticed in the literature used, provokes speculation. The point is that Dürer's head of the "monster" is almost identical to the head of St. Jerome in the painting *Saint Jerome Penitent in the Wilderness*, which is assessed to be chronologically older - from 1496. Although the heads are shown at different angles, they have the same chin, moustache, nose and face and bald scalp, and only the horn is a feature that is characteristic for the "monster", somewhat strange, a deer antler, planted on the forehead. See: Strauss 1973, pp. 16-17, 46-47.

<sup>77</sup> Gessner 1560, pp. 175-176; Paré 1573, p. 545.

For more about the adoption of the image and criticism towards illustrations, see: Hendrikx 2018, pp. 129-131.

<sup>78</sup> Paré 1573, pp. 545-546.

2. Marko Marulić<sup>84</sup> – poslije 1509. godine (lokacija: okolica Splita; Šolta?), ... *vitulosque marinos*, ...<sup>85</sup>
3. Mavro Vetranović<sup>86</sup> – ~1550. godine (lokacija: Sv. Andrija na Pučini), ... *što se trpi što se pati / od morskoga od medvida, / ki se sa mnom često rati* ...<sup>87</sup>
4. Petar Divnić<sup>88</sup> – poslije 1552. godine (lokacija: okolica Šibenika), ... *A jošće čudniji stvor ofdi vidiše: / morski človik divji bi, kog uhitiše. ...*<sup>89</sup>
5. Mavro Orbini<sup>90</sup> – prije 1601. godine (lokacija: Veliko jezero na Mljetu), ... *alle volte Orsi marini, & vi fanno* ..<sup>91</sup>

<sup>84</sup> Marko Marulić (1450. - 1524.), splitski plemić, humanist tradicionalnoga kršćanskog usmjerenja, školovan od vrhunskih latinista u Splitu i Padovi. Ljubitelj antike, ali i stvaratelj hrvatskog izričaja, a uz to i dobar poznavatelj aktualnih zbivanja. Svojim djelima stekao je širok krug čitatelja ne samo u hrvatskim krajevima nego i u Europi. Vidi: Franičević 1983, str. 201-205, 208-210, 215-221.

<sup>85</sup> Marulić 1950, str. 8-9.

Pretpostavljamo kako je Marulića drijemež morio u starijim godinama, u vremenu poslije boravka u Nečujmu na Šolti, gdje je također mogao vidjeti sredozemnu medvjedu.

<sup>86</sup> Mavro Vetranović Čavčić (1482. - 1576.), dubrovački pučanin, nakon humanističke škole oblači benediktinski habit. Boravio je u nekoliko samostana, ali za nas je najvažnije razdoblje provedeno u samostanu Sv. Andrija na Pučini. Vidi: Franičević 1983, str. 334-335, 340, 347.

<sup>87</sup> Jagić, Kaznačić 1871, str. 20-21; *Veliki atlas* 2002, str. 190.

<sup>88</sup> Petar Divnić (~1520. - ~1597.), šibenski plemić, gradski službenik i vojnik plaćenik. Vidi: Franičević 1983, str. 567.

<sup>89</sup> Fortis 1774, str. 149-150. - ... *Ma più maravigliosa creatura vi si fece vedere, e vi fu preso un marino uomo insociabile. ...*; Fortis 1984, str. 98-99; Matić 1920, str. 95.

<sup>90</sup> Mavro Orbini (15?? - 1610.), dubrovački građanin, ulazi u benediktinski red u samostanu sv. Marije na Mljetu, a kasnije službuje na Sv. Andriji i u Sv. Mihovilu na Šipanu. Godine 1599. boravi u Pesaru, gdje promatra dresirane sredozemne medvjedice, no za nas je važniji njegov boravak na Mljetu. Vidi: Šanjek 1999, str. 13-17.

<sup>91</sup> Orbini, 1601, str. 200. - ... *Nell detto lago entrano alle volte Orsi marini, & vi fanno gran danni dell pesce. (...) Ma mentre stanno rinchiusi dentro al lago, spesso vengono lungo il lido, & si lascia no vedere senza alcuna paura; (...) Questo, ch'io vidi à Pesaro, era assai più piccolo, di quelli, che alle volte si vedono nel lago di Meleda. ...*; Orbini 1999, str. 265-266. - ... *Vraćajući se mljetskom jezeru, spomenimo i to da u njega katkad uđu morske medvjedice koje unište mnogo ribe, (...) Dok borave u jezeru, često se uspu na obalu i pokazuju se bez imalo straha, (...) Ta medvjedica koju sam vidio u Pesaru bila je mnogo*

tration by slightly modifying it, giving it the name *Monstrum marinum Dæmoniform* (Sea Monster of Dæmonic Form) (fig. 6b) (T. 1).<sup>79</sup> Eventually Gessner's creation finds a place in Astaler's compilation of the same name, *Meerteufel* (Sea Devil).<sup>80</sup>

#### Historical overview

Spiridon Brusina (1845-1908), one of the greatest Croatian naturalists, claimed at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century that the oldest record about the Mediterranean monk seal comes from Vetranović from Dubrovnik.<sup>81</sup> Given the possibility of studying written sources at that time and the fact that many records were under a thick layer of dust, his claim cannot be criticized. Šime Županović adds a few more names to this list, but he also starts with Vetranović.<sup>82</sup> However, until today and with the publication of several manuscripts, there have been a total of seven early modern (from the end of the 15<sup>th</sup> to the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> century) references of this marine mammal on the Croatian coast, namely:

1. Juraj Šižgorić – before 1487 (location: channel of St. Anthony in front of Šibenik), ... *hic vituli marini saepissime apparent* ...<sup>83</sup>
2. Marko Marulić<sup>84</sup> – after 1509 (location: surroundings of Split; Šolta?), ... *vitulosque marinos*, ...<sup>85</sup>

<sup>79</sup> Aldrovandi 1642, p. 357. - ... *dum versaretur Venetiis, se a Dalmatis quibusdam spectatæ fidei viris intellexisse, secus oppidum Dalmatiæ, Spalatum nuncupatum, quandoque apparuisse marinum hominem, qui cunctis spectantibus summum terrorem incutiebat, et ab aliis, qui circa mare rubrum per longum temporis spatium versati sunt, illic marinos homines sæpe capi solere, ex quorum durissimus pellibus calcei tam robusti fabrefiunt, ut ad quindecim annos durent. ...*

<sup>80</sup> Astaler 1687, pp. 44-45.

<sup>81</sup> See: Brusina 1889, p. 94.

<sup>82</sup> Županović 1966, pp. 590-594.

I did not include Gazarović among these authors because he followed in his expression the one of Aleardi, which does not mean that this resident of Hvar did not know the Mediterranean monk seal.

<sup>83</sup> Šižgorić 1981, pp. 44-45; *Veliki atlas* 2002, p. 153.

<sup>84</sup> Marko Marulić (1450-1524), a nobleman from Split, a humanist of traditional Christian orientation, educated by top Latinists in Split and Padua. A lover of antiquity, but also a creator of Croatian expression, and at the same time a good connoisseur of current events. Through his works, he gained a wide circle of readers not only in Croatian regions, but also in Europe. See: Franičević 1983, pp. 201-205, 208-210, 215-221.

<sup>85</sup> Marulić 1950, pp. 8-9.

We assume that Marulić was afflicted by naps in his old

6. Juraj Baraković<sup>92</sup> – prije 1614. godine (lokacija: okolica Zadra, Šibenika ili Trogira), ... *kažući z vode van kip ljudski do pasa, / trojzubi svoji ostan, do ribna očasa (...) desne ruke prsti dijfega človika ...*<sup>93</sup>
7. Vlaho Skvadrović<sup>94</sup> – poslije 1667. godine (lokacija: otok Koločep), ... *Čave sjede u spilicu, / u njoj nađe, dje tu spaše, / morsku ljutu medvjedicu, / djecu svoju ka dojaše; / skoči na nju strahovito / kažuć zube jedovito. (...) a zvier tjera da razdrpi, / u zube je veće hita; / (...) skoči Mačus za oteti / dje zvier reži strahovito, (...) Medvjedica njega uteče, / tiem izvadi njoj iz usti / Čavalicu, kojof reče ...*<sup>95</sup>

Za razliku od anonimnog Zadrana, Tafura i Fabbrija, prvih pet autora i sedmi, kao promatrači jasno su prepoznali medvjedicu i nisu je smatrali za neko čudovište, a kamoli za demona, nego za pomalo čudnovatu životinju, dosadnog ili drskog ribarskog neprijatelja. Međusobno ih razlikuje samo imenovanje životinje. Dok su Šižgorić i Marulić rabili isti latinski, knjiški, Vetranović, Divnić i Skvadrović daju joj dva različita hrvatska oblika naziva, a Orbini se služi talijanskim imenom.<sup>96</sup> Šesti, Baraković, postupa sasvim drugačije. Svojoj pjesničkoj ima-

*manja od onih koje se ponekad vide u Mljetskom jezeru. ... ; Veliki atlas 2002, str. 181.*

- <sup>92</sup> Juraj Baraković (1548. - 1628.) potječe iz obitelji hrvatskog nižeg plemstva, odrastao je u Zadru, a školovao se u Italiji. Postao je svećenik i kanonik, a nakon ljubavne avanture protjeran je oko 1600. godine iz Zadra, odakle je najprije (pokajnički?) hodočastio u Rim, a zatim je otišao u Šibenik. Najvažniji mu je spjev *Vila Slovinka*, koji je tiskan 1614. u Veneciji, ali je bio dovršen nekoliko godina ranije. Druga je *Jarula*, objavljena 1618., a *Draga, rapska pastirica* izišla je tek 1899. godine. Vidi: Franičević 1983, str. 633-635.
- <sup>93</sup> Baraković 1889, str. 92-93, 160; Baraković 2000, str. 148, 150, 248.  
U *Jaruli* Baraković spominje jedno fantastično morsko biće - *orku*. Vidi: Baraković 1889, str. 259.
- <sup>94</sup> Vlaho Skvadrović (1643. - 1691.), rodom s Koločepa, bio je svećenik i kancelar Dubrovačke nadbiskupije. Bogišić 1967, str. 173-174; Županović 1966, str. 594.
- <sup>95</sup> Fancev 1956, str. 33-34; Županović 1966, str. 594; *Veliki atlas* 2002, str. 190-191.  
U Bogišićevu izdanju stihovi susreta Čavalice i medvjedice su drugačiji, ali i tu se radi o napadu životinje. Vidi: Bogišić 1967, str. 186-187.
- <sup>96</sup> Za Šižgorića možemo samo nagađati otkuda mu latinski naziv, ali u slučaju Marulića znamo da je raspolagao s Opijanovim djelom u kojem nalazimo naziv *vitulus marinus*. Vidi: Oppianus 1508, str. bez paginacije (u prvoj knjizi: *uituli marini; Vitulus p.*).
3. Mavro Vetranović<sup>86</sup> – ~1550 (location: island St. Andrew near Dubrovnik), ... *što se trpi što se pati / od morskoga od medvida, / ki se sa mnom često rati ...*<sup>87</sup>
4. Petar Divnić<sup>88</sup> – after 1552 (location: surroundings od Šibenik), ... *A jošće čudniji stvor ofdi vidiše: / morski človik divji bi, kog uhitiše. ...*<sup>89</sup>
5. Mavro Orbini<sup>90</sup> – before 1601 (location: Large lake on island Mljet), ... *alle volte Orsi marini, & vi fanno ...*<sup>91</sup>
6. Juraj Baraković<sup>92</sup> – before 1614 (location: sur-

age, in the time after his stay in Nečujam on Šolta, where he could also see a Mediterranean monk seal.

<sup>86</sup> Mavro Vetranović Čavčić (1482.-1576.), a citizen of Dubrovnik, who wore a Benedictine habit after his humanistic education. He stayed in several monasteries, however, the most important period for us is the one he spent in the monastery on the island Saint Andrew near Dubrovnik. See: Franičević 1983, pp. 334-335, 340, 347.

<sup>87</sup> Jagić, Kaznačić 1871, pp. 20-21; *Veliki atlas* 2002, p. 190.

<sup>88</sup> Petar Divnić (~1520--1597 nobleman from Šibenik, city official and mercenary soldier. See: Franičević 1983, p. 567.

<sup>89</sup> Fortis 1774, pp. 149-150. - ... *Ma più maravigliosa creatura vi si fece vedere, e vi fu preso un marino uomo inso-ciabile. ...*; Fortis 1984, pp. 98-99; Matić 1920, p. 95.

<sup>90</sup> Mavro Orbini (15??.-1610), a citizen of Dubrovnik, who joined the Benedictine order in the monastery of St. Mary on island Mljet, and later was in service on St. Andrew and in the church of St. Michael on Šipan. In 1599, he stayed in Pesaro where he observed trained Mediterranean monk seals, but for us his stay on Mljet is more important. See: Šanjek 1999, pp. 13-17.

<sup>91</sup> Orbini, 1601, p. 200. - ... *Nell detto lago entrano alle volte Orsi marini, & vi fanno gran danni dell pesce. (...) Ma mentre stanno rinchiusi dentro al lago, spesso vengono lungo il lido, & si lascia no vedere senza alcuna paura; (...) Questo, ch'io vidi à Pesaro, era assai più piccolo, di quelli, che alle volte si vedono nel lago di Meleda. ...*; Orbini 1999, p. 265-266. - ... *Coming back to the lake of Mljet, we should also mention that monk seals sometimes enter it and destroy a lot of fish, (...) While staying in the lake, they often climb to the shore and show themselves without any fear, (...) The monk seal I saw in Pesaro was much smaller than those sometimes seen in the lake on Mljet.... ; Veliki atlas 2002, p. 181.*

<sup>92</sup> Juraj Baraković (1548-1628) came from a family of Croatian lower nobility, he grew up in Zadar and was educated in Italy. He became a priest and a canon, and after a love affair he was expelled from Zadar around 1600, from where he first (penitently?) made a pilgrimage to Rome, and then went to Šibenik. His most important poem is *Vila Slovinka*, which was printed in 1614 in Venice, but had been completed a few years earlier. The second poem *Jarula* was published in 1618, whereas *Draga, rapska pastirica*, was published only in 1899. See: Franičević 1983, pp. 633-635.

ginaciji dopustio je amalgamiranje poganskih božanstava s morskim stvorenjem, koje je zacijelo poznavao kao stvarnog stanovnika obale Jadranskog mora. Sročivši sve na hrvatskom jeziku, ostavio nam je mali glosar dijelova tijela takvih bića, ali je ujedno dao najbrutalniju sliku ponašanja zaogrnutu rimskom mitologijom.<sup>97</sup> Daleko od njih, visokoučeni europski krugovi opterećeni sugestivnim antičkim naslijeđem, neupitnim vjerskim tekstovima i manjkom osobnog osvjeđenja u izgled životinje nisu se uspijevali osloboditi bremena fantastičnih tumačenja sve do razdoblja Prosvjetiteljstva.<sup>98</sup> No da vidimo kakve razine su njihova svjedočanstva:

Denovski plemić i dužd Battista Fregoso (1452. - 1504.) zabilježio je: ... *Eugenio quarto pontifice apud urbem Sibiricum in Illirico captus est **marius homo**, qui ad mare puerum trahebat. Is a currentibus, qui rem aspexerant, lapidibus, fustibusque vulneratus in siccum retractus est. huius effigies pene humana, nisi quod cutis anguillae similis erat: & in capite duo parua habebat cornua: manus quoque duorum tantum digitorum formam exprimebant. pedes autem in duas veluti caudas finiebantur: a quibus ad brachia alae, ut in vespertilionem extendebantur. ...*<sup>99</sup>

Fregoso događaj locira kod Šibenika, objekt napada su djeca, također u vrijeme pape Eugena IV., što izaziva nedoumicu radi li se o drugom zasebnom slučaju ili je riječ o autorovoj zabuni. U razrješavanju ovog problema pomogao nam je jedan mnogo kasniji zapis bez opširnijeg pristupa, prema kojemu

<sup>97</sup> Baraković je bio prijatelj s Nikolom Divnićem, šibenskim plemićem, te mu je unutar *Vile* objavio jednu pjesmu. Za nas je važno da je Nikola bio sin spomenutog Petra Divnića, pa je tim putem Baraković mogao pročitati Petrove rukopisne stihove *Pjesni u pohvalu grada Šibenika*. Iz nje je onda uzeo sintagmu *divji človik*. Vidi: Baraković 1889, str. 236; Radauš 1993, str. 415; Perić 1993, str. 416. Barakovićovo čudovište prisililo je na spolni odnos jednu vilu, što je na tragu nekih razmišljanja među europskim znanstvenicima. Vidi: Hendrix 2018, str. 133.

<sup>98</sup> Roling 2010, str. 69, 73.

<sup>99</sup> Fregoso 1509, str. bez paginacije - ... *u doba pape Eugena IV., kod Šibenika, grada u Iliriji, uhvaćen je **morski čovjek**, koji je vukao dječaka u more. Njega su prolaznici, koji su to gledali, izranjavali kamenjem i toljagama te odvuikli na suho. Njegov lik je bio gotovo čovječji, osim što mu je koža bila kao u jegulje, a na glavi je imao dva mala roga. Na obje ruke izražena su bila samo dva prsta, a noge su mu završavale poput dva repa, od kojih su krakovi bili krila, tanka kao u šišmiša. ...* Bio je dužd od 1478. do 1483. godine, a Gilinov prijevod tiskan je nekoliko puta.

roundings of Zadar, Šibenik or Trogir), ... *kažući z vode van kip ljudski do pasa, / trojzubi svoj ostan, do ribna očasa (...) desne ruke prsti **difjega človika** ...*<sup>93</sup>

7. Vlaho Skvadrović<sup>94</sup> – after 1667 (location: island Koločep), ... *Čave sjede u spilicu, / u njoj nađe, dje tu spaše, / **morsku ljutu medvjedicu**, / djecu svoju ka dojaše; / skoči na nju strahovito / kažuć zube jedovito. (...) a zvier tjera da razdrpi, / u zube je veće hita; / (...) skoči Mačus za oteti / dje zvier reži strahovito, (...) **Medvjedica** njega uteče, / tiem izvadi njoj iz ussti / Čavalicu, kojoj reče ...*<sup>95</sup>

Unlike the anonymous author from Zadar, or Tafur and Fabri, the first five authors and the seventh clearly recognized as observers the monk seal and did not consider it a monster, let alone a demon, but rather a somewhat strange animal, a boring or insolent enemy of the fishermen. They differ only by the naming of the animal. While Šižgorić and Marulić used the same Latin, literary name, Vetranić, Divnić and Skvadrović give it two different Croatian forms of the name, while Orbini uses the Italian name.<sup>96</sup> The sixth author Baraković has a completely different approach. He allowed his poetic imagination to amalgamate pagan deities with a sea creature, whom he must have known as an actual inhabitant of the Adriatic coast. Having written everything in Croatian, he left us a small glossary of body parts of such creatures, but at the same time he gave the most brutal depiction of behaviour shrouded in Roman mythology.<sup>97</sup> Far from them, the high-

<sup>93</sup> Baraković 1889, p. 92-93, 160.; Baraković 2000, p. 148, 150, 248.

In *Jarula*, Baraković mentions one fantastical sea creature - *orca*. See: Baraković 1889, p. 259.

<sup>94</sup> Vlaho Skvadrović (1643.-1691.) a native of Koločep, was a priest and chancellor of the Dubrovnik archdiocese. Bogišić 1967, pp. 173-174; Županović 1966, p. 594.

<sup>95</sup> Fancev 1956, pp. 33-34; Županović 1966, p. 594; *Veliki atlas* 2002, pp. 190-191.

In Bogišić's edition, the verses of the meeting between Čavalica and the monk seal are different, but this is also about the attack of the animal. See: Bogišić 1967, pp. 186-187.

<sup>96</sup> For Šižgorić, we can only guess where his Latin name came from, but in the case of Marulić we know that he had Oppian's work in which we find the name *vitulus marinus*. See: Oppianus 1508, p. without pagination (in the first book: *uituli marini; Vitulus p.*)

<sup>97</sup> Baraković was friends with Nikola Divnić, a nobleman from Šibenik, and he published a poem for him within his *Vila*. It is important for us that Nikola was the son of the

je to bilo 1431. godine, i to poslije 3. ožujka, jer je tog dana Eugen izabran za papu.<sup>100</sup>

Francuz *Petrus Gillius* / Pierre Gilles (1490. - 1555.) objavljuje priču ... *Cum Venetiis essem, quidam Dalmatæ, spectata fide viri, mihi religiose testati sunt, se ad oppidum Dalmatiæ, Spalatum nuncupatum, vidisse **marinum hominem**, qui se spectantibus summum terrorem iniecisset. Cum se in terram incitavisset, ut mulierem quæ circum littus forte tum versabatur, corriperet: verum ubi eam fugere prospexisset, statim ad mare regressus, imam maris sedem petivit. Eundem mihi describerunt, hominis omnino speciem similitudinemque gerere. ...*<sup>101</sup>

Ovdje nema sumnje kako se radi o nekom drugom, kasnijem incidentu koji se također dogodio u blizini Splita, poslije 1524., i svakako prije 1533. godine, dakle, neposredno nakon Marulića.<sup>102</sup> Gillesa su citirali i drugi proučavatelji morske faune (T 1).

<sup>100</sup> Lancelotti 1623, str. 553. - ... *Apreŝo Sebenico un'huomo marino, e prodigioso. ...*; Fichtinger 1995, str. 118.

<sup>101</sup> Gilles 1533, str. 278. - ... *Kad sam bio u Veneciji, neki Dalmatinci, ljudi dokazanog povjerenja, prisegnuli su mi vjerom, kako su kod dalmatinskog grada koji se zove Split, vidjeli **morskog čovjeka**, koji je promatračima ulijevao najveći strah. Kad je pobrzao na kopno, kako bi zgrabio žene koje su tada slučajno išle uz obalu, uspjele su mu pobjeći, a on se odmah vratio u vodu, tražeći najdublje boravište mora. To što je meni opisano u potpunosti je izgledalo i sličilo čovjeku. ...*; Aldrovandi 1642, str. 26-27. - ... *dum versaretur Venetiis, se a Dalmatis quibusdam spectatæ fidei viris intellexisse, secus oppidum Dalmatiæ, Spalatum nuncupatum, quandoque apparuisse marinum hominem, qui cunctis spectantibus summum terrorem incutiebat, et ab aliis, qui circa mare rubrum per longum temporis spatium versati sunt, illic marinos homines sæpe capi solere, ex quorum durissimus pellibus calcei tam robusti fabrefiunt, ut ad quindecim annos durent. ...*

<sup>102</sup> U jednom pismu Gilles navodi kako se 1524. počeo baviti zoologijom, a u Veneciji je bio 1529. Vidi: Grélois 2007, str. 24, 27.

U ovom razdoblju bilo je nekoliko izaslanstava splitskih plemića i pučana u Veneciji u svezi sa sporom oko gradskih upravnih dužnosti. Krajem 1525. predstavnik pučana bio je Marin Domic, a plemiće je zastupao vjerojatno Kristofor Papalić. Unatoč duždevoj presudi, zbog nepopustljivih stavova objiju strana, pritužbe pred mletačkim vlastima nastavile su se, pa u rujnu i listopadu 1527. nalazimo još jedno splitsko izaslanstvo u Veneciji. O tome vidi: *Zlatna knjiga* 1996, str. 388-403; Sanudo 1897, str. 76.

Marko Marulić poznao je obojicu izaslanika, a Domic je bio jedan iz njegova užeg kruga prijatelja. Vidi: Marulić 1950, str. 22-23; Fisković 1996, str. 115-117.

ly educated European circles burdened with suggestive ancient heritage, unquestionable religious texts and a lack of personal conviction in the appearance of the animal, failed to relieve themselves of the burden of fantastical interpretations until the Enlightenment.<sup>98</sup> Nevertheless, let us take a look at what levels their testimonies were:

Doge Battista Fregoso (1452-1504) from Genoa recorded the following: ... *Eugenio quarto pontifice apud urbem Sibinicum in Illirico captus est **marinus homo**, qui ad mare puerum trahebat. Is a currentibus, qui rem aspexerant, lapidibus, fustibusque vulneratus in siccum retractus est. huius effigies pene humana, nisi quod cutis anguillæ similis erat: & in capite duo parua habebat cornua: manus quoque duorum tantum digitorum formam exprimebant. pedes autem in duas veluti caudas finiebantur: a quibus ad brachia alæ, ut in vesperitilione extendebantur. ...*<sup>99</sup>

Fregoso placed the event near Šibenik, the object of the attack were children, also during the time of Pope Eugene IV. This raises doubts as to whether this was another separate incident or the author mixed it up. A much later record, but without a more extensive approach, helped solving this problem. According to this record, the incident happened in 1431, more precisely after March 3, because on that day Eugene was elected pope.<sup>100</sup>

Frenchman *Petrus Gillius* / Pierre Gilles (1490-1555) published the story ... *Cum Venetiis essem, quidam Dalmatæ, spectata fide viri, mihi religio-*

mentioned Petar Divnić, so in this way Baraković could have read Peter's handwritten verses of *Pjesni u pohvalu grada Šibenika (Poem in Praise of the Town of Šibenik)*. He then took the phrase *wild man* from it. See: Baraković 1889, p. 236; Radauš 1993, p. 415; Perić 1993, p. 416.

Baraković's monster forced a fairy to have intercourse, which is in line with some thinking among European scientists. See: Hendriks 2018, p. 133.

<sup>98</sup> Roling 2010, p. 69, 73.

<sup>99</sup> Fregoso 1509, p. without pagination - ... *in the time of Pope Eugene IV, near Šibenik, a town in Illyria, a **sea man** was caught, who was dragging a boy into the sea. Passers-by, who were watching, wounded him with stones and clubs and dragged him to dry land. His figure was almost human, except that his skin was like an eel's, and he had two small horns on his head. On both hands there were only two fingers and his legs ended like two tails, the tentacles of which were wings, as thin as a bat's. ...*

He was a doge from 1478 to 1483, and Gilin's translation was printed several times.

<sup>100</sup> Lancelotti 1623, p. 553. - ... *Apreŝo Sebenico un'huomo marino, e prodigioso. ...*; Fichtinger 1995, p. 118.





Sl. 7. Čudovišno biće (Meer-Wunder) kako su ga opisali svjedoci (1716.), (preuzeto iz: Reusch 1723)

Fig. 7 A monstrous creature (Meer-Wunder) as described by witnesses (1716), (taken from: Reusch 1723)

Konrad Gessner 1560. godine navodi kako je ... *Eugenio quarto Pontifice apud urbem Sibinicum in Illyrico captus est **marinus homo**, qui ad mare puerum trahebat. Is a currentibus, qui rem aspexerant, lapidibus, fustibusque vulneratus in siccum retractus est. Huius effigies pene humana, nisi quod cutis Anguillae similis erat, et in capite duo parua habebat cornua. Manus quoque duorum tantum digitorum formam exprimebant. Pedes autem in duas veluti caudas finiebantur: a quibus ad brachia alæ, ut in Vespertilione extendebantur...*<sup>103</sup>

<sup>103</sup> Gessner 1560, str. 175; Maiolo 1597, 454, 458-459. ... *Eugenio enim Quarto Pontifice apud urbem Sibinicum in Illyrico captus memoratur **marinus homo**, qui ad mare puerum trahebat. ...*

*ose testati sunt, se ad oppidum Dalmatiæ, Spalatum nuncupatum, vidisse **marinum hominem**, qui se spectantibus summum terrorem iniecisset. Cum se in terram incitavisset, ut mulierem quæ circum littus forte tum versabatur, corriperet: verum ubi eam fugere prospexisset, statim ad mare regressus, imam maris sedem petivit. Eundem mihi descriperunt, hominis omnino speciem similitudinemque gerere. ...*<sup>101</sup>

There is no doubt that this is another, later incident that also took place near Split, after 1524, and certainly before 1533, i.e. immediately after Marulić.<sup>102</sup> Gilles was also cited by other scientists researching the marine fauna (T 1).

Konrad Gessner states in 1560 that ... *Eugenio quarto Pontifice apud urbem Sibinicum in Illyrico captus est **marinus homo**, qui ad mare puerum trahebat. Is a currentibus, qui rem aspexerant, lapidibus, fustibusque vulneratus in siccum retractus est. Huius effigies pene humana, nisi quod cutis An-*

<sup>101</sup> Gilles 1533, p. 278. - ... *When I was in Venice, some Dalmatians, people of well-founded trust, swore to me on their faith that they had seen a **sea man** near the Dalmatian city called Split, who instilled the greatest fear in the spectators. When he hurried ashore to grab the women who were then accidentally walking along the shore, they managed to escape him, and he immediately returned to the water, searching for the deepest place in the sea. What was described to me completely looked and resembled a man. ...; Aldrovandi 1642, pp. 26-27. - ... *dum versaretur Venetiis, se a Dalmatis quibusdam spectatæ fidei viris intellexisse, secus oppidum Dalmatiæ, Spalatum nuncupatum, quandoque apparuisse marinum hominem, qui cunctis spectantibus summum terrorem incutiebat, et ab aliis, qui circa mare rubrum per longum temporis spatium versati sunt, illic marinos homines sæpe capi solere, ex quorum durissimus pellibus calcei tam robusti fabrefiunt, ut ad quindecim annos durent. ...**

<sup>102</sup> In one letter Gilles states that he began to study zoology in 1524, while he visited Venice in 1529: Grélois 2007, p. 24, 27.

During this period there were several delegations of Split nobles and commoners in Venice in connection with the dispute over the city's administrative duties. At the end of 1525, the representative of the people was Marin Domić, while the nobility was probably represented by Kristofor Papalić. Despite the doge's verdict and due to the uncompromising stances of both sides, the complaints before the Venetian authorities continued, so in September and October 1527 there was another delegation from Split in Venice. On this topic, see: *Zlatna Knjiga* 1996, pp. 388-403; Sanudo 1897, p. 76.

Marko Marulić knew both envoys, and Domić was one who belonged to his closest circle of friends. See: Marulić 1950, pp. 22-23; Fisković 1996, pp. 115-117.

Gessner u potpunosti prepisuje Fregosa, a njega također slijede i drugi autori.

Sa stoljećem i pol vremenskog razmaka jedna njemačka popularno pisana monografija o Dalmaciji daje nam ove podatke o „morskom čudovištu“ (sl. 7): ... *Allhier kan von einem Meer-Wunder, das sich im Jenner 1716. bei Ragusa sehen lassen, kürzlich zu melden nicht Umgang nehmen, daß es ohngefehr 4. oder 5. Meilen von der Stadt Ragusa in menschlicher Gestalt bei nahe 15 Fuß<sup>104</sup> hoch erschienen seye. Sein Kopf war von ungemainer Grösse, die Füße nebst Armen und Beinen mit den übrigen Theilen des Leibes sehr wol proportionieret. Dieser Meer-Mensch kam gegen Mittag aus dem Wasser hervor, und gieng mit grossen Schritten auf der Erden spatzieren: oft streckete er seine Hände über den Kopf gen Himmel; und wenn er solche wieder sinken ließ, erhub er ein so starkes Geschrei und durchdringendes Geheule, daß man solches mehr als eine halbe Französische Meile<sup>105</sup> davon hören kunte. Gegen drei Uhr kehrte er ordentlich zurück nach dem Meer: und kam in folgenden Tagen wieder an einem andern Ort hervor. Doch getraute sich niemand zu ihm zu nahen. In so grosse Furcht und Schrecken hat er ganz Dalmatien gesetzt. (...) Die Abbildung davon hat man dem geneigten Leser vor Augen legen wollen, so, wie man solche erhalten: will aber nicht gehalten seyn, die Garantie zu leisten, daß solche völlig getroffen, weil man nur durch Fern-Gläser dessen Figur beschauet. ...<sup>106</sup>*

<sup>104</sup> Nije jasno o kojoj stopi je riječ. Nirnberška stopa iznosi 0,304 m. Petnaest stopa je dužina od 4,56 m. Vidi: Doursther 1840, str. 414.

Bečka stopa iznosi 0,316 m, a 15 stopa je 4,74 m. Vidi: Herkov 1977, str. 168.

<sup>105</sup> Jedna francuska milja je mjera za dužinu, a iznosi 1.949 m. Pola milje je, dakle, 974,5 m.

Doursther 1840, str. 210, 279.

Postoji i mala francuska milja. Vidi: Herkov 1977, str. 204.

<sup>106</sup> Reusch 1723, str. 23-25. - ... *Upravo tu se može ukratko, neizbjegavajući, izvijestiti o jednom morskom čudovištu, koje se moglo vidjeti u siječnju 1716. kod Dubrovnika. Ono se pojavilo u ljudskom obliku gotovo 15 stopa visoko, otprilike 4 do 5 milja od grada Dubrovnika. Njegova glava bila je neobične veličine, a stopala uz ruke i noge s ostalim dijelovima tijela vrlo dobro proporcionirana- Taj morski čovjek izišao je oko podneva iz mora, prošetao po zemlji velikim koracima i često je pružao svoje ruke preko glave prema nebu. Kad ih je spuštao, podigao je tako jako deranje i prodorno urlikanje, da ga se moglo čuti na daljini od više od polovice francuske milje. Oko tri sata vratio se uredno u more i došao je ponovo sljedećeg dana*

*guillae similis erat, et in capite duo parua habebat cornua. Manus quoque duorum tantum digitorum formam exprimebant. Pedes autem in duas veluti caudas finiebantur: a quibus ad brachia alæ, ut in Vespertilione extendebantur: ...<sup>103</sup>*

Gessner completely copies Fregoso, while his example is also followed by other authors.

A century and a half later, a popular German written monograph on Dalmatia gives us the following information about the “sea monster” (fig. 7):... *Allhier kan von einem Meer-Wunder, das sich im Jenner 1716. bei Ragusa sehen lassen, kürzlich zu melden nicht Umgang nehmen, daß es ohngefehr 4. oder 5. Meilen von der Stadt Ragusa in menschlicher Gestalt bei nahe 15 Fuß<sup>104</sup> hoch erschienen seye. Sein Kopf war von ungemainer Grösse, die Füße nebst Armen und Beinen mit den übrigen Theilen des Leibes sehr wol proportionieret. Dieser Meer-Mensch kam gegen Mittag aus dem Wasser hervor, und gieng mit grossen Schritten auf der Erden spatzieren: oft streckete er seine Hände über den Kopf gen Himmel; und wenn er solche wieder sinken ließ, erhub er ein so starkes Geschrei und durchdringendes Geheule, daß man solches mehr als eine halbe Französische Meile<sup>105</sup> davon hören kunte. Gegen drei Uhr kehrte er ordentlich zurück nach dem Meer: und kam in folgenden Tagen wieder an einem andern Ort hervor. Doch getraute sich niemand zu ihm zu nahen. In so grosse Furcht und Schrecken hat er ganz Dalmatien gesetzt. (...) Die Abbildung davon hat man dem geneigten Leser vor Augen legen wollen, so, wie man solche erhalten: will aber nicht gehalten seyn, die Garantie zu leisten, daß solche völlig getroffen, weil man nur durch Fern-Gläser dessen Figur beschauet. ...<sup>106</sup>*

<sup>103</sup> Gessner 1560, p. 175; Maiolo 1597, 454, 458-459. ... *Eugenio enim Quarto Pontifice apud urbem Sibinicum in Illyrico captus memoratur **marinus homo**, qui ad mare puerum trahebat. ...*

<sup>104</sup> It is not clear which foot is meant. The Nuremberg foot is 0.304 m. Fifteen feet is a length of 4.56 m. See: Doursther 1840, p. 414.

The Viennese foot is 0.316 m, and 15 feet are 4.74 m. See: Herkov 1977, p. 168.

<sup>105</sup> One French mile is a measure of length and represents 1,949 m. Half a mile is therefore 974.5 m.

Doursther 1840, p. 210, 279.

There is also a small French mile. See: Herkov 1977, p. 204.

<sup>106</sup> Reusch 1723, pp. 23-25. - ... *It is here that one can briefly, inevitably, report on a sea monster, which could be seen in January 1716 near Dubrovnik. It appeared in human*

Informacija dobivena od neimenovanih svjedoka uključena je kao bizarni ekskurs u knjigu koja daje sažeti pregled povijesti, etničkih značajki i znamenitosti Dalmacije, ali ne sa znanstvenim pristupom, nego izneseno više na popularan način, razumljiv širem čitateljstvu. Tekst o morskome stvoru viđenom kod Dubrovnika senzacionalistički je sročan, i toga je svjestan izdavač pa se ograđuje od opisa. Jedino što su svjedoci mogli vidjeti je sredozemna medvjedica, ali se navedeni načini kretanja i značajke tijela moraju odbaciti kao netočni i pretjerani.

Jedan od najgorljivijih pristaša prosvjetiteljstva, opat Alberto Fortis (1741. - 1803.), i ne spominje stara mišljenja i učenja – on jednostavno iznosi činjenice. Tvrdi kako se u njegovo vrijeme, tj. prije 1772. godine, medvjedice rijetko nalaze duž Makarskog primorja, ali da ih nešto više ima u kvarnerskim vodama i oko ušća Neretve.<sup>107</sup> Nešto kasnije, 1780., Petar Grisogono navodi kako su u prošlom stoljeću bile brojnije, a krajem 18. vide se češće u vodama Dubrovnika.<sup>108</sup> Franz Petter je (prije 1857.) zabilježio kako, doslovno: *tuljani* ili *morska telad*, više ne obitavaju u okolici Splita, međutim, kod Dubrovnika se svake godine ulove jedan do dva primjerka. Primijetio je kako se medvjedice pojavljuju u Karinskome moru svaki put kad zapuše bura (sl. 11).<sup>109</sup>

*na drugom mjestu. Ipak, nitko mu se nije usuđivao približiti, i utjerao je cijelu Dalmaciju u veliki strah i užas. (...) Njegovu sliku predočili smo dobrohotnom čitatelju, onako kako smo je primili. Nećemo pak jamčiti, da je bio baš takav, jer su njegov lik promatrali samo preko dalekozora. ...*

<sup>107</sup> Fortis 1774, str. 130. – ... *I Vitelli marini rare volte si mostrano nel Canale del Primorie, ma non infrequentemente si vedono presso le foci di Narenta. Eglino amano i fondi interrotti da scogli ed Isolette, per uscire all' aria sovente; e quindi spesse volte se ne incontrano lungo le coste dell' Istria, e fra l' Isole del Quarnaro. Gli abitanti del litorale attribuiscono a questo anfibio una grandissima propensione alle uve, e protestano asseverantemente, che in tempo di notte egli esce a succhiare i grappoli pendenti dalle viti, nella stagione opportuna. ...*; Fortis 1984, str. 226. – ... *Tuljani se rijetko kada pokazuju u Primorskom kanalu, ali često se vide pokraj ušća Neretve. Oni vole dna koja su ispresijecana hridima i otočićima jer mogu često izlaziti na zrak; stoga se nerijetko susreću duž obala Istre i među otocima Kvarnera. Priobalni stanovnici pripisuju tom vodozemcu silnu sklonost prema grožđu i ozbiljno tvrde da on u doba zrenja noću izlazi i zoblje grozdove što vise s loza. ...*

<sup>108</sup> Nutrizio Grisogono 1780, str. 46.

<sup>109</sup> Petter 1857, str. 83; Brusina 1889, str. 102; *Veliki atlas* 2002, str. 138.

The information obtained from unnamed witnesses is included as a bizarre excursion into the book, which gives a brief overview of the history, ethnic features and sights of Dalmatia, but not with a scientific approach, but presented more in a popular way understandable to a wider readership. The text about a sea creature seen near Dubrovnik was written as a sensationalistic piece of writing, and as the publisher was aware of that fact, he distanced himself from the description. The only thing the witnesses could see was a Mediterranean monk seal, but the described way of movement and the characteristics of the body must be dismissed as inaccurate and exaggerated.

One of the most ardent supporters of the Enlightenment, Abbot Alberto Fortis (1741-1803), does not even mention previous views and teachings - he simply states the facts. He claims that in his time, i.e. before 1772, monk seals were rarely found along the Makarska coast, but that there were more of them in the waters of the Kvarner bay and around the estuary of the Neretva river.<sup>107</sup> Some-

*form almost 15 feet high, about 4 to 5 miles from the city of Dubrovnik. Its head was unusually large, and its feet along with its arms, legs and other parts of his body were very well proportioned- This sea man came out of the sea around noon, walked the earth by taking long strides and often stretched its arms over its head towards the sky. As it lowered them, it let out such a loud scream and a piercing howl, that it could be heard at a distance of more than half a French mile. About three o'clock it returned neatly to the sea, but appeared again in another place the next day. However, no one dared to approach it, and it put entire Dalmatia into great fear and horror. (...) We presented its image to the benevolent reader; as we received it. We do not guarantee that it was exactly like that, because its character was observed only through binoculars. ...*

<sup>107</sup> Fortis 1774, p. 130. – ... *I Vitelli marini rare volte si mostrano nel Canale del Primorie, ma non infrequentemente si vedono presso le foci di Narenta. Eglino amano i fondi interrotti da scogli ed Isolette, per uscire all' aria sovente; e quindi spesse volte se ne incontrano lungo le coste dell' Istria, e fra l' Isole del Quarnaro. Gli abitanti del litorale attribuiscono a questo anfibio una grandissima propensione alle uve, e protestano asseverantemente, che in tempo di notte egli esce a succhiare i grappoli pendenti dalle viti, nella stagione opportuna. ...*; Fortis 1984, p. 226. – ... *Seals are rarely seen in the Littoral Channel, but are often seen near the estuary of the Neretva river. They like bottoms that are intersected by cliffs and islets because it allows them to often surface into the air; therefore, they are often found along the coast of Istria and among the islands in the Kvarner bay. Coastal residents attribute a strong passion for grapes to this amphibian and seriously claim that at the time of ripening it comes*

## Sredozemna medvjedica

Prvi znanstvenik koji sredozemnu medvjedicu (*Monachus monachus* Hermann ili *Monachus albiventer* Boddaert)<sup>110</sup> pod latinskim imenom *Vitulus marinus* izričito naziva životinjom, bio je Guillaume Rondelet (1507. - 1566.), profesor medicine iz Montpelliera. On ujedno objavljuje njezinu sasvim realističnu sliku i daje opširan opis ponašanja (sl. 8).<sup>111</sup>

Ona se kao morski sisavac teško kreće po kopnu, a sklona je odmaranju na grebenima, stijenama, kao i na pješćanim ili žalovitim obalama. Glede odmaranja to su primijetili i Fabri i Orbini. Nadalje, Rondelet navodi kako se medvjedice znadu boriti između sebe i hrkati dok drijemaju. Fortis potvrđuje kako vole izlaziti na obalu radi ležanja, no ističe uvjerenje pučanstva da ona uživa jesti grožđe u priobalnim vinogradima.<sup>112</sup> Upravo u morskom rukavu koji spominje Tafur, odnosno u istočnom dijelu Kaštelanskog zaljeva, bilo je nekoliko pogodnih mjesta za medvjedičino odmaranje. To su otočić Barbarinac (6.482 m<sup>2</sup><sup>113</sup>), smješten ispred istočnog dijela sućuračke obale i predjela Tišić. Tu je zatim cijeli niz manjih hridi oko njega s istočne, južne i zapadne strane (sl. 4 i sl. 9). Po sredini ili bliže splitskoj obali nalaze se hrid Školjić (978 m<sup>2</sup>)<sup>114</sup> te hridi Galija (483 m<sup>2</sup>) i Šilo.<sup>115</sup>

Valja naglasiti kako je sjeverna obala zaljeva do druge polovice 15. stoljeća bila potpuno nenaseljena, a takva je bila i na jugu. Na istočnom dijelu gradnja kaštela u Gomilici, ili bolje rečeno Kaštilca, provedena je u razdoblju od 1529. do 1545. godine i u nj je naseljeno sedamnaest obitelji iz starog sela Kozice.<sup>116</sup> Gradnja kaštela u Sućurcu, odnosno (kao i u slučaju Gomilice) Kaštilca počela je najranije – već 1392., ali je dovršena nakon duge stanke tek 1488. godine.<sup>117</sup> Godina gradnje kaštela Kuparić nije poznata, ali je vjerojatno bila provedena krajem 15. ili početkom 16. stoljeća. Ovaj kaštel je bio najistočnija stambena fortifikacija potkozjačkog dijela

what later, in 1780, Petar Grisogono states that they were more numerous in the last century, while at the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century they were seen more often in the waters around Dubrovnik.<sup>108</sup> Franz Petter (before 1857) noted that, literally: *seals* or *sea calves* no longer live in the vicinity of Split, however, one or two specimens are caught near Dubrovnik every year. He noticed that monk seals appear in the Karin Sea every time the bora wind blows (fig. 11).<sup>109</sup>

## Mediterranean monk seal

The first scientist to explicitly call the Mediterranean monk seal (*Monachus monachus* Hermann or *Monachus albiventer* Boddaert)<sup>110</sup> an animal under the Latin name *Vitulus marinus* was Guillaume Rondelet (1507-1566), a professor of medicine from Montpellier. He also published a completely realistic picture of it and provided an extensive description of its behaviour (fig. 8).<sup>111</sup>

The animal, as a marine mammal, difficultly moves on land and tends to rest on reefs, rocks, as well as on sandy or pebble beaches. Fabri and Orbini also noticed this in terms of the animal resting ashore. Furthermore, Rondelet states that monk seals often fight with each other and snore while napping. Fortis confirms that they like to go ashore to lie down, but also emphasizes the belief of the people that it enjoys eating grapes in coastal vineyards.<sup>112</sup> Precisely in the sea arm mentioned by Tafur, i.e. in the eastern part of the Kaštela Bay, there were several suitable resting places for the monk seal. These are the islet of Barbarinac (6.482 m<sup>2</sup><sup>113</sup>) located in front of the eastern part of the coast of Sućurac and the area of Tišić, but also a whole series of smaller rocks around it on its eastern, southern and western sides (fig. 4 and fig. 9). In the middle or closer to the coast of Split are the rocks Školjić (978 m<sup>2</sup>)<sup>114</sup>, Galija (483 m<sup>2</sup>) and Šilo.<sup>115</sup>

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*out at night and bites the grapes that hang from the vines.*

...

<sup>110</sup> Čanadjija 1985, str. 526.

<sup>111</sup> Rondelet 1554, 453-454, 456.

<sup>112</sup> Fortis 1774, str. 130.

<sup>113</sup> *Peljar* 1964, str. 206; Duplančić Leder, Ujević, Čala 2004, str. 15.

<sup>114</sup> *Peljar* 1964, str. 206.

<sup>115</sup> *Peljar* 1964, str. 206.

<sup>116</sup> Marasović 1996, str. 173-174; Omašić 2001, str. 191-194, 504.

<sup>117</sup> Marasović 1999, str. 135-136, 140; Omašić 2001, str. 174-176, 500-503.

<sup>108</sup> Nutrizio Grisogono 1780, p. 46.

<sup>109</sup> Petter 1857, p. 83; Brusina 1889, p. 102; *Veliki atlas* 2002, p. 138.

<sup>110</sup> Čanadjija 1985, p. 526.

<sup>111</sup> Rondelet 1554, pp. 453-454, 456.

<sup>112</sup> Fortis 1774, p. 130.

<sup>113</sup> *Peljar* 1964, p. 206; Duplančić Leder, Ujević, Čala 2004, p. 15.

<sup>114</sup> *Peljar* 1964, p. 206.

<sup>115</sup> *Peljar* 1964, p. 206.



Sl. 8. Sredozemna medvjedica prema prikazu Rondeleta (oko 1554.), (preuzeto iz: Rondelet 1554, str. 453)

Fig. 8 Mediterranean monk seal according to the depiction of Rondelet (around 1554), taken from: Rondelet 1554, p. 453)

splitskog distrikta, a nalazio se na otoku zvanom *Skradinik* ili *Otočac* (danas *Barbarinac*).<sup>118</sup> Dakle, na potezu od ušća Pantana do ušća Jadrana - Δ5, bila je gotovo iskonski nedirnuta obala, more je obilovalo ribom i po svemu je to bilo za sredozemnu medvjedicu povoljno okruženje (sl. 10).

Može li se racionalno objasniti nasrtljivo ponašanje one jedinice 1438. godine, a ujedno i one životinje u okolici Šibenika 1431.? U tom smislu dragocjeno je poetsko svjedočanstvo s *Koločepa* prema kojemu je medvjedica branila mladunče. Nadalje, u jednom djelu iz 18. stoljeća opisano je opasno ponašanje sredozemne medvjedice koja je bila u zatočeništvu. Životinja se ponašala većinom vrlo pitomo, međutim, povremeno je dobivala napade agresivnosti i bijesno je napadala sve u svojoj blizini. Jednom je zgrabila zubima hranitelja za nogu toliko snažno da su joj morali otvarati čeljusti nekim predmetom. Drugi put je napala krupnog psa, zubima mu jako razderala glavu i dugo ga držala izražavajući ljutnju. Iako su ova dva slučaja različita od onih na Jadranu, ipak ostaje prostora za pretpostavku kako su životinje iz Kaštela i Šibenika branile životni prostor.<sup>119</sup> Na kraju vrijedi usporediti veličine životinje koje su nam neki od autora naveli u svojim izvješćima. Prema *Fabriju* duga je otprilike kao četiri čovjeka, *Bracciolini* procjenjuje da joj je ... *Tijelo je bilo nešto duže i krupnije nego u čovjeka ...*, dok su joj promatrači iz okolice Dubrovnika dali oko 15 stopa, odnosno preko 4,5

<sup>118</sup> Omašić 2001, str. 195-196; Marasović 2007, str. 39-41.

<sup>119</sup> Hamilton 1839, str. 191.



Sl. 9. Dio istočne obale Kaštelanskog zaljeva, s grebenima, hridima i otočićem Barbarinac (foto: K. Kužić 2020).

Fig. 9 Part of the eastern coast of the Kaštela Bay with rocks, cliffs and the islet of Barbarinac (photo: K. Kužić 2020).

It should be emphasized that the northern shore of the bay was completely uninhabited until the second half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century as was the case also on the southern shore. In the eastern part, the fortress or, to be more precise, the *Kaštilac* in *Gomilica* was constructed between 1529 and 1545 and seventeen families from the old village of *Kozice* were moved into it.<sup>116</sup> The construction of the fortress in *Sućurac*, that is (as in the case of *Gomilica*) of the *Kaštilac*, began as early as 1392, but was completed after a long break only in 1488.<sup>117</sup> The year of construction of the *Kuparić* fortress is not known, but it was probably carried out at the end of the 15<sup>th</sup> or the beginning of the 16<sup>th</sup> century. This castle was the easternmost residential fortification in the area at the foot of the *Kozjak* mountain that belonged to the *Split* district. It was located on an island called *Skradinik* or *Otočac* (today's *Barbarinac*).<sup>118</sup> Thus, the stretch from the estuary of the *Pantan* to the estuary of the *Jadro* river - Δ5 was an almost pristine coast, where the sea was rich in fish and hence a favourable environment for the Mediterranean monk seal (fig. 10) in all respects.

<sup>116</sup> Marasović 1996, pp. 173-174; Omašić 2001, pp. 191-194, 504.

<sup>117</sup> Marasović 1999, pp. 135-136, 140; Omašić 2001, pp. 174-176, 500-503.

<sup>118</sup> Omašić 2001, pp. 195-196; Marasović 2007, pp. 39-41.



Sl. 10. Pogled sa zapada na otočić Barbarinac s obližnjom obalom početkom 19. stoljeća prema Lavalléu (preuzeto iz: Lavallée 1802)

Fig. 10 View from the west on the islet of Barbarinac with the nearby coast at the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century according to Lavallée, (taken from: Lavallée 1802)

m. U studiji iz 18. stoljeća jedinka je imala dužinu od sedam i pol engleskih stopa, ili oko 2,3 m.<sup>120</sup> Mužjak ulovljen 1830. u blizini Cresa mjerio je 10 njemačkih stopa (oko 3,15 m), a težio oko 350 funti (oko 165 ili 196 kg), dok je odrasla ženka ulovljena 1874. godine u Trsteniku (Pelješac) bila duga 2,67 m. Drugi primjerci su bili dugi 2,5 m.<sup>121</sup> Iz 20. stoljeća imamo podatke o sljedećim veličinama i težinama: Zaton Šibenski – 2 m, 180 kg; Biševo – 3 m, 300 kg; Petrovac – 2,6 m, 360 kg; Svetac – >2 m, >200 kg.<sup>122</sup> Kako vidimo, pretjerivanje je najočitiije u Fabrija s onih 7,5 do 7,8 metara (=četiri čovjeka!). Unatoč svojoj pomalo zastrašujućoj veličini, prilagođenosti lokalnom i općem biotopu, vještini gibanja kroz more i spretnosti u hvatanju ribe populacija sredozemne medvjedice nepovratno je opadala još od kraja 18. stoljeća. Onako kako su je istrebljivali ribari na Jadranu,<sup>123</sup> jednako su je lovili i na drugim mjestima njezina obitavanja.<sup>124</sup>

### Zaključak

Sredozemna medvjedica, shvaćena kao obični morski sisavac perajar, ušla je u hrvatska pomoćna povijesna vrela na mala vrata – kroz rijetke spomenke književnika i pjesnika, neopterećenih antičkom mitologijom i djelima prepisivanim i naslijeđenim od grčkih i rimskih autora. Uz to je morala prebroditi i vjersku literaturu čiji su pisci medvjedici da-

Is it possible to rationally explain the aggressive behaviour of the individual seen in 1438, but also of the animal witnessed in the vicinity of Šibenik in 1431? In this sense, the poetic testimony from Koločep is very valuable, according to which the monk seal defended its cub. Furthermore, an 18<sup>th</sup>-century text describes the dangerous behaviour of a Mediterranean monk seal that was in captivity. The animal behaved mostly very tamely, however, it occasionally, in a fit of rage and aggression, angrily attacked everyone in its vicinity. It once grabbed with its teeth the feeder by his leg so hard that they had to open its jaws with an object. The second time it attacked a large dog and tore its head hard with its teeth, holding it for a long time and expressing anger. Although these two cases differ from those on the Adriatic coast, there is still room for the assumption that the animals from Kaštela and Šibenik defended their living space.<sup>119</sup> Finally, it is worth comparing the size of the animals that some of the authors have given us in their reports. According to Fabri, the animal is about as long as four men, Bracciolini estimates that ... *its body was slightly longer and larger than a man's* ..., while observers from the vicinity of Dubrovnik described its length as around 15 feet or more, i.e. 4.5 meters respectively. A study from the 18<sup>th</sup> century states that the individual was seven and a half English feet or about 2.3 m.<sup>120</sup> The male monk seal caught in 1830 near Cres measured 10 German feet (about 3.15 m) and weighed about 350 pounds (about 165 or 196 kg), while the adult female caught in 1874 in Trstenik (Pelješac) was

<sup>120</sup> Hamilton 1839, str. 192.

<sup>121</sup> Brusina 1889, str. 100; Doursther 1840, str. 216, 234, 403-404.

U svezi s funtama, uzete su u obzir berlinska i bečka funta.

<sup>122</sup> Županović 1966, str. 595-596.

<sup>123</sup> Orbini 1601, str. 20.; Orbini 1999, str. 265-266.

<sup>124</sup> Johnson 2008, 40-41

<sup>119</sup> Hamilton 1839, p. 191.

<sup>120</sup> Hamilton 1839, p. 192.

vali neizbježnu negativnu konotaciju, pridavajući joj demonske atribute i značajke. Estetske težnje, majstorska vještina i zahtjevi naručitelja arhitektonskih zdanja rijetko su joj davali pravo na prezentaciju u stvarnom obliku, pa je gotovo beziznimno bila dopunjavana njoj nepripadajućim detaljima iz fantazmagoričnog svijeta prikazâ, monstuma i zloduhâ. Unatoč nekim dobrohotnim redcima iz Biblije, bizarni prikazi majstora Otta i Radovana te drugih skulptora na splitskoj i trogirskoj katedrali, da ne idemo dalje, dovoljno govore kako je jedino mogla ući kao punopravni član u hrvatski i sveeuropski bestiarij, a nikako među pozitivne Božje stvorove. Za nju nije bilo mjesta u ravni s orlom, sokolom, slavićem pa čak ni volom, medvjedom ili veprom. Ona je bila na negativnoj strani duhovne sinusoide, zajedno sa zmijom, zmajem i grifonom, koji su, znamo, bili pomagači i utjelovljenja Nečastivog. Ipak, sredozemna medvjedica živjela je u okruženju u kojem je djelovao čovjek i takva se od praiskona kretala, bolje rečeno plivala duž hrvatskog dijela obale Jadranskog mora. Nevjerojatno sretan niz okolnosti, počevši od pravovremenog nailaska neumornog putopisca Kastilca Tafura, preko svjedočenja polihistora Firentinca Poggia Bracciolinija do nadahnuća genija Nirnberžanina Dürera, sačuvao je i promovirao na europsku scenu jednu pojavu sredozemne medvjedice na istočnom dijelu današnje kaštelanske obale 1438. godine. Mjesta u Kaštelanskom zaljevu na kojima se sredozemna medvjedica mogla zadržavati imala su zajedničku značajku sa svim drugim lokacijama na Jadranu – izdvojenost. U tom pogledu u istočnom dijelu zaljeva postoji nekoliko hidrografskih objekata koji su relativno udaljeni od kopna. To su otočić Barbarinac (6.482 m<sup>2</sup>), manje hridi oko njega s istočne, južne i zapadne strane, zatim hrid Školjić (978 m<sup>2</sup>) i hrid Galija (483 m), no bez obilja ribe koja se skupljala pri ušću Jadra i utocima niza potoka ne bi ova morska životinja tamo zalazila i zadržavala se. Prema znanstvenoj sistematizaciji pripada redu zvijeri mesoždera (*Carnivora*), iz čega bi se djelomično mogla objasniti njezina agresivnost u ovom incidentu, ali i drugima, zabilježenima kod Šibenika i Splita.

Hrvatska kulturna i intelektualna elita u razdoblju humanizma (14. - 16. st.) bila je nadahnuta antičkom literaturom pa je u skladu s tim doživljavala, uz određene varijacije, pojavu ovakvih stvorova kao argument vjerodostojnosti starih autora. Za

2.67 m long. Other specimens were 2.5 m long.<sup>121</sup> From the 20<sup>th</sup> century we have following data on sizes and weights: Zaton near Šibenik - 2 m, 180 kg; Biševo - 3 m, 300 kg; Petrovac - 2.6 m, 360 kg; Svetac -> 2 m, > 200 kg.<sup>122</sup> We can see that Fabri exaggerated the most with his description of 7.5 to 7.8 meters (= four men!). Despite its somewhat frightening size, its adaptation to the local and general habitat, its ability to move through the sea and its ability to catch fish, the population of the Mediterranean monk seal has been declining irreversibly since the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Just as it was exterminated by fishermen in the Adriatic Sea,<sup>123</sup> it was also hunted in other places where it lived.<sup>124</sup>

### Conclusion

The Mediterranean monk seal, perceived as an ordinary marine mammal or pinniped, entered the Croatian auxiliary historical sources through the back door - through rare mentions by writers and poets, unencumbered by ancient mythology and works that were transcribed and inherited from Greek and Roman authors. In addition, it also had to overcome religious literature whose writers gave the monk seal an inevitable negative connotation by attributing demonic characteristics and features to it. Aesthetic aspirations, masterful skills and the investors' requirements regarding architectural buildings rarely gave the right to its realistic presentation, so it was almost invariably supplemented by details that did not belong to it and derived from the phantasmagorical world of ghosts, monsters and demons. Despite some benevolent verses from the Bible, the bizarre depictions of masters Otto and Radovan and other sculptors working on the cathedrals of Split and Trogir, to name just a few, say enough that the monk seal could only enter as a full member the Croatian and pan-European bestiary, and certainly not be among the positive creatures of God. There was no room for it on a par with the eagle, falcon, nightingale or even ox, bear or boar. It was on the negative side of the spiritual sinusoid, along with the serpent, dragon and griffin which,

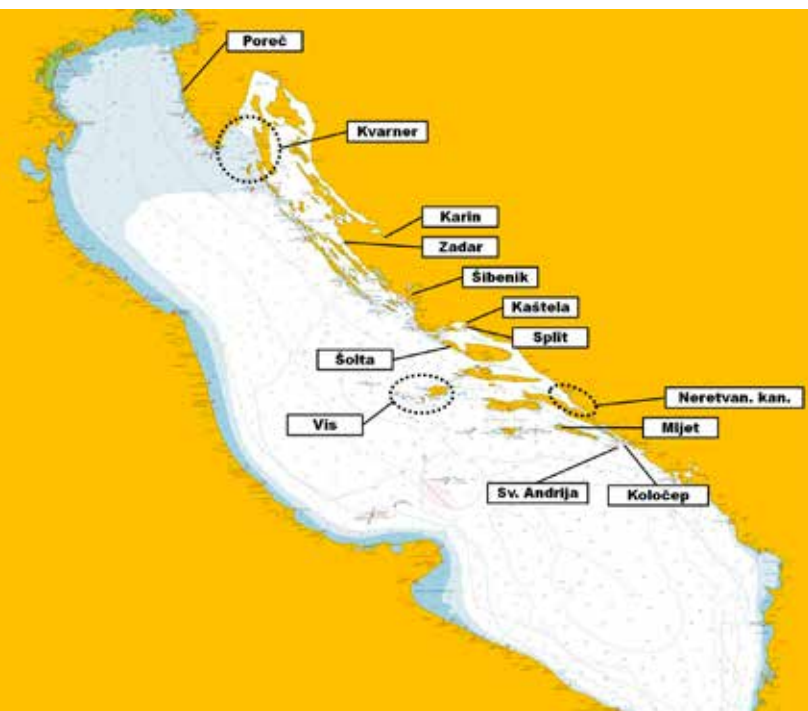
<sup>121</sup> Brusina 1889, p. 100.; Doursther 1840, pp. 216, 234, 403-404.

In terms of pounds, the Berlin and Viennese pounds were taken into account.

<sup>122</sup> Županović 1966, pp. 595-596.

<sup>123</sup> Orbini 1601, p. 200; Orbini 1999, pp. 265-266.

<sup>124</sup> Johnson 2008, pp. 40-41.



Sl. 11. Označene lokacije boravišta i pojavljivanja sredozemne medvjedice na istočnoj obali Jadranskog mora prema obrađenim izvorima od 15. do 19. stoljeća.

*Fig. 11 Marked locations of the habitat and occurrence of the Mediterranean monk seal on the eastern coast of the Adriatic Sea according to edited sources from the 15<sup>th</sup> to the 19<sup>th</sup> century*

Marka Marulića može se kazati kako se nalazio u nezavidnoj situaciji, jer je autoritetima morao suprotstaviti empirijska saznanja običnog puka. On je stoga zauzeo ambivalentan stav, dajući uporabnu simboličnu vrijednost čudovištima u sklopu svojih vjersko-didaktičnih djela, a pravoj životinji (vjerojatno) je dao mjesto koje joj pripada, pouzdavajući se u retke iz knjige Opijana Cilicijskog u vlastitoj biblioteci. U tome mu je sličan bio i Juraj Šižgorić – njegov stariji uzor, koji je neupitno diferencirao medvjedicu od „čudovištâ“, nažalost neopisanih.<sup>125</sup> Korak dalje, ali još uvijek bez zooloških pretenzija napravili su neki hrvatski književnici. Uz spomenutog Šižgorića, i Mavro Vetranović, Petar Divnić i Vlaho Skvadrović, a ponajviše Mavro Orbini, odnosili su se prema medvjedici kao sasvim prirodnom dijelu biocenoze njihova kraja, iz čega je vidljivo kako je ovaj perajar nastanjivao cijelu istočnu obalu Jadrana pa čak i neposredne okolice njihovih gradova i naselja (sl. 11).

<sup>125</sup> Zacijelo bi detalji pružili mogućnost prepoznavanju određene životinjske vrste.

we know, were the helpers and incarnations of the Unholy. Nevertheless, the Mediterranean monk seal lived in an environment where humans were present and has been moving or rather swimming in its specific style along the Croatian part of the Adriatic coast since ancient times.

An incredibly fortunate series of circumstances, starting with the timely arrival of the tireless Castilian travel writer Tafur, through the testimony of the Florentine polyhistor Poggio Bracciolini to the inspiration of the genius of Nuremberg Dürer, preserved and promoted on the European scene the one appearance of a Mediterranean monk seal in the eastern part of today's coast of Kaštela in 1438. Places in the Kaštela Bay, where the Mediterranean monk seal could stay, shared a common feature with all other locations in the Adriatic - isolation. In this respect, there are several hydrographic objects in the eastern part of the bay which are relatively distant from the mainland. These are the islet of Barbarinac (6.482 m<sup>2</sup>), smaller rocks around it on its eastern, southern and western sides, but also the rocks Školjić (978 m<sup>2</sup>) and Galija (483 m). However, without the abundance of fish that gathered at the estuary of the Jadro river and the other streams that flow there into the sea, these sea animals would have not gone and stayed there. According to the scientific systematization, it belongs to the order of carnivorous animals (*Carnivora*), which could partly explain its aggressiveness in this, but also in other incidents recorded near Šibenik and Split.

The Croatian cultural and intellectual elite in the period of humanism (14<sup>th</sup>-16<sup>th</sup> centuries) was inspired by ancient literature and accordingly experienced, with certain variations, the appearance of such creatures as an argument for the credibility of the authors in the past. It can be said that Marko Marulić was in an unenviable situation, because he had to oppose the authorities with the empirical knowledge of the common people. He therefore took an ambivalent stance, giving useful symbolic value to monsters within his religious-didactic works, while (probably) giving the real animal its rightful place, relying on the lines from the book of Oppian of Cilicia in his own library. Similar to him in this regard was Juraj Šižgorić- his older role model, who unquestionably differentiated a monk seal from “monsters”, unfortunately not described.<sup>125</sup>

<sup>125</sup> Surely the details would provide an opportunity to identify a particular animal species.



Posebno je dragocjeno svjedočenje o njezinom usmrćivanju na Mljetu – *sapiens* nije nimalo tolerirao proždrljivost koja je karakterizirala medvjedicu. Posljednji u ovom nizu, Juraj Baraković, ponekad djeluje kao zakasnijeli hiperhumanist. Nedvojbenim domoljubljem i rodoljubljem nadahnuta *Vila* prepuna je antičkih reminiscencija, ali i klasičnih epskih figura i personifikacija (orao, sokol, paunica, vuk, ...). Stavivši uz njih i nekoliko kopnenih monstuma – *osina*, ostalo je malo prostora za morska čudovišta, a još manje za živu, stvarnu medvjedicu, iako je pišući u 1. licu počesto bio na moru u nekoj *plavci* tijekom poetskog fabuliranja.

Remek-djela hrvatske romanike iz Splita i Trogira, pa time i figure čudovišta, gotovo da nitko nije poznavao u širem okruženju do dolaska austrijskih konzervatora u 19. stoljeću, ali lik čudovišta iz Kaštelanskog zaljeva, doduše, kasnije neodređeno vezan uz Split, preživio je u bakrorezu Albrechta Dürera. Gessnerova težnja da pronade sva svjedočanstva, legende i priče o morskim stvorenjima, namjerila ga je u Antwerpenu na ovo djelo, što je ukupno rezultiralo u nerezonski sastavljenoj zbirci, a kako je to smatrano znanstvenim djelom, put prema visokoškolskoj publici bio je otvoren. Slično tome prošla je i šibenska epizoda medvjedičinog susreta s ljudima. Rondeletova realna slika medvjedice bila je kvalitetni iskorak, ali je ostala usamljena i zanemarena sve do Prosvjetiteljstva i primarnih pokušaja usustavljenja svih životinjskih vrsta. I onda, sasvim neočekivano, pojavili su se pravi primjerci *Schundliteratur*, obojeni senzacionalističkim pristupom u tolikoj mjeri da su članci prije podsjećali na izmišljotine viteza Mandevillea iz 14. stoljeća, nego na racionalizam 18. st. Dok je prvi kompilator isključivi krivac za nekritički tekst, a još više za sliku, valja priznati kako su u drugom slučaju za takav dojam krivi i dubrovački informatori. U razdoblju od Fortisa pa do Pettera konačno je sredozemna medvjedica priznata kao morski sisavac i dio podreda perajara. Međutim, istodobno s njezinom afirmacijom u znanstvenim krugovima, ona je konstantno i nepovratno gubila svoj životni prostor na istočnoj obali Jadrana. Jednostavno čovjek i njegov razvoj ribarenja i ribarske tehnike nisu podnosili ovog suparnika iz živog svijeta. Čitajući njezine nazive kroz stoljeća, od onog putničkog: *mostruo* iz 1438., preko umjetničkog: *Mehrwunder* iz 1498., do znanstvenog: *diable de mer* iz 1573. godine, teško bismo dobili dojam da se radi o jed-

Some Croatian writers have taken a step further, but still without zoological pretensions. In addition to the aforementioned Šižgorić, Mavro Vetranović, Petar Divnić and Vlaho Skvadrović, but especially Mavro Orbini treated the monk seal as a completely normal part of the biocenosis of their region, which shows that this pinniped inhabited the entire eastern Adriatic coast and even the immediate surroundings of their towns and settlements (fig. 11).

The testimony of its killing on island Mljet is especially valuable - the *sapiens* did not tolerate the voraciousness that characterized the monk seal. Juraj Baraković, the last in this series, sometimes acts as a belated hyperhumanist. Undoubtedly inspired by nationalism and patriotism, the epic *Vila (Fairy)* is full of ancient reminiscences, but also classic epic figures and personifications (eagle, falcon, peacock, wolf, ...). He added also several land monsters- *shadows*, thereby leaving little room for sea monsters, and even less for a living, real monk seal, although while writing in the first person he was often at sea in a small boat when he was inventing poetic stories.

Masterpieces of the Croatian Romanesque period from Split and Trogir, and thus figures of monsters, were almost not known to anyone in the wider area until the arrival of Austrian conservators in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, but the character of the monster from the Kaštela Bay, although later indefinitely associated with Split, has survived in Albrecht Dürer's copper engraving. Gessner's quest to find all the testimonies, legends and stories of sea creatures, lead him to this work in Antwerp, resulting in an irrationally compiled collection, and as it was considered a scholarly work, the path to an audience of higher education was open. The Šibenik episode of the monk seal's encounter with people happened in a similar way. Rondelet's realistic image of the monk seal was a qualitative step forward, but it remained lonely and neglected until the Enlightenment and the primary attempts to systematize all animal species. And then quite unexpectedly, real copies of pulp fiction or *Schundliteratur* appeared that were coloured by a sensationalist approach to such an extent that the articles were more reminiscent of the inventions of the 14<sup>th</sup>-century Knight of Mandeville than of 18<sup>th</sup>-century rationalism. While the first compiler is solely to blame for the uncritical text, and even more so for the image, it must be admitted that in the second case the informants

noj te istoj vrsti. Vrsti morskog sisavca koju je neki anonimni glagoljaš iz 14. stoljeća lapidarno opisao kao *zvir človiko obraznu*.<sup>126</sup> Prateći ovu priču, uočavamo kako se srednjovjekovni čovjek, osjećajući strah Božji od nekih životinja, bojao prirode, a onda se probojem prosvjetiteljstva i tehnološkim razvojem transformirao u navodnog gospodara prirode i arbitra (ne)potrebnosti tih istih životinja. Na hrvatskoj strani Jadrana ostali su mikrotoponimi: Medova buža - Rab, Lopar; Medvidina špilja - Biševo;<sup>127</sup> Medvedova grota - Korčula, Lukovac (Blato);<sup>128</sup> Južna medvidina - Hvar, Gdinj;<sup>129</sup> Medvidov bad - Hvar;<sup>130</sup> Medvinjak - Korčula, Korčula; Stara medvidina - Mala Palagruža;<sup>131</sup> Mededina - Sušac;<sup>132</sup> Ropa međedina - Lastovo, rt Skriževo; Ropa međedina - Lastovo, rt Busovača.<sup>133</sup> Osim njih ostali su i ovi zapisi.

from Dubrovnik were equally to blame for such an impression. In the period from Fortis to Petter, the Mediterranean monk seal was finally recognized as a marine mammal, i.e. part of the suborder of the pinniped. However, at the same time as it was acknowledged in scientific circles, the monk seal was constantly and irreversibly losing its living space on the east coast of the Adriatic Sea. Simply said, mankind and his development of fishing techniques could not stand this rival from the living world. Reading its names through the centuries, i.e. from the name in the travelogue, where it was called the *mostruo* in 1438, through the artistic name as the *Mehrwunder* in 1498, to the scientific one: *diable de mer* in 1573, we would hardly get the impression that it is one and the same species. A species of marine mammal that an anonymous Glagolitic scholar from the 14<sup>th</sup> century succinctly described as *zvir človiko obraznu*.<sup>126</sup> Following this story, we notice how the medieval man, feeling the fear of God from some animals, was afraid of nature, and then, with the breakthrough of the Enlightenment and technological development, transformed himself into the alleged master of nature and arbiter of the (non)necessity of these same animals. On the Croatian side of the Adriatic coast, the following microtoponyms remained: Medova buža - Rab, Lopar; Medvidina špilja- Biševo;<sup>127</sup> Medvedova grota - Korčula, Lukovac (Blato);<sup>128</sup> Južna medvidina - Hvar, Gdinj;<sup>129</sup> Medvidov bad - Hvar;<sup>130</sup> Medvinjak - Korčula, Korčula; Stara medvidina - Mala Palagruža;<sup>131</sup> Mededina - Sušac;<sup>132</sup> Ropa međedina - Lastovo, rt Skriževo; Ropa međedina - Lastovo, rt Busovača.<sup>133</sup> In addition to them, also these records remained.

(Kontekst d.o.o.)

<sup>126</sup> Jagić 1871, str. 246.

Usporedi s Vrančićem - *zvir* (bilješka 2).

<sup>127</sup> Županović 1966, str. 597, 599.

<sup>128</sup> Gjivoje 1969, str. 18, 30.

<sup>129</sup> Hraste 1956, str.368, 370, 372; *Veliki atlas* 2002, str. 171.

<sup>130</sup> Županović 1966, str. 597.

<sup>131</sup> Županović 1966, str. 599.

<sup>132</sup> *Veliki atlas* 2002, str. 178.

<sup>133</sup> Prostorni plan 2010, str. 14-15.

<sup>126</sup> Jagić 1871, p. 246.

Compare with Vrančić – *zvir*=*beast* (note 2).

<sup>127</sup> Županović 1966, p. 597, 599.

<sup>128</sup> Gjivoje 1969, p. 18, 30.

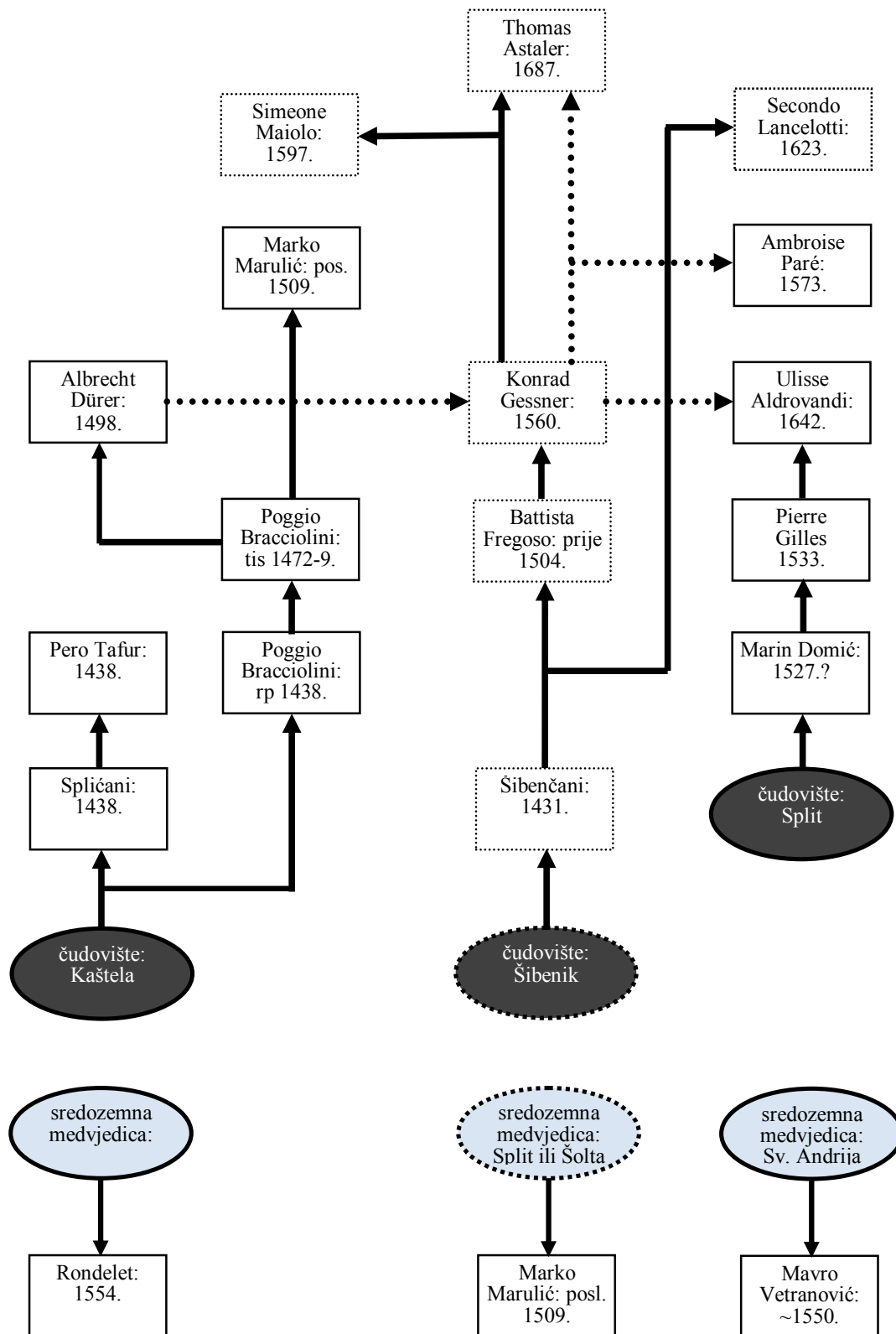
<sup>129</sup> Hraste 1956, p.368, 370, 372; *Veliki atlas* 2002, p. 171.

<sup>130</sup> Županović 1966, p. 597.

<sup>131</sup> Županović 1966, p. 599.

<sup>132</sup> *Veliki atlas* 2002, p. 178.

<sup>133</sup> Spatial plan 2010, pp. 14-15.



T. I. Temeljni prikaz toka tekstualnih i slikovnih informacija pojma “čudovište” od izvorišta do korisnika, kao i istovjetni prikaz toka pojma “sredozemna medvjedica”. Oznaka “rp” kod Bracciolinija odnosi se na rukopis, a oznaka “tis” kod istog autora označava tiskane knjige.

Table I Basic presentation of the flow of textual and pictorial information of the term “monster” from the source to the user, as well as an identical presentation of the flow of the term “Mediterranean monk seal”. The notation “rp” in Bracciolini refers to the manuscript, while the notation “tis” denotes printed books.

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