

# OTOK JABUKA U BILJEŠKAMA PUTNIKA NA JADRANU OD 14. DO 17. STOLJEĆA – IME I IZGLED

## JABUKA ISLAND IN THE NOTES OF ADRIATIC SEA TRAVELERS FROM 14<sup>TH</sup> TO 17<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY - NAME AND SHAPE

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Jabuka je po svojoj površini jedan od najmanjih jadranskih otoka. Prvi put je zabilježena na pomorskim kartama početkom 14. stoljeća, a zbog svoje prepoznatljivosti unosili su je gotovo svi kartografi i pisci portulana. Njezino prvotno mletačko ime bilo je *Mellisella*, a nakon toga *Pomo*. Kao doprinos ovim podacima, u radu su navedena trideset četiri opisa Jabuke koja su dali putnici tijekom plovidbe Jadranom od kraja 14. do kraja 17. stoljeća. Od atributa koje je otok dobivao najčešće se pisalo da je visok, šiljast i kamenit. No bilo je i maštovitijih, kao primjerice usporedbe s egipatskim piramidama. Putnici su opisali i lov na sokolove koji su se tamo gnijezdili, a sve te podatke dobivali su od članova posade broda. Analiziran je i, zasad, najstariji slikovni prikaz otoka koji je napravio Nizozemac de Bruijn i objavio ga 1698. godine.

**Ključne riječi:** otok Jabuka, toponim, Jadransko more, putopis, pomorstvo, sokolarstvo

By surface area Jabuka is one of the smallest islands in the Adriatic Sea. It was noted for the first time in nautical charts at the beginning of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, and due to its recognizable shape mapped by almost all portolan and nautical chart makers. Its initial Venetian name was *Mellisella*, followed by *Pomo*. There are 34 different descriptions of Jabuka Island written by travelers during their voyages across the Adriatic Sea from 14<sup>th</sup> to 17<sup>th</sup> century analysed included in this paper. The most common of all the features attributed to the island were that it was high, peaked, and rocky. There were, however, more imaginative ones, like comparisons with Egyptian pyramids. The travelers also described the hunt for falcons that nested there, the accounts which they obtained from ship crew members. This paper also analyses the oldest known illustration of Jabuka Island made in 1684 by Dutchman de Bruijn, published in 1698.

**Keywords:** Jabuka Island, toponyms, Adriatic Sea, travelogues, maritime affairs, falconry

### Uvod

Već posljednjih sto pedeset godina malo koji otok u Jadranskom moru privlači pozornost domaćih i stranih znanstvenika u širokoj lepezi od arheologa i biologa, preko prometnih stručnjaka do geologa i geodeta, kao što je to Jabuka (GINZBERGER, 1916.; NADILO, 2000.; ANIĆ, 2008.; BRKIĆ I DR., 2011.; KUDRNA PRAŠEK, 2013.). S obzirom na to da je površinom izrazito malena, da je oduvijek nenastanjena i da (gotovo) nikad nije bila predmet gospodarskog interesa, tako velika pozornost akademske zajednice je iznenađujuća. No već stoljećima ranije Jabuka je bila neizostavan geografski objekt u mnogim

### Introduction

For the past 150 years few islands in the Adriatic Sea have attracted the attention of such a wide range of domestic and foreign experts like Jabuka does; from archaeologists to biologists, traffic experts, geologists and land surveyors alike (GINZBERGER, 1916; NADILO, 2000; ANIĆ, 2008; BRKIĆ ET AL., 2011; KUDRNA PRAŠEK, 2013). Considering the fact that the island is quite small, that it has never been inhabited nor it has been a subject of economic interest, such an engagement of the academic community is surprisingly great. Yet centuries earlier, Jabuka became an ever-present item in numerous manuals

priručnicima i kartografskim prikazima ne samo lokalnog, jadranskog prostora, nego i onoga, tada globalnoga, mediteranskog pomorskog okruženja. Oko njezina prepoznatljivog izgleda svi su se slagali, ali prijepor je nastao zbog imena.

Razmah znanosti u 18. stoljeću, posebice prirodoslovnih, omogućio je da se Jabuka nađe u njihovim područjima istraživanja. Jedan od najpoznatijih i najuglednijih predstavnika prosvjetiteljstva, Alberto Fortis (1741. – 1803.), unatoč putovanjima po Dalmaciji i izrazitom interesu za geologiju, nigdje nije spomenuo Jabuku. Štoviše, on je odbacivao bilo kakvu mogućnost postojanja magmatskih stijena na otoku Visu i okolici, iako su prethodni znanstvenici na to upućivali. Uz to, dok je boravio na Visu mještani su ga upozoravali da „crnih stijena“ ima na obližnjem otočiću, što se vjerojatno odnosilo na Brusnik (FORTIS, 1774.). Tako ta prigoda nije iskorištena.

#### Geografski, morfološki, onomastički podaci i metodološke napomene

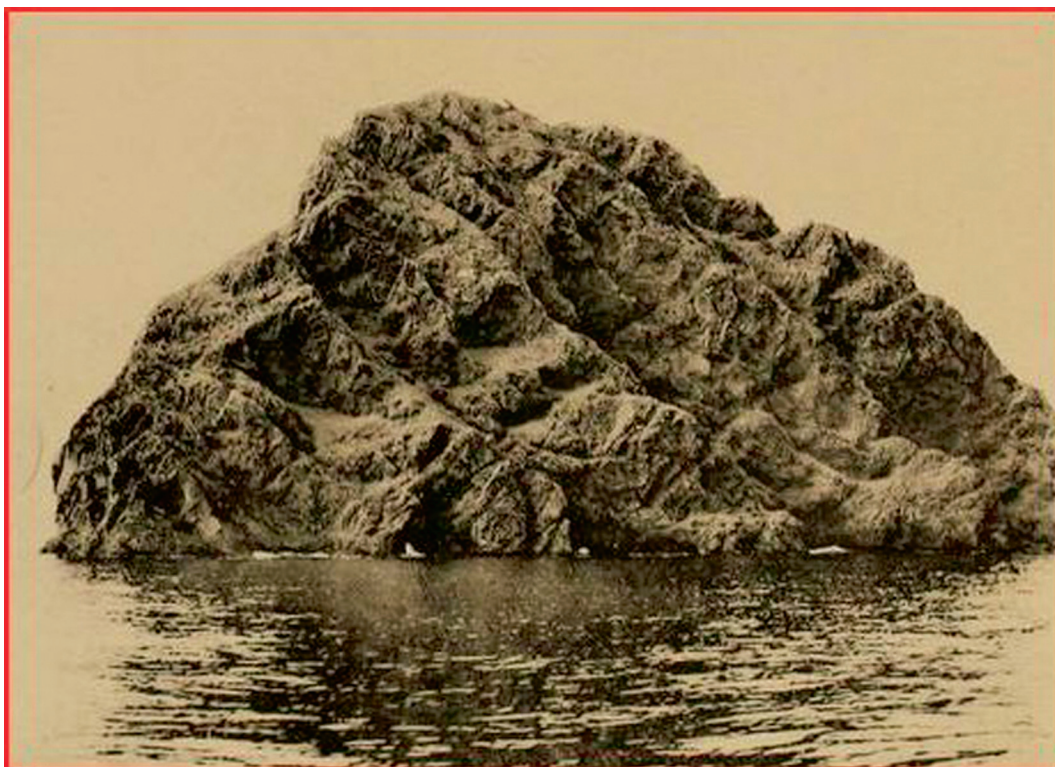
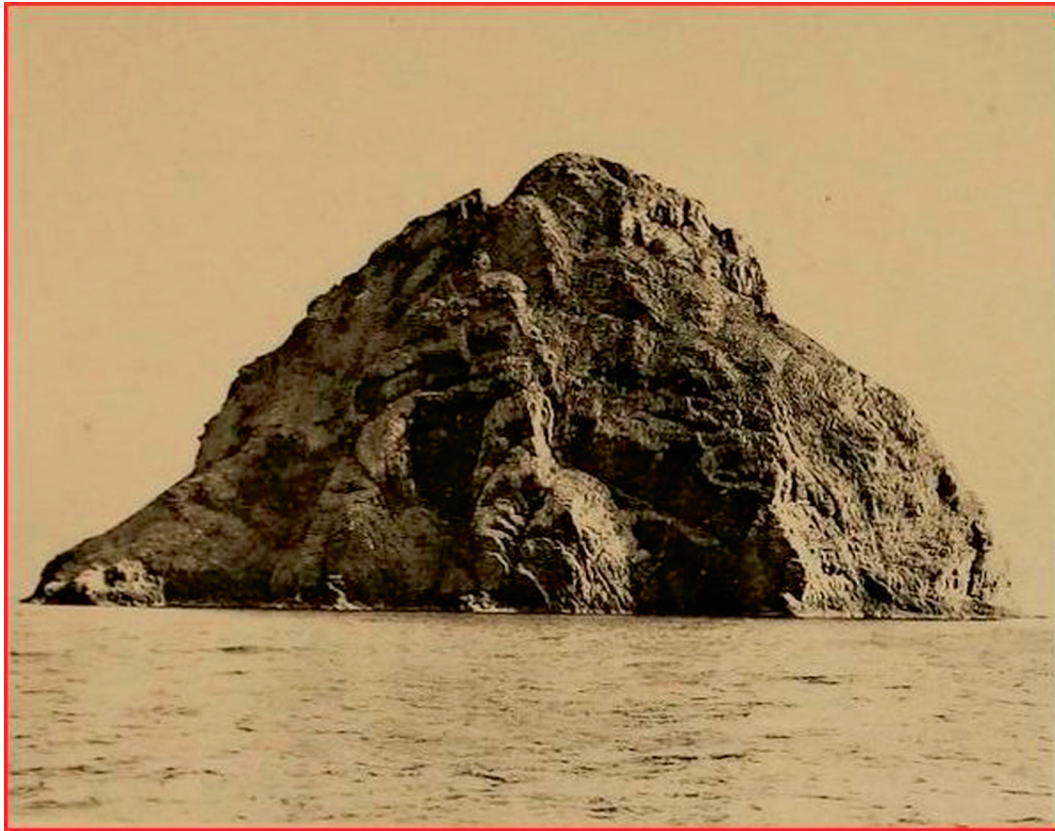
Geografske koordinate Jabuke su: N43°05'30.8" / E15°27'35.6". Površina otoka iznosi 22 585 metara četvornih, u dužinu ide do 310 metara, a u širinu 130 metara, dok je dužina obalne crte 715 metara (DUPLANČIĆ LEDER I DR., 2004.; BUCHBERGER, 2008.), pa se time po kriteriju površine Jabuka ubraja u otočiće. Najviši vrh doseže 99,333 metra (BRKIĆ I DR., 2011.), ali se u stručnoj literaturi često nailazi na različite podatke, primjerice, od 96 (RUBIĆ, 1956.; *Peljar I*, 1999.) do 100 metara (*Veliki atlas Hrvatske*, 2002.). Ranije su zbog nesavršenosti instrumenata i mjernih metoda rasponi bili i veći, ali još i više pogrešaka u čitanju. Zbog svoje visine, Jabuka je s primorskih brda u povoljnim meteorološkim uvjetima vidljiva golim okom s udaljenosti od više od 100 kilometara, a s površine mora uočljivost pada na tridesetak kilometara. No jača bura ili jugo, a posebice kišno vrijeme, začas smanje vidljivost na minimum. Ako se crtama spoje istaknuti rtovi otočića (*Puntin ol pulenta-Puntin ol Betlema-Puntin ol tramuntone-Puntin ol levonta*), dobije se lik nepravilnoga niskog trapeza čija je najduža stranica okrenuta gotovo pravo prema jugu. Silueta otoka se mijenja ovisno o kutu gledišta, i ide od slomljenog (gotičkog) luka, preko visokoga (gotovo) jednakokračnog trokuta, do nagnute poluelipse nazubljenog oboda (GINZBERGER, 1916.) (Sl. 1.). Stoga se ni u jednom trenutku ne može govoriti o stožastom ili ovalno kupolastom obliku Jabuke.

and nautical charts of not only the local Adriatic, but also the global, Mediterranean maritime environment. Its unique appearance united all experts. Its name, however, did not.

The impact of science, especially natural sciences gave way to Jabuka Island as the belated topic of interest, even though that first chance had been missed. One of the most prominent and reputable names of the Enlightenment, Alberto Fortis (1741-1803) never once mentioned Jabuka, despite his travels across Dalmatia and profound interest in geology. Moreover, he rejected every notion of the existence of magmatic rocks on the islands of Vis, even though scientists had pointed them out beforehand. In addition, while he was residing on Vis, the locals warned him about the “black rocks” on the nearby island, probably Brusnik (FORTIS, 1774). So this opportunity was not taken.

#### Geographical, morphological, onomastic data and methodological notes

Jabuka Island's coordinates are N43°05'30.8" / E15°27'35.6". The surface amounts to 22.585 m<sup>2</sup>, 310 m in length, 130 m in width, and the coastline measures 715 m (DUPLANČIĆ LEDER ET AL., 2004; BUCHBERGER, 2008). With its small surface, Jabuka is actually an islet. Its peak reaches 99,333 m (BRKIĆ ET AL., 2011), although this information varies from 96 m (RUBIĆ, 1956; *Peljar I*, 1999) to 100 m (*Veliki atlas Hrvatske*, 2002). The earlier ranges were even greater due to the imperfections of the instruments, but even more so because of errors in reading. Owing to its altitude and during favorable weather Jabuka is visible to the naked eye from the coastal hills at the distance of over 100 km, which drops by 30 km on the surface of the sea. However, stronger winds bora or sirocco, and especially rain reduce visibility instantly down to the minimum. The four capes of the islets (*Puntin ol pulenta-Puntin ol Betlema-Puntin ol tramuntone-Puntin ol levonta*) connected with lines create an irregular low trapezium shape whose wider side faces almost directly southwards. The silhouette of the island varies depending on the viewpoint, from the broken (Gothic) arc and the high (almost) isosceles triangle, to the bent semi ellipse with a jagged curve (GINZBERGER, 1916) (Fig. 1). Therefore, Jabuka can hardly be said to have a conical or domed oval shape.



Slika 1. Snimke Jabuke iz 1911.: a) iz pravca sjevera; b) iz pravca jug-jugozapada  
Izvor: GINZBERGER, 1916.

Figure 1 Pictures of Jabuka from 1911: a) from the north; b) from the south-southwest  
Source: GINZBERGER, 1916

Ime otoka koje mu je dao hrvatski puk nesumnjivo je slavenskog podrijetla te pripada skupini fitonima. Takvih je slučajeva na Jadranu obilje (ŠIMUNOVIĆ, 1986.). Talijani su mu dali ime (*il*) *Pomo* koje je romanska istoznačnica, a vrlo je slična i u drugim srodnim jezicima. Prema tome, ako se pogledaju trideset dva imena koja su zapisali putnici (dvojica su dala samo opis), onda se u velikoj većini preteže spomenuto talijansko (mletačko) ime – dvadeset dva (68,75%). Drugo, starije, talijansko ime *Melisella* navodi se u raznim varijantama devet puta (28,125%), a samo jedanput (triput, ako se uvrste oba imena) navedena je nizozemska i njemačka istoznačna prevedenica, kao i naziv neobjašnjiva podrijetla – *Salyro*.

Dosad se ime *Melisella* (u raznim varijantama) redovito dodjeljivalo otoku Brusniku, a stavljanje imena *Melisella* uz prvi otok, gledano od zapada, tumačilo se brkanjem položaja Brusnika u odnosu na druga dva otoka iz skupine. Stoga je nužno odrediti je li to prihvatljivo s obzirom na značajke i ulogu otoka *Melisella* iz starijih portulana. U najstarijem portulanu, koji je od 1435. do 1445. godine sastavio Grazioso Benincasa iz Ancone, nalaze se ovi opisi i smjerovi: drži se od južnog rta Sv. Andrije u jednu četvrt od pulenta prema maestralu; *Meloncello* je udaljen 20 milja od otoka Sv. Andrije, a licem prema levantu je jedan drugi otočić udaljen dvije milje i taj otočić je crn, nizak i bez biljaka. S druge strane, *Melonciello* se drži rtom na Sv. Andriji na četvrt od pulenta prema maestralu (SPADOLINI, 1908.).<sup>1</sup> Taj južni rt zove se Zlatna glava (KOZLIČIĆ, FARIČIĆ, 2004.). Prema tekstu Mlečanina A. da Mosta iz 1477., od otoka Suska po pravcu šiloko dolazi se do Biševa i Visa (to su tri glavna orijentira) udaljenih 200 milja. U drugom odlomku od otoka Kornata do *Milisiello* po pravcu oštro i šiloko ima 60 milja, a od *Milisiello* do otoka *S. Andrea di Melo* u pravcu levanta 20 milja. U portulanu nepoznatog Mlečanina, tiskanom 1490., nalaze se sljedeći podaci: Jadransko more od Otranta do Caorlea, kad se ide ravno između otoka *milisello* i Sv.

<sup>1</sup> ... *Guarda se el chavo da mezodì de santo Andrea quarta le ponente ver lo maestro chon meloncello chon santo Andrea la faza da garbino. Meloncello ellontano dall'ixola de santo Andrea millia xx ed ecie uno schollietto lontano uno millio da santo Andrea. Santo Andrea. La faza da levante el ci è un altro schollietto lontano doi millia et questo schollio è negro, basso, senza erba. Bugia se guarda (...)* *Melonciello se guarda chol chavo de santo Andrea a la quarta de ponente ver lo maestro; ed è lontana l'una ixola dall'altra millia xx. El questo chavo de santo Andrea da mezodì el ci è uno schollio, ..., (SPADOLINI, 1908.)*

The name of the island given by the Croatian folk is a fitonym undoubtedly of Slavic origin. There are many such cases in the Adria (ŠIMUNOVIĆ, 1986). The Italians called it (*il*) *Pomo* which is the roman synonym, similar to other Romanic languages. Accordingly, if we take into account the 32 names noted by travelers (only two descriptions), we will notice the dominance of the above-mentioned Italian (Venetian) name in 22 (68,75 per cent) cases. The second, older Italian name *Melisella* (and variants) is listed 9 times (28.125 per cent), and there is only one (three, if both names are included) instance of a Dutch and German translation, as well as the name of unaccountable origin - *Salyro*.

So far, the name *Melisella* (and its variants) was regularly attributed to the Island of Brusnik. Placing the name *Melisella* next to the first island as observed from the west, or on the left, was explained by mistaking the location of Brusnik with the other two islands from the group. Therefore, it is necessary to determine whether this is acceptable, considering the characteristics and the role of the island of *Melisella* from the old portolanos. The oldest one, made by Grazioso Benincasa from Ancona in the period 1435-1445 lists the following descriptions and directions: from the south cape of Sv. Andrija keep the direction of a quarter from ponente towards mistral (SPADOLINI, 1908).<sup>1</sup> The name of the southern cape is Zlatna glava (KOZLIČIĆ, FARIČIĆ, 2004). According to the text by Venetian A. da Mosto from 1477, one reaches islands Biševo and Vis (200 miles away) from the Island of Susak (these are the three main visual landmarks) in the direction of ostro and sirocco. The second paragraph states that the distance from the Island of Kornat to *Milisiello* amounts to 60 miles in direction ostro and sirocco, while Island of *S. Andrea di Melo* is 20 miles from *Milisiello* in direction levante. The portolano of the unknown Venetian printed in 1490 contains the following: The Adriatic Sea from Strait of Otranto to Caorle, heading straight between the islands *Milisello*

<sup>1</sup> ... *Guarda se el chavo da mezodì de santo Andrea quarta le ponente ver lo maestro chon meloncello chon santo Andrea la faza da garbino. Meloncello ellontano dall'ixola de santo Andrea millia xx ed ecie uno schollietto lontano uno millio da santo Andrea. Santo Andrea. La faza da levante el ci è un altro schollietto lontano doi millia et questo schollio è negro, basso, senza erba. Bugia se guarda (...)* *Melonciello se guarda chol chavo de santo Andrea a la quarta de ponente ver lo maestro; ed è lontana l'una ixola dall'altra millia xx. El questo chavo de santo Andrea da mezodì el ci è uno schollio, ..., (SPADOLINI, 1908.)*

Andrije, dugo je 670 milja, a onda se nešto dalje navodi kako je udaljenost od Ancone do *milisello* 140 milja (*Portolano per i naviganti*, 1490.; DA MOSTO, 1806.; KOTRULJEVIĆ, 2005.). Na kartama raspored izgleda sasvim neujednačeno. Na jednoj katalonskoj karti, po redosljedju idu: *meliyelo – s[an]c[t]o andrea – buxa – lisa* (FALCHETTA, 1994.). Najbolje je to predočiti tablično na većem broju uzoraka, s tim da tablica (Tab. 1.) daje pregled imena po redosljedju iz pojedine karte dodijeljenih današnjim otocima po stvarnom redosljedju od zapada prema istoku (KOZLIČIĆ, 1995.):

and Sv. Andrija is 670 miles in length, and then there is some mention of the distance between Ancona and *milisello* of 140 miles (*Portolano per i naviganti*, 1490; DA MOSTO, 1806; KOTRULJEVIĆ, 2005). Maps indicate a rather uneven layout. For example, a Catalan map from Venice orders the islands in the following manner: *meliyelo – s[an]c[t]o andrea – buxa – lisa* (FALCHETTA, 1994). It is best to demonstrate this on a larger number of samples in a table form (Tab. 1), which will provide a survey of names based on the order of a map assigned to today's islands from west to east (KOZLIČIĆ, 1995):

Tablica 1. Kartografski zapisi imena Jabuke, Sv. Andrije i Brusnika  
Table 1 Cartographic records of the names of islands of Jabuka, Sv. Andrija and Brusnik

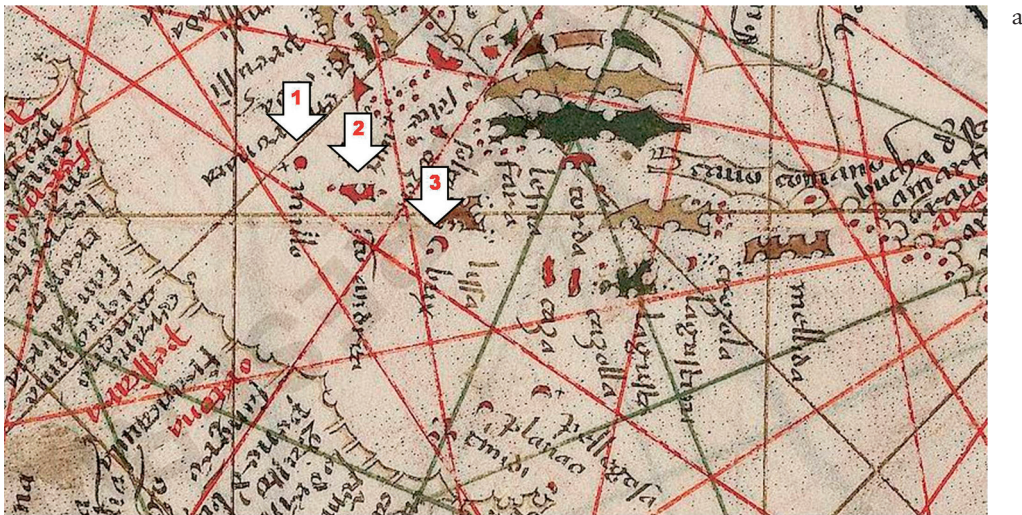
Br. No.	KARTOGRAF (godina) / CARTOGRAPHER (year)	JABUKA	SV. ANDRIJA	BRUSNIK
1.	P. Vesconte (1318.)	<i>Millo</i>	<i>S.to Andrea</i>	<i>Bux</i>
2.	A. de Dalorto (1325.)	<i>Meli</i>	<i>S.co Andrea</i>	<i>Lisa</i>
3.	A. Dulcert (1339.)	<i>Melixelo</i>	<i>S.co Andrea</i>	<i>Lisa</i>
4.	N. Passqualini (1408.)	<i>Milloxello</i>	<i>S. Andrea</i>	<i>Buxio</i>
5.	J. Ghiroldis (1426.)	<i>Mellisello</i>	<i>S.co Andrea</i>	<i>Buxa</i>
6.	G. Benincasa (1472.)	<i>Meloncello</i>	<i>Sant Andrea</i>	<i>Buxia</i>
7.	M. Vesconte (1512.)	<i>S.to Andrea</i>	<i>Melixelo</i>	<i>Lissa</i>
8.	P. Coppo (1525.)	<i>Meliselo</i>	<i>S. Andrea</i>	<i>Busio</i>
9.	G. A. Vavassore (1539/41.)	<i>Meloncello</i>	<i>Sant Andrea</i>	<i>Buxia</i>
10.	B. Bordone (1547.)	<i>o. b. i.</i> <sup>2</sup>	<i>S. Andrea</i>	<i>o. b. i.</i>
11.	D. Homem (≈1570.)	<i>Meliselo</i>	<i>S. Andrea</i>	<i>Buxo</i>
12.	G. Gastaldi (1546.)	<i>Meliselo</i>	<i>S. Andrea</i>	<i>Lissa</i>
13.	C. Sgrooten (1593.)	<i>Melisello</i>	<i>S. Andre</i>	-
14.	W. Barents (1595.)	<i>Pomo</i>	<i>S. Andrea</i>	<i>Melissello</i>
15.	G. Rosaccio (1606.)	<i>S. Andrea</i>	<i>Pomo</i>	<i>Lissa</i>
16.	I. Lučić (1669.)	<i>Pomo</i>	<i>Mellisello</i>	<i>S. Andrea</i>
17.	V. M. Coronelli (1688.)	<i>Pomo</i>	<i>S.co Andrea</i>	<i>o. b. i.</i>
18.	V. M. Coronelli (1696.)	-	<i>Andrea</i>	<i>Melissallo</i>
19.	G. Cantelli (1689.)	<i>S. Andrea in Pelago</i>	<i>Mellisello</i>	<i>Busi</i>
20.	P. Santini (1780.)	<i>Pomo</i>	<i>Melisello</i>	<i>S. Andrea in Pelago</i>

Iz gornje tablice jasno je kako su kartografi u najvećem broju zapadnom otoku davali ime *Melisella* (1), srednjemu – Sveti Andrija (2), a trećemu, istočnomu – Biševo (3) (Sl. 2.).

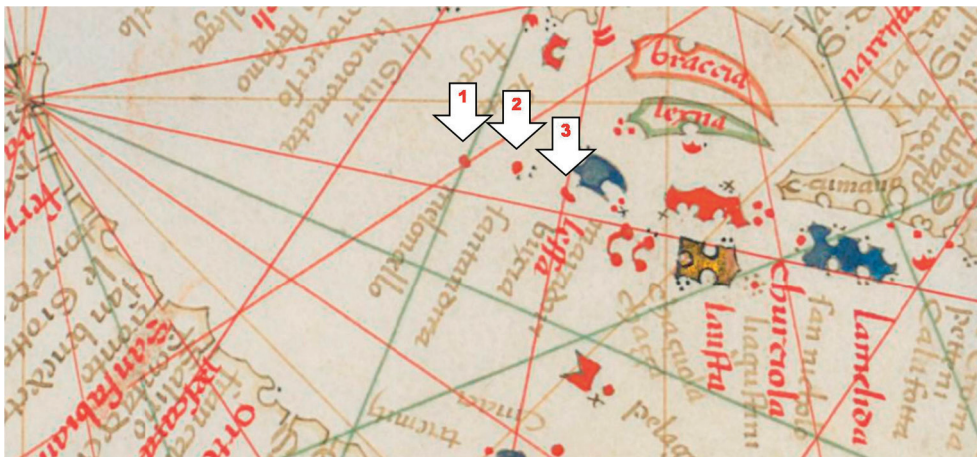
The table clearly demonstrates that in a large number of cases the cartographers used to assign the name *Melisella* to the western island, the name Sveti Andrija to the middle one, and Biševo to the easternmost (Fig. 2).

<sup>2</sup> o. b. i. = otok bez imena

<sup>2</sup> i. w. n. = "island without a name"



a



b

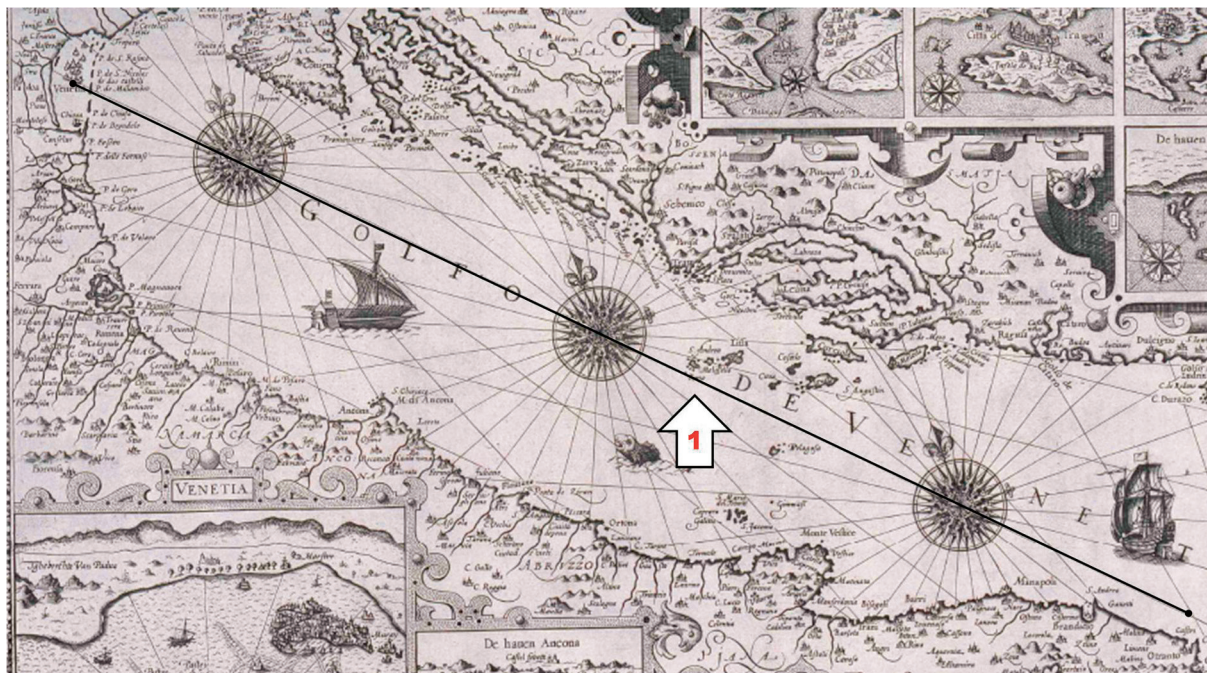


c

Slika 2. Usporedba prikaza Jabuke, Sv. Andrije i Biševa na različitim kartama: a) 1321., b) 1467., c) 1595.

Figure 2 Comparison of Illustrations of Jabuka, Sv. Andrija and Biševo islands in different charts: a) 1321, b) 1467, c) 1595

Izvor / Source: a) URL1, b) URL 2, c) URL 3



Slika 3. Prikaz plovidbenog pravca Venecija – Jabuka – Otranto (i obratno) prema portulanu iz 1490. i na Barentsovoj karti iz 1595. Strelica pokazuje položaj Jabuke

Figure 3 The sailing route Venice - Jabuka - Strait of Otranto (and back) according to a portolano from 1490 and Barents' map from 1595. The arrow indicates the location of Jabuka Island

Izvor / Source: URL 3

To znači da se današnji Brusnik zanemarivao (izostavljao) zbog nevažnosti. Osim što je bio opasan kao i svaki veći greben, takav je status bio sasvim opravdan i zbog njegovih fizičkih osobina – niskog i nevelikog otoka, što Benincasa izričito potvrđuje govoreći ... *questo schollio è negro, basso, senza erba* ... Upravo zato, zbog impresivnih fizičkih značajki, ponajviše visine, sastavljači portulana ističu otok *Melisella*, tj. Jabuku, kao orijentir. Isto tako, navođenje kako se Sv. Andrija nalazi 20 milja istočno, a puno ime mu glasi *S. Andrea di Melo* (Sv. Andrija od Jabuke), govori dovoljno u prilog ove tvrdnje. Otuda je i jasno zašto se daje savjet da se plovi ravno između otoka *Melisella* i Sv. Andrije, jer se i ne može ploviti između ovoga drugog i Brusnika na zadani način (Sl. 3.). Ta uputa iz 1490. zapravo opisuje glavni srednjoadrijski plovidbeni pravac iz Venecije koji po pravcu šiloko (azimut 135°) preko (pokraj) Jabuke i Otranta završava na otoku Krfu – mletačkom ključu Jadrana. To se može vidjeti na nekoliko karata, a među njima i na Barentsovoj (KOZLIČIĆ, 1995.).

Ne smiju se odbaciti ni jezične indicije. Naime, varijante imena s najstarijih kartografskih prikaza Jadrana glase *Millo/Meli*, što vjerojatno vuče

This means that today's Brusnik used to be ignored (and omitted) due to its unimportance. Besides being as dangerous as any larger reef, to have had such a status might have been justified considering its appearance - a low and relatively small island, which is explicitly confirmed by Benincasa, who states ... *questo schollio è negro, basso, senza erba* ... It is because of the impressive physical characteristics, mainly its height, that the portolano makers emphasize the Island *Melisella*, i.e. Jabuka as a landmark. This is furthermore supported by the fact that the Island of Sv. Andrija is situated 20 miles to the east, and its full name is *S. Andrea di Melo* (Sv. Andrija of Jabuka). This fact explains why it was instructed to sail straight between the islands of *Melisello* and Sv. Andrija, as one cannot sail between the latter and Brusnik in the given way (Fig. 3). This instruction dating back to 1490 actually refers to the main mid Adriatic Sea route from Venice in direction of sirocco (135 deg. azimuth) next to Jabuka and Strait of Otranto, reaching the Island of Corfu - the Venetian key to the Adriatic Sea. This is evident in several maps, including the one of Barents (KOZLIČIĆ, 1995).

The linguistic indication should not be ignored either. Namely, the variants of the names from the

podrijetlo od venetske (mletačke) riječi za jabuku kao drvo, a tu se već naslućuje stariji grčki korijen (BOERIO, 1867.; SENC, 1910.<sup>3</sup>; CAMPBELL, 1987.). Znakovito je kako su putnici prestali rabiti naziv *Melisella* (i slične varijante) između 1525. i 1536. i nikad ga više nisu spomenuli. Suprotno tomu, u kartografskim radovima od Pietra Coppo do pred kraj 16. stoljeća zadržalo se to staro ime. Prvi kartograf koji za otok upotrebljava ime *Pomo* je Nizozemac Barents, a znakovito je da se Brusniku daje ime *Melissello*. Ako se zanemare očite pogreške kod nekih kasnijih autora, od njega nadalje ostaje takav raspored imena na kartama s talijanskom nesonimijom. Kartografi katkad kao da nisu znali što bi s četvrtim imenom, pa je tako Santini, uz dobro pozicionirani Brusnik, morao fantomski otok *Melisella* ubaciti između Jabuke (*Pomo*) i Sv. Andrije (MARKOVIĆ, 1993.; FARIČIĆ, 2007.). Postoji mišljenje kako je glavna i najbolja osobina portulanskih karata bila stalno provjeravanje i popravljavanje pronađenih pogrešaka (MARKOVIĆ, 1993.). Držimo da je to upitno barem što se tiče toponimije, a štoviše, to ne potvrđuju ni daljinarski podaci, s obzirom na to da su to bile najtrajnije veličine. Naposljetku, kad se s pojedinačne proizvodnje prešlo na velike serije, stanje se promijenilo nagore, jer su se karte počele tiskati na temelju starijih rukopisnih predložaka – bez rekognosciranja obala ili savjetovanja s iskusnim pomorcima (CAMPBELL, 1987.).

Može se reći kako je šteta što nitko od putnika nije zabilježio hrvatsko ime, a prilike je bilo, jer su neki pristajali ili u Visu i Komiži, ili uz Biševo. Posebnu prigodu je imao Seydlitz koji je Jadranom plovio na brodu iskusnog pomorca, Hvaranina Petra Fazanića, a sam putnik kaže da su kontaktirali s posadom. No to nije bio izuzetak, jer su putnici i gotovo sve ostale toponime na hrvatskoj strani Jadrana bilježili u talijanskoj prevedenici ili iskrivljenici (KUŽIĆ, 2013.). Valja napomenuti kako uporaba talijanskoga naziva nije vezana za putnike s talijanskoga (romanskog) jezičnog područja, nego je zastupljena kod svih bez obzira na etničko podrijetlo. Iz toga se da zaključiti kako su putnici ime doznali ili iz karata na brodu, ili od mletačke posade – ako je brod bio iz Venecije (KHULL, 1897a; KHULL, 1897b).

Isto tako ne može se govoriti o nekakvoj nasilnoj talijanizaciji toponima (nesonima). Prije bi se to moglo nazvati inercijom autora karata koji su

first maps are *Millo/Meli*, which was probably derived from the Venetian term for an apple tree, also an indication of Greek origin (BOERIO, 1867; SENC, 1910<sup>3</sup>; CAMPBELL, 1987). Moreover, there is a remarkable fact that travelers ceased to use the name *Melisella* (and its variants) in the period between 1525 and 1536, and have never used it since. Contrary to that, the cartography of Pietre Coppo at the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century still includes the term. The first cartographer to use the term *Pomo* was the Dutchman Barents, and what is significant, he designated the term *Melissello* for Brusnik. If we ignore the obvious errors made by later cartographers, this designation remains in use onwards on the maps with Italian nesonymy. Occasionally, cartographers did not know what to do with the fourth name, so Santini placed an imaginary Island *Melisella* between Jabuka (*Pomo*) and Sv. Andrija (MARKOVIĆ, 1993; FARIČIĆ, 2007). It is also thought that the main and best quality of portolan charts was the constant revision and correction of errors (MARKOVIĆ, 1993). We challenge this consideration at least in terms of toponomy, and moreover, it is not confirmed by the distance measuring data - the most constant figure. Lastly, when larger series production replaced the individual ones, the state changed for the worse, as charts started to be printed following old manuscript templates – without coastal reconnaissance or consultation with experienced seamen (CAMPBELL, 1987).

It is unfortunate that none of the passengers noted the Croatian name, even though there were opportunities when they were riding at anchor in Vis or Komiža and Biševo. This is especially the case for Seydlitz, who sailed on the Adria on a ship of an experienced sailor, Petar Fazanić from Hvar, who he talked to. This was, however, no exception, as almost all other toponyms on the Croatian side of the Adria were listed as an Italian calque or mistranslated word (KUŽIĆ, 2013). It is worth pointing out that the Italian equivalent did not originate with travelers from the Italian (Roman) language area - it was present regardless of the ethnic origin. This leads us to conclude that the passengers discovered the name either on the ship charts or from the Venetian crew, if the ship had come from Venice (KHULL, 1897a; KHULL, 1897b).

Similarly, it cannot be spoken about a certain forced italianization of toponyms (nesonyms). This could rather be considered as an inertia of

<sup>3</sup> Vidi: *μηλέα* i *μηλέη* te *μηλον*.

<sup>3</sup> See: *μηλέα*, and *μηλέη*, also *μηλον*.



toponime tražili i nalazili u starim kartografskim uradcima ili kod pomoraca u metropoli, Veneciji, a njima izvorni hrvatski toponimi ne bi davali traženu informaciju. Uostalom, ni Lučić nije ništa mijenjao zbog čitalačke publike pa je ostavio *Pomo* na karti Ilirika (Hrvatske) iz 1668. godine (ŠENOVA, 1950.; KOZLIČIĆ, 1995.). Istom linijom inercije išle su i prve austrijske karte u 19. stoljeću, pa se talijansko ime otoka pojavljuje i na katastarskoj karti komiške općine (BUCHBERGER, 2008.).

### Putnički opisi

Izgled Jabuke malo je koga ostavio ravnodušnim pa mu je većina putnika posvetila od nekoliko riječi do cijelog poglavlja. To najbolje potvrđuju tekstovi osoba koje su plovili mimo otoka u povratku ili odlasku iz Jadrana, a najstariji je opis već s kraja 14. Stoljeća (Tab. 2.). Kao što se moglo očekivati, nitko od njih nije profesionalni pomorac, pa su ovi zapisi mnogo prostodušniji i iskreniji, a utoliko su vrjedniji, kad se uzme u obzir mnoštvo drugih impresivnih prirodnih fenomena koje su vidjeli na putu.

cartographers, who searched for old terms and found them in old cartographic works or with seamen in Venice, whereas the Croatian terms would be of no use to them. Besides, Lučić did not change anything for his readers leaving the term *Pomo* on the map of Illyria (Croatia) from 1668 (ŠENOVA, 1950; KOZLIČIĆ, 1995). The same kind of inertia was present in Austrian charts of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, where the Italian name appears on the cadastral map of the municipality of Komiza (BUCHBERGER, 2008.).

### Travel accounts

The uniqueness of Jabuka Island left hardly anyone indifferent, so most travelers dedicated a few words or even an entire chapter to their descriptions of the island. This is best seen in texts of travelers sailing along the island, while leaving or returning to the Adriatic Sea. The oldest one is from the end of the 14<sup>th</sup> century (Tab. 2). As expected, none were professional sailors so the accounts are modest and more honest, and insofar more valuable when considering the abundance of impressive natural phenomena they had encountered en route.

Tablica 2. Putopisci i imena otoka Jabuke (14. – 17. stoljeće)

Table 2 Travelers and the names of the island of Jabuka (14<sup>th</sup> - 17<sup>th</sup> century)

Br. No.	AUTOR ZAPISA / AUTHOR	DRŽAVA / COUNTRY	DATUM PROPLOVLJENJA / SAIL BY DATE	IME JABUKE / TERM FOR JABUKA
1.	Peter Sparnau	Njemačka Germany	20. 8. 1385. 20 Aug 1385	<i>Milleschelle</i> <sup>4</sup>
2.	Roberto da Sanseverino	Italija Italy	18. 12. 1458.* <sup>5</sup> 18 Dec 1458*	<i>Millisello</i> <sup>6</sup>
3.	Hans Bernhard von Eptingen	Švicarska Switzerland	27. 5. 1460. 27 May 1460	opisno <sup>7</sup> descriptive

<sup>4</sup> ... do quome wir zcu eynen hohen kulichen steynen, dy was senevalt und lag in deme mere von Venedige uff III hundert welsche mile, der steyn heyset Milleschelle, den lysse wir legen zcu der linken hant uff eyne welsche mile. ... (13?? - 1426.), prepošt u Merseburg (Kužić, 2013.).

<sup>5</sup> Oznaka \* – putovanje u povratku.

<sup>6</sup> ... et una altro scoglio, nominato millisello, che è contra dicto sancto Andrea, longe da esso, similiter pur in mare, circha miglia xvij. ..., (1418. – 1487.), profesionalni vojnik (*condottiere*) u službi Milana, Venecije, pape i Napulja (DA SANSEVERINO, 1888.).

<sup>7</sup> ... Item am Zinstag nach Sankt Urbanstag da fubren wir für ein hohe Insel, ..., (≈1432. – 1484.), plemić iz okolice Basela (Kužić, 2013.).

<sup>4</sup> ... do quome wir zcu eynen hohen kulichen steynen, dy was senevalt und lag in deme mere von Venedige uff III hundert welsche mile, der steyn heyset Milleschelle, den lysse wir legen zcu der linken hant uff eyne welsche mile. ... (13?? - 1426), preposytus in Merseburg (Kužić, 2013).

<sup>5</sup> The mark \* indicates a return voyage.

<sup>6</sup> ... et una altro scoglio, nominato millisello, che è contra dicto sancto Andrea, longe da esso, similiter pur in mare, circha miglia xvij. ..., (1418-1487), professional soldier (*condottiere*) serving Milan, Venice, the Pope and Naples (SANSEVERINO, 1888).

<sup>7</sup> ... Item am Zinstag nach Sankt Urbanstag da fubren wir für ein hohe Insel, ..., (≈1432-1484), a nobleman from around Basel (Kužić, 2013).

4.	Ulrich Brunner	Njemačka Germany	11. 6. 1470. 11 Jun 1470	<i>Lisella</i> <sup>8</sup>
5.	Friedrich Steigerwalder	Italija (Tirol) Italy (Tyrol)	11. 6. 1470. 11 Jun 1470	<i>Melanutzela</i> <sup>9</sup>
6.	Jan Want	Nizozemska the Netherlands	7. 7. 1518. 7 Jul 1518	<i>Mellisollo</i> <sup>10</sup>
7.	Jacques Le Saige	Francuska France	1. 7. 1519. 1 Jul 1519	<i>Lisselle / pommes</i> <sup>11</sup>
8.	Anonim	Švicarska Switzerland	29. 10. 1521.* 29 Oct 1521*	<i>Melisella</i> <sup>12</sup>
9.	Peter Füssly	Švicarska Switzerland	27. 7. 1523. 27 Jul 1523	<i>Malesella</i> <sup>13</sup>
10.	Arent Willemsz	Nizozemska the Netherlands	2. 7. 1525. 27. 10. 1525.* 2 Jul 1525 27 Oct 1525*	<i>Mele Zelo</i> <sup>14</sup>

<sup>8</sup> ... *das wir fürn und kamen (...) und uff die rechten hant ein steyner hoher fels nicht sere preyt genant Lisella, ...*, (14?? - poslije 1487.), kanonik u crkvi sv. Ivana u Haugu pokraj Würzburga (KUŽIĆ, 2013.).

<sup>9</sup> Budući da nije bilo izvornika, osuvremenjeni tekst nije preveden, (osobni podaci nepoznati) rodom iz Južnog Tirola, sluga grofa Gaudenza od Kirchberga (KUŽIĆ, 2013.).

<sup>10</sup> ... *int middelt van der zee lach een steenrutse geheyten Mellisollo op welcke niet en west ...*, (1480. - 1558.) dominikanac iz samostana u 's-Hertogenboschu (WANT, 1896.).

<sup>11</sup> ... *Toutesfois nous alliesmes toujours et passames une pierre grosse qui est au milieu de la mer; de long sembloit une moie de fain. Et environ demie lieu outre nous trouvasmes une grande roche aussy au milieu de la mer. Et encore ung petit outre une isle nommée Lisselle; et est aussy au millieu de la mer voire et se y fait sy profond alentour que on ny peult ancrer. (...) il dit que aviesmes passés une petite isle nommée lisle de pommes. Et y repaire pluseurs faulcons et est de cottes Lezene et est près de là. Dont le cotte de ladite ville de Lezene baille après toute la prise desdis faulcons au profit de la ville. Il nous fut dict quil y avoit trois ans que celuy quy tenoit cense, prit ung batelet et alla luy quatrième pour avoir desdits faulcons sé faillirent de bien lier leur batellet, car il vint un grant vent qui emmena ledit bateau, se moururent ceulx de fain, car c'est tout mer allentour, et y a bien vingt mille jusqua la prochaine terre. ...*, (? - 1550.), trgovac suknom i svilom iz grada Douaia (DUTHILLOEUL, 1851.).

<sup>12</sup> ... *Bey disen hinab ligen annder Insel alls (...), do man die serdintin fahen ist, sant Andrea, Melisella, Cursula, Turtura, Lesena, gantz reichlich, ...*, nepoznati Švicarac (KUŽIĆ, 2013.).

<sup>13</sup> ... *Darby lyt ein hocher, spitzer berg imm meer, fast wie der haag heißt Malesella, die liegend uf die ling(g) hand. ...*, (1482. - 1548.), po zanimanju zvon- i topoljevač te član Velikog vijeća u Zürichu (KUŽIĆ, 2013.).

<sup>14</sup> ... *passerdeen wij voerbij enen groten hoghen scherpen berghe ende leyt seer wonderlicken int midtsen des zeets ende hyet montaengie mele zelo ende aldaer nestelen veel valkens op Ende ... // ... wij passeerden oock dese nacht sommige clipten ...*, (≈1484. - 1565.), ranarnik iz grada Delfta i franjevački upravnik (GONNET, 1884.).

<sup>8</sup> ... *das wir fürn und kamen (...) und uff die rechten hant ein steyner hoher fels nicht sere preyt genant Lisella, ...*, (14??-after 1487), a canon in the church of St. John in Haug next to Würzburg (KUŽIĆ, 2013).

<sup>9</sup> Since there was no original, it could not be transcribed as the modernized text, (personal data unknown) coming from South Tyrol, a servant of Count Gaudenz of Kirchberg (KUŽIĆ, 2013.).

<sup>10</sup> ... *int middelt van der zee lach een steenrutse geheyten Mellisollo op welcke niet en west ...*, (1480-1558) a Dominican from the monastery in 's-Hertogenboschu (WANT, 1896.).

<sup>11</sup> ... *Toutesfois nous alliesmes toujours et passames une pierre grosse qui est au milieu de la mer; de long sembloit une moie de fain. Et environ demie lieu outre nous trouvasmes une grande roche aussy au millieu de la mer. Et encore ung petit outre une isle nommée Lisselle; et est aussy au millieu de la mer voire et se y fait sy profond alentour que on ny peult ancrer. (...) il dit que aviesmes passés une petite isle nommée lisle de pommes. Et y repaire pluseurs faulcons et est de cottes Lezene et est près de là. Dont le cotte de ladite ville de Lezene baille après toute la prise desdis faulcons au profit de la ville. Il nous fut dict quil y avoit trois ans que celuy quy tenoit cense, prit ung batelet et alla luy quatrième pour avoir desdits faulcons sé faillirent de bien lier leur batellet, car il vint un grant vent qui emmena ledit bateau, se moururent ceulx de fain, car c'est tout mer allentour, et y a bien vingt mille jusqua la prochaine terre. ...*, (?-1550), a cloth and silk merchant from Douai (DUTHILLOEUL, 1851.).

<sup>12</sup> ... *Bey disen hinab ligen annder Insel alls (...), do man die serdintin fahen ist, sant Andrea, Melisella, Cursula, Turtura, Lesena, gantz reichlich, ...*, an unknown Swiss (KUŽIĆ, 2013.).

<sup>13</sup> ... *Darby lyt ein hocher, spitzer berg imm meer, fast wie der haag heißt Malesella, die liegend uf die ling(g) hand. ...*, (1482-1548), bell- and gunfounder by profession and member of Great Council in Zurich (KUŽIĆ, 2013.).

<sup>14</sup> ... *passerdeen wij voerbij enen groten hoghen scherpen berghe ende leyt seer wonderlicken int midtsen des zeets ende hyet montaengie mele zelo ende aldaer nestelen veel valkens op Ende ... // ... wij passeerden oock dese nacht sommige clipten ...*, (≈1484-1565), surgeon from Delft and Franciscan clerk (GONNET, 1884.).

11.	Jan Hendrikszoon van Beveren	Nizozemska the Netherlands	31. 6. 1536. 31 Jun 1536	<i>Appel</i> <sup>15</sup>
12.	Oldřich Prefát z Vlkanova	Češka Bohemia	10. 7. 1546. 13. 12. 1546. 10 Jul 1546 13 Dec 1546	opisno <sup>16</sup> descriptive
13.	John Locke (Lok)	Engleska	21. 7. 1553. 21 Jul 1553	<i>Il Pomo</i> <sup>17</sup>
14.	António Soares de Alberguaria	Portugal Portugal	?, 1554. ?, 1554	<i>Poomo</i> <sup>18</sup>
15.	Wolfgang Müntzer von Babenberg	Njemačka Germany	14. 6. 1556. 14 Jun 1556	<i>Puna</i> <sup>19</sup>
16.	Melchior von Seydlitz	Njemačka Germany	14. 6. 1556. 14 Jun 1556	<i>Pomma</i> <sup>20</sup>
17.	Luigi Vulcano della Padula	Italija Italy	?, 1563. ?, 1563	<i>Pomo</i> <sup>21</sup>

<sup>15</sup> ... *zyn wy verby gezeylt den appel ende es een hoeghen berche ende leyt rondt omme in zee ende wy lyete legge an de rechter handt den appel ende ...*, (?), osiromašeni plemić iz den Haaga (LEUPEN, 2009.).

<sup>16</sup> ... *V obědy jsme se plavili tichým větrem dosti blízko mimo jakaus hrubau skálu, která z moře vyhledala; ležela nám na levé straně, stojí sama o sobě v moři a jest dosti vysoká, nahoře špičatá co nějaká homole, než holá, neb neroste na ní žádné stromoví, ani nic, neb jest všecko skála. Leží na poledne, dosti podál proti ostrovu svatého Ondřeje; vlasky říkají takovému z moře vyrostlému skáli li scoii ...*, (1523. – 1565.), astronom i matematicar iz Praga (PREFÁT Z VLKANOVA, 1947.).

<sup>17</sup> ... *we had sight of a rocke in the midst of the sea, called in Italian, il Pomo, it appeareth a farre off to be in shape like a sugarloafe. (...) Il pomo is distant from Sant Andrea 18 miles, ...*, (?), trgovac i istraživač iz Londona, predak filozofa Johna Lockea (HAKLUYT, 1904.).

<sup>18</sup> ... *a dez do dia chegamos a Poomo cousa asaz pequena em ho qual scolho não se acha fundo contudo vaõ a elle e trazem muitos falcões e rende cada anno a hum nobre veneçiano nesta mercadoria mais de çincoenta cruzados ... e tornamos ao dito Poomo, pela menhaã stavamos perto de Lissa ...*, (1523. – poslije 1592.), podrijetlom plemić, franjevac iz samostana Alcobaça (PEREIRA, 2005.).

<sup>19</sup> ... *für ein kleinen spitzigen Felsen, im Meer gelegen ...*, (1524. – 1577.), građanin Nürnberga (MÜNTZER VON BABENBERG, 1624.).

<sup>20</sup> ... *für einen kleinen hohen Felsen, Pomma genannt, schiffen. Zu nechst darbey ligt der Berg Andrea, darauff, wie wir von den Schifflenten bericht ...*, (15??-after 1580) profesionalni vojn timer iz Ni Clausdorfa u Šleskoj (KUŽIĆ, 2013.).

<sup>21</sup> ... *ove stanno falconi, & columbine, che non le lasciano di qui partire ...*, (?), franjevac (VULCANO DELLA PADULA, 1563.).

<sup>15</sup> ... *zyn wy verby gezeylt den appel ende es een hoeghen berche ende leyt rondt omme in zee ende wy lyete legge an de rechter handt den appel ende ...*, (?), empoverished nobleman from the Hague (LEUPEN, 2009).

<sup>16</sup> ... *V obědy jsme se plavili tichým větrem dosti blízko mimo jakaus hrubau skálu, která z moře vyhledala; ležela nám na levé straně, stojí sama o sobě v moři a jest dosti vysoká, nahoře špičatá co nějaká homole, než holá, neb neroste na ní žádné stromoví, ani nic, neb jest všecko skála. Leží na poledne, dosti podál proti ostrovu svatého Ondřeje; vlasky říkají takovému z moře vyrostlému skáli li scoii ...*, (1523-1565), astronomer and mathematician from Prague (PREFÁT Z VLKANOVA, 1947.).

<sup>17</sup> ... *we had sight of a rocke in the midst of the sea, called in Italian, il Pomo, it appeareth a farre off to be in shape like a sugarloafe. (...) Il pomo is distant from Sant Andrea 18 miles, ...*, (?), a merchant and explorer from London, ancestor to philosopher John Locke (HAKLUYT, 1904).

<sup>18</sup> ... *a dez do dia chegamos a Poomo cousa asaz pequena em ho qual scolho não se acha fundo contudo vaõ a elle e trazem muitos falcões e rende cada anno a hum nobre veneçiano nesta mercadoria mais de çincoenta cruzados ... e tornamos ao dito Poomo, pela menhaã stavamos perto de Lissa ...*, (1523-poslije 1592), of noble origins, Franciscan from the monastery in Alcobaça (PEREIRA, 2005).

<sup>19</sup> ... *für ein kleinen spitzigen Felsen, im Meer gelegen ...*, (1524-1577), citizen of Nürnberg (MÜNTZER VON BABENBERG, 1624).

<sup>20</sup> ... *für einen kleinen hohen Felsen, Pomma genannt, schiffen. Zu nechst darbey ligt der Berg Andrea, darauff, wie wir von den Schifflenten bericht ...*, (15??-after 1580) professional soldier from Ni Clausdorf in Silesia (KUŽIĆ, 2013).

<sup>21</sup> ... *ove stanno falconi, & columbine, che non le lasciano di qui partire ...*, (?), Franciscan (VULCANO DELLA PADULA, 1563.).

18.	Johann Helffrich	Njemačka Germany	6. 6. 1565. 6 Jun 1565	<i>El Pomo / der Apffel</i> <sup>22</sup>
19.	Hans von Hirnheim	Njemačka Germany	7. 7. 1569. 7 Jul 1569	<i>Pomo</i> <sup>23</sup>
20.	Wolfgang Gebhardt	Njemačka Germany	7. 7. 1569. 7 Jul 1569	<i>Pomo</i> <sup>24</sup>
21.	Jean Zuallart	Belgija Belgium	?, 1586. ?, 1586	<i>Poma</i> <sup>25</sup>
22.	Jacques de Villamont	Francuska France	24. 4. 1589. 24 Apr 1589	<i>Pomo</i> <sup>26</sup>
23.	Jan Somers	Nizozemska the Netherlands	5. 4. 1592.* 5 Apr 1592.*	<i>Poma</i> <sup>27</sup>
24.	Fynes Moryson	Engleska England	24. 4. 1596. 24 Apr 1596	<i>Poma / Pamo</i> <sup>28</sup>

<sup>22</sup> ... Also haben uns die Schiffleut gleich für uns ligend im Meer geweisert einen hohen, spitzigen, rundten berg, welchen sie nandten El Pomo, das ist der Apffel. Diesen haben wir auff der rechten Hand ligen lassen. ..., (?) bio je građanin Leipziga, a djelo mu je objavljeno sedam puta između 1577. i 1589. (KUŽIĆ, 2013.).

<sup>23</sup> ... der hat uns dise nachbeschribene Örter gewisen: erstlich einen hohen, spitzigen Velsen zu der linken Hand im Meer, der wurd Pomo genant, ist von wegen seiner Runde und Größe seltsam zu sehen ..., (? – 1585.), plemić iz područja Ostalba (KHULL, 1897b).

<sup>24</sup> ... ein hoher Spitz und wunderbarlich zu sehen ..., (?), župnik iz Öttingena (KHULL, 1897a).

<sup>25</sup> ... Poi vedemmo lo Scoglio detto Poma, mostrandosi di lontano come una Piramida, dove solamente vi è una Cappanna per ritirarsi al Mese di Settembre, quelli che vanno à pigliare di Falconi, ch'ivi frequentano, e fanno i loro nidi. Questo Scoglio è, come dire, nel mezo del Golfo, ..., (1541. – 1634.) bio je gradonačelnik mjesta Ath u Hainautu (ZUALLARDO, 1595.).

<sup>26</sup> ... qui est iustament assise au milieu du goulfe de Venise, d'autant que d'icelle en Sclauonie ny à non plus qu'en Italie, & combien que la nuict fut fort prochaine, neantmoins nous la pouuions voir assez clairement à raison qu'elle est tres haute, & faite en forme de pyramide, qui est vne chose certes assez plaisante à voir, & digne d'estre regardee, consideré sa situation, & qu'elle est esloignée de terre ferme plus de cent mil de tous costez. En ceste montagne n'habite personne que des Faulcons, qu'on y va prendre au temps d'Automne. ... (≈1560. – 1625.), rodom iz Anjoua, napisao je najpopularniji francuski putopis svojega vremena, tiskan trinaest puta između 1595. i 1609. godine (VILLAMONT, 1606.).

<sup>27</sup> ... wy setten den selven daghe t'zeyl, maer ten duurde niet lange, want den wint was ons contrarye, en de Slaven moesten roepen tot onder een Eylandeken ghenamt Poma, dat inden Golf leyt ..., (?), građanin Middelburga u Zeelandu (SOMER, 1661.).

<sup>28</sup> ... seated in the midst of the Gulfe of Venice, which was high Rock, rising sharpe at the toppe, and uninhabited, where in the Autum they take Faulcons ..., (1566. – 1630.), podrijetlom iz Lincolnshirea, putopisac i avanturist (MORYSON, 1907.).

<sup>22</sup> ... Also haben uns die Schiffleut gleich für uns ligend im Meer geweisert einen hohen, spitzigen, rundten berg, welchen sie nandten El Pomo, das ist der Apffel. Diesen haben wir auff der rechten Hand ligen lassen. ..., (?) a former citizen of Leipzig, whose work was published 7 times in the period between 1577 and 1589 (KUŽIĆ, 2013.).

<sup>23</sup> ... der hat uns dise nachbeschribene Örter gewisen: erstlich einen hohen, spitzigen Velsen zu der linken Hand im Meer, der wurd Pomo genant, ist von wegen seiner Runde und Größe seltsam zu sehen ..., (?-1585.), nobleman from the area of Ostalb (KHULL, 1897a).

<sup>24</sup> ... ein hoher Spitz und wunderbarlich zu sehen ..., (?), parishoner from Öttingen (KHULL, 1897b).

<sup>25</sup> ... Poi vedemmo lo Scoglio detto Poma, mostrandosi di lontano come una Piramida, dove solamente vi è una Cappanna per ritirarsi al Mese di Settembre, quelli che vanno à pigliare di Falconi, ch'ivi frequentano, e fanno i loro nidi. Questo Scoglio è, come dire, nel mezo del Golfo, ..., (1541-1634) a mayor of the place called Ath in Hainaut (ZUALLARDO, 1595.).

<sup>26</sup> ... qui est iustament assise au milieu du goulfe de Venise, d'autant que d'icelle en Sclauonie ny à non plus qu'en Italie, & combien que la nuict fut fort prochaine, neantmoins nous la pouuions voir assez clairement à raison qu'elle est tres haute, & faite en forme de pyramide, qui est vne chose certes assez plaisante à voir, & digne d'estre regardee, consideré sa situation, & qu'elle est esloignée de terre ferme plus de cent mil de tous costez. En ceste montagne n'habite personne que des Faulcons, qu'on y va prendre au temps d'Automne. ... (≈1560-1625), born in Anjou, he wrote the most well-known French travelogue of all time, printed 13 times between 1595 and 1609 (VILLAMONT, 1606.).

<sup>27</sup> ... wy setten den selven daghe t'zeyl, maer ten duurde niet lange, want den wint was ons contrarye, en de Slaven moesten roepen tot onder een Eylandeken ghenamt Poma, dat inden Golf leyt ..., (?), a citizen of Middelburg in Zeland (SOMER, 1661.).

<sup>28</sup> ... seated in the midst of the Gulfe of Venice, which was high Rock, rising sharpe at the toppe, and uninhabited, where in the Autum they take Faulcons ..., (1566-1630), originally from Lincolnshire, travel writer and adventurer (MORYSON, 1907.).

25.	Girolamo Dandini	Italija Italy	17. 6.? 1596. 7. 6. 1597. 17 Jun? 1596 7 Jun 1597	Pomo <sup>29</sup>
26.	Johannes Cotovicus (Johann van Kootwijk)	Nizozemska the Netherlands	11. 6. 1598. 11 Jun 1598	Pomus <sup>30</sup>
27.	Henri Castela	Francuska France	8. 8. 1600. 8 Aug 1600	La Pomme <sup>31</sup>
28.	Martin Seusenius	Njemačka Germany	7. 7. 1602. 7 Jul 1602	Pomon <sup>32</sup>
29.	William Lithgow	Škotska Scotland	?, 1609. ?, 1609	Pomo / Salyro <sup>33</sup>
30.	Giovanni Paolo Pesenti	Italija Italy	20. 9. 1612. 20 Sep 1612	Il Pomo <sup>34</sup>

<sup>29</sup> ... *Ci si presentarano più oltre à manca due scoglj non habitati da persona alcuna ...*, (1554. – 1634.), podrijetlom plemić iz Cesene, isusovac, poslanik u Libanonu (DANDINI, 1656.).

<sup>30</sup> ... *praeternauigamus ... rupemque altissimam à formam Pomum nuncupatum, falconibus celebrem. Haec in medio maris Adriatici sita aequali utrimque distat spatio. ...*, (15??-1629.), doktor prava u Utrechtu i vitez ivanovac (COTOVICIUS, 1619.).

<sup>31</sup> ... *un grand rocher, qui se nomme la Pomme, lequel on voit de bien loin, ressemblant une pyramide artificielle bien admirable; iacoit qu'il n'y aye eu iamais aucune habitation, sinon une petite maison au pied, en laquelle, tant seulement une fois l'année, en Septembre, les Esclavons s'en vont loger por aller prendre des faulconneaux qui font d'ordinaire leurs nids aux environs de ceste grande masse de pierre, au pres de laquelle ne croist aucun arbre ny herbe, estant faicte tant haut que bas en ouvale, il y à si grand difficulté à y monter, que pour si peu que la main manque, on ne se pourroit contregarder de tomber dans la mer, estant au milieu d'un golphe, esloigné tant de l'Italie que de la Dalmatie, (...) & ce pendant les Esclavons sont tellement accoustumez d'aller prendre ces oyseaux de proye (qui ne se vont nicher, que l'on puisse sçauoir, autre part que la) sans qu'ilz en puissent estre destournez par tel danger, pour le grand profit qu'ils ont accoustumé d'en r'apporter, les alant vendre en diverses contrées & pays loingtains. ...* (1570. – 16??.), podrijetlom iz Toulousea (CASTELA, 1603.).

<sup>32</sup> ... *sijn des morgens na der Sonnen opgang gepassiert, de Insul pomon: Est mons hujus formam pijramidis acqual spacio distans ab Italia et Salavonia ...*, (15??-1603.), bio je iz Istočne Frizije (KUŽIĆ, 2013.).

<sup>33</sup> ... *I saw upon my right hand, a round Rocke of a great height, in forme of a Piramide; being cognominated by Easterne Mariners, Pomi, aunciently Salyro, for the good Faulcons that are bred therein. It standeth in the midst of the Gulfe betweene Slauonia and Italy, and not habitable. ...*, (1582. – 1645.), putopisac i avanturist, porijeklom iz Lanarka (LITHGOW, 1632.).

<sup>34</sup> ... *ove si vede ancora lo scoglio, che si chiama il Pomo, che si dice esser a mezzo il Golfo Adriatico ...*, (1579. – 1658.), putopisac rodom iz Bergama (PESENTI, 1615.).

<sup>29</sup> ... *Ci si presentarano più oltre à manca due scoglj non habitati da persona alcuna ...*, (1554-1634), originally from Cesena, a Jesuit, ambassador in Lebanon (DANDINI, 1656).

<sup>30</sup> ... *praeternauigamus ... rupemque altissimam à formam Pomum nuncupatum, falconibus celebrem. Haec in medio maris Adriatici sita aequali utrimque distat spatio. ...*, (15??-1629), doctor of law sciences in Utrecht, and knight of St. John (Malta) (COTOVICIUS, 1619).

<sup>31</sup> ... *un grand rocher, qui se nomme la Pomme, lequel on voit de bien loin, ressemblant une pyramide artificielle bien admirable; iacoit qu'il n'y aye eu iamais aucune habitation, sinon une petite maison au pied, en laquelle, tant seulement une fois l'année, en Septembre, les Esclavons s'en vont loger por aller prendre des faulconneaux qui font d'ordinaire leurs nids aux environs de ceste grande masse de pierre, au pres de laquelle ne croist aucun arbre ny herbe, estant faicte tant haut que bas en ouvale, il y à si grand difficulté à y monter, que pour si peu que la main manque, on ne se pourroit contregarder de tomber dans la mer, estant au milieu d'un golphe, esloigné tant de l'Italie que de la Dalmatie, (...) & ce pendant les Esclavons sont tellement accoustumez d'aller prendre ces oyseaux de proye (qui ne se vont nicher, que l'on puisse sçauoir, autre part que la) sans qu'ilz en puissent estre destournez par tel danger, pour le grand profit qu'ils ont accoustumé d'en r'apporter, les alant vendre en diverses contrées & pays loingtains. ...* (1570-16??), from Toulouse (CASTELA, 1603).

<sup>32</sup> ... *sijn des morgens na der Sonnen opgang gepassiert, de Insul pomon: Est mons hujus formam pijramidis acqual spacio distans ab Italia et Salavonia ...*, (15??-1603), from Eastern Frisia (KUŽIĆ, 2013).

<sup>33</sup> ... *I saw upon my right hand, a round Rocke of a great height, in forme of a Piramide; being cognominated by Easterne Mariners, Pomi, aunciently Salyro, for the good Faulcons that are bred therein. It standeth in the midst of the Gulfe betweene Slauonia and Italy, and not habitable. ...*, (1582-1645), travel writer and adventurer, originally from Lanark (LITHGOW, 1632).

<sup>34</sup> ... *ove si vede ancora lo scoglio, che si chiama il Pomo, che si dice esser a mezzo il Golfo Adriatico ...*, (1579-1658), a travel writer from Bergamo (PESENTI, 1615).

31.	Vincenzo Fani	Italija Italy	1. 7. 1615. 1 Jul 1615	<i>Pomo</i> <sup>35</sup>
32.	Heinrich von Rantzau	Njemačka Germany	10. 2. 1623. 10 Feb 1623	<i>Il Pomo</i> <sup>36</sup>
33.	Christoph von Neitzschitz	Njemačka Germany	4. 9. 1630. 4 Sep 1630	<i>Pomo</i> <sup>37</sup>
34.	Cornelis de Bruijn	Nizozemska the Netherlands	4. 11. 1684. 4 Nov 1684	<i>Pomo</i> <sup>38</sup>

Za putopisca broj 1. u tablici Jabuka je *visoka, gola i okrugla*; za putopisca 3. – *visoka*; za 4. – *kamena visoka litica, neširoka*; za 5. – *visoka i okrugla*; za 6. – *kamena stijena*; za 7. – *velika stijena*; za 9. – *visoka i šiljasta*; za 10. – *velika, visoka i šiljasta*; za 11. – *visoka*; za 12. – *vrlo surova stijena, prilično visoka, pri vrhu šiljasta kao glava (šecera)*; za 13. – *stijena oblika glave šecera*; za 14. – *prilično malena*; za 15. – *mala šiljasta litica*; za 16. – *mala visoka litica*; za 18. – *visoka, šiljasta i okrugla*; za 19. – *visoka, šiljasta litica zbog okruglosti i veličine rijetka*; za 20. – *čudesan visok vrh*; za 22. – *vrlo visoka*; za 23. – *otočić*; za 24. – *visoka stijena, koja se diže oštro na vrhu*; za 26. – *vrlo visoka i nazubljena*; za 27. – *velika stijena, čudesna, velika masa stijena*; za 29. – *okrugla stijena velike visine*; za 33. – *velika stijena*, i za putopisca 34. – *litica*.

Travel writer 1 describes Jabuka as *high, bare and round*; writer 3 - *high*; writer 4 - *rocky high cliff, not wide*; writer 5 – *high and round*; writer 6 – *rocky stone*; writer 7 – *great stone*; writer 9 - *peaked and high*; writer 10 - *large, high and peaked*; writer 11 - *high*; writer 12 states it is a *very raw rock, pretty high, peaked at the top like a sugar loaf*; writer 13 - *rock in the form of a sugarloaf*; writer 14 - *quite small*; 15 - *small peaked cliff*; writer 16 - *small high cliff*; writer 18 - *high, peaked and round*; writer 19 - *high, peaked cliff, rare because of its roundness and size*; writer 20 - *marvellous high peak*; writer 22 - *very high*; writer 23 considers it - *an islet*, writer 24 - *a high rock, rising with a sharp peak*; writer 26 writes - *quite high and jagged*; writer 27 - *wonderful, high rock, a great mass of cliffs*; writer 29 - *a round rock of great height*; writer 33 - *a large rock*, and finally, writer 34 names it - *a cliff*.

<sup>35</sup> ... *ci spinse in due giorni a vista d'uno Scoglio detto il Pomo, che di lontano sembra una pigna, quale sta nel mezo del Golfo di Venetia, fra larghezza e longhezza gira un miglio, luogo dove nascono uccelli di rapina di tutte le spetie, quali sono stimati in modo tale, che molti vengono di lontani Paesi a pigliarli ...*, (? – 1653.), svećenik rodом iz Bologne (LONGO, 2010.).

<sup>36</sup> ... *Den 10. Februarij Vormittag segelten wir einer Insul vorbey mit Nahmen Il pomo, es wehete noch der Sturmwind ...*, (1599. – 1674.), plemić iz Holsteina (KUŽIĆ, 2013.).

<sup>37</sup> ... *Weiter aber auf selbiger Hand sind wir ansichtig worden einen grossen Felsen mitten im Meere, so wegen der Form eines Apffels Pomo genannt wird und werden darauf viel Falcken gefangen. ...*, (prije 1600. – 1637.), plemić iz Meissena (KUŽIĆ, 2013.).

<sup>38</sup> ... *Middelerwyl kreegen wy twee zeylen in't oog, die wy voor Vaartuygen van het Land aanzagen, gelyk wy ook bevonden, dat ze waaren. Met den avond passeerden wy de Klip Pomo, die de laatste van alle de Eylanden is, en verscheydene Eylandjes omtrent zich heeft, gelyk'er by de Klip, in de Printverbeelding, op No. 208. werd aangewezen. Als men dezelve eerst in't gczicht krygd, verтоond ze zich in de gedaante van een Schip, daar ze, door onkundigen, lichtelyk voor aangezien zoude konnen werden. Dezen nacht hadden wy in de wind. ...*, (1652. – 1727.), slikar i putopisac iz den Haaga (BRUYN, 1698.).

<sup>35</sup> ... *ci spinse in due giorni a vista d'uno Scoglio detto il Pomo, che di lontano sembra una pigna, quale sta nel mezo del Golfo di Venetia, fra larghezza e longhezza gira un miglio, luogo dove nascono uccelli di rapina di tutte le spetie, quali sono stimati in modo tale, che molti vengono di lontani Paesi a pigliarli ...*, (?-1653), a priest born in Bologna (LONGO, 2010).

<sup>36</sup> ... *Den 10. Februarij Vormittag segelten wir einer Insul vorbey mit Nahmen Il pomo, es wehete noch der Sturmwind ...*, (1599-1674), a nobleman from Holstein (KUŽIĆ, 2013).

<sup>37</sup> ... *Weiter aber auf selbiger Hand sind wir ansichtig worden einen grossen Felsen mitten im Meere, so wegen der Form eines Apffels Pomo genannt wird und werden darauf viel Falcken gefangen. ...*, (prije 1600-1637), a nobleman from Meissen (KUŽIĆ, 2013).

<sup>38</sup> ... *Middelerwyl kreegen wy twee zeylen in't oog, die wy voor Vaartuygen van het Land aanzagen, gelyk wy ook bevonden, dat ze waaren. Met den avond passeerden wy de Klip Pomo, die de laatste van alle de Eylanden is, en verscheydene Eylandjes omtrent zich heeft, gelyk'er by de Klip, in de Printverbeelding, op No. 208. werd aangewezen. Als men dezelve eerst in't gczicht krygd, verтоond ze zich in de gedaante van een Schip, daar ze, door onkundigen, lichtelyk voor aangezien zoude konnen werden. Dezen nacht hadden wy in de wind. ...*, (1652-1727), painter and travel writer from the Hague (BRUYN, 1698).



Slika 4. Haggenspitz (1761 m), vrh na planini Kleiner Mythen u kantonu Schwyz (Švicarska)

Izvor: URL 4

Figure 4 Haggenspitz (1761 m), the mountain top on the Kleiner Mythen in the canton of Schwyz (Switzerland)

Source: URL 4

U nekoliko izvješća opisani su pokušaji i neuspjesi u sidrenju, što najbolje posvjedočuje velike dubine koje okružuju otok.

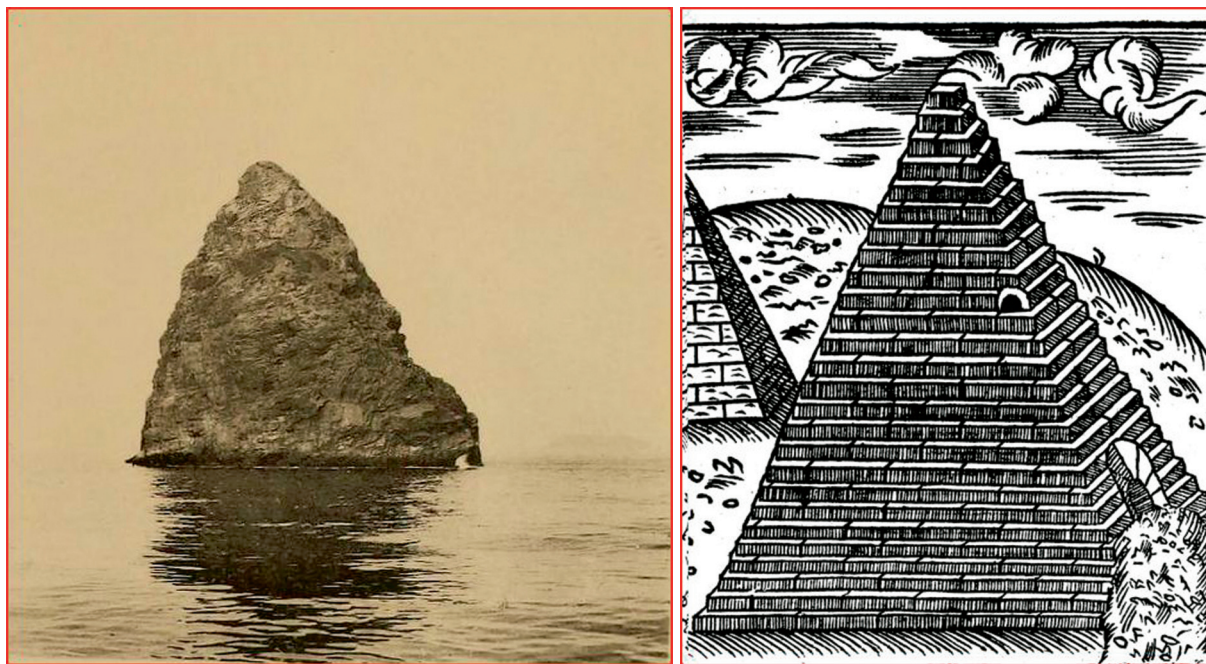
Vrlo je zanimljiva usporedba koju je dao čovjek iz Alpa, Füssly (9). Njega Jabuka podsjeća na Haggen, tj. Haggenspitz (1761 metar). To je istaknuti vrh na planini Kleiner Mythen u središnjoj Švicarskoj, u kantonu Schwyz (Sl. 4.). Zahvaljujući tome što se nalazi uz glavni put između Züricha i prijevoja Sankt Gotthard, a u blizini je i glavno marijansko svetište Einsiedeln, Füssly ga je mogao dobro upamtiti. Mora se priznati da je usporedba uspjela unatoč golemosti koja razlikuje Haggenspitz od Jabuke.

Talijan Fani Jabuku uspoređuje s borovom šiškom, a Nijemac Rantzau s jabukom, što je u njegovu slučaju možda nesvjestan utjecaj znanja jezika i značenja imena. Od biljnih paralela najviše iznenađuje Francuz Le Saige kojega je Jabuka

In a few accounts the anchoring attempts and failures were described being the best witnessing of the great depths surrounding the island.

A very interesting comparison is given by Füssly, a man from the Alps (9). Jabuka reminds him of Haggen, i.e. Haggenspitz (1761 m), the mountain top of the Kleiner Mythen in central Switzerland in the Schwyz canton (Fig. 4). Due to the fact that it is situated along the main route between Zürich and Saint Gotthard mountain pass, near the Marian sanctuary of Einsiedeln, Füssly must have memorized it well. It must be said that the comparison was a good fit despite the hugeness that distinguishes Haggenspitz.

The Italian Fani compares Jabuka to a pine cone, and the German Rantzau to an apple, which in his case might have been the subconscious influence of the language and the name. Among numerous comparisons, the most surprising is the one given



Slika 5. a) Zapadni dio Jabuke – najsličniji piramidi; b) Egipatska piramida prema Hellfrichu

Izvor: HELFFRICH, 1589; GINZBERGER, 1916.

Figure 5 a) The west side of Jabuka – most similar to a pyramid; b) An Egyptian pyramid according to Hellfrich

Source: HELFFRICH, 1589; GINZBERGER, 1916

podsjetila na šiljasti plod bukve – bukvicu. Čeh Prefát i Englez Locke nalaze sličnost Jabuke s tzv. glavom šećera (zgnusnutim šećerom uobličeni u visoki stožac zaobljenog vrha). Putnici Zuallart, Villamont, Castela, Seusenius i Lithgow uspoređivali su Jabuku s piramidom. Budući da su te dojmove stekli na odlasku prema Levantu, nameće se pretpostavka kako su oblik piramide, kao predložak za usporedbu, mogli vidjeti iz nekih prethodnih putopisa. Upravo je Hellfrich jedan od tih autora, a on je k tomu dao i opis Jabuke. Za razliku od prethodno spomenutih, on je zapazio njezin okrugao, stožast oblik pa i nije našao sličnosti s piramidama kod Gize na koje se penjao (Sl. 5.).

Prvo izdanje njegovih uspomena izašlo je 1579., a kasnije su ga slijedila njemačka i strana izdanja, među njima je bilo i izdanje na francuskom jeziku. Trojica frankofonih autora mogla su upravo iz njegova djela dobiti informaciju o tim egipatskim građevinama. Ne smije se zanemariti ni Bernhard von Breydenbach. On je prvi posjetitelj piramida čiji je putopis višekratno tiskan i preveden te je ostavio duboke tragove kod čitatelja i kasnijih

by the Frenchman Le Saige, who sees Jabuka as the peaked fruit of beech tree - a beechnut. The Czech Prefát and Englishman Locke found similarities between our island and a sugarloaf (dense cone-shaped sugar form with a rounded top). Travelers Zuallart, Villamont, Castela, Seusenius and Lithgow compared Jabuka to a pyramid. Since these impressions were made on their way to Levant, it is valid to assume that the idea of the pyramid came from previous travel accounts. Hellfrich was one of such authors who also provided a description of the island. Unlike the aforementioned writers, he is the one who noticed the island's round, conical shape which he does not compare to the pyramids of Gizeh that he had climbed (Fig. 5).

The first edition of his memoirs was published in 1579, followed by foreign editions in German and other languages, among them French. It is from his accounts that the three francophone authors could have obtained information about the Egyptian buildings. It should not be forgotten Bernhard von Breydenbach, the first visitor of the pyramids whose travelogues were printed and translated several times, leaving an indelible mark on readers





Slika 6. Nizozemska fregata „Elswood“ i otok Jabuka (desno)

Izvor: BRUYN, 1698.

Figure 6 The Dutch frigate “Elswood” and Jabuka Island (on the right)

Source: BRUYN, 1698

autora (VON BREYDENBACH, 1486.).<sup>39</sup> Jan Somer, koji se poziva na putopisca Belona, a bio je u Gizi i vidio te faraonske grobnice, također nije usporedio Jabuku s piramidom. Postoje indicije kako je pokraj Jabuke prošao i trideset peti putnik, Pietro Casola, milanski kanonik. Naime, ploveći 1494. godine on spominje „goli i nenastanjeni“ otok Sv. Andriju. I jedna i druga značajka svakako ne odgovara istini, pa je Casola vjerojatno mislio na Jabuku, a krivo pročitao ili čuo ime otoka (NEWETT, 1907.).

Dakle, od navedena trideset četiri putnika (od kojih su neki putovali istim brodom), petorica su plovili na galijama – brodovima s pogonom na jedra ili vesla (MARDEŠIĆ, 1956.; KOTRULJEVIĆ, 2005.), a ostalih dvadeset devet na isključivim jedrenjacima raznih vrsta. Većina spominje „nave“, no to ne mora biti baš taj tip broda, što se objašnjava neupućenošću putnika i nepoznavanjem jezika. Od stvarnih naziva plovila spominju se koka, karavela, galijun i tartana (MARDEŠIĆ, 1956.; MARDEŠIĆ, 1957a; MARDEŠIĆ 1957b; LUETIĆ, 1961.; KOZLIČIĆ, 1993.), a u slučaju de Bruijna zna se da je plovio na fregati, što se vidi iz njegova djela (Sl. 6.).

<sup>39</sup> von Breydenbachovo djelo prevedeno je s latinskog na njemački, flamanski, francuski i španjolski jezik u dvanaest izdanja do 1522. godine.

and authors alike (BREYDENBACH, 1486)<sup>39</sup>. Jan Somer, who referred to the writer Belon, visited Gizeh and the Pharaoh’s tombs also did not draw parallels between Jabuka Island and the pyramids. There are indications that Pietro Casola, the thirty-fifth traveler and Milanese canon had traveled along the island. His accounts mention a “bare and uninhabited” Island of Sv. Andrija. These accounts do not seem credible, so it can be assumed that he was referring to Jabuka, having misread or misheard the name of the island (NEWETT, 1907.).

Out of the 34 mentioned travel writers (some travelling on the same ship), five sailed on galleys – ships propelled by either oars or sail (MARDEŠIĆ, 1956; KOTRULJEVIĆ, 2005), while the other 29 boarded different ships driven solely by the wind. Most of them write about traveling on “nave”, which does not necessarily indicate that exact type, as the travelers might not have been acquainted with the vessel or the language. The actual type names of the sailing ships include cogs, caravels, galleons, and tartan ships ((MARDEŠIĆ, 1956; MARDEŠIĆ, 1957a; MARDEŠIĆ 1957b; LUETIĆ, 1961.; KOZLIČIĆ, 1993), and it is known from de Bruijn’s accounts that he sailed on a frigate (Fig. 6).

<sup>39</sup> Breydenbach’s work was translated from Latin into German, Flemish, French and Spanish in 12 editions by 1522.

Plovilo ima tri jarbola, od čega dva prednja s po tri križna jedra, a krmeni ima latinsko jedro (MARDEŠIĆ, 1956.). Dva su razloga zašto je tolika disproporcija u brojnosti zapisa s veslarica i isključivih jedrenjaka. U prvom razdoblju, do početka 16. stoljeća, galije su bile standardno plovilo za prijevoz putnika u pravcu grčkih luka, Krete i ostatka Levanta, a njihova ruta plovidbe išla je uz obalu – od grada do grada (ili neke uvale – u slučaju potrebe), dotičući grad Hvar, kao najbliži Jabuci. Zbog toga u putopisima i nije moglo biti njezina spomena. U isto vrijeme vrlo je malo putnika uzimalo jedrenjake, a gotovo jedino su ovi (iako ne svi) uzimali srednjoadrsku rutu koja se kod istarske Premanture odvajala od obale. Dalje je smjer plovidbe vodio prema Jabuci i Sv. Andriji, kao orijentirima, a onda se nastavljalo prema Palagruži ili Lastovskom kanalu (DA MOSTO, 1806.). U morskom prostoru oko Jabuke brodski paruni birali su pet temeljnih ruta plovidbe: A – sjeverno od Jabuke prema Viškom kanalu; B – sjeverno od Jabuke prema Biševskom kanalu; C – sjeverno od Jabuke, pa između nje i Sv. Andrije te južno od Visa; D – južno od Jabuke i južno od Visa prema Lastovskom kanalu te E – južno od Jabuke i Visa te pokraj Palagruže, a isto vrijedi i obratnom poretku za rute prema Veneciji (Sl. 7.). U većem dijelu 16. stoljeća i cijelom 17. stoljeću, gotovo bez iznimke, putnici su se koristili jedrenjacima, pa otuda toliki porast opisa otoka.

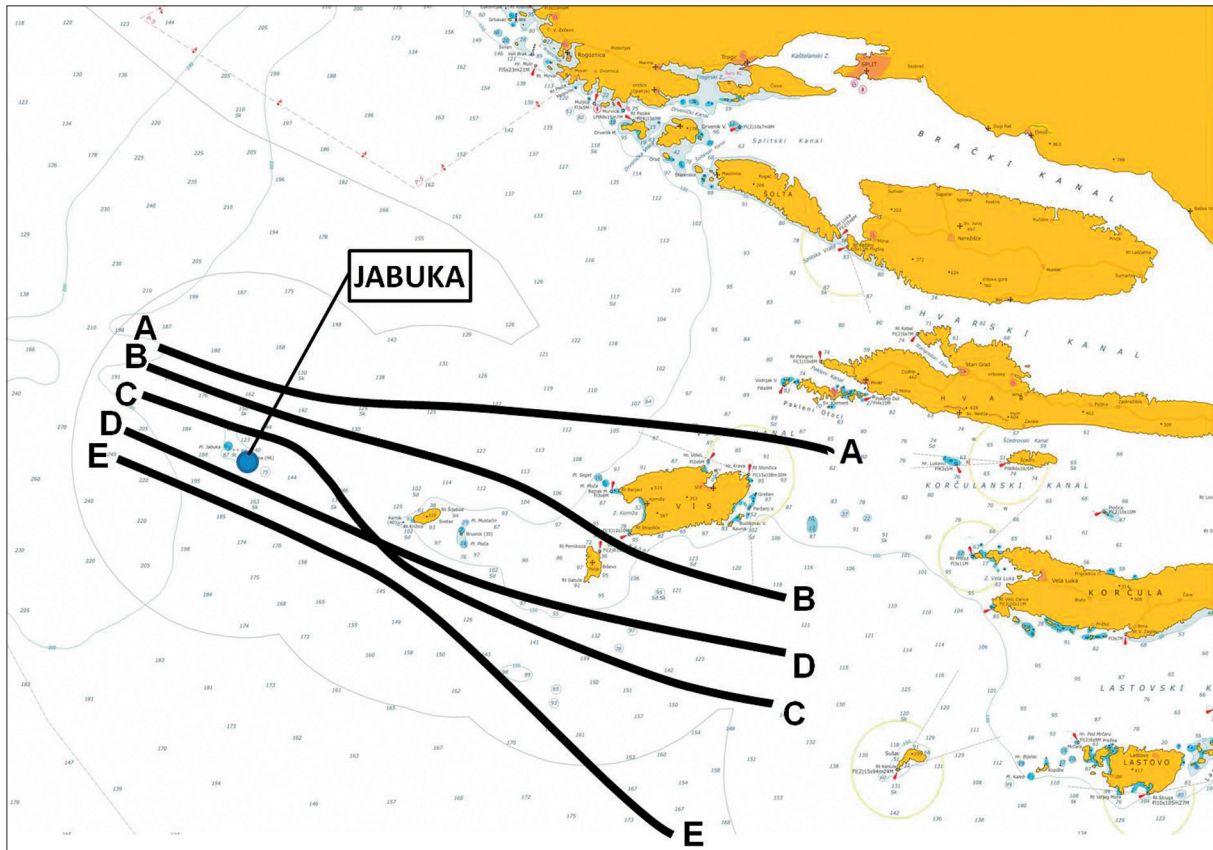
Zbog stjenovite obale i udaljenosti, a također zbog rizika od nevremena, Jabuka nije nikad postala ribarska baza u obliku kakvi su bili Biševo, Svetac i Palagruža. Iako lov na srdele spominju putnici 8., 10., 18. i 22., on se odnosi na pošte u blizini tih otoka, kao i matičnog Visa. Tamošnje bogatstvo ribom ističe već potkraj 15. stoljeća Paladije Fusko u svojoj knjizi „Opis obale Ilirika“ (FUSKO, 1990.). Ipak, u vrijeme putovanja (14. – 17. st.), oko Jabuke nije bilo nikoga (BUCHBERGER, 2008.).

Tvrđnja Tirolca Steigerwaldera da na Jabuci *ne žive ni ljudi ni životinje* (KUŽIĆ, 2013.), samo je u prvom dijelu točna. Lovljenje sokolova zabilježili su putnici 7., 10., 14., 17., 21., 22., 24., 26., 27., 29. i 33. naglašavajući da se provodi u jesen, točnije u rujnu. Le Saige opisuje tragičan događaj koji mu je ispričao parun broda kojim je plovio, Mlečanin Marco Antonio Dandolo. Neka četvorica (vjerojatno s otoka Visa) uzeli su 1516. manju barku i potajno otišli na Jabuku, kako bi pohvatala sokolove i na njima dobro zaradila. Tamo ih je zatekla oluja i otrgla im slabo privezanu brodicu te su ostali na otoku odsječeni

The latter has three masts, the two in front comprised of three squared sails, with a lateen sail on the stern mast (MARDEŠIĆ, 1956). There are two reasons for such a disproportion in the numerous accounts from the galleys and ships exclusively for sailing. In the period leading up to the 16<sup>th</sup> century, galleys were used as standard transportation vessels to Greek ports, Crete and the rest of the Levant, with a route that followed the coast – from city to city (or bay if needed), passing the city of Hvar, which was closest to Jabuka. It is because of this that there was little or no mention of Jabuka in travel accounts. At the same time, very few passengers had chosen to go on sailing ships, which were mostly (but not all of them) the ones that followed the mid Adriatic Sea route that separated from the coast near the Istrian town Premantura. The route led further towards Palagruža or Lastovo channel (DA MOSTO, 1806). In the waters around Jabuka, the shipmasters (patrons) used to choose one of the five basic sailing routes: A- north of Jabuka towards Vis channel; B - north of Jabuka towards Biševo channel; C - north of Jabuka, then between the island and Sv. Andrija and south of Vis Island; D - south of Jabuka and Vis towards Lastovo channel, and E - south of Jabuka and Vis next to Palagruža, which was opposite to the route to Venice (Fig. 7). Almost without exception for the greater part of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, the passengers traveled on sailing ships, which explains the increase of island descriptions.

Due to the rock-bound coast, remoteness, and weather hazards, Jabuka never really became the fishing base such as Islands of Biševo, Svetac and Palagruža. Fishing for sardelles is mentioned by travelers 8, 10, 18 and 22, although this refers to the neighboring islands, such as Vis. The abundance of fish at the end of the 15<sup>th</sup> century was emphasized by Paladius Fuscus in his book “The Description of Illyricum Coast” (FUSKO 1990). However, during the travel periods (14-17th century) there was no one there (BUCHBERGER 2008).

Tyrolese Steigerwalder claimed that “neither people nor animals” live on Jabuka (KUŽIĆ, 2013), which is partly true. Falcon hunting was noted by travelers 7, 10, 14, 17, 21, 22, 24, 26, 27, 29 and 33, who explained that it took place in the fall, i.e. in September. Le Saige describes a tragic occurrence told to him by his shipmaster, Venetian Marco Antonio Dandolo. Four people (probably from Vis Island) departed in a small boat towards Jabuka in 1516 to hunt falcons and thus earn money. There they were surprised and cut off by a fierce storm that snapped their vessel from the island and left



Slika 7. Glavne rute brodova u prolazu pokraj Jabuke:

- A – plovidbeni pravac: Jabuka sjever – Viški kanal – 2 (u povratku prema Primoštenu); 4; 5; 8 (povr.); 14 (povr.); 22; 23
  - B – plovidbeni pravac: Jabuka sjever – Biševski kanal – 18
  - C – plovidbeni pravac: Jabuka sjever – Sv. Andrija jug – 12; 13
  - D – plovidbeni pravac: Jabuka jug – Lastovski kanal – 6; 11; 15; 19; 20; 21; 27; 28; 30; 33
  - E – plovidbeni pravac: Jabuka jug – Palagruža – 1 (prošao na 1 milju od otoka); 7; 9; 10; 16; 24; 26; 31; 32; 34
- Nepoznato ili nejasno: 3; 17; 25; 29

Figure 7 Main ship routes passing by Jabuka:

- A - sailing direction: Jabuka north – Vis channel – 2 (return to Primošten); 4; 5; 8 (ret.); 22, 23
  - B - sailing direction: Jabuka north – Biševo channel – 18,
  - C - sailing direction: Jabuka north – Sv. Andrija south – 12; 13
  - D - sailing direction: Jabuka south – Lastovo channel – 6; 11; 15; 19; 20; 21; 27; 28; 30; 33
  - E - sailing direction: Jabuka south – Palagruža – 1 (passed by at a distance of 1 mile); 7; 9; 10; 16; 24; 26; 31; 32; 34
- Unknown or not clear: 3; 17; 25; 29

bez hrane i vode. Budući da nitko nije znao za njihove namjere, nisu ih ni tražili na Jabuci, pa su sva četvorica umrla od gladi i žeđi (DUTHILLOEUL, 1851.). Kako Portugalac da Albergaria navodi, neki je mletački plemić svake godine zarađivao više od 50 kruzada, tj. reala, na prodaji ovih ptica. Francuz Castela također posvećuje dosta prostora sokolarenju te govori kako je u podnožju otoka bila neka kućica u kojoj su boravili hvatači dok su obilazili gnijezda po liticama. Ističe kako je penjanje po Jabuci bilo vrlo teško, i bez

them with no food or drink. Since no one was informed of this journey, nobody looked for them on Jabuka, so all four died of thirst and hunger (DUTHILLOEUL, 1851). As stated by the Portuguese de Albergaria, a Venetian nobleman, earned more than 50 cruzadas, i.e. reals every year by selling these birds. Frenchman Castela also discussed falconry, claiming that there was a cabin in the foothills of the island where hunters stayed while visiting the nests on the rocky cliffs. He points out that climbing on the island was extremely challenging, because one

pridržavanja rukama moglo se pasti u more, ali kako se izlaganje opasnostima moglo dobro naplatiti prodajom ovih ptica (CASTELA, 1603.). O dobiti govori i činjenica da je hvarska komuna oglašavala dražbu za pravo na lov. Koliko je bio razvijen ovaj lov na sokolove, pokazuju brojne isprave i svjedočanstva, a po svemu sudeći vještinu lova i dresure tih plemenitih ptica donijeli su benediktinci (RAČKI, 1889.; OSTOJIĆ, 1964.; *Hvarski statut*, 1991.). Nedostaju opisi, pa se može samo pretpostaviti kako se radilo o vrstama *Falco feldeggii* ili *F. peregrinus* ili *F. eleonorae* (LUKAČ I DR., 1997.). Osim sokolova spominju se i druge grabljivice te golubovi.

Podaci o etničkoj ili političkoj pripadnosti putnika koji su prošli pokraj Jabuke nisu toliko važni koliko je zanimljivo staleško podrijetlo. Gotovo polovica putopisaca dolazi iz građanskog sloja, koje je u to vrijeme postalo samosvjesno, željno novih saznanja i širenja vidika izvan etničkoga i vjerskoga kruga u kojem su živjeli. Među njima, a razmjerno još više kod plemića osjeća se neprikriveni duh avanturizma. Svećenstvo je svakako kao motivaciju za putovanje ponajprije imalo osobne vjerske razloge ili izvršenje naloga nadređenih u crkvenoj hijerarhiji (KUŽIĆ, 2013.).<sup>40</sup>

### Prikaz otoka

Osim nekoliko primjeraka, najstarije sačuvane portulanske karte s prikazom jadranske obale potječu početka 14. stoljeća. Vodeći se pomoračkom logikom označavanja prirodnih orijentira i pogibeljnih mjesta, Đenovljanin P. Vesconte, koji je djelovao u Veneciji, u svojem je uratku prikazao i Jabuku, a slijedila ga je i većina drugih kartografa do kraja 17. stoljeća (CAMPBELL, 1987.; KOZLIČIĆ, 1995.). S obzirom na njezine stvarne veličine, nevjerojatan je broj varijanata netočnosti njezina kartografskog prikaza, a to je još uočljivije kad ih se uspoređi s najbližim otocima. Katkad nerazmjernost ide toliko daleko da se površinom izjednačava sa Sv. Andrijom, a približava se veličini Visa. To su sve posljedice stoljetnih prerisa i zanemarivanja osobne spoznaje, ali i nezainteresiranosti lokalnih ribara i pomoraca.

<sup>40</sup> Prema sadašnjim granicama: Nijemci – 10; Nizozemci – 6; Talijani – 6; Francuzi – 3, itd. Putnici prema staležu: građani – 17; plemići – 8; svećenstvo – 7; nepoznato – 2. Za stalešku strukturu Engleza vidi KOZLIČIĆ, 1997.

could easily fall into the sea, but the profitability of selling the birds was well worth the risk (CASTELA, 1603). The fact that the commune of Hvar was advertising the auction for the right to hunt speaks about the potential profit (RAČKI, 1889; OSTOJIĆ, 1964; *Hvarski statut*, 1991). Falcon hunting and its development is seen in numerous documents and testimonies, and based on all these accounts, the art and skills for hunting and training were brought by the Benedictines. It lacked descriptions, so it can only be assumed these were species *Falco feldeggii* or *F. peregrinus* or *F. eleonorae* (LUKAČ ET AL., 1997). Apart from falcons, there were also other predator birds and pigeons.

Information about ethnic or political affiliation of travelers passing by Jabuka are not as relevant as their social origin. Nearly half of the writers came from the class of citizens who had at that time become self-aware, willing to expand their knowledge and broaden their horizons beyond the ethnic and religious circle they were living in. Among them, and even more among noblemen there existed even a certain sense of adventurism. The priesthood was motivated to travel for personal religious reasons or to perform the tasks assigned to them by their superiors in the church hierarchy (KUŽIĆ, 2013)<sup>40</sup>.

### Depiction of the Island

Except for a few samples, the oldest preserved charts of the Adriatic coast date back to the beginning of the 14<sup>th</sup> century. Following the navigational logic of marking the landmarks and perilous locations, in his work Genoese P. Vesconte, who worked in Venice, also depicted Jabuka, as did most cartographers until the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> century (CAMPBELL, 1987; KOZLIČIĆ, 1995). What is surprising is the number of different inaccuracies of the cartographic layout, despite the island's actual size, something that is even more evident in comparison with neighboring islands. Such is the disproportion that the island equals Sv. Andrija in size, almost reaching the size of Vis. These are all consequences of century-long copying and neglect of first-hand accounts, but also the fact that it was of no interest to fishermen and seamen.

<sup>40</sup> Based on today's borders: Germany-10; The Netherlands-6; Italy-6; France-3, etc. Travelers according to social status: citizens - 17; nobility - 8; clergy - 7; unknown - 2. For social structure of Englishmen, see: KOZLIČIĆ, 1997

Stoga nije iznenađujuće kako se prvi poznati sačuvani panoramski prikaz otoka nalazi u djelu Nizozemca de Bruijna. Nastao je 1698. na temelju putnoga predloška nacrtanog na povratku s Levanta, kada je on na putu iz Smirne prema Veneciji prošao 4. studenoga 1684. pokraj otoka (BRUIJN, 1698.). Prema bakrorezu (Sl. 6.) Jabuka je prikazana iz azimuta od oko 285°, iz zamišljene točke gledišta kojim je obuhvaćen i brod „Elswood“ na kojem je autor putovao. U određivanju položaja najviše pomažu geografski objekti i njihova morfologija, a dva bliža su neupitni: bliža Jabuka – desno od broda, i dalji Sveti Andrija (Svetac) – iza jedrilja. Nedoumicu izazivaju druga dva objekta pokraj Svetoga Andrije: lijevo ispod siluete strmca te desno uz siluetu položenijeg obronka (vidi kartu u: KOZLIČIĆ, FARIČIĆ, 2004.). Oba su daleko manja, a unatoč nekim netočnostima upućuju na zaključak da lijevi predstavlja otočić Kamik, a desni otočić Brusnik. Dočaravanje daljinske perspektive, u odnosu Brusnik – Svetac je bolje nego u slučaju Jabuka – Svetac, koji su u stvarnosti međusobno udaljeni oko 22,5 kilometara. S obzirom na Svetac, Jabuka svojim strmim padinama odaje sjeverozapadni položaj promatrača, no zbog širine baze na obalnoj crti prije bi odgovarao izgled iz kuta od 270° (sa zapada). Na prikazu je čak vidljiva struktura pri dnu otočnog grebena, s omanjom kosom pločom iznad Puntine ol pulenta (BUCHBERGER, 2008.).

Postoje još tri zanimljive crtice o ovom otoku. Prema opisu iz portulana početka 19. stoljeća s udaljenosti od 8 do 10 milja, Jabuka podsjeća na brod s razvijenim jedrima (MARIENI, 1830.). Drugi, nešto kasniji peljar ponovno spominje piramidalni oblik otoka (NORIE, 1843.). Kako navodi Burton, „u nekom ratu“ (vjerojatno austrijsko-talijanski rat 1866. godine) Jabuku su gađali topovima talijanski ratni brodovi, jer su pomislili da je protivnički jedrenjak (BURTON, 1880.).

## Zaključak

U proteklih dvjestotinjak godina otok Jabuka unatoč svojim malim dimenzijama trajno privlači pozornost znanstvenika. No već od kraja srednjeg vijeka, zbog svojega položaja stekla je golemu važnost za pomorce što se vidi iz portulanskih karata i portulana. Osim toga, zbog svojih visokih kamenih litica bila je uočljiva za sve brodove koji su uzimali rutu sredinom Jadrana, bilo iz pravca

Therefore it is not surprising that the first recorded panoramic view of the island is found in the works of Dutchman de Bruijn. It was made in 1698 based on the travel outline made on his return from the Levant, en route from Smyrna to Venice on 4 November 1684 (Bruijn 1698). Based on the copperplate (Fig. 6), Jabuka Island was drawn from the bearing of 285°, from an imaginary point of view that included the ship “Elswood” on which the author was sailing. What was helpful in determining the position were mostly landmarks and their morphology, two of which are indubitable: the closer one, Jabuka - right of the ship, and the farther, Sv. Andrija, behind the sails. Perplexing is the position of two other objects next to Sv. Andrija; left under the silhouette of steep slope, and on the right next to the silhouette of the mild slope (see the map in: KOZLIČIĆ, FARIČIĆ, 2004). Both are significantly smaller which despite certain inaccuracies leads us to conclude that the left one is the islet of Kamik, and the right the islet of Brusnik. Visualizing the distance is much easier in terms of Brusnik - Svetac than Jabuka - Svetac, the latter actually standing at 22.5 km distance. Considering the fact that when observed from Svetac, Jabuka seems to be situated northwest to the observer, but the width of the base from the coastline indicates that the viewing angle should be 270° (west). The layout even shows the structure of the bottom ridge of the island, with a smaller slope above Puntina ol pulenta (BUCHBERGER, 2008).

There are three more sketches of this island. According to a portolano description from the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, from a distance of 8-10 miles Jabuka looks like a ship with expanded sails (MARIENI, 1830). Later on, a maritime pilot again referred to the pyramid-shaped island (NORIE, 1843). Burton claims that during “some war” (probably the war between Austria and Italy in 1866), Jabuka was shelled by Italian warships, because it was thought to have been an enemy’s sailing-vessel (BURTON, 1880).

## Conclusion

For the last two hundred years, Jabuka Island has, notwithstanding its small size, constantly attracted the attention of scientists. Moreover, from the Middle Ages onwards, its position provoked the interest of seamen, as seen in portolan charts. Apart from that, the island’s high rocky cliffs made it visible to every ship sailing across the mid Adriatic Sea, whether en route from Venice, or from the

Venecije, bilo od strane Otrantskih vrata. Zbog toga mnogo zanimljiviji podaci o Jabuci nalaze se u pisanim djelima putnika koji su ploveći Jadranom prošli pokraj nje. Oni se nisu zaustavili samo na činjenici da je bila orijentirna točka usred Jadranskog mora, podjednako udaljena i od istočne i zapadne obale, ali i od Venecije i Otranta (Krf). Dolazeći iz raznih europskih zemalja, svojem su čitateljstvu prenijeli, a time i sačuvali mnoge detalje iz života Višana (prije svega Komižana) koji su se izlagali pogibelji u lovu na sokolove – tada traženoj i skupoj živoj robi za velikaške dvorove u Italiji, Njemačkoj i Francuskoj. Nadalje, zbog vjerodostojnih zapisa putnika, kao i podataka (daljinara, smjerova plovidbe i sl.) iz prvih portulana, utemeljeno se pretpostavlja da je prvotno mletačko ime otoka bilo *Mellisella*. U sljedećem koraku istraživanja pokazalo se kako je staro ime istoznačnica kasnijeg imena *Pomo*, čime je pretpostavka potvrđena. Razlog prelaska imena *Mellisella* na otok Brusnik leži u pogreškama kartografa, tj. sklonosti precrtavanja bez osobne provjere na terenu. Vrijednost putničkih opisa dokazana je otkrićem de Bruijnova panoramskog bakroreza Jabuke, koji je zasad najstariji poznati likovni prikaz otoka. Time je nadopunjen zbir informacija o ovom najnedostupnijem hrvatskom otoku.

strait of Otranto. It is because of this that we find much more interesting information about Jabuka in accounts written by travelers sailing across the Adria. They wrote about more than the the island as a landmark in the middle of the sea, equidistant from the eastern and western coast, as well as from Venice and Otranto (Corfu Island). Arriving from various European countries, the travelers were able to convey to their readers many details from the life of the residents of Vis (mostly from Komiža) who risked their lives to hunt falcons - at that time they were highly demanded and expensive living goods for the courts in Italy, Germany and France. Furthermore, the credible records and travelers' accounts as well as data (distance measurer, sailing routs, etc.) from the first portolan charts lead us to hypothesize that the initial venetian name of the island was *Mellisella*. The next stage of the research has shown that the old name was in fact the same meaning of the name *Pomo*, which confirmed the hypothesis. The reason why the name *Melisella* was later attributed to the Island of Brusnik lies in the errors of the cartographer, i.e. the tendency to overwrite without verifying it in the field. The value of the travelers' accounts was proven by de Bruijn's discovery of Jabuka's panoramic engraving, which is the oldest known image of the island up to this time. It completed the collection of information about this most inaccessible Croatian islet.

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