An entangled dragon in a Renaissance inscription from Dalmatia

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An entangled dragon in a Renaissance inscription from Dalmatia

Neven Jovanović

5 July 2023

University of Zagreb, Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences
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This paper is part of a project that has received funding from the European Union's Horizon 2020 Research and Innovation Programme (GA n. 865863 ERC-AdriArchCult)

TSKA
osuđa i uprave
a uprava

papalićeva 1

MUSEUM
MUSEU

- *The builders*: Giorgio da Sebenico = Juraj Dalmatinac (1410–1473) or Andria Aleši (1425–c. 1505)
- *The owners*: Alberti family; from c. 1493, Papalić family

IN MAGNVM LATRARE

The inscription

In magnum latrare, canes, nolite draconem:
Hic etiam tauros ore uorare potest.

Do not bark at the huge dragon, you dogs;
its jaws can easily devour even bulls.

The inscription first published: Cvito Fisković, 1950.

De templo s. Dominij olim Jouí dicato.

Hæc sunt templa tibi Domini data Jupiter abit,
Vanus cum ritu Jupiter ille suo.

De Marino in cena duliter canente.

Dulcior ambrosia est coena hæc, & nectar sacro
Dulcior est coena carmé cantáte Marino.

De Dracone marmoreo.

In magnum latrare canes nolite Draconem,
Hic etiam taurros ore uorare potest.

Ad Simonem fratrem ut a taloy ludo abstineat.

Taloy uetitu tandem fuge Simone ludum,
Dederet ingenuos dedecet iste iocus.

- *The manuscript*: University Library, Glasgow, GB 247 MS Hunter 334 (U.8.2), c. a. 1524–1550
- *Authorship established*: Darko Novaković, 1997
- *The author*: Marko Marulić = Marcus Marulus (Split, 1450–1524)

The plan

- The author
- The patron
- The inspiration
- Purposes?

Marko Marulić (Split, 1450–1524)

Marko Marulić = Marcus Marulus

- epic in Croatian: Judita
  (written in 1501, published Venice 1522)

Libar Marca Marula Splichianina Vchomse
usdarsi Istoria Sfete udouice Iudit u uersih
haruacchi slosena/chacho ona ubi uoi
uodu Olopherna Posridu uoiſ
che guegoue/i oslodobi pu-
ch israelschi od ueli
che pogibili.

Prodaiuse ubnecih umarcarii ustacū
chidarsi libar sa signao.

Marko Marulić = Marcus Marulus

- epic in Croatian: Judita
  (written in 1501, published Venice 1522)
- religious prose in Latin: De institutione bene uiuendi per exempla sanctorum
  (published Venice 1507; 15 editions before 1700)

MARCVS

MARVLVS SPALATEN,
SIS DE INSTITVTIO,
NE BENEVIVENDI
PER EXEMPLA
SANCTO,
RVM.

✠

BIBLIOTEKA U ZAGREBU

In epigrammata priscorum commentarius

uerteris post te tonabit furibunda contra minas audacior cõtra uerbera clamosior.

Trans Tyberim
Ad sanctũ Bẽdictum

IOVI.
.O.M.
¢DOLICHENO.C.
FRONTINIVS NIG-
RINVS LVCIVS PO-
SVIT ARAM

Mos enim erat ut emeriti militiam et a labore soluti in templo Iouis offerrent

In epigrammata priscorum commentarius

- a commentary on ancient Roman inscriptions from Italy and Dalmatia
- written in 1503-1510
- dedicated to Dmine Papalić (Dominicus Papalis, born c. 1450, appears in documents until 1512)

CONSENTIO DEORVM
MARCANA SOZOMENE
IMPERIO FECIT

loci ꝛ tranquillum in secessu ccum, Ex
tat ædificium eius Salonis proximi, quod
maiores nostri post urbis euersionem inco-
lere cœpere, nunc nostrum natale solum
est, quod Spalatum appellant, sed ꝛ ipsum
semirutum atq; in parte demtegratum, mu-
rorum tamen ac turrium pulchritudine
portarumq; affabre structarum decore os-
tendens qualia et illa fuerint, quæ uel ue-
tustate uel inimicorum iniuria defecere.
Stat adhuc Templum Ioui quondam sacr-
nunc Domnio martyri dedicatum, ma-
gnæ turris instar rotunda speciem angula-
tum, cuius murus (ut uides) quadrato
lapide reuiculatus

Spalatu

Templum
S. Domnij

Papalić family and the Glasgow MS

“Po mnogim svojim osobinama, likovnoj opremljenosti, raskošnom uvezu, opetovanom obziru koji se iskazuje prema Maruliću, glasgowski kodeks najprirodnije se čita kao svojevrstan interni vodič uz Papalićevu epigrafsku zbirku.” (Novaković, 1997, p. 29)

“Many of its features – its art, binding, gestures of respect for Marulić himself – make the Glasgow manuscript a natural equivalent of an in-house guide to the lapidarium of Dmine Papalić.” (Novaković, 1997, p. 29)

Dmine Papalić: a commissioner

Portrait of Dmine Papalić in the In epigrammata

- antiquitatis mirum in modum studiosus
  (wonderfully interested for the antiquity)
- Fuimus Troes, fuit Ilium et ingens gloria Teucrorum
  (Vergil: We used to be Trojans, there once was Troy and the great glory of the Teucrians)
- quasi heres eorum quibus olim in testimonium uirtutis ab imperatore traditae fuere
  (in a way a heir to those whose courage was confirmed by this document of the Roman emperor)

Salona
SPALATRO

auorum gloria ad nepotum redundat laudem, tantoque ad te magis quanto plenius eos expresseris et militiae studio et animi uigore. Dum enim uirenti adhuc aetate floreres, equos alere, arma tractare et nunc hasta, nunc ense pugnae simulacra cum aequalibus ciere magnopere te delectabat. Quin etiam, quoties incursiones pati contigit, toties obuiam hosti cum armatorum manu prodibas, contempto uitae periculo pro patriae honore. Post haec in classe Veneta triremis praefectus Ottomanico bello ita te gessisti ut iam emeritis stipendiis domum reuersus domesticis laudem attuleris, amicis laetitiam, patriae decorem.

the glory of grandfathers contributes to the fame of their grandchildren; to you even more, because you have imitated them more fully through your military activities and energetic spirit. While you were still young, you found pleasure in training horses, exercising with arms and contending with your pears, feinting battle, sometimes with a spear, sometimes with a sword. Moreover, whenever there was a hostile raid, you faced the enemy with a company of men-at-arms, disregarding the risk of your own life for the honour of our country. Later, as a commander of a galley in the Venetian fleet during the Ottoman War, you showed such bravery that, at the end of your service, you returned home bringing fame to your citizens, joy to your friends, glory to your country.

De gestis Regum Dalmatiae et Croatiae.

Marcus Marulus Dominico Papali.

Commentariolum à te in Croatia nuper repertum inter uetustas gentis scripturas Dalmatico idiomate compositum, tuo rogatu latinum feci, Croatiae, Dalmatiaeq; Regum gesta continentem, Res certe digna relatu, eo quod non solum omnes homines, sed etiam latine intelligant, & hac n. historia et boni exemplum petere poterunt qd imitentur, et Mali qd sese corrigant, atq; hoc illud fuit quod et te impulit, et me ad historiam transferendam urgeres, et me ut tibi obtemperarem magis tamen tuus erga me amor laborem hunc coegit me subire, Quid est n. quod illi non deberem. Vale. Anno Salutis Christiana M. D. X.

Justiniano partibus Orientis imperante anno Christiana salutis DXXXIIII. quo tempore Sabinus, et Germanus Episcopi uitae sanctitate nobiles, et Benedictus Abbas montis Casini fuerunt, Stolado Gotorum Rege uita functo, Brisches inter liberos eius natu maior

Zrmanja
Krka
Trošenj
Knin
Glamoč
Vesela Straža
Lašva
Ostrovica
Vrana
Bribir
Nečven
Vrhrika
Susjed
Fojnic
Prozor
Skradin
Ključica
Čikola
Potravnik
Cetina
Livno
Prozor
Šibenik
Sinj
Čačvina
Duvno
Kon
Klis
Trilj
Trogir
Solin
Split
Proložac
Neretva
Omiš
Imotski
ŠOLTA
BRAČ
Mostar
Makarska
Vrgorac
Ljubuški
Blag
HVAR
Stari Grad
Hvar
Ostrog
Trebižat
Gradac
Driva
VIS
Brštanik
Korčula
KORČULA
Ošlje
Ston

Dmine Papalić and the Croatian Chronicle

- *Hrvatska kronika* (*Croatian Chronicle*): in 1500 Papalić himself found the medieval chronicle and copied it from a manuscript preserved in the house of Juraj Marković Kačić in Makarska (50 kilometers southeast from Split)
- *Croatian Chronicle*: a short medieval genealogy of rulers of the Croatian kingdom; events from c. 538 to 1150
- *Regum Delmatiae et Croatiae gesta*: Marulić's translation of the *Croatian Chronicle* into Latin, done at the request of Dmine Papalić

Papalić family and the Alberti house in Split

Research of Emil Hilje (2005), connecting Andrija Aleši and the Papalić palace:

- 1492: Ivan Alberti (died in 1493) makes Dmine Papalić's son Petar heir to Ivan's new house: "Item lasso a Piero fiol de Domenego de Papali e de Marcella la mia casa nuoua la qual ho fato fabricarmi"
- familial entanglements:
  - Maria Marcello (from a Venetian patrician family) was the wife of Ivan Alberti (married 1447)
  - Marcella Marcello (Maria's sister) was the wife of Dmine Papalić (married 1475)
  - Marko Marulić was Ivan Alberti's nephew (on the mother's side); in his youth (probably 1473), Marulić held a speech for the doge Niccolò Marcello (d. 1474), uncle of Maria and Marcella

Why Bulls?

In magnum latrare, canes, nolite draconem:
Hic etiam tauros ore uorare potest.

Do not bark at the huge dragon, you dogs;
its jaws can easily devour even bulls.

VIRTVTIBVS
ITVR AD ASTRA

Jerome, Vita Hilarionis (c. 390)

Ljubuški
Blagaj
Nevesinje
Ostrog
Trebižat
Gacko
Gradac
Driva
Cernica
Brštanik
Ošlje
Trebišnjica
Bileća
Ston
Slano
Trebinje
Onogoš
MLJET
Klobuk
Dubrovnik
PUBLIC OF RAGUSA
Cavtat
Risan
Herceg-Novi
Kotor
Budv

Jerome, Vita Hilarionis (c. 390)

Duxit itaque illum ad Epidaurum Dalmatiae oppidum… draco mirae magnitudinis, quos gentili sermone boas vocant, ab eo quod tam grandes sint, ut boves glutire soleant, omnem late uastabat provinciam

Hilarion was led to Epidaurus (modern Cavtat, 20 kilometers southeast from Dubrovnik), a Dalmatian town… the dragon, of huge proportions, was of the species locally called boas, because they are large enough to devour oxen (boves); the dragon terrorized the whole region

Hilarion and the dragon in Dalmatian literature

Thomas the Archdeacon, *Historia Salonitana* (before 1268): Fuit autem ciuitas eius Epitaurus, que est iuxta Ragusium, in qua est magnum antrum et usque hodie opinio est, ibi habitare draconem (…) etiam de beato Ylarione legitur, quod magnum ibi draconem peremit.

Hilarion and the dragon in Dalmatian literature

Annales Ragusini Anonymi (14th c.): (*year 789*) Vense uno drachone de Levante, una cosa maravigliosa, et intrai nela spelunca de Epidauro. Qual fazeva asai dani et ruinamenti per tuta costa, et per Dalmatia, et in Arbania; devorava puti, bestiami, et tal volta dava mal a le femine et homeni; et haveva in più lochi habitation (...) (*year 802*) Vense uno Romito de la parte de Levante, el quale haveva nome Ilarion. Qual gionse in prima a la fiumara in Bren, et li apreso fiumara feze unachaseta pizula de maxera (...) come arivaseno a quela banda apreso fiumara in teraferma, dove fo chaseta de Romito, li feze comandamento a lo serpente, che intrase dentro in sua chaseta. In prima feze meter dentro la frascha deli ramiceli deli arbori, et fezeli bruxar e tarder, in presentia de tuti homeni.

Hilarion and the dragon in Dalmatian literature

Daniele Clario, chancellor of the Republic of Dubrovnik, in a letter to the archbishop of Dubrovnik (1505): (*Epidaurum Illyricam*) Hieronymo Hilarionis Thabathensis boa dracone celebrem…

Hilarion and the dragon in Dalmatian literature

- The cult of Saint Hilarion (not very widespread in the West): in Mlini near Cavtat there was (and still is) a church of Saint Hilarion.
- a Croatian Glagolitic tradition: seventeen manuscript breviaries written between 14th century and 1561 contain the life of Saint Hilarion (although they omit the episode with the dragon; Vesna Badurina-Stipčević, 2004).

terea in sublimi montis vertice qui p̃ cochlea ascendentibus & arduè vallde, duæ eiusdẽ mẽsuræ cellulæ visebant̃, in q̃bus veniẽtiũ frequentiã/& discipulorũ suorũ cõtuberniũ fugiẽs moratus ẽ, Verũ hæ in viuo excisæ saxo ostia tm̃ addita habebãt. His quidẽ verbis diu⁹ Hieronymus (vt mihi videt̃) nõ solũ loci formã atq̃ naturã pulchre expeditecq̃ descripsit, verumetiã elegãter effinxit, enucleatecq̃ expressit, quantus in illis dei seruis intimi amoris feruor accendebatur, dũ singula circũspectando sic penitus Antonij memoria cõmouẽtur, tanq̃ præsentẽ cernerẽt, non tanq̃ desiderarẽt absentẽ. Vsq̃adeo ille efficax atq̃ admirandũ sanctitatis exemplũ fuit.

D

Hilarion abbas

¶ PORRO ipse Hilariõ viuẽte adhuc Antonio. xv, annos natus, cũ visendi ei⁹ cupiditate flagraret, ad heremũ ẽ profectus, Vt autẽ eũ vidit, repẽte mutato habitu nõ añ discessit/q̃ vitæ ei⁹ ordinẽ morũq̃ præstantiã edidicisset. Deinde frequẽtiã vẽtitãtiũ nõ ferẽs, cũ q̃busdã monachis ad patriã redijt, & postq̃ defũctis parẽtibus omnẽ hæreditatẽ partim fratribus/partim paupibus distribuisset, solitudinẽ quæ in septimo miliario a Maiouia Gaçæ emporio p̃ litus euntibus ægyptũ ad leuã flectit̃/ingressus est. Sacco tm̃ mẽbra cooptus, & pelliceũ habẽs enpeditẽ, quẽ beat⁹ Antoni⁹ p̃ficiscẽti dederat/sagũq̃ rusticũ. Vasta & terribili heremo fruebat̃, nunq̃ in eodẽ loco mansitãs/ne latronũ pateret iniuriæ. Sed & dæmonũ ibi multas variasq̃ terrificationes cõstãter tolerauit. Multas tẽtatiões, multas eorundẽ euasit ĩsidias. A sextodecimo vsq̃ ad vicesimũ suæ ætatis an-

Hilarion and Marko Marulić

- *De institutione* (1507)
- *Repertorium*, Marulić's private commonplace book, preserved in autograph (1480–1520)

De sanctis angelis. 228
Venia. Qre Angeli nō merent veniā. 305
Vestis que nē tantū subuenit. 148
De detestatione pciosarū vestiū. 154
De simplici & rudi indumento. 155
Clerici ī vestitu ornatū expectes. 166
Si ā veste cogitatū: lylia tibi ā cuīq ponent.
De vestibus capitulū. 229. §197.
Hilarious vestimēta saccus: ependites pel-
liceus: sagum rusticum. 236
Superfluū re duū mūdicias ī calicio gerere
sacū q semel idutus fuerat nūq lauās. 237.
Humilitas virtutū fundamentū & custos. 58
Humiles. nouissimi. extremi. idem.
An ora humilitatem diligere. 135
Hic re ppōens ignobilioribus. 166
In omnibus seruanda humilitas. 170

Hilarion and Marko Marulić

- *De institutione* (1507)
- *Repertorium*, Marulić's private commonplace book, preserved in autograph (1480-1520)
- Marulić's copy of Jerome's *Epistulae*, f. 243v (Parma 1480; today preserved in Franciscan Monastery of St. Anthony, Poljud, Split)

ſtrans littora:deſerta penetrans.& hanc tantum habens fiduciam:q
latere non poſſet. Trāſacto igit iā triennio:audiuit mothonæ a quo
ſcuta uendente ꝓphetā xp̄ianorꝫ apparuiſſe in Sicilia:tanta miracu
de ueteribus ſanctis deputaret. Interrogatus itaq; habitū eius:īceſſ
ætatē dicere nihil potuit. Ille.n. qui referebat:famā ad ſe tantum u
Ingreſſus ergo Adriā:ꝓſpero curſu uenit pachynum:& in quadā c
mā ſenis ſciſcitans:cōſona oīum uoce cognouit ubi eſſet:qd agere
admirantibus:q̄ poſt tanta ſigna atq; miracula nec fragmen qdē p
locis accepiſſet. Et nelongum faciam : ſanctus uir Heſitius ad ma
plātaſq; eius lachrymis rigās : tandē ab eo ſubleuatus poſt bidui t
Zanano:nonpoſſe ſenem iam illis habitare regiōibus. ſed uelle ad
gere nationes: ubi & nomen & rumor ſuus incognitus fieret.

d Vxit itaq; illum ad Epidaurum dalmatiæ oppidum:ubi pa
gello mālitās nō potuit abſcondi. Siqdē draco miræ magni
mone boas uocant:ab eo q tā grandes ſint:ut boues glutire ſolear
prouinciam . & non ſolum armenta & pecudes:ſed agricolas qu
ad ſe ui ſpiritꝰ abſorbebat. Cui cum pyram iuſſiſſet ꝓparari:& or
euocato ꝓcepiſſet ſtruem lignorꝫ ſcandere:ignem ſuppoſuit . Tu
plebe īmanē beſtiam concremauit. Vnde æſtuans quid faceret:q

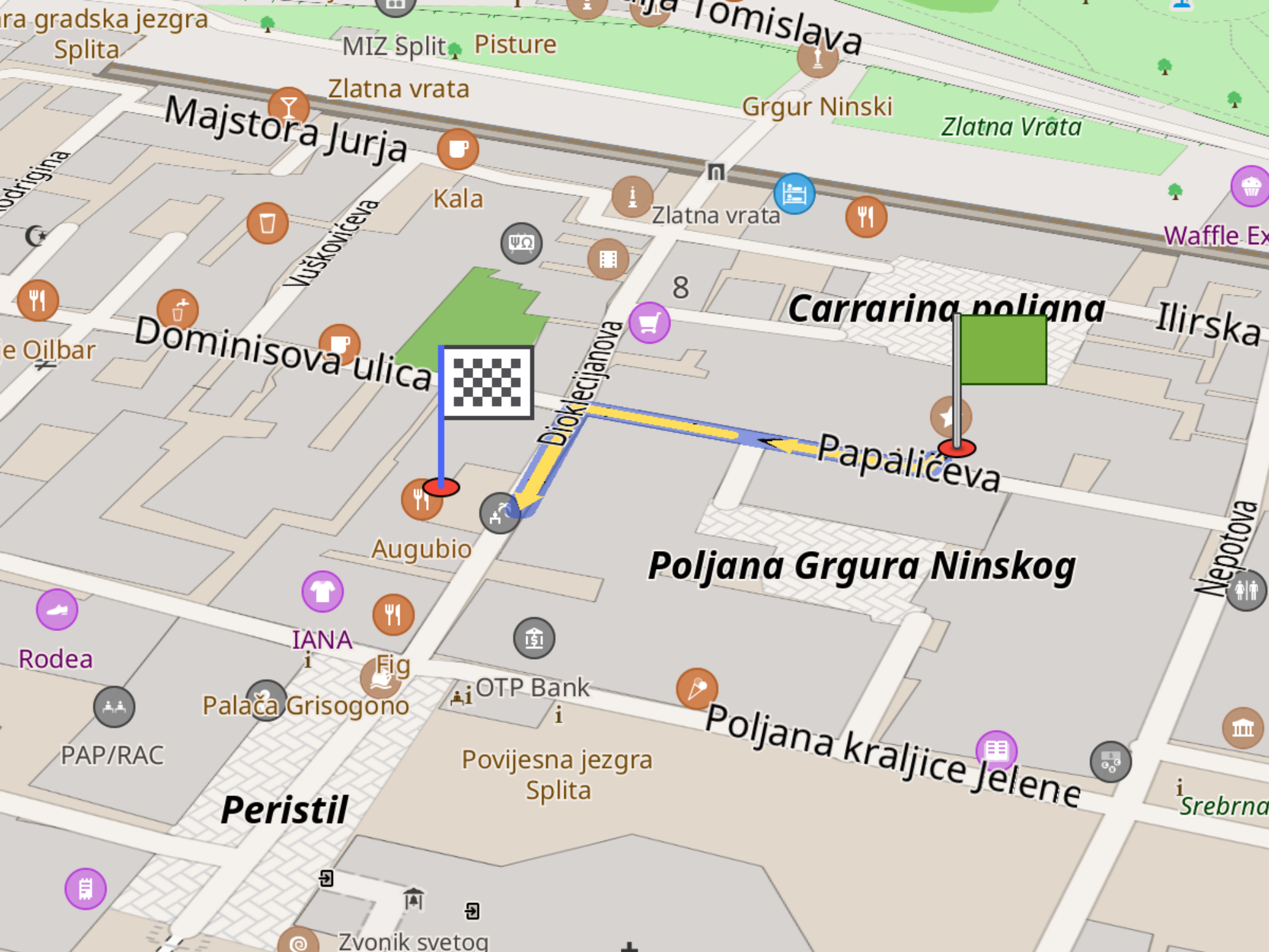
Draconē con cremauit.

Why Inscription?

Cvito Fisković, 1962

“prkosno postavio svoj plemićki grb pred one koji su u maloj bodljikavoj sredini renesansnog gradića bili žalosni od zavisti na njegove uspjehe… ono bahato renesansno vrijeme isticanja vlastite ličnosti i ličnih sukoba… netrpeljivost u razdraženoj zbijenosti srednjovjekovnih gradova… razdraženi zmaj okolo kojega samouvjerljivo piše…”

“(he) spitefully placed his coat of arms in front of those who in a narrow prickly milieu of a Renaissance town felt pain from envy at his successes… the typical Renaissance haughtiness in self-assertion and personal conflicts… intolerance in the irritated, confined space of medieval towns… an irritated dragon around which, with self-confidence, it is written…”


ra gradska jezgra Splita
MIZ Split
Pisture
Zlatna vrata
Majstora Jurja
Grgur Ninski
Zlatna Vrata
Kala
Zlatna vrata
Waffle Ex
Vuškovićeva
8
Carrarina poljana
Ilirska
Dominisova ulica
Diokecijanova
Papalićeva
Augubio
Poljana Grgura Ninskog
Nepotova
IANA
Fig
Rodea
Palača Grisogono
OTP Bank
PAP/RAC
Povijesna jezgra Splita
Poljana kraljice Jelene
Peristil
Srebrna
Zvonik svetog

BATISTE·DE·VGVBIO

BATISTE·DE·VGVBIO

“Distih spominje lajanje pasa, simbola vrline koja progoni nezasitnu žudnju *cupiditas*. Žudnja je personificirana u prevarljivom biku, čije je obličje uzimao Jupiter da zadovolji svoju požudu. Zmaj koji može progutati bika je Marsov zmaj, čuvar zlatnog runa, u ovom slučaju vrline čistoće – *castitas*.”

“The distich mentions barking of dogs, symbols of virtue chasing the insatiable *cupiditas*. It is personified in a treacherous bull, whose form was taken by Jupiter to satisfy his lust. The dragon which can devour the bull is the dragon of Mars, the keeper of the Golden Fleece, which is in this case the virtue of chastity.”

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MUSEO

ORE·VRARE·POTEST

VIRTVS

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