

The Representation of the Hungarian Towns in Domenico Zenoi's and Paolo Forlani's Cartographic Work*

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* The study is an adapted chapter from Béla Szalai's extensive three-volume monograph *Magyar várak, városok, falvak metszeteken 1515-1800*, published in Budapest in 2006 and available only in the Hungarian language. The study was translated from the Hungarian into Croatian by Xenia Detoni and, with the author's permission, adapted and translated into English by Ivan Matković.

Abstract: In the mid-16th century Venice was the European center of cartography. The two most distinguished representatives of the Venetian school of cartography, which included their close collaborators, Natale Bonifacio and Martin Rota Kolunić from Šibenik in Dalmatia, were Domenico Zenoi and Paolo Forlani. The study deals with their cartographic and publishing activity, their relationship and rivalry within the context of the Venetian cartographic production and analyzes in detail their engravings of the Hungarian towns at the time of the Ottoman conquests, including the siege and the fall of the fortress Sziget during the command of Nikola Šubić Zrinyi. The analysis is based on the five extant copies of Zenoi's and Forlani's collections of views, two of which have been unknown until discovered by the author in the Budapest National Library.

Keywords: Cartography, Venice, Zenoi, Forlani, Hungarian towns, Ottoman conquests

1 Introduction

The occupation of Tokay in 1565 was the first 16th century event resulting in the publication of a large number of engravings of its siege in Vienna, Paris and Venice, soon after it had happened. Among those one should especially point out the work of the Venetian engraver Domenico Zenoi (Zenoni), because it represented the first view of a Hungarian town engraved in copperplate. By occupying Tokay, the Austrian army broke the truce agreed with the Turks, which prompted Suleiman the Magnificent to counterattack. In the following year, 1566, the sultan himself led a military campaign, occupying large areas of Hungary. Gyula was taken, and soon after Szigetvár (Sziget), in spite of the heroic resistance of Nikola Šubić Zrinyi. During this whole time, the Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire and the king of Hungary, Maximilian II, waited aimlessly with his large army at Győr, in spite of the fact that János Zsigmond, the Duke of Erdelyi, was also taking a number of less important forts in the Great Plains and started the siege of Tokay. The sultan Suleiman the Magnificent died at

Sziget (not living to see the fall of the town), after which event the Tartar contingent, which had fought as a part of the Ottoman army, moved eastward through the Hungarian plain, destroying, plundering and burning villages and capturing thousands of prisoners (eventually liberated after the battle at Újváros by the anti-Turkish disposed János Zsigmond) and finally evacuated the Hungarian territory at the Karpathian Vereckei pass.

Those events drew the attention of the European public towards Hungary much more than anything that had happened before, and they became the subject of many reports and stories, woodcut illustrated fliers and increasingly more numerous single sheets, especially in German and Italian states and also provoking much interest in France. However, among the cities which were publishing those lavishly illustrated news, Venice was by far the most productive. Namely, two well-known Venetian engravers of the time, Domenico Zenoi and Paolo Forlani, created two stylistically very similar collections of engravings relating to different events on Hungarian soil, choosing for their engravings a somewhat

Prikazi ugarskih gradova u kartografskim djelima Domenica Zenoija i Paola Forlanija*

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Sažetak: Sredinom 16. stoljeća Venecija je kartografsko središte Europe. Najistaknutiji su predstavnici venecijanske kartografske škole, koja uključuje i njihove bliske suradnike Šibenčane Natalea Bonifacija i Martina Rotu Kolunića, Domenico Zenoi i Paolo Forlani. Studija se bavi njihovom kartografskom i izdavačkom djelatnošću u kontekstu venecijanske kartografske proizvodnje, ali posebno detaljno analizira njihove bakrorezne prikaze ugarskih gradova u vrijeme turskih osvajanja, uključujući i opsadu i pad Sigeta pod zapovjedništvom Nikole Šubića Zrinskoga. Analiza se temelji na pet danas postojećih primjeraka Zenoijevih i Forlanijevih zbirki veduta, od kojih je autor pronašao dvije do tada nepoznate zbirke u budimpeštanskoj Nacionalnoj knjižnici.

Ključne riječi: kartografija, Venecija, Domenico Zenoi, Paolo Forlani, mađarski gradovi, turska osvajanja

1. Uvod

Zaposjedanje Tokaja godine 1565. prvi je događaj u 16. stoljeću o kojem je u Beču, Parizu i Mlecima – netom nakon što se zbio – objavljen pozamašan broj različitih grafičkih listova s prizorima opsade, među kojima valja posebno istaknuti rad mletačkog majstora Domenica Zenoija (Zenoni), jer je riječ ujedno o prvoj veduti nekog ugarskoga grada izrađenoj u tehnici bakroreza. Austrijska je vojska zauzimanjem Tokaja prije svega kršila primirje sklopljeno s Turcima, što je pak Sulejmana Veličanstvenoga nagnalo na protuudar. Sultan je iduće, 1566. godine pokrenuo i osobno predvodio vojni pohod na Ugarsku, pokorivši pritom golema područja te zemlje. Pao je grad Gyula, a uskoro i, unatoč junačkom otporu Nikole Šubića Zrinskoga, Szigetvár (Siget). Sve je to vrijeme car Svetog Rimskog Carstva i kralj Ugarske Maksimilijan II. Habsburški sa svojom jakom vojskom besposlen čekao kod Győra (Đur), premda mu je i erdeljski knez János Zsigmond također preotimao neke manje važne utvrde u Velikoj Nizini, a već i otpočeo s opsadanjem Tokaja. Sultan Sulejman Veličanstveni preminuo

je pod Sigetom (ne dočekavši pad grada), nakon čega su tatarske postrojbe koje su se dotad borile u sastavu osmanlijske armade, razarajući, pljačkajući i paleći sela te goneći pred sobom tisuće zatočenika (od kojih je većinu protuturski raspoloženi János Zsigmond ipak nakon bitke kod Újvárosa uspio osloboditi) krenule kroz ugarsku nizinu prema istoku kako bi ugarske prostore konačno napustile na karpatskom prijevoju Verecke.

Ti su događaji skrenuli prozornost europske javnosti na Ugarsku snažnije od bilo čega što se prije toga zbilo u toj zemlji, pa su postali predmetom mnogih izvješća i pripovijesti, drvorezima ilustriranih letaka i sve većeg broja samostalnih listova, prije svega u njemačkim i talijanskim državama, iako nisu bili ništa manje zanimljivi ni u Francuskoj. Ipak, među gradovima u kojima su o tim zbivanjima objavljivane bogato ilustrirane vijesti najviše su se isticali Mleci; naime, dvojica su tamošnjih priznatih grafičara onoga doba, Domenico Zenoi i Paolo Forlani, o različitim događajima na tlu Ugarske stvarali stilski vrlo srodne, no svaki svoju prvu grafičku zbirku s ugarskom tematikom, crtajući te prizore u formatu koji je bio nešto manji od uobičajenog. Zenoi je tako izradio 7

smaller format than was usual. Zenoi engraved seven views [Eger (Agria), Győr (Iavarino), the imperial army camp at Győr (Il campo de l'imp. sopra Iavarino...), Gyula (Giula), Szigetvár (Ziget), Tokay (Tochai) and Zsaka (Saaca), some of which were even made in several variants], and is believed to be the author of a large view of Sziget and a map of Austria and Hungary. According to



Domenico Zenoi's book title page
Naslovnica knjige Domenica Zenoija

my findings, Forlani also produced a view of the siege of Sziget in a large format as well as five other views [Győr, Gyula, Komarom (Komorn), Sziget and Tokay]. Both of them published those copperplate views together with many others in their collections produced in 1567. Furthermore, Zenoi conceived his book deliberately as a representation of the more important towns in Hungary, and his work can therefore be taken as the first (although, as it will be shown later, not entirely successful) collection of the views dedicated to Hungary. The simultaneous appearance of their works and especially their similarity provoke numerous questions which demand valid answers.

The object of our study is shedding light on the circumstances which led to the creation and publication of the mentioned engravings, a comparison and analysis of

their content as well as an attempt to determine possible predecessors used by the authors. Its aim is also to detect and prove the origins of Zenoi's and Forlani's publishing intentions, their rivalry, but also their possible cooperation which might have happened at some later time. In the course of the study, it is necessary to introduce works of some other authors dealing with the same events, but created elsewhere.

2 On Zenoi's and Forlani's Publishing Activity and the Known Copies of their Books

When applying to the Venetian Signoria with his request to be granted a privilege for 15 years, Domenico Zenoi stated that the privilege “will mean his protection from ill-intentioned people who care nothing for insulting their neighbors by copying their prints and engraving them as if they were theirs...” In his application he did not mention Forlani, but judging by the example mentioned above, he probably had him in mind as well. He was given a license on December 5, 1566 on the condition that from time to time he was obliged to show his work to the authorities and allow its verification. It is my belief that at the time of his application he was already planning to publish the town book which would contain the views of Hungarian forts, and also the future variants of the mentioned subjects which would also become part of the collection. Taking into consideration the date of the dedication on the title page (which by many is not considered to be the actual title page, but just a separate dedication page), the book was published on April 4, 1567.

The dedication makes a lot of things certain: Zenoi published a book of maps and views of Hungary and instead of the usual engravings in a large format it contained those of smaller dimensions (“in a more convenient form”), which were easier to use. The author was especially proud of making the engravings in a smaller than usual format, easier to use, as evidenced in the note to the map of Austrian and Hungarian lands: “... No map has been engraved in so small a format ever before...” However, it is also obvious from the dedication that while writing it Zenoi did not finish all the planned prints; he himself pointed out that he intended to augment the book with new prints.

I believe that, along with the 7 described views, Zenoi intended to publish, when acquiring the license, his view of Vienna (titled the capital of Hungary!) engraved in 1566 as well as the map of the Austrian and Hungarian lands (showing the sultan Selim II's army advancing through Hungary) made in 1567, the map of

listova (Eger [Agria], Győr [Iavarino], prikaz utaborene carske vojske pod Győrom [Il campo de l' Imp. sopra Iavarino...], Gyula [Giula], Szigetvár [Ziget], Tokaj [Toc-hai] i Zsáka [Saaca], osmisliivši neke od tih veduta čak u više inačica), a priznaje mu se autorstvo i jedne vedute Sigeta većeg formata, pa i zemljopisne karte Austrije i Ugarske. Forlani je prema mojim saznanjima, uz prikaz opsade Sigeta također u velikom formatu, izradio još pet veduta (Győr, Gyula, Komarom [Komorn], Siget i Tokaj). Obojica su te radove uz mnoge druge vedute objavili u svojim bakropisnim zbirka otisnutim godine 1567. Štoviše, Zenoi je svoju knjigu svjesno i ciljano koncipirao kao prikaz važnijih gradova na ugarskom prostoru, pa to djelo upravo zato možemo smatrati prvom (premda, kao što ćemo poslije vidjeti, ne i u potpunosti uspješnom) zbirkom veduta posvećenoj Ugarskoj. Istodobnost njihovih stvaralačkih napora, a napose sličnost tih grafičkih uradaka, kod promatrača potiču bezbroj pitanja koja zahtijevaju valjane odgovore.

Predmet ovog proučavanja je rasvjetljavanje okolnosti nastanka i objavljivanja spomenutih bakroreza, usporedba i analiza njihova sadržaja, baš kao što će se pokušati odrediti i možebitni predlošci kojima su se njihovi autori koristili. Namjeravam također ustanoviti i dokazati ishodišta Zenoijevih i Forlanijevih nakladničkih namjera, njihova međusobnog rivalstva, ali i moguće suradnje do koje je došlo vjerojatno nešto poslije. Tijekom rada neće se moći izbjeći ni predstavljanje nekih radova drugih autora o istim događajima, nastalih drugdje.

2. O Zenoijevoj i Forlanijevoj nakladničkoj djelatnosti i o poznatim primjercima njihovih knjiga

Obraćajući se 1566. mletačkoj Signoriji zahtjevom da mu se na 15 godina odobri privilegij, Domenico Zenoi je naveo da će on „...za njega značiti zaštitu od zlonamjernih ljudi koji se ne bave ničim drugim nego vrijeđanjem susjeda, naviknuvši se na kopiranje njihovih grafičkih radova, urezujući ih kao svoje...“. U podnesku doduše ne spominje Forlanija, no sudeći po navedenom primjeru, vjerojatno je mislio i na njega. Licencu je dobio 5. prosinca 1566. pod uvjetom da s vremena na vrijeme mora vlastima omogućiti uvid u svoje radove i dopustiti njihovu provjeru. Vjerujem da je u trenutku podnošenja zahtjeva za dodjelu licence već imao na umu i knjigu grafika među kojima će se naći i vedute iz ugarskih tvrđava, ali i buduće inačice spomenutih motiva koje će također ući u zbirku. Sudeći po nadnevku navedenom u posveti na naslovnici (koju mnogi ne smatraju pravom naslovnicom nego tek

samostalnom „dedikacijskom“ stranicom) knjige, ona je svjetlo dana ugledala 4. travnja 1567. Iz posvete mnogo toga postaje neupitnim: Zenoi je objavio knjigu s kartama i vedutama Ugarske, koja umjesto listova do tada uobičajenih velikih formata sadrži one manjih dimenzija („u udobnijoj formi“), daleko prikladnijih za rukovanje. Autor je bio osobito ponosan na činjenicu da je svoje



Paolo Forlani's title page from *Il primo libro*
Naslovnica Paola Forlanija iz *Il primo libro*

bakroreze izradio u manjim od uobičajenih formata, kojima se lakše barata, kao što će to poslije navesti i na zemljovidu austrijskih i ugarskih zemalja: „... Nijedna karta dosad još nikada nije otisnuta u ovako malom formatu...“. Međutim, iz posvete također postaje bjelodanim da Zenoi u trenutku pisanja njezina teksta još nije dovršio sve planirane stranice; sam ističe da knjigu namjerava dopunjavati novim listovima.

Vjerujemo da je Zenoi uz opisanih 7 listova namjeravao, ali već kao vlasnik nakladničke licence, u istoj zbirci objaviti i svoju vedutu Beča (u naslovu ga naziva prijestolnicom Ugarske!) izrađenu 1566., kao i geografsku kartu austrijskih i ugarskih zemalja iz 1567. (Ugarske kojom tada napreduje turska vojska predvođena novim sultanom Selimom II.), te zemljovid Transilvanije na koji je imao licencu, ali i, s obzirom na to da su događaji u tim krajevima bili uvjetovani turskim utjecajem, svoj (također licencom zaštićeni) prikaz

Transylvania for which he had the license and, as the events in those regions were caused by the Turks, his (also licensed) view of Istanbul (Constantinopoli). I surmise that he also intended to include a view of Venice. However, at that moment apparently he thought it sufficient to publish only the book's initial 12 pages. Namely, he did not know then that in the summer of 1567 the negotiations would start with sultan Selim II which would end with the peace treaty concluded in Drinopolis and which would thus make redundant the war events which had been the thematic basis for the additional prints, announced in the Dedication.

Before I continue analyzing Zenoi's book with the views of Hungarian towns and forts, I have to mention briefly Forlani's book with views published in the same year, 1567, under the title *il primo libro della citta et fortezze principale del mondo* (The First Book of the Principal Towns and Forts of the World), which also included the engravings of Hungarian towns.

Albert Ganado published a very detailed study about the relationship between the two almost simultaneously published books (Ganado 1993), referring also to the individual contributions of the two authors to those publications. He managed to find only three copies of those rare books: one each in the Vienna National Library and the University Library in Wrocław, and the one owned by Dr Fritz Hellwig (the private collection). Two more copies have been found in the meantime in the collection of old books in the Budapest National Széchenyi Library (Országos Széchenyi Könyvtár – OSZK), which raises the total number of copies to five. When analyzing the available copies, the main concern is that they differ significantly as to their content. Since their bindings are not from the time when they were published, it is difficult to discern which of them represents the original state of the book and who the actual publisher was. Two of the books contain Forlani's title page, one Zenoi's, while two contain both title pages.

The Vienna copy which Ganado analyzed contains 33 prints after Forlani's title page, while the one in Wrocław (also with Forlani's title page) contains only 24. Both of these copies contain only 12 of the same engravings. However, the Vienna copy lacks all views except Eger depicting Hungarian towns (Győr, Gyula, Komárom, Sziget and Tokay, both in Forlani's or Zenoi's versions). Ganado considers the Hellwig copy the third in importance (in his opinion it is identical to the copy described by Wilhelm Drugulin in 1863, although Drugulin did not mention its location). It contains a total of 36 views, of which 17 are found behind Forlani's title page and 19 behind Zenoi's title page. However, in this colligatum the views

depicting Hungarian towns are found only behind Zenoi's title page, where 5 of them are Forlani's (Győr, Gyula, Komárom, Sziget and Tokay), while 2 are by Zenoi (Eger and the imperial camp at Győr).

The copy marked App. H. 3070 from the collection of the Count Apponyi in the National Széchenyi Library with Zenoi's title page contains 36 engravings, but only one of them, the view of Eger, is by Zenoi, while the other views of Hungarian towns (Győr, Gyula, Sziget, Tokay and Komárom) are Forlani's work! This copy contains 36 prints, just like the copy from Hellwig's collection. Moreover, 31 engravings are identical in both copies and one view differs only in its authorship (the view of Vienna in Hellwig's copy is Forlani's and in the other one Zenoi's). Among the identical prints there are 5 of Forlani's views with Hungarian motifs (Győr, Gyula, Sziget, Tokay and Komárom) and Zenoi's Eger. It has already been mentioned that those 6 Hungarian views are to be found in the second part of Hellwig's copy and that they are bound one after the other behind Zenoi's title page i.e. his Dedication, just as the ones in the OSZK copy. However, the latter copy does not contain Zenoi's view of the imperial camp at Győr found in Hellwig's copy and there is no map of Austria and Hungary, nor the view of the siege of Gotha. Of the 31 identical prints, the Vienna copy contains 20 (with Zenoi's or Forlani's Valetta), while the Wrocław copy contains 17 (with Zenoi's or Forlani's Constantinople). Therefore, in all the known copies there are 43 locations on 45 different views.

The second copy from the OSZK (App. H. 3069), whose binding also dates from the 19th century, has for its first page Forlani's title page, but immediately behind it, as the second page, there is Zenoi's title page. The book contains 99 (!) prints, 28 of which are identical to those in the first Apponyi copy, and the views of Győr, Gyula, Sziget and Tokay, as well as Valetta are Forlani's and not Zenoi's work. It also contains Forlani's view of Constantinople. Thus, this copy contains prints of 34 of the same locations, and the authorship is someone else's only in 6 cases! Of all the prints in the copy, 25 are identical to those in Hellwig's copy and 26 to those in the Vienna copy. It is the only copy which contains Zenoi's view of Zsáka (Saaca). Although it is not known which print had belonged to which of the two editions before they were bound into one book (which can be inferred by the inclusion of both title pages), it can be rightly surmised that Zenoi's engravings and the title page of his town book had previously formed an organic unit. This copy contains 59 engravings (apart from Zenoi's views of Hungarian towns, which are included only in this copy), which cannot be found in any of the analyzed

Carigrada (Constantinopoli). Predmnijevam da je u knjigu namjeravao uvrstiti i vedutu Mletaka. No u tom mu se trenutku po svemu sudeći činilo dostatnim objaviti samo njezinih početnih 12 stranica. Naime, tada još nije mogao znati da su toga ljeta 1567. sa sultanom Selimom II. otpočeli pregovori koji su zaključeni mirovnim sporazumom sklopljenim u Drinopolju, pa će slijedom toga izostati i ratni događaji kao tematska podloga za – u posveti već najavljene – dodatne listove u knjizi.

Prije nego što nastavim s proučavanjem Zenoijeve knjige s vedutama ugarskih gradova i tvrđava, moram s nekoliko riječi spomenuti i Forlanijevu knjigu veduta, objavljenu također 1567., pod naslovom *Il primo libro della citta et fortezze principale del mondo* (Prva knjiga o važnijim gradovima i tvrđavama svijeta), u koju su uvrštene i stranice s ugarskim gradovima.

Albert Ganado je objavio vrlo temeljitu studiju o poveznicama tih dviju takoreći istodobno objavljenih knjiga (Ganado 1993), osvrćući se pritom i pojedinačno na rad dvojice autora na tim izdanjima. On je od tih knjiških rariteta uspio pronaći samo tri primjerka: po jedan u bečkoj Nacionalnoj knjižnici, u Sveučilišnoj knjižnici u Wroclawu i onaj dr. Fritza Hellwiga (privatna zbirka). Poznata su još dva primjerka koji se nalaze u zbirci starih knjiga u budimpeštanskoj Nacionalnoj Széchenyiyevoj knjižnici (Országos Széchenyi Könyvtár – OSZK), čime se broj otkrivenih i dostupnih primjeraka penje na ukupno pet. Tijekom proučavanja pronađenih primjeraka najveću brigu stvara to što se oni u pitanju sadržaja među sobom nemalo razlikuju, a kako im sadašnji uvez nije iz vremena nastanka originalnih knjiga, upitno je koji od njih odražava izvorno stanje knjige i kojemu ona zapravo nakladniku pripada. U dvije od pet knjiga uvezana je Forlanijeva naslovnica, u jednu Zenoijeva, dok se u dvije nalaze obadvije.

U bečkom primjerku koji je Ganado proučavao nakon Forlanijeve naslovnice slijede 33 lista, dok onaj u Wroclawu (također s Forlanijevom naslovnicom) sadrži njih samo 24, a istovjetnih je stranica u tim primjercima samo 12. Međutim, taj je bečki jedini primjerak iz kojega, osim vedute Egera, manjkaju svi listovi koji se tiču ugarskih gradova (Győr, Gyula, Komarom, Siget i Tokaj, i to bilo da je riječ o Forlanijevim, bilo o Zenoijevim radovima). Trećim po važnosti Ganado smatra primjerak iz Hellwigove zbirke (koji je prema njegovu mišljenju istovjetan primjerku što ga je 1863. opisao Wilhelm Drugulin, ne spomenuvši pritom mjesto gdje se on nalazi), koji se sastoji od ukupno 36 grafičkih listova, na način da iza Forlanijeve naslovnice slijedi 17, a Zenoijeve 19 listova, no u tom se *colligatumu* samo ispod Zenoijeve naslovnice nalaze grafike kojih se sadržaj odnosi na ugarske gradove,

i to pet Forlanijevih (Győr, Gyula, Komarom, Siget i Tokaj), dok je dvije grafike načinio Zenoi (Eger i prikaz logora pod Győrom).

Primjerak pod oznakom App. H. 3070 iz zbirke grofa Apponyija u Nacionalnoj Széchenyiyevoj knjižnici (sa Zenoijevom naslovnicom) sastoji se od 36 listova, s time da od Zenoijevih radova sadrži samo vedutu Egera, dok su ostali dijelovi serije ugarskih gradova (Győr, Gyula, Siget i Tokaj, zatim i Komarom) zastupljeni samo Forlanijevim grafikama! U tu je knjigu uvezano 36 listova baš kao i u primjerak iz Hellwigove zbirke; dapače, čak je 31 list istovjetan u oba primjerka, a jedna se pak veduta razlikuje samo po autorstvu (prikaz Beča u Hellwigovoj je knjizi Forlanijev, a u drugoj je Zenoijev). Među istovjetnim stranicama nalazi se pet Forlanijevih listova s ugarskim motivima (Győr, Gyula, Komarom, Siget i Tokaj) i Zenoijev Eger. Primijetili smo da se tih 6 listova s ugarskom tematikom nalazi u drugom dijelu Hellwigova primjerka i uvezani su jedan za drugim iza Zenoijeve naslovnice (posvete), kao što su i ugarski listovi u knjizi pohranjenoj u OSZK-u poredani na isti način. Međutim, u potonjem se primjerku ne nalazi Zenoijev prikaz logora pod Győrom iz Hellwigova primjerka, kao što u njemu nema ni karte Austrije i Ugarske, a ni opsade Gothe. Od 31 istovjetnog lista u bečkom se primjerku nalazi 20 (s dodatkom Zenoijeve, odnosno Forlanijeve Valette), dok ih je u wroclawskom 17 (uz po jednu Zenoijevu, odnosno Forlanijevu vedutu Carigrada). U nama poznatim primjercima prikazane su 43 lokacije na 45 različitih veduta.

U drugom primjerku u vlasništvu OSZK-a (App. H. 3069), kojega uvez također potječe iz 19. stoljeća, na samom se početku nalazi naslovnica Forlanijeve knjige, no odmah iza nje, kao iduća stranica, i ona Zenoijeva. Knjiga sadrži 99(!) listova, od kojih je 28 istovjetnih onima u drugom primjerku iz iste Apponyijeve zbirke, dok su vedute Győra, Gyule, Sigeta i Tokaja, ali i Valette zastupljene kao Forlanijevi, a ne Zenoijevi radovi. Uvrštena je u nju i Forlanijeva veduta Carigrada. Dakle, u toj knjizi nalazimo listove 34 istovjetne lokacije, od kojih autorstvo samo 6 listova pripada nekom drugom! Od svih listova u toj knjizi 25 ih je istovjetnih onima u Hellwigovu primjerku, a 26 je istovjetnih onima u bečkom. To je jedini poznati primjerak djela u koji je uvrštena Zenoijeva veduta Zsáke. Iako se ne zna koji je list pripadao kojemu od tih dvaju izdanja prije nego što su ona uvezana unutar korica jedne knjige (na što upućuje i činjenica da se u njoj nalaze obje naslovnice), s pravom možemo pretpostaviti da su Zenoijevi pojedinačni listovi i naslovnica njegove knjige nekoć tvorili organsku cjelinu. U knjizi se nalazi 59 bakroreza (osim Zenoijevih stranica s ugarskom tematikom, koje su uvrštene samo u ovaj primjerak)

copies. This represents such a large deviation from the other copies' content that we are allowed to assume that the compilers of the copy added to the book some as yet unknown work (or possibly more of them?, either a complete one or only in parts?). It can also be noted that the copy contains, with the exception of the view titled *Alba de Gratia* (Le Havre), almost the whole content of Ballino's later town book (namely forty-nine prints), but unlike Ballino's book, without any text on their backs.

The described 5 copies contain a total of 112 different engravings which depict 106 different locations; namely 6 (Constantinople, Gyula, Sziget, Tokay, Valetta and Vienna) are included in either Forlani's or Zenoi's versions. Only 8 engravings are included in all 5 examined copies: 6 of them (Calais, Milano, Mirandola, Valetta, Tripoli and Venice) exhibit the Colonna sign and 2 (Paris and Parma) have no sign.

In view of better clarity the table 1 is supplied, containing 43 locations which are found in at least two of

the five examined copies, while the list of toponyms is augmented by Zenoi's view of Zsáka (titled Saaca) which is found only in the OSZK copy App. H. 3069. These 44 locations are presented on 50 different engravings, because 6 of them (Constantinople, Gyula, Sziget, Tokay, Valetta and Vienna) are both in Forlani's and Zenoi's versions. It is evident from the table that five of them are found only in two copies and all six in only three copies. Four copies contain 19 identical engravings, and they are the copies which do not contain the views of Gyula, or Sziget, or Tokay, or Constantinople in neither Zenoi's nor Forlani's versions. All five copies contain 27 of Zenoi's and Forlani's engravings related to Hungary, which are the subject of this study: 16 of them are Forlani's work (Komarom is found in four copies, while Győr, Gyula Sziget and Tokay in three), and 11 are Zenoi's (Eger in four copies, the imperial camp at Győr in three copies, while Gyula, Sziget, Tokay and Zsáka only in one copy).

Table 1. The table of Domenico Zenoi's and Paolo Forlani's work in five known copies of the town books

	Vienna, Forlani's title page	Wroclaw, Forlani's title page	Hellwig, parts I&II, Forlani's title page followed by Zenoi's	App. H. 3070 Zenoi's title page	App. H. 3069 Forlani's and Zenoi's title pages	Total
Abla de Gratia (Le Havre)	present		present in part II	present	present	4
Agria Zenoi 1567	present		present in part II	present	present	4
Anvers	present		present in part I.	present	present	4
Austria Zenoi 1567		present	present in part II			2
Calais Colonna 1567	present	present	present in part I	present	present	5
Castello S. Angelo	present		present in part I	present	present	4
Constantinople		Colonna	Zenoi, part I	Zenoi	Colonna	4
Crescentino	present		present in part II	present	present	4
Fano	present		present in part I	present	present	4
Florence	present				present	2
Frankfurt 1567	present	present		present	present	4
Genf Colonna 1567	present	present		present	present	4
Genoa	present		present in part I	present	present	4
Gerbe	present			present	present	3
Gotha	present		present in part II	present	present	4
Gotha siege N. Nelli	present		present in part II			2
Guines	present		present in part I	present	present	4

kojih nema ni u jednom od drugih proučavanih primjeraka. To je tako golemo odstupanje od sadržaja ostalih primjeraka da na osnovi njega smijemo predmnijevati kako su mu njezini sastavljači unutar istih korica pridodali neko nama nepoznato djelo (ili čak više njih?, u cjelini ili možda samo u dijelovima?). Uočili smo da se u ovom primjerku našla, s iznimkom vedute pod naslovom Alba de Gratia (Le Havre), cjelokupna grafička građa Ballinove knjige (dakle, 49 listova, ali s praznim poleđinama).

Opisanih pet primjeraka tih grafičkih zbirki sadrži ukupno 112 različitih listova koji prikazuju 106 raznih mjesta; naime, šest ih je (Carigrad, Gyula, Siget, Tokaj, Valetta i Beč) uvršteno ili po Forlanijevu ili po Zenoijevu viđenju. Samo je 8 listova koji se nalaze u svima od pet nama poznatih primjeraka: šest ih je (Calais, Milano, Mirandola, Valetta, Tripoli, Mletci) s Colonninom oznakom, a dva su (Pariz i Parma) neoznačena.

Radi bolje preglednosti izradili smo tablicu 1. s one 43 lokacije koje su vedutama zastupljene barem u dva od

pet do danas poznatih primjeraka knjiga, a popis topograma zbog Zenoijeve vedute dopunili Zsákom (pod naslovom Saca), koja se nalazi samo u primjerku pod knjižničkom oznakom App. H. 3069. Dakle, te 44 lokacije prikazane su na 50 različitih listova, jer o šest njih (Carigrad, Gyula, Siget, Tokaj, Valetta i Beč) postoje i Zenoijevi i Forlanijevi radovi. Iz tablice nam postaje jasno da pet veduta nalazimo samo u dvjema knjigama, i šest njih je uključeno samo u tri. Četiri primjerka knjige imaju 19 istovjetnih listova, a to su baš oni u kojima nema veduta ni Gyule, ni Sigeta, ni Tokaja, ni Carigrada, ni one Zenoijeve, ni Forlanijeve.

Od Zenoijevih i Forlanijevih veduta iz ugarskih krajeva, a koje su i predmetom ove studije, u tih pet primjeraka knjiga uvršteno je 27 otisaka: 16 njih je Forlanijev (Komarom je u njih četiri, dok se Győr, Gyula, Siget i Tokaj javljaju po tri puta), a 11 Zenoijev rad (Eger ćemo pronaći četiri puta, vojni logor pod Győrom tri puta, dok se Gyula, Siget, Tokaj i Zsáka javljaju samo po jedanput).

Tablica 1. Poznati primjerci knjiga veduta s radovima Domenica Zenoija i Paola Forlanija

	Beč, Forlanijeva naslovnica	Wroclaw, Forlanijeva naslovnica	Helwig I–II. dio, Forlanijeva, zatim Zenoijeva naslovnica	App. H. 3070 Zenoijeva naslovnica	App. H. 3069 Forlanijeva i Zenoijeva naslovnica	Ukupno
Abla de Gratia (Le Havre)	postoji		postoji u II. dijelu	postoji	postoji	4
Agria Zenoi 1567	postoji		postoji u II. dijelu	postoji	postoji	4
Anvers	postoji		postoji u I. dijelu.	postoji	postoji	4
Austria Zenoi 1567		postoji	postoji u II. dijelu			2
Calais Colonna 1567	postoji	postoji	postoji u I. dijelu	postoji	postoji	5
Castello S. Angelo	postoji		postoji u I. dijelu	postoji	postoji	4
Constantínople		Colonna	Zenoi, I. dio	Zenoi	Colonna	4
Crescentino	postoji		postoji u II. dijelu	postoji	postoji	4
Fano	postoji		postoji u I. dijelu	postoji	postoji	4
Florence	postoji				postoji	2
Frankfurt 1567	postoji	postoji		postoji	postoji	4
Genf Colonna 1567	postoji	postoji		postoji	postoji	4

Table 1. Continued

	Vienna, Forlani's title page	Wroclaw, Forlani's title page	Hellwig, parts I&II, Forlani's title page followed by Zenoi's	App. H. 3070 Zenoi's title page	App. H. 3069 Forlani's and Zenoi's title pages	Total
Gyula		Forlani	Forlani, part II	Forlani	Zenoi	4
Jerusalem		present	present in part I	present	present	4
Komarom Colonna 1567		present	present in part II	present	present	4
Malta siege Zenoi 1567	present	present	present in part II			3
Malta harbor Colonna	present	present		present	present	4
Messina	present				present	2
Milan Colonna 1567	present	present	present in part II	present	present	5
Mirandola Colonna 1567	present	present	present in part I	present	present	5
Napoli	present		present in part I	present	present	4
Ostia 1566 F. Bertelli	present				present	2
Paris 1567	present	present	present in part I	present	present	5
Panna 1567	present	present	present in part I	present	present	5
Pegnon di Velez di Gomera			present in part II	present	present	3
Raab (battle) Zenoi		present	present in part II		present	3

The titles of the prints which exist in only one of the five known copies of the book and which are not included in the table, i.e. in the copy App. H. 3069: Albania (Zenoi), Antineri (Zenoi), Borgo di Roma (?), Brazo di Maine (?), Civitella (?), Clissa (Zenoi), Curzola (Zenoi), Dulcigno (?), Durazzo (Zenoi), Famagosta (?), Famagusta (?), Gabata in Arabia (F. Bertelli?), Golfo di Napoli (Zenoi), Golfo di Prevesa (G. F. Camocio), Graveling (F. Bertelli?), Isola de Corfú (N. Bonifacio?), Isola del Negroponte (N. Bonifacio?), Isola de Samo (?), Isola de Zante (N. Bonifacio?), Isola del Milo (NB. F.), Isola di Candia (N. Bonifacio?), Isola di Cerigo (?), Isola di Cipra (Felice Brunello VF), Isola di Rhoda (N. Bonifacio?), Isola di Scharpano (N. Bonifacio?), Isola di Sio (N. Bonifacio?), Isola di Zafalonia (N. Bonifacio?), Isola Malta (Zenoi 1567), Isola Palmosa (NB F), Isole Metelina (NB F), La citta Módon (?), Lepanto Citta (Zenoi), Lisena (?), Malgaritin (Zenoi 1571), Metz (?), Mexico citta (?), Morea (?), Negroponte (?), Nettuno (?), Nicsia (N. Bonifacio?), Nicosia (?), Piacensa (F. Bertelli?), Ragusa (Simo P.), Rodi Citta (?), Rodi Citta (?), S. Maura (?), Scardona (Zenoi), Scutari (Simon Pinargenti), Sebenico 1571 (?), Sibenico (?), Soppoto (N. Nelli), Spalato (?), Tine (?), Trau

(Zenoi), Tunis-Biserta (?), Valona (?), Villa ... Polonna (?), Wittemberg (?), Zara et Contado (?). It amounts to 59 prints, 27 of which are the work of unknown authors. The list should be amended with Zenoi's view of Zsáka (Saaca), which is not included anywhere else. The Vienna copy of Forlani's book also contains three views not found in the other four books, namely the views of Augsburg, Kairo and Lyon, all of them from the workshop of Donato Bertelli.

As a point of interest, one should mention the existence of a view which can be found only in the copies with Zenoi's title page – Pegnon di Valez, which, however, has nothing to do with the contemporary events in Hungary.

It should also be pointed out that the content of the OSZK copy with Zenoi's title page is almost identical to the Hellwig copy, but above all that the identical prints are without exception also included in the App. H. 3069 copy. These identical pages from all three mentioned copies, out of the known five, can be regarded as the "basic" material which originally constituted those collections.

Tablica 1. Nastavak

	Beč, Forlanijeva naslovnica	Wroclaw, Forlanijeva naslovnica	Helwig I–II. dio, Forlanijeva, zatim Zenoijeva naslovnica	App. H. 3070 Zenoijeva naslovnica	App. H. 3069 Forlanijeva i Zenoijeva naslovnica	Ukupno
Genoa	postoji		postoji u I. dijelu	postoji	postoji	4
Gerbe	postoji			postoji	postoji	3
Gotha	postoji		postoji u II. dijelu	postoji	postoji	4
Gotha opsada N. Nelli	postoji		postoji u II. dijelu			2
Guines	postoji		postoji u I. dijelu	postoji	postoji	4
Gyula		Forlani	Forlani, II. dio	Forlani	Zenoi	4
Jerusalem		postoji	postoji u I. dijelu	postoji	postoji	4
Komarom Colonna 1567		postoji	postoji u II. dijelu	postoji	postoji	4
Malta opsada Zenoi 1567	postoji	postoji	postoji u II. dijelu			3
Malta Colonna	postoji	postoji		postoji	postoji	4
Messina	postoji				postoji	2
Milan Colonna	postoji	postoji	postoji u II.	postoji	postoji	5

Naslovi veduta koje su u pet poznatih primjeraka tih knjiga zastupljene samo u jednoj od njih, a nisu uključene u tablicu: U primjerku pod oznakom App. H. 3069: Albania (Zenoi), Antineri (Zenoi), Borgo di Roma (?), Brazo di Maine (?), Civitella (?), Clissa (Zenoi), Curzola (Zenoi), Dulcigno (?), Durazzo (Zenoi), Famagosta (?), Famagusta (?), Gabata in Arabia (F. Bertelli?), Golfo di Napoli (Zenoi), Golfo di Prevesa (G. F. Camocio), Graveling (F. Bertelli?), Isola de Corfú (N. Bonifacio?), Isola del Negroponte (N. Bonifacio?), Isola de Samo (?), Isola de Zante (N. Bonifacio?), Isola del Milo (NB. F.), Isola di Candia (N. Bonifacio?), Isola di Cerigo (?), Isola di Cipra (Felice Brunello VF), Isola di Rhoda (N. Bonifacio?), Isola di Scharpano (N. Bonifacio?), Isola di Sio (N. Bonifacio?), Isola di Zafalonia (N. Bonifacio?), Isola Malta (Zenoi 1567), Isola Palmosa (NB F), Isole Metelina (NB F), La citta Módon (?), Lepanto Citta (Zenoi), Lisena (?), Malgaritin (Zenoi 1571), Metz (?), Mexico citta (?), Morea (?), Negroponte (?), Nettuno (?), Nicsia (N. Bonifacio?), Nicosia (?), Piacensa (F. Bertelli?), Ragusa (Simo P.), Rodi Citta (?), Rodi Citta (?), S. Maura (?), Scardona (Zenoi), Scutari (Simon Pinargenti), Sebenico 1571 (?), Sibenico (?), Soppoto (N. Nelli), Spalato (?), Tine

(?), Trau (Zenoi), Tunis-Biserta (?), Valona (?), Villa ... Polonna (?), Wittemberg (?), Zara et Contado (?). Ukupno 59 pojedinačnih listova od kojih je čak 27 djelo nepoznata autora. Ovom popisu valja dodati i Zenoijevu vedutu Zsáke (Saca), list koji nigdje drugdje nije uključen. U bečkom primjerku Forlanijeve knjige nalaze se i tri lista kojih nema ni u jednom od ostalih četiriju, a to su vedute Augsburga, Kaira i Lyona, osmišljene u radionici Donata Bertellija.

Kao zanimljivost valja spomenuti postojanje lista koji se nalazi jedino u primjercima u koje je uključena i Zenoijeva naslovnica. Riječ je o veduti Pegnon di Velez, premda to mjesto doista nema nikakve veze s onodobnim događajima u Ugarskoj!

Također treba skrenuti pozornost na činjenicu da je sadržaj primjerka u OSZK-u sa Zenoijevom naslovnicom gotovo istovjetan onomu u Hellwigovoj zbirci, ali prije svega na to da su ti identični listovi bez iznimke uključeni i u primjerak s oznakom App. H. 3069. Istovjetne stranice iz svih triju spomenutih primjeraka, od pet koje danas poznajemo, smatramo „stožernom” građom koja je originalno tvorila ta izdanja.

3 Open Questions

It must be mentioned, though, that neither the copies described by Ganado, nor the ones in the OSZK, answer most of the proposed questions, to which neither Ganado could find the answers, and therefore was not able to provide satisfactory explanations. Namely, which of the two books was published first? Zenoi's or Forlani's? Why does Zenoi's title page contain the date and the month of the publication along with the year 1566, while Forlani's contains only the year 1566? Was the second volume of Forlani's book ever published? Was Zenoi's book actually the second volume of Forlani's book, but with a separate dedication in order to attract a new patron, which is one of the possibilities offered by Ganado. Further questions also beg for answers! Why does, for instance, the OSZK copy with Zenoi's title page contain only Forlani's work of Hungarian subjects and none of Zenoi's work of similar content? Is it possible that the second OSZK copy, with the two title pages, contains Zenoi's complete book plus the first volume of Forlani's book, together with the addition of the prints from Forlani's second volume, albeit without the separate title page, which he possibly never intended to do? Was the publishing of the books initially meant to be a joint effort in which Forlani was meant to be the author, and Zenoi, who held the privilege, and had a much better knowledge of the publishing business, the "co-author", or foremost "the publisher"?

Before I attempt to give some partial answers to the posed questions, i.e. to formulate some conclusions or offer at least some persuasive assumptions based on the examination of the available copies, we should briefly consider the possible continuation of the work which Zenoi and Forlani announced in the dedications on the title pages of their books. Whatever the content of Zenoi's published book, nothing is known about its intended continuation or amendment, i.e. whether any new prints were published. The same can be said about the continuation of Forlani's book. In fact, it does not seem probable that they continued their work on the books, considering that the plates from which the views had been made very soon changed hands and were dispersed in unknown directions. Thus, one of Forlani's engravings with a Hungarian view appeared as early as 1568 in Ferando Bertelli's book, *Isole famose, porti, fortezze...*, which also contained another three of Forlani's views. The *isolario* came out in several editions during the 1570s. Similarly, Zenoi's engravings and Forlani's view of Komarom found their way into Ballino's book *De' Diseqni Delle piu illustri città...* published in 1569. It

can be rightly assumed that Domenico Zenoi and Paolo Forlani, after compiling and binding a few copies of their books, had to abandon their publishing plans fairly quickly, whether because of inadequate public attention or because of the lack of sufficient financial support.

As regards answering the question "which one was published first", it is my firm belief that it was Zenoi's book. There are three reasons in favor of such a conclusion. If Zenoi's book came out first, it would explain why Forlani did not put the exact date on the title page. Namely, it would be obvious that somebody had overtaken him in publishing the book and therefore he put only the year of the publication on the title page. The second assumption is based on the fact that Forlani's book contains fifteen engravings dated from 1567 (Zenoi's book contains only two such engravings: the view of Eger and the map of Austria and Hungary), and to prepare such a number of engravings at least two, or even three months were needed. However, the main argument supporting this claim is found in the indisputable fact that Forlani's book contains several of Zenoi's engravings completed in 1567 (Eger, Constantinople, the siege of Malta, the map of Austria and Hungary) and even one view (Vienna) exhibiting his license. Therefore, Forlani indubitably had to wait for Zenoi to engrave them, while it was probable that Zenoi's book had already been completed. Otherwise, it is highly unlikely that Zenoi, having secured the publishing license would permit Forlani to publish his engravings before he did it himself!

I think that Zenoi, having heard of the events which transpired in September 1566 (the fall of Gyula, Sziget and Zsáka into Turkish hands), decided to make and publish a collection of Hungarian towns in form of a book and this idea probably prompted him to request a license from the Venetian authorities. In the light of those recent events he reworked for that purpose the already existing views (Gyór, the imperial camp at Gyór, Gyula, Tokay) and augmented them with new, more precise, data, adding two new views (Sziget, which was not "copied" from Forlani, and Zsáka). In December, in possession of the recently acquired license, he also engraved the view of Vienna, regarding it the capital of Hungary. At the beginning of the following year he continued working on the series, completing the view of Eger and the map of Austria and Hungary, and it is quite probable that the map of Transylvania and the view of Constantinople were made in that period (because both of them exhibit the acquired license). The view of Eger is in itself proof that he was diligently collecting additional data for his future book, because Eger was the only place

3. Otvorena pitanja

Očito je, međutim, da ni primjerci koje je Ganado opisao ni oni pohranjeni u OSZK-u ipak ne daju odgovore na dio otvorenih pitanja, kao što ih ni on nije nalazio, pa zato i nije mogao ponuditi valjana pojašnjenja. Dakle, koja je od tih dviju knjiga izdana prva? Zenoijeva ili ipak Forlanijeva? Zašto su na Zenoijevoj naslovnici uz godinu 1566. ugravirani i dan i mjesec izdavanja knjige, dok je kod Forlanija urezana samo 1566? Je li ikada izdan drugi svezak Forlanijeve knjige? Je li Zenoijevo djelo bilo zapravo onaj najavljeni drugi dio Forlanijeve knjige, ali u nadi da će se tako lakše pronaći novi sponzor – kako to Ganado kao jednu od mogućnosti predmnijeva – dodana mu je samostalna posveta. Dapače, nameću se još i druga pitanja! Zašto su, primjerice, u OSZK-ov primjerak sa Zenoijevom naslovnicom uvršteni isključivo Forlanijevi radovi s ugarskim motivima, a ne oni Zenoijevi sa sličnom tematikom? Je li moguće da se u drugom OSZK-ovu primjerku, onom s objema naslovnim stranicama, nalazi Zenoijeva knjiga u cijelosti i prvi tom Forlanijeve knjige, a da su im kao dodatak priključeni listovi iz drugog Forlanijeva sveska, doduše bez samostalne naslovnice, koju on možda nije ni namjeravao izraditi? Je li možda izdavanje knjige isprva zamišljeno kao zajednički poduhvat u kojem je Forlani sudjelovao u svojstvu „autora”, a Zeno, koji je raspolagao i licencom, ali i daleko većom upućenošću u nakladničke poslove, samo kao „suautor”, ili prije svega kao „izdavač”?

Prije nego što pokušam barem djelomice odgovoriti na postavljena pitanja, odnosno formulirati pokoji zaključak ili barem neke uvjerljivije pretpostavke koje slijede iz proučavanja sadržaja dostupnih primjeraka, moramo se nakratko pozabaviti i s eventualnim nastavkom pothvata koji su, kako Zeno tako i Forlani, najavili u posvetama na naslovnicama svojih knjiga. S kojim god da je sadržajem objavljeno Zenoijevo djelo, o njegovu predmnijevanom nastavku ili dopunjavanju (odnosno, jesu li ikada iz tiska izišli takvi novi listovi) ne znamo ništa. Kao što ne znamo ništa ni o možebitnom nastavku Forlanijeva pothvata. Zapravo, ne čini se uvjerljivim da bi oni taj izdavački pothvat nastavili, kad znamo da su grafičke ploče s kojih su otisci izrađivani ubrzo dospjele u tuđe ruke i raspršile se u nepoznatim smjerovima. Jer jedna će Forlanijeva grafika s ugarskim motivom osvanuti već 1568., i to u knjizi Feranda Bertellija koji će u svoje djelo, naslovljeno kao *Isole famose, porti, fortezze...*, uvrstiti još tri njegova rada. Bio je to izolar koji je 1570-ih godina doživio nekoliko izdanja. Zenoijeve će se grafike i Forlanijeva veduta Komaroma naći 1569. u Ballinovoj knjizi objavljenoj pod naslovom

De' Disegni Delle piu illustri città... S pravom se pretpostavlja da su Domenico Zenoi i Paolo Forlani morali, nakon što su sastavili i uvezali nekoliko primjeraka svojih knjiga (možda zbog nepovoljne prođe kod publike, a možda zbog izostanka potrebne materijalne potpore), svoje samostalne nakladničke planove vrlo brzo napustiti.

Pri traženju odgovora na pitanje „koja je od njih objavljena prva?” spremno ću se prikloniti mišljenju da je to ipak bila Zenoijeva knjiga. Tri su razloga što navode na takav zaključak. Ako je Zenoijeva knjiga izišla prva, to objašnjava zašto Forlani nije htio na svojoj naslovnici navesti točan nadnevak; naime, na osnovi toga bilo bi bjelodano da je netko već preduhitrio njegovo djelo pa se zato na njegovoj naslovnoj stranici nalazi samo godina nastanka samog izdanja. Drugu pretpostavku temeljim na činjenici da se u Forlanijevoj knjizi nalazi 15 stranica na kojima je kao godina nastanka navedena 1567. (kod Zenoija su samo dva takva lista: veduta Egera i zemljopisna karta austrijskih i ugarskih zemalja, za koju se također predmnijeva da je pripadala istom nizu), priređivanje tolikog broja grafika podrazumijeva najmanje dva, čak i tri mjeseca rada. Ipak, najbitnijim mi se argumentom u prilog toj tvrdnji čini nepobitna činjenica da je u Forlanijevu knjigu uvršteno nekoliko Zenoijevih listova nastalih 1567. (Eger, Carigrad, opsada Malte, geografska karta Austrije i Ugarske), pa čak i jedna veduta (Beč) s oznakom njegove licence. Dakle, Forlani je bez sumnje morao pričekati da ih Zeno ureže u ploče, baš kao što je vrlo vjerojatno da je Zenoijeva knjiga do tada već bila dovršena. Jer bi inače bilo malo vjerojatno da Zeno, uz do tada već stečene izdavačke privilegije, pristane da mu Forlani objavi radove u svojoj knjizi prije nego što je on to sam učinio!

Smatram da je Zeno, čuvši za događaje koji su se zbili u rujnu 1566. (pad Gyule, Sigeta i Zsáke u turske ruke), odlučio izraditi i objaviti grafičku mapu s ugarskim motivima u obliku knjige pa ga je vjerojatno ta zamisao nagnala da zatraži licencu od mletačkih vlasti. U svjetlu tada recentnih događaja on je za svoju buduću knjigu već postojeće vedute (Győr, vojni logor pod Győrom, Gyula, Tokaj) preradio i na osnovi preciznijih podataka dopunio, izradio i dva nova lista (Siget – koji nije „prepisano” s Forlanijeve vedute – i Zsáku), a onda u prosincu, tada već u posjedu tek stečene licence, urezao i vedutu Beča, smatrajući ga stolnim gradom Ugarske. Početkom iduće godine nastavio je s radom na seriji, dovršio vedutu Egera i zemljovid austrijskih i ugarskih zemalja, a vjerojatno su u tom razdoblju nastali i geografska karta Transilvanije, a i veduta Carigrada (jer oba rada nose oznaku stečene licence). Veduta Egera sama je po sebi dokazom da je on tada naveliko skupljao dodatna saznanja

which did not become famous recently, but some fifteen years earlier (the successful lifting of the Turkish siege in 1552). He also engraved the text of the Dedication on a separate plate, considering it the title page of the book. The prepared views from the series, as well as the title page were printed in a few copies and bound into a book.

Zenoi must have been aware that Forlani was engaged in publishing his own book of engravings covering all principal places in the world, which book was, owing to the recent events, meant to include Hungarian cities; moreover, he must have known Forlani's engravings with Hungarian towns. For, as it will be shown, the order of inception of the views, especially of the depictions of Sziget, clearly shows that they seriously competed against each other. As early as the summer of 1567, Zenoi probably knew, owing to the excellent Venetian intelligence sources, that the Turks would not undertake a new campaign against Hungary and that as a consequence he would have difficulties in finding new material for the continuation of his book, which is why he turned to less recent events, as evidenced by his depiction of the defense of Eger. In any case, Forlani was in a more favorable position, because he had plenty of material for his planned book. (By the way, this is the only argument which could support the claim that Forlani's book was published first.) It can be assumed that Zenoi, in view of the above, decided to discontinue his work on publishing the book (which would explain the fact that such a small number of copies is known) and instead tried to earn money selling the existing plates. It appears that he came to terms with Forlani (when they reconciled their possible differences which had been present when they copied each other's early prints with Hungarian subjects) and transferred to him the plates from the Hungarian series (Győr, Eger and the map of Austria and Hungary), which Forlani lacked in his collection. He also transferred to Forlani some other plates (for instance, the siege of Malta, as well as those for which he held the license, namely the views of Vienna and Constantinople). Therefore, Forlani's book could have been published only later, because it could not have contained, without some arrangement, Zenoi's engravings, some of which even with the license. However, the same conclusion can be applied to the reverse situation: Zenoi's book could have included Forlani's engravings only with his permission. One thing is certain: if there was an arrangement, it had happened just before both of them published their respective books. It is also possible that they agreed to publish and put on the market – maybe even jointly? – only the existing prints. This would explain the existence of the

copies with two title pages, i.e. Forlani's title page and Zenoi's page with the dedication. This supposition is supported by the fact that after 1567 they did not appropriate each other's engravings (Zenoi did not copy Forlani's Eger, nor did Forlani Zenoi's Komárom).

Another explanation may also be possible. Both of them undertook to prepare a joint publication of the book where Zenoi also participated as a licensed publisher. In that case, it is very possible that Zenoi's book about Hungary was the second part of the jointly conceived endeavor, which he had completed before Forlani managed to complete his undertaking. The joint publishing undertaking gave them the possibility to include in the books each other's work. However, some facts do not support such a supposition. Namely, in that case it would be difficult to justify their apparent rivalry while engraving the plates with views of Győr, Gyula, Sziget and Tokaj. The dedication texts which each of them composed run counter to this supposition because both texts suggest that each book would be continued (Forlani emphasizes this point by titling the book as *The First Book*, and Zenoi writes about adding new prints). If the supposition about the joint endeavor were true, the two title pages could be regarded as the trial run and not the final version, in which case those available copies could be just advance copies. It is also possible to conjecture that the idea about the joint publishing undertaking came about when the books were almost completed as separate products (when their title pages were already finished), but before they were put on the market, and that they then decided not to publish them separately but in some other arrangement. The fact remains that nothing is known about the publication of either Forlani's or Zenoi's sequel of the book, since the joint publication of already-made prints cannot be thus characterized (whether they were editions with double title pages or individual ones).

There is another possible answer to the question "which book was published first". Its basis can be found in the fact that the title of Forlani's book can be interpreted in another way. In that case the meaning of the title "The First Book" would not be understood as the first volume or a part of some large work consisting of a series of books, but as Forlani's announcement to the public that no such collection of views depicting principal places in the world had ever appeared before. Therefore, the ordinal number "first" in the title refers to the special character and importance of the book and not to the order of appearance as a part of a series. The front page of Ballino's book carries the title "Parte 1", which indicates that one is dealing with the first part of

za potrebe svoje buduće knjige, jer je Eger jedino mjesto koje nije proslavilo recentni događaj, nego događaj koji se zbio desetljeće i pol prije (odbijena turska opsada 1552. godine). Tekst je Posvete pak urezao na samostalnu ploču, smatrajući taj list naslovnicom svoje knjige. Pripremljene vedute iz te serije, pa tako i ploču s naslovnicom, otisnuo je u par primjeraka kao pojedinačne listove te je od tih otisaka sklopio nekoliko primjeraka knjige.

Zenoi je pritom morao znati da i Forlani radi na objavljivanju vlastite knjige u kojoj namjerava bakrorezno predočiti sva važnija mjesta iz čitavog svijeta, a u koju, pod utjecajem najnovijih zbivanja, kani uvrstiti i ugarske gradove; dapače, on je zacijelo i poznao Forlanijeve radove s ugarskim motivima. Jer, kao što ćemo još vidjeti, redosljed nastanka tih grafika, a napose sigetske prizora, potvrđuje da se među njima dvojicom razvilo ozbiljno nadmetanje. Zenoi je, vjerojatno zahvaljujući izvrsnoj mletačkoj obaviještenosti, već početkom ljeta 1567. znao da Turci te godine neće pokrenuti novi vojni pohod na Ugarsku i da će zbog toga teško pronalaziti nove teme za nastavak knjige, pa se bez sumnje i zato okrenuo vremenski udaljenijim događajima, što jasno potvrđuje i prikaz obrane Egera. Forlani je na svaki način bio u povoljnijem položaju, jer mu je za planiranu knjigu na raspolaganju bilo istinsko obilje građe. (Uostalom, to je jedini argument koji mogu navesti u prilog tvrdnji da je Forlanijeva knjiga bila objavljena prva.) Pretpostavljam da je Zenoi, imajući na umu sve prethodno navedeno, odustao od nastavka rada na objavljivanju knjige (što objašnjava i činjenicu da se zna za tek pokoji njezin primjerak), pa je pokušao zaraditi na prodaji već postojećih tiskarskih ploča. Stječe se dojam da se nagodio s Forlanijem (kada su zacijelo okončali i vjerojatne razmirice koje su možda vladale među njima zbog međusobnoga kopiranja ranijih radova s ugarskom tematikom) i ustupio mu one ploče iz ugarske serije (logor pod Gyórom, Eger, zemljovid Austrije i Ugarske) koje su mu manjkale u vlastitoj autorskoj kolekciji veduta. Ustupio mu je također i razne druge ploče (npr. opsadu Malte, ali i još neke za koje je imao čak i licencu, poput vedute Beča ili Carigrada). Prema tome, Forlanijeva knjiga je mogla izići tek nakon toga, jer se u njoj bez nagodbe ne bi mogle naći Zenoijeve grafike (mnoge čak i s oznakom licence!). Međutim, isti zaključak vrijedi i za obrnuti slučaj: u Zenoijevu su knjigu mogle biti uvrštene Forlanijeve grafike samo uz njegovu privolu. No jedno je sigurno: ako je postojao dogovor, on se dogodio vremenski neposredno prije nego što su obojica objavila svaki svoju knjigu. A može biti da se njihova nagodba odnosila na to da će objaviti i pustiti u prodaju – možda

čak zajednički? – samo već postojeće grafike. Upravo to može biti objašnjenje za primjerke s dvjema naslovnicama, u koje je uvrštena Forlanijeva naslovnica, ali i Zenoijev list s posvetom. Na pomisao o postojanju takva sporazuma navodi nas i činjenica da od 1567. nisu više jedan od drugoga preuzimali motive (Zenoi nije kopirao od Forlanija njegov Eger, a ni Forlani Zenoijev Komarom).

Mogućim se čini i drukčije objašnjenje prema kojemu su se obojica otpočetak pripremali za zajedničko izdavanje knjige, pri čemu je Zenoi sudjelovao i kao izdavač s licencom. U tom slučaju lako je moguće da je Zenoijeva knjiga o Ugarskoj bila drugi dio zajednički osmišljenog djela, koju je on zgotovio brže nego što je Forlani stigao dovršiti svoj dio. Zajednički izdavački pothvat pružio im je mogućnost da u svoje knjige uzajamno uvrste radove onog drugog. Međutim, nekoliko činjenica naizgled ipak pobija takvu pretpostavku. Naime, u tom bi slučaju bilo teško opravdati postojanje suparništva koje je među njima vladalo dok su urezivali ploče s vedutama Gyóra, Gyule, Sigeta i Tokaja. S tom se zamisli kose i tekstovi posvete koje su obojica sročili svaki za sebe i u kojima daju naslutiti da će im se djelo nastaviti (Forlani tu namjeru ističe naslovom Prva knjiga, a Zenoi pak govori o dodavanju novih listova). Kada bi pretpostavka o zajedničkom pothvatu bila točna, te dvije naslovnice ne bismo mogli smatrati konačnim nego tek pokusnim otiskom i tada bi danas dostupni primjerci bili tek ogledne grafičke kolekcije. Kao što je također moguće da se zamisao o zajedničkom izdavačkom pothvatu rodila kad su knjige već bile takoreći posve dovršene i priređene kao samostalna izdanja (kad su im već i naslovnice bile zgotovljene!), ali se još nisu našle na tržištu, pa su odustali od vlastitih izdanja i sklopili drukčiji dogovor. No činjenica je da se ništa ne zna o možebitnom zajedničkom izdavačkom pothvatu pri objavljivanju nastavka bilo Zenoijeve bilo Forlanijeve knjige, jer se takvim postupkom nipošto ne može okarakterizirati dogovorno objavljivanje otprije postojećih grafičkih listova (bilo da su to izdanja s dvostrukim naslovnicama, bilo ona s različitim).

Postoji još jedna varijanta odgovora na pitanje „koja je knjiga izišla prva”. Uporište joj nalazim u činjenici da se naslov Forlanijeve knjige može protumačiti i drukčije. U tom slučaju značenje sintagme „prva knjiga” ne bismo shvatili kao prvi svezak (zapravo dio) opsežnog djela sastavljenog od čitavog niza knjiga, nego da je Forlani s tako sročnim naslovom htio javnosti dati do znanja kako se još nikada prije nije pojavila nijedna grafička zbirka u knjižnom formatu koja donosi vedute svih važnijih mjesta u svijetu. Dakle, redni se broj („prva”) u naslovu

a work conceived in several volumes (although no second part or any other volume of the book were ever published). If this interpretation is correct, then it is understandable why it was sufficient for Forlani to put only the year 1567 on the title page; namely Zenoi's work, which by depicting Hungarian towns was limited to just one country of the world, did not represent a rival regarding its content, but only regarding its genre. This would explain to some extent why Forlani's engravings could appear in Zenoi's earlier published book and Zenoi's engravings in Forlani's. However, for this to happen they had to stop their rivalry – evidenced by their 1566 engravings – and to make some sort of arrangement.

Whichever possibility of their relationship was true, it seems very likely that Zenoi and Forlani made an arrangement, although their reasons for abandoning the publication of the sequel, either separately or jointly, may have been quite different. Namely, neither one could compete with the publishing enterprise of the Bertelli family. There is no doubt that Ferando Bertelli was at that time fully engaged working on his future book of engravings titled *Civitatum aliquot insigniorum... Disegni di alcune piu illustri citta...* which would come out in 1568 (and whose content is quite different from the one of Donato Bertelli, published with the same title page). It is my belief that this was the reason why Forlani abandoned the idea of a sequel to his own book and joined Bertelli with his copperplates, while he was still preparing his book for publication, which would explain why Forlani's engravings appeared in Bertelli's collection, including among them the views of Győr, Gyula, Sziget and Tokay. (Only in passing should it be mentioned that Ferando Bertelli did not publish Forlani's view of Komárom, but his own work, while the view of Eger was taken from Zenoi, reworked, and published with the initials L.P., dated 1568). It is also surprising that some of Zenoi's other views are found in Ferando Bertelli's book, but were copied by somebody else (for instance the view of Gotha as well as the already mentioned Eger, initialed L.P. which represents the name of Ludovico Pozzo-serrato). Camocio's *isolario Isole famose, porti, fortezze...*, which was published in several editions after 1571 (among its publishers was also the Bertelli family) includes Forlani's views of Győr, Gyula and Sziget. Zenoi's plates (together with Forlani's) of Eger, the imperial camp at Győr, Gyula, Sziget, Tokay and Zsáka came into the ownership of Bolognino Zaltieri who published them later in Ballino's book. The further fate of Zenoi's plates is unknown, as is any other copy of the book which would contain their engravings.

4 More About Zenoi's and Forlani's Engravings of Hungarian Towns

The interest Domenico Zenoi exhibited towards the events in Hungary (prompted no doubt by business reasons) is evidenced by his engraving of the fall of Tokay fortress in 1565. In my opinion, both Zenoi and Forlani made a great effort to publish their engravings about the most recent events of 1566 as soon as possible, in order to steal a march on their rivals.

Venice always followed with great attention and uneasiness the military campaigns and preparations of the neighboring Ottoman Empire and, owing to its consular representatives and excellent intelligence network, it was, as a rule, the first to know about Turkish military intentions. Considering the frequency and speed of information transfer at the time, I believe that it took some ten to twelve days for news of important events to reach Venice. The actual participation of Suleiman the Magnificent, who was far advanced in years, in the military campaign in 1566, must have elicited great public interest in the coming events, as well as in those that had just ended. Therefore, I shall summarize the chronology of important events during those months, because they must be taken into account if we are to determine the earliest possible date when the plates by both authors appeared and possibly even their sequence.

- On May 1, 1566, Suleiman the Magnificent left Constantinople to lead the campaign against Hungary.
- In June of 1566, Suleiman sent Pertev Pasha to conquer the Gyula fortress.
- At the end of June of 1566, the Christian army started at last to gather at Győr.
- On July 2, 1566, the first Turkish contingent reached Gyula.
- On July 21, 1566, Pertev Pasha laid siege to Gyula.
- On July 28, 1566, Zsigmond János arrived at Kolozsvár, took command of the army and started on his way to lay siege to Tokay.
- On August 6, 1566, Suleiman began the siege of Sziget.
- On August 15, 1566, Emperor Maximilian II arrived at the camp at Győr.
- On September 2, 1566, the defenders of Gyula relinquished the town to the Turks.
- On September 8, 1566, the Turks seized Sziget.
- On September 29, 1566, a fire destroyed Győr.
- On September 30, 1566, Zsigmond János took Zsáka.
- On October 4, 1566, Zsigmond János abandoned his unsuccessful siege of Tokay.

odnosi na posebnost i značaj knjige, a ne na njezino mjesto u nizu sastavnica nekog djela. Na naslovnici Ballinove knjige stoji Parte 1, čime je naznačeno da je riječ o prvom dijelu opusa koji je zamišljen u više svezaka (premda ni u slučaju te knjige nije objavljen ni njezin drugi dio, a kamoli još koji svezak). Ako je ta interpretacija točna, onda je razumljivo zašto je Forlaniju bilo dovoljno da na naslovnici navede samo dataciju 1567.; naime, Zenoijevo djelo koje se, nudeći prizore iz Ugarske, ograničavalo na „samo” jednu od država svijeta, njegovoj knjizi nije bila takmacem u sadržajnom smislu, nego tek po žanru. To donekle pojašnjava kako su se u Zenoijevoj prije izišloj knjizi mogli naći Forlanijevi radovi, a u Forlanijevoj Zenoijevi bakrorezi. Ipak, da bi se to ostvarilo, morali su prekinuti s međusobnim suparništvom – čemu su dokazom njihovi radovi nastali 1566. – i nekako se nagoditi.

Koja god da je inačica razvoja njihovih odnosa bila istinita, čini se neupitnim da su Zenoi i Forlani sklopili dogovor; premda su iza činjenice da su obojica odustali od nastavka samostalnog (ili zajedničkog) objavljivanja mogli stajati i neki posve drukčiji razlozi. Naime, nijedan se od njih dvojice nije mogao natjecati s izdavačkom djelatnošću obitelji Bertelli. Ferando Bertelli je u to doba već bez sumnje naveliko radio na svojoj budućoj knjizi bakropisa koja će pod naslovom *Civitatum aliquot insigniorum... Disegni di alcune piu illustri citta...* izići 1568. (i koja se po sadržaju potpuno razlikuje od one Donata Bertellija, objavljene s jednakom naslovnom stranicom). Vjerujem da je i to bilo razlogom zbog kojeg je Forlani odustao od rada na nastavku vlastite knjige i svojim se pločama pridružio Bertelliju dok je taj još pripremao svoju knjigu za tisak, što bi također moglo donekle objasniti zašto su u Bertellijevu grafičku zbirku uvršteni Forlanijevi radovi, među kojima su i vedute Gyóra, Gyule, Sigeta i Tokaja. (Tek uzgred napominjem da Ferando Bertelli nije objavio Forlanijevu vedutu Komaroma nego vlastiti rad, dok je motiv Egera samo preuzeo od Zenoija i, doradivši ga [s inicijalima L. P.], publicirao s datacijom 1568.) Također začuđuje da se u knjizi Feranda Bertellija nalaze još neke Zenoijeve kompozicije, ali kopirane tuđom rukom (primjerice veduta Gothe, baš kao i već spomenutog Egera s oznakom L. P., a pritom se iza tih inicijala krije ime Ludovica Pozzoserrata). Od Forlanijevih listova u Camocijevu izolaru *Isole famose, porti, fortezze...*, knjizi koja je od 1571. doživjela nekoliko reizdanja (među njezinim je izdavačima bila i obitelj Bertelli), uvršteni su Győr, Gyula i Siget. Ploče Zenoijevih bakroreza (zajedno s Forlanijevima) s motivima Egera, logora pod Győrom, Gyule, Sigeta, Tokaja i Zsáke prešle su u vlasništvo Bologninija Zaltierija, koji

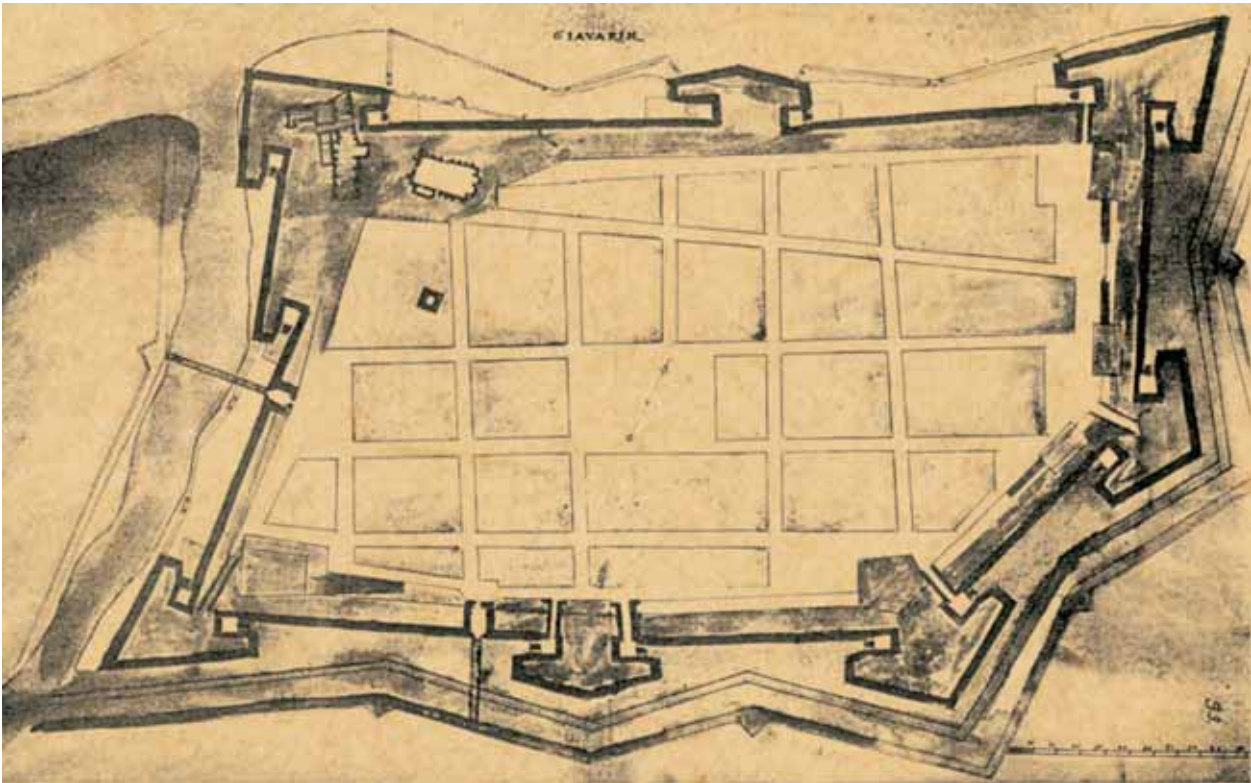
ih je poslije objelodanio u Ballinovo knjizi. No daljnja sudbina Zenoijevih ploča nije mi poznata, kao što također ne znam ni za jedan primjerak knjige u koju bi bili uvršteni njihovi otisci.

4. O Zenoijevima i Forlanijevima grafičkim listovima s ugarskim motivima

Koliko se Domenico Zenoi bio zainteresirao (što je zacijelo bilo potaknuto i poslovnim razlozima) za događaje na tlu Ugarske, dokazuje i njegov bakrorez o padu tvrđave Tokaj 1565. Mišljenja sam da su se i Zenoi i Forlani silno trudili da svoje grafičke crteže potaknute najsvježijim saznanjima o događajima koji su se zbili 1566., objelodane javnosti što ažurnije, preduhitivši pritom sve svoje rivale.

Mleci su uvijek zabrinuto i s velikom pozornošću promatrali vojne pokrete i pripreme susjednog otomanskog Carstva, a zahvaljujući svojim vrsnim službama pri poslanstvima i obavještajnoj mreži, među prvima su stjecali saznanja o predstojećim turskim osvajačkim planovima. S obzirom na onodobnu frekventnost informacija, smatram da su vijesti o važnijim događajima u Mletke stizale za samo deset, najviše dvanaest dana. Osobno sudjelovanje Sulejmana Veličanstvenoga, tada već zašlog u duboku starost, u vojnom pohodu 1566. samo je povećavalo zanimanje javnosti za buduće događaje, a napose za one koji su netom završili. U vremenskom ću slijedu ukratko sažeti važnija zbivanja tih mjeseci, koja moramo uzeti u obzir želimo li odrediti najraniji termin mogućeg nastanka pojedinih grafičkih radova dvojice autora, pa možda čak i redosljed njihove izradbe.

- 1. svibnja 1566. sultan Sulejman Veličanstveni iz Carigrada kreće u osvajački pohod na Ugarsku.
- U lipnju 1566. Sulejman Veličanstveni šalje Pertev-pašu na Gyulu da zaposjedne tamošnju tvrđavu.
- Potkraj lipnja 1566. kršćanska se vojska napokon počinje okupljati pod Győrom.
- 2. srpnja 1566. prve turske postrojbe dolaze pod Gyulu.
- 21. srpnja 1566. Pertev-paša opsjedne Gyulu.
- 28. srpnja 1566. Zsigmond János stiže u Kolozsvár, preuzima zapovijedanje vojskom i kreće u opsadu Tokaja.
- 6. kolovoza 1566. Sulejman Veličanstveni počinje opsadu Sigeta.
- 15. kolovoza 1566. car Maksimilijan II. dolazi u logor vojske okupljene podno tvrđave Győr.
- 2. rujna 1566. branitelji Gyule predaju grad Turcima.
- 8. rujna 1566. Turci zauzimaju Siget.



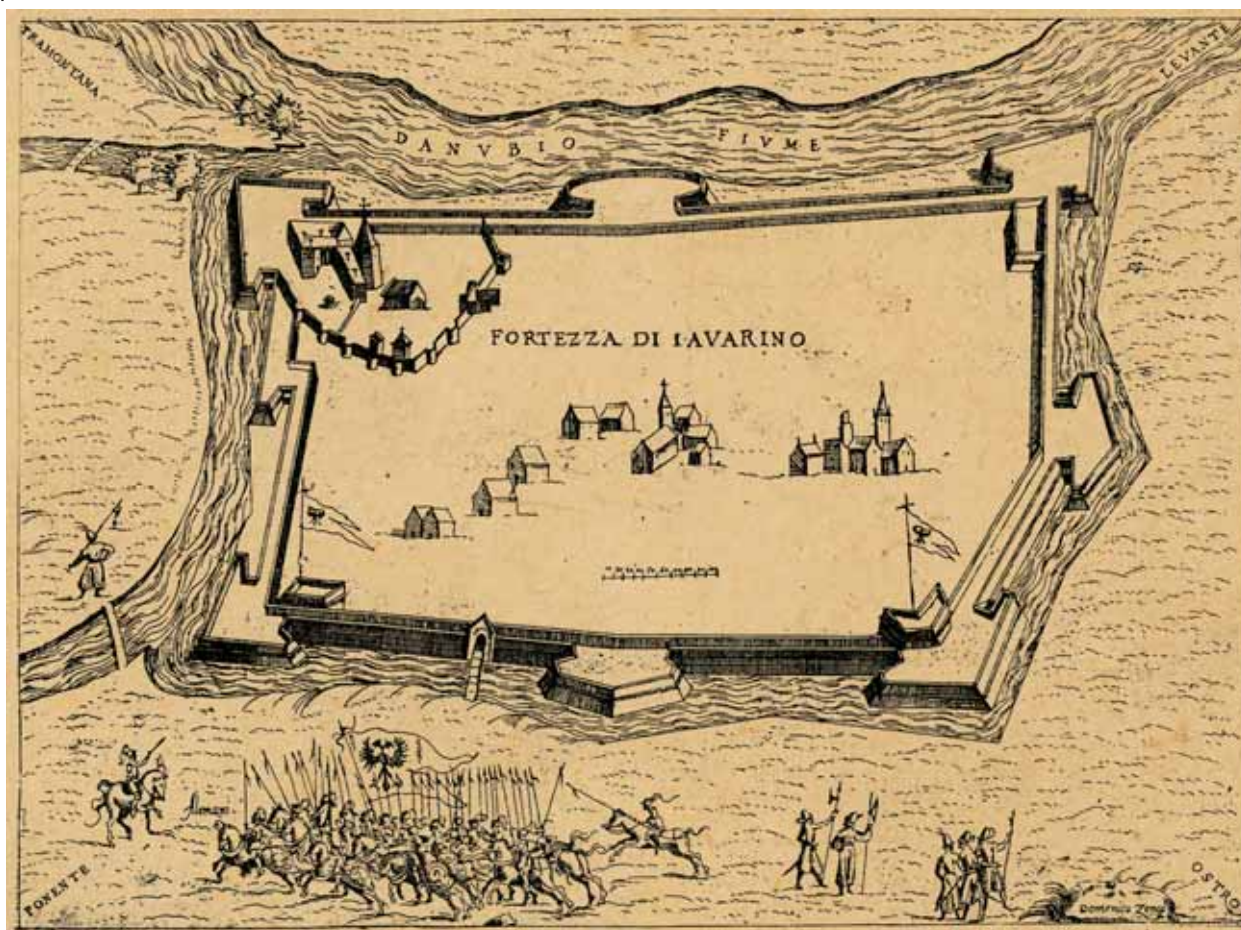
Nicolo Angelini's plan of Győr
Nicolo Angelini: Tlocrtni prikaz Győra

Having heard of all these events, Zenoi started engraving his views as early as the end of July, or at the latest when he heard of the gathering of the Christian army at Győr and the siege of Gyula.

In Zenoi's first view of Győr [FORTEZZA DI IAVARINO (1566)], the view of the town is shown from the south with a few symbolically sketched buildings and the dominant Bishop's tower. Small army units are positioned around the town and the illustrated event is made topical by their banner with an eagle. Zenoi must have modeled his view on the drawings by some Italian military architect, because at the time the plans for the reconstruction as well as the surveyors' plans of fortresses were easily available. The Turkish siege of Gyula started in the first half of July, but in Zenoi's title imprint this event is not mentioned. Mihály Détsy has found during his research that while making his view of Gyula [GIULA (1566)] Zenoi made a mistake by modeling it on the plan of Eger, which also included some proposals by the Italian military architect Paolo Mirandola about some additions to the fortress. Zenoi filled the plan with some houses, marked very sketchily, and with scattered, schematically drawn soldiers, while placing outside the besieging units, cannon emplacements firing projectiles and added several notes explaining the scene.

By the end of August undoubtedly the news about the gathering of the Christian army and the arrival of Emperor Maximilian II to their camp at Győr, as well as about the Duke of Erdelyi Zsigmond János's intention to lay siege to Tokay reached Venice. In the light of those new developments, Zenoi was forced to rework his view of Győr and to augment the title of the earlier version with the information that it was the place of the encampment of the Christian army. He also increased the number of soldiers drawing them more carefully and added some new buildings [IAVARINO IN ONGARIA (1566)]. When engraving the new view of Tokay he used his own earlier view and took the elements from the siege of 1565, adding to the scene of the besieging forces the notes identifying the Erdelyi units, the royal tent and Zsigmond János's Italian personal guard [Tochai (1566)].

By mid-September a plethora of news arrived, first about the fall of Gyula and later Sziget into the Turkish hands, and soon afterward, at the end of the month, about Zsigmond János's taking of Zsáka and his progress aided by the Turks towards Tokay. Consequently Zenoi made a new view of Gyula (GIULA 1567), informing in the title that the town had fallen (in the title the date is given as September 3, but the correct date should be



Domenico Zeno's view of Győr [FORTEZZA DI IAVARINO (1566)]

Domenico Zeno: Veduta Győra [FORTEZZA DI IAVARINO (1566)]

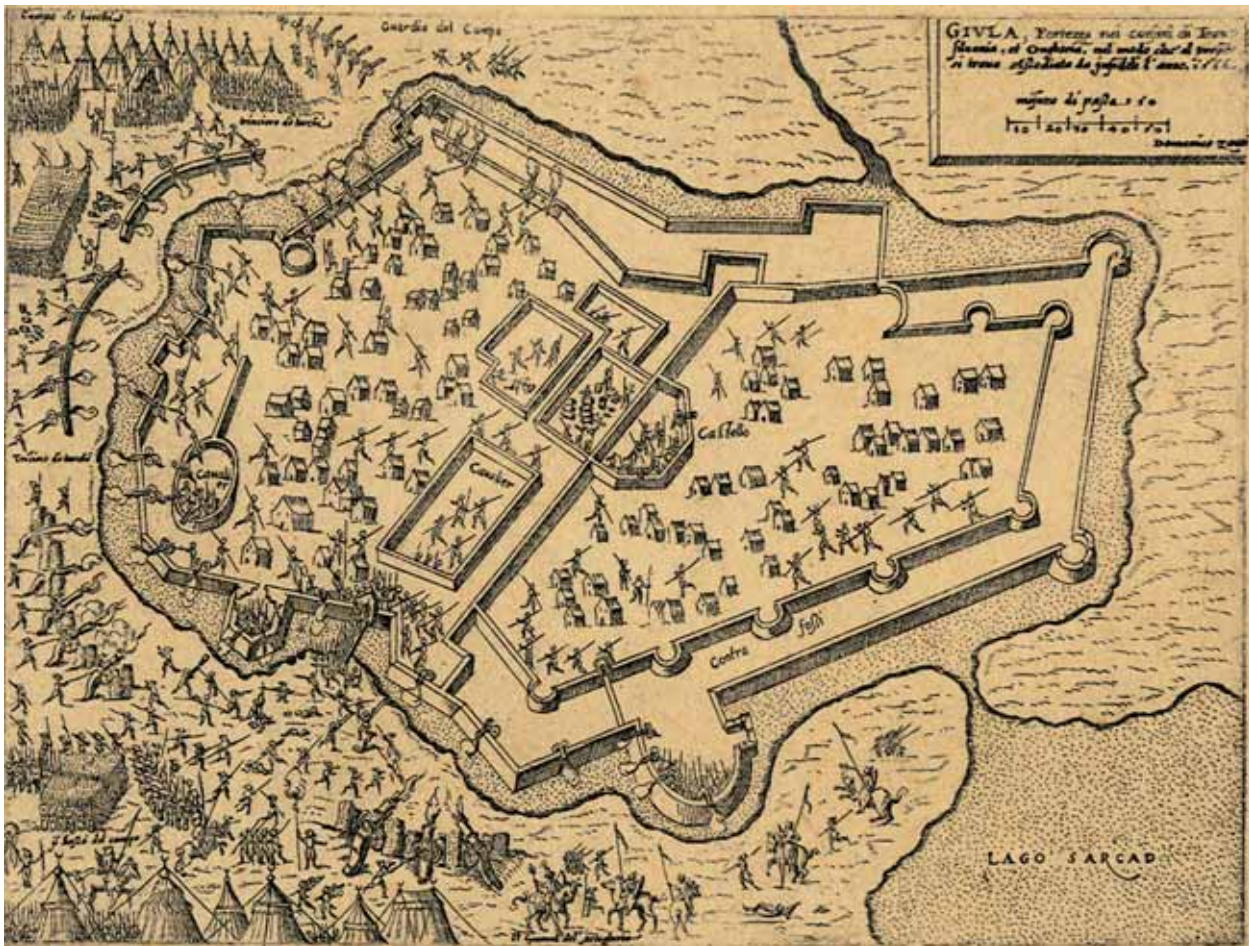
- 29. rujna 1566. požarna stihija pohara grad Győr.
- 30. rujna 1566. Zsigmond János zauzima Zsáku.
- 4. listopada 1566. Zsigmond János okončava bezuspješnu opsadu Tokaja.

Saznavši za sve te događaje, Zeno je vjerojatno pri-
onuo rezanju svojih veduta već potkraj srpnja, a najkas-
nije čim je čuo za okupljanje kršćanske vojske pod
Győrom te da se i Gyula našla pod opsadom.

Na prvoj Zenoijevoj veduti Győra [FORTEZZA DI
IAVARINO, (1566)] tlocrt je grada predložen iz južnog po-
gleda s tek nekoliko simbolično prikazanih zgrada i do-
minantnom Biskupskom kulom. Oko grada su ras-
poređene manje vojne postrojbe, a ilustrirani je događaj
aktualiziran njihovim barjakom s orlom. Zeno je radio
zacijelo po uzoru na crteže nekog od talijanskih vojnih
graditelja, jer su u to doba nacrti za nadogradnju, kao i
geodetski premjeri tvrđava bili vrlo lako dostupni. Tur-
ska opsada Gyule otpočela je u prvoj polovici srpnja, no u
identifikacijskom natpisu Zenoijeva bakroreza taj se do-
gađaj još ne spominje. Mihály Déthysy je tijekom svojih
istraživanja otkrio da je Zeno pri izradbi svoje vedute

[GIULA, (1566)] zabunom upotrijebio krivi uzorak, i to
tlocrt Egera, koji isto sadrži i nekoliko prijedloga tali-
janskog vojnog inženjera Paola Mirandole za nadogra-
dnju tvrđave. Zeno je oris tvrđave ispunio kućicama
naznačenim s nekoliko poteza i posvuda rastrčanim,
shematski prikazanim ratnicima, a s vanjske mu je stra-
ne smjestio opsadno raspoređene postrojbe, topovska
gnijezda koja ispaljuju projekte i dodao nekoliko natpi-
sa koji pojašnjavaju viđeno.

Do kraja su kolovoza i u Mletke nedvojbeno stigle vi-
jesti o završetku okupljanja kršćanskih snaga i dolasku
cara Maksimilijana II. u njihov logor kod Győra, kao i o
namjeri erdeljskoga kneza Zsigmonda Jánosa da opsa-
dom zauzme Tokaj. U svjetlu tih novih saznanja Zeno je
bio prisiljen preraditi vedutu Győra, pa naslov ranijeg
rada dopuniti riječima koje aludiraju na činjenicu da je
riječ o mjestu u kojem se utaborila kršćanska vojska, baš
kao što je doradio i crtež, upotpunivši ga s mnogo više
ratnika. Pritom zadire i u raniji prikaz grada, dodajući
mu nove zgrade, ali i jasnije obrise vojnika [IAVARINO IN
ONGARIA, (1566)]. Pri izradbi nove vedute tokajskoga



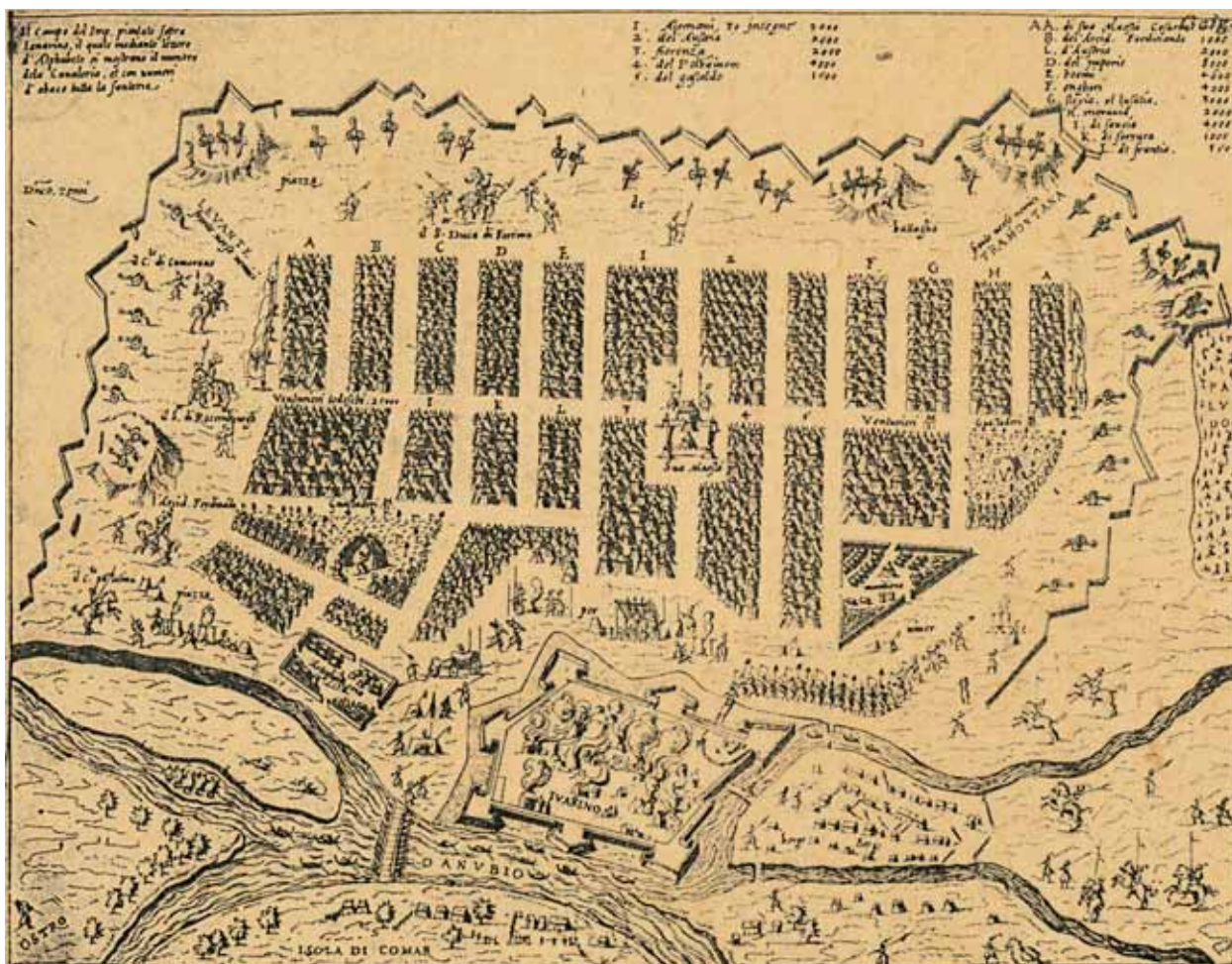
Domenico Zenoi's view of Gyula [GIULA (1567)]

Domenico Zenoi: Veduta Gyule [GIULA (1567)]

September 2) into the hands of Perthan Pasha (correctly, Pertev Pasha). The engraving retained the earlier bird's eye perspective of the town, marking the buildings in the inner fortress with much more detail and adding the exact date of the fortress' fall. It should be pointed out that the same views were also published with the imprint of Nicolo Nelli, but more about it later. Zenoi also reworked his own view of Tokay, adding both in the title and the engraving the information of the arrival of the Turkish reinforcements (again incorrectly naming Perthan Pasha) and changing to some extent the appearance of the buildings within the town (Tochai 1567). Soon after, he made two more views, one of which (SAACA 1567) was undoubtedly based on the reports of actual observers, who came from the site of the event, as evidenced by the historical accuracy of the note as well as the depiction of the place and the events themselves. Namely, the engraving shows a scene where the rebellious German mercenaries are transporting the captured and bound captain of the town, András Baya, to Zsigmond János's camp. It should be mentioned that the

date September 30, imprinted on the view does not correspond to other sources, which place it at an earlier date. The second new view depicts the deployment of the Christian army units at Győr [Il Campo del Imp. piantato sopra Iavarino (1566)] and in it – differently than in the earlier Győr engraving – shows and explains by various signs the position of all the units within the camp, naming their commanders and their size (the infantry comprised 18 500 soldiers and the cavalry 44 350). Győr in the view is in flames, which means that he knew about the fire which started on September 29, 1566, and the view is based either on the original drawing by Nicolo Angelini or its copy.

Zenoi also produced the view of the siege of Sziget (Ziget 1567) citing September 14 in the title, although the correct date of the fall was September 8. The engraving shows a very authentic-looking 4-part ground plan (left of the New Town there is the Old Town and then the Outer and Inner fortress) surrounded by marshes, which corresponds to the actual terrain. However, the depiction of the action is rather confused,



Domenico Zenoi's view of the Christian army at Győr [*Il Campo dal Imp. piantato sopra lavarino (1566)*]

Domenico Zenoi: Kršćanska vojska pod Győrom [*Il Campo dal Imp. piantato sopra lavarino (1566)*]

grada i utvrde poslužio se vlastitim predloškom i preuzeo elemente s lista o opsadi iz 1565., s time da je na prikazu logora opsade natpisima istaknuo erdeljske postrojbe, kraljevski šator i talijansku tjelesnu stražu Zsigmonda Jánoša [Tochai, (1566)].

Sredinom rujna nahrupile su bujice vijesti, najprije o padu Gyule, potom i Sigeta u turske ruke, a uskoro, već potkraj mjeseca, i o tome da je Zsigmond János zauzeo Zsáku i uz tursku potporu krenuo na opsadu Tokaja. Zenoi je nato izradio novu vedutu Gyule (GIULA, 1567), navevši pritom u identifikacijskom natpisu da je riječ o gradu palom (u naslovu doduše stoji da je do toga došlo 3. rujna, no ispravan bi nadnevak ipak bio 2. rujna) u ruke turskog zapovjednika po imenu Perthan-paša (ispravno Pertev-paša). U crtežu je zadržao raniji pogled na grad odozgora, s time da sada mnogo markantnije predočuje zgrade u unutarnjoj tvrđavi, a usto smatra važnim navesti i točan datum pada tvrđave. Moram skrenuti pozornost na činjenicu da su te iste vedute objavljene i s potpisom Nicole Nellija, no o tome ćemo

poslije podrobnije. Zenoi je također preradio vlastitu vedutu Tokaja, dopunivši ju, kako u naslovu tako i na zemljovidu, informacijom o dolasku turskih pojačanja (pogrešno navodeći zapovjednikovo ime, nazvavši ga Perthan-paşom) te donekle izmijenivši i prikaz zgrada u sklopu grada (Tochai, 1567). Uskoro je izradio još dvije vedute, od kojih je ona o Zsáki (SAACA, 1567) nastala bez sumnje na osnovi usmenog kazivanja osoba koje su kao očevici stigle s terena, što potkrepljuje i povijesna točnost identifikacijskog natpisa, a napose prikaz samog mjesta i događaja koji su se ondje odigrali. Naime, na crtežu se vidi prizor u kojem pobunjeni njemački plaćenici u čamcu šalju zarobljena i svezana kapetana grada Andrása Baya u logor Zsigmonda Jánoša. Valja primijetiti da se nadnevak 30. rujna naveden na crtežu ne poklapa s podacima iz drugih izvora, koji rečeni događaj datiraju ranijim datumom. A onaj drugi novi list donosi prikaz razmještaja postrojbi u sastavu kršćanske vojske utaborene pod Győrom [*Il Campo dal Imp. piantato sopra lavarino, (1566)*], a na njemu – za razliku od ranijeg rada,

because the Turkish banner is already flying on the Outer fortress, while the battle is still going on in the New Town as well as on the bridge which connects the Outer fortress with the Old Town. The Turks are charging the Inner fortress from the ramp built by filling in the marshes. The scenes of the actual fighting are very dynamic, but the life in the camp is presented in an even more detailed way (the army kitchen, the camels carrying supplies, etc.). The source of Zenoi's engraving is also known: it is an engraving of a much larger format depicting Sziget [Disegno de Seghet (1567)], whose authorship is attributed to him (more about it later).

Zenoi reworked his engraving of the army camp at Győr as early as 1566, adding the imprinted explanations, changing the position of all units and their commanders within the camp, in short, he included a variety of changes, aiming apparently at the precision of the scene (*Il Capo del Imp. sopra Iavarino 1567*). And finally he completed his series of Hungarian views in small format in 1567 with a view of Eger. As it has been already mentioned, the reason for making this engraving was not a topical event, but Zenoi's intention to show one more Hungarian town in his future book, the town which had become famous by its heroic defense, although it had happened in 1552. However, the depiction of the town is completely fictitious. There is only one true fact in the engraving, hidden in the textual explanation, stating that there is a high hill behind the town ("Questo monte e alquanto superiore..."). Indeed, the defense of the town was greatly hampered by the Almagyar hill, which overlooked the fortress and allowed the attackers to see every move of the defenders inside easily and to fire at it from above.

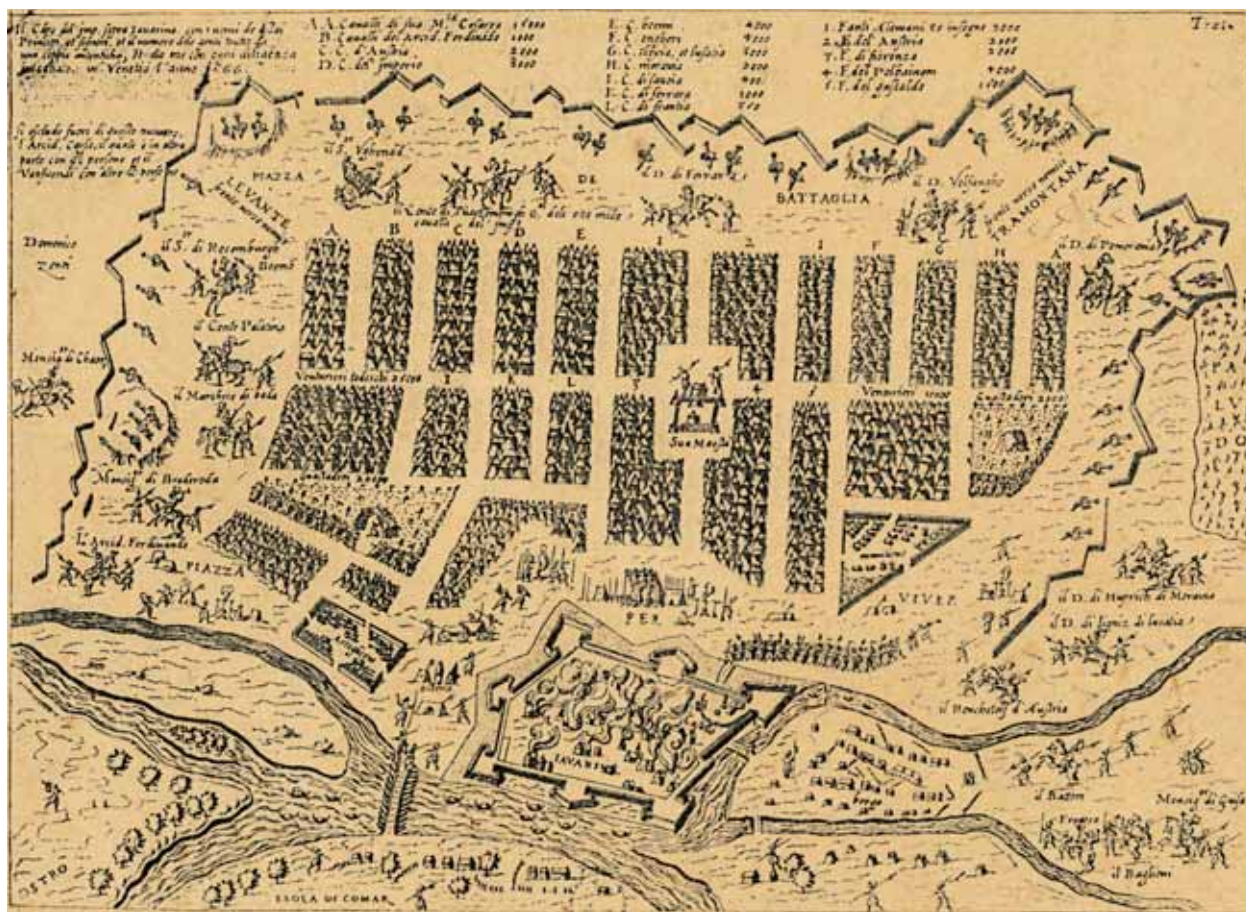
So far I have analyzed and shown Zenoi's cycle of engravings with Hungarian subjects, which depicts seven locations: Eger, Győr, the camp at Győr, Gyula, Sziget, Tokay and Zsáka, four of which (Győr, the camp at Győr, Gyula and Tokay) exist in an earlier state. However, all those earlier states were published as individual prints. As yet it is not known whether they were published in any book and neither do we know of any book which contained the reworked view of Győr [*Iavarino in ongharia (1566)*]. All of them, except for the last mentioned, were published in Ballino's book in 1569, where on the back of each there is a textual description of the location. The book is known in two different editions with two different initials and types of lettering, while one of them has paginated pages.

I have mentioned the model Zenoi used for his engraving of Sziget. That engraving was first described by Sándor Apponyi based on a copy from his own collection

of old books and it constituted an addition to the work written by the French ambassador to Constantinople, Pierre Gentil, (*Deaux veritable Dicours...*, Paris, 1567, App. H. 419). Pierre Gentil was present at the siege of Sziget and stayed in the sultan's camp. Apponyi thought that the print was not the one originally bound in the book (and that it existed is evident from the title), but that it had been bound later in place of the original illustration. Comparing the print with Zenoi's small format view of Sziget, Apponyi attributed it to Zenoi on the basis of identical composition and stylistic characteristics.

As far as the authorship is concerned, I agree with Apponyi's opinion that the view is Zenoi's work, although it should be said that it is quite possible for Zenoi's prints to have been originally bound into the book, because of the lack of other illustrations. Unfortunately, this conjecture cannot be supported by any evidence, since we no other copy of the book has been found. In the meantime, however, several other copies of the view have been discovered, mainly in Italian, the so-called Lafreri, atlases from the 16th century. Those who question Zenoi's authorship most often support their arguments by the differences in the notes on the two views. I cannot accept the validity of the argument, since the differences were bound to happen simply because the views depict different stages of the siege of Sziget and the questionable notes only describe the events in the view.

Zenoi's large format copper engraving of Sziget [*Disegno de Seghet (1567)*] points already by its title at an essential detail: the drawing of the Sziget fortress as seen on the view must have just arrived from Hungary. Maybe we owe to this the fact that the ground plans of the New and the Old Towns on the engraving differ from all others dealing with the scene, so that they are not almost in form of a square, but (correctly!) in form of an elongated parallelogram. (Just in passing we would like to point out that the evident separation of the New Town from the Old Town in the engraving is correct, while the names, like in all Italian engravings, are completely wrong, because both parts of the town have the same name, the New Town – *Fortezza nuova*). The drawing also clearly shows, unlike all other engravings, the marshland around the fortress, including its outer bounds, as well as a differently presented network of roads and rampart lines. The view is also unusual in showing the lines of the palisade which almost completely surrounds the fortress, as well as the branching out of the roads in three directions at the bottom of the engraving and the huge cylindrical tower rising in the middle of the Inner fortress.



Domenico Zeno's view of the Christian army at Győr (*Il Capo del Imp. Sopra Iavarino 1567*)

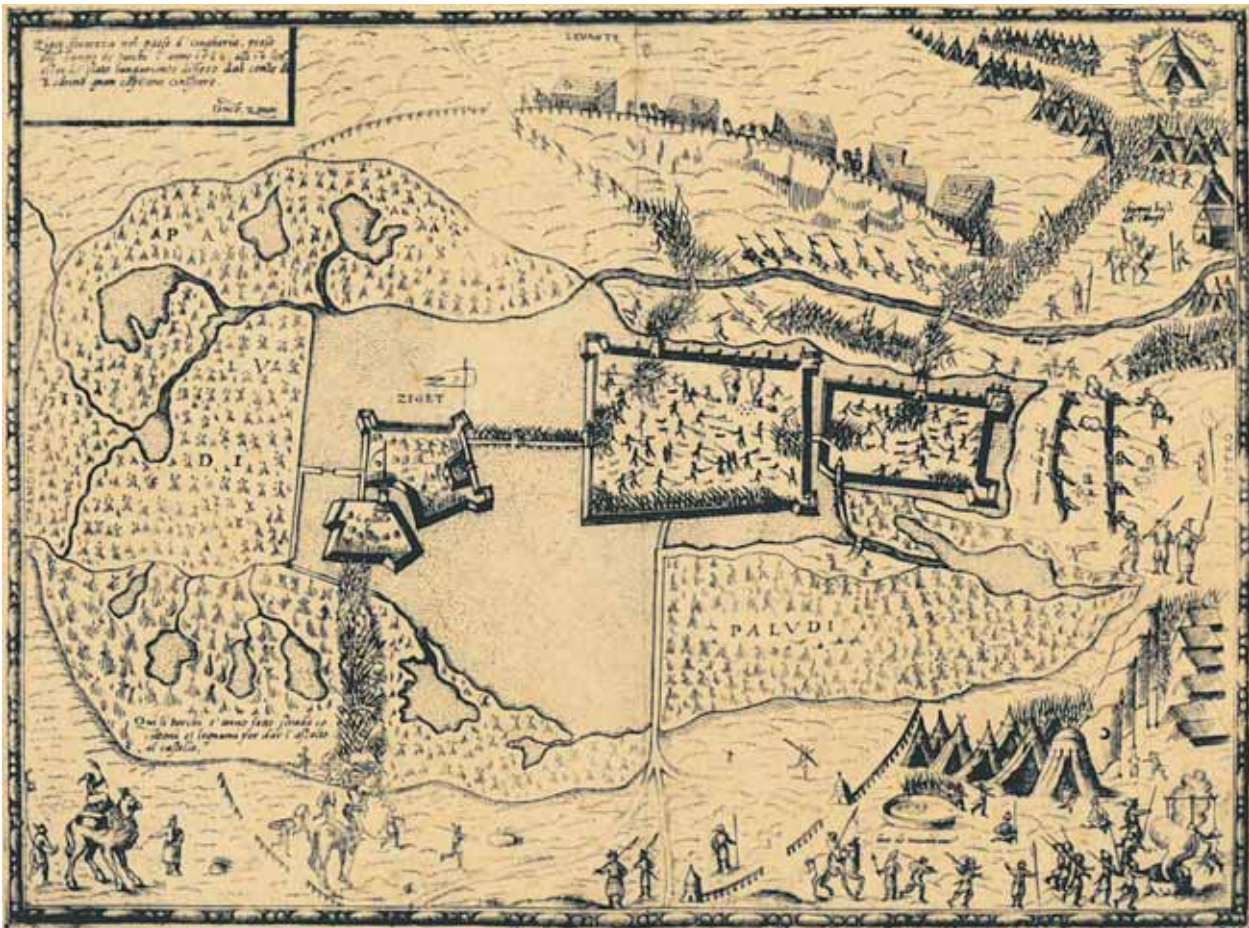
Domenico Zeno: Kršćanska vojska pod Győrom (*Il Capo del Imp. Sopra Iavarino 1567*)

također na temu Győra – prikazuje i tumačenjem znakova pojašnjava položaj svih postrojbi i rodova u sklopu logora, navevši im i imena zapovjednika i brojno stanje (pješaštvo je ukupno brojilo 18 500 vojnika, a konjaništvo 44 350). Na veduti je grad Győr u plamenu, što pak upućuje na to da je doznao za požar koji je u njemu buknuo 29. rujna 1566. Veduta je po svemu sudeći izradio ili po uzoru na izvorni crtež Nicole Angielinija ili na njegovu kopiju.

Zeno je izradio list o zaposjedanju Sigeta (Ziget, 1567), navevši u naslovu 14. rujna, premda je točan nadnevak pada grada bio 8. rujna. Na crtežu se prepoznaje vrlo vjerodostojan četverodijelni tlocrt grada (lijevo od Novoga grada nalazi se Stari grad, a zatim se dolazi do Vanjske i Unutarnje tvrđave) okružen močvarama, što i odgovara stvarnom stanju na terenu. Međutim, prikaz je događaja na toj slici ipak vrlo zbrkan, jer na Vanjskoj tvrđavi već vijori turska zastava, dok se u Novom gradu, baš kao i na mostu koji povezuje Vanjsku tvrđavu sa Starim gradom, još vode borbe. Turci na Unutarnju tvrđavu jurišaju s nasipa izgrađenog zatrpavanjem močvare. Borbe su dočarane vrlo dinamično, no daleko su minucioznije izrađeni neki prizori iz života u logoru opsade

(vojna kuhinja, deve u pokretu natovarene ratnim materijalom i sl.). Poznat nam je i uzor s kojega je Zeno izradio taj novi list: riječ je o grafici većeg formata s motivom Sigeta [Disegno de Seghet, (1567)] autorstvo koje se pripisuje upravo njemu (no o tome podrobnije poslije).

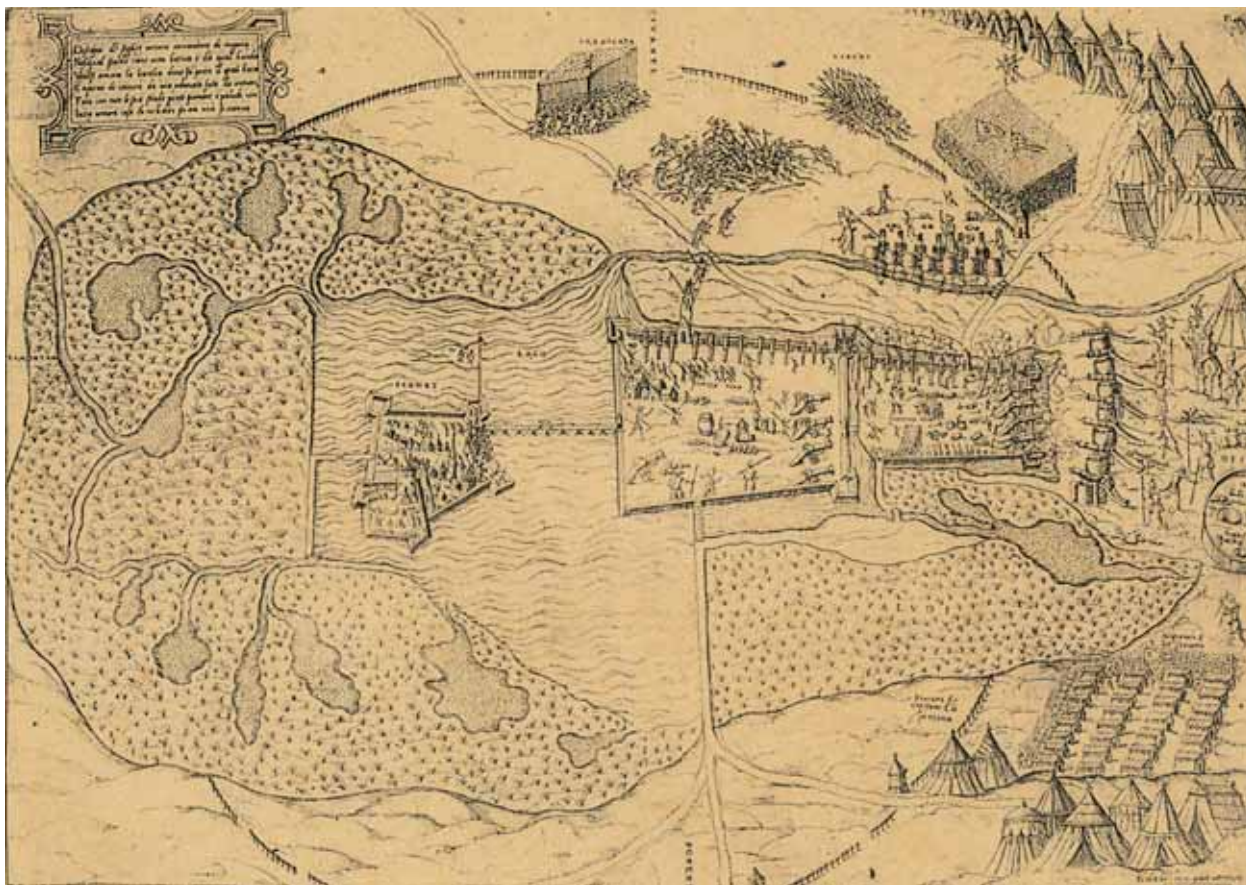
Svoj crtež rasporeda vojnog logora podno zidina Győra Zeno je preradio još 1566., dopisujući pritom i tekstove pojašnjenja, mijenjajući položaj svih postrojbi i njihovih zapovjednika unutar logora, odnosno unoseći više preinaka koje ostavljaju dojam preciziranja prikaza (*Il Capo del Imp. Sopra Iavarino, 1567*). Na kraju je svoj niz veduta s ugarskim motivima na malom formatu 1567. dopunio pogledom na grad Eger. Međutim, kao što sam već spomenuo, razlogom nastanka tog bakroreza nije bio aktualni događaj, nego autorova namjera da u svojoj budućoj knjizi prikaže još jedan ugarski grad, ali koji se pak proćuo po junačkoj obrani, premda se to zbilo još 1552. godine. No prikaz je posve proizvoljan. Na toj se grafici nalazi samo jedan jedini istiniti podatak, a i taj se krije tek u tekstualnom pojašnjenju, u kojem se kaže da se iza grada uzdiže neko visoko brdo („Questo monte e

Domenico Zenoi's view of Sigeth (*Ziget 1567*)Domenico Zenoi: Veduta Sigeta (*Ziget 1567*)

The author mentions already in the identifying note that the defenders of the town captured, among other Turks, a janissary aga during a counterattack; moreover, the scene is shown separately on the engraving. The date of the event is known, it happened on August 26. (Zenoi's view in the small format, which I have extensively described earlier, mentions the fall of the town in the title; it is therefore a depiction of events that came at least some ten days after the August counterattack). However, the large engraving exhibits some mistakes: the New Town was already in Turkish hands when the janissary aga was captured and the engraving still shows the defenders in it. Also, the note incorrectly describes the place and the manner of the janissary aga's capture ("...inboscata fatta da christiani", i.e. the Christians lured him into a trap). It was not a matter of a trap, but the defenders, after repelling the Turkish charge, surged over the destroyed part of the wall and chasing the retreating Turks captured the janissary aga Ali on the ramparts leading from the Nádasdy tower to the Outer fortress. The rampart is not shown on the engraving.

A far greater oversight is that the defenders in the engraving seem to hold both the Old Town and the New Town, although at the time of the aga's capture both parts of the town were in Turkish hands. Also, there is no ramp between the old Town and the Outer fortress, which had been built by then, but there is a drawbridge instead, which is still depicted as untouched.

Like Zenoi, Paolo Forlani was also continuously publishing his engravings, for business reasons, constantly keeping an eye on contemporary events. Nevertheless, when everything is added up, he made considerably fewer engravings of the Hungarian towns. In my opinion, Forlani's views of Győr and Tokay are copies of Zenoi's engravings described above. This claim can be supported by several important details. Forlani, lacking a drawing from the actual place, needed some appropriate model for his view of Tokay (Toquay 1567). The model was no doubt found in Zenoi's 1565 engraving; however, in Forlani's view the buildings inside the town (although it is in small format) differ considerably from those on the mentioned engraving, but are identical to



Domenico Zeno's large format view of Siget [*Disegno de Seghet (1567)*]

Domenico Zeno: Veduta Sigeta velikog formata [*Disegno de Seghet (1567)*]

alquanto Superiore...”). Jer, doista, obranu je grada umnogome otežavalo brdo Almagyar, koje se nadvijalo iznad tvrđave, odakle su opsjedatelji mogli s lakoćom promatrati svaki pokret posade unutar zidina i gađati grad odozgo.

Dosad sam proučavao i prikazao Zenoijev ciklus grafika s ugarskim motivima koji obrađuju sedam lokacija: Eger, Győr, logor pod Győrom, Gyulu, Siget, Tokaj i Zsáku, od kojih četiri (Győr, logor pod Győrom, Gyula i Tokaj) postoje i u ranijem stadiju izradbe. Međutim, svi su prethodni stadiji objavljeni kao samostalni listovi i zasad se ne zna jesu li bili publicirani u sklopu neke knjige, kao što ne znamo ni za knjigu u koju bi bila uvrštena doradana veduta Győra [IAVARINO IN ongaria et trinciere..., (1566)]. S iznimkom maloprije spomenute vedute Győra, sve su one objavljene u Ballinovoj knjizi 1569., a na poleđini se svakog lista nalazi tekstualni opis prikazane lokacije. No i ta su izdanja poznata s barem dva različita inicijala i tipa sloga, a u jednome su od njih stranice čak i numerirane.

Spomenuo sam uzor po kojem je Zeno izradio bakrorez Sigeta. Grafiku je prvi put opisao Sándor Apponyi

na osnovi primjerka u vlastitoj zbirci starih knjiga, a koji se ondje našao kao dodatak djelu iz pera francuskog poslanika u Carigradu Pierrea Gentila o vojnim pohodima sultana Sulejmana Veličanstvenoga (*Deux veritables Dicours...*, Pariz, 1567, App. H. 419). Pierre Gentil je inače bio nazočan u opsadi Sigeta, a pritom je boravio u sultanovu taboru. Apponyi je mislio da taj list nije istovjetan grafici koja je bila izvorno uvrštena u tu knjigu (a na to da je ipak postojala, upućuje već i sam naslov knjige), nego su ga uvezali naknadno, umjesto izvorne ilustracije. Uspoređujući list iz knjige s Zenoijevom vedutom Sigeta u malom formatu, Apponyi ga je, na temelju istovjetnosti kompozicije i stilskih značajki izradbe, smatrao upravo Zenoijevim radom.

Što se autorstva tiče, slažem se s Apponyijevim mišljenjem da ona pripada Zenoiju; premda, čini mi se mogućim da su u tu knjigu, u nedostatku drugih ilustracija, već pri njezinu nastajanju uvezali upravo Zenoijeve listove. No nažalost to se ne može ničim potkrijepiti, jer neki drugi primjerak tog djela još nije pronađen. U međuvremenu su otkriveni i drugi otisci tih grafika, većinom u talijanskim (tzv. Lafrerijevim) atlasima iz 16.

those on Zenoi's first small format view [Tochai (1566)]. Forlani's view shows the army units besieging the fortress just like Zenoi's, but its title does not mention the siege. His view also lacks the names of rivers, although he left space for them. Forlani's view of Győr (FORTEZZA DI IAVARINO...1567) contains far more textual and pictorial information (even the title is augmented by the information about the imperial army camp; also, there are many more soldiers, and some units are even inside the town) than Zenoi's view [FORTEZZA DI IAVARINO (1566)], which can be taken as proof that Zenoi did not copy Forlani, for if he had, he would never have left out such important information as the Emperor Maximilian's arrival on August 15. Besides, in Forlani's view there are many more buildings inside the walls than in Zenoi's.

Forlani's and Zenoi's views of Gyula show only some minor differences. In Zenoi's view, at the bottom of the Turkish camp there are two explanatory notes, while there are none in Forlani's. On the other hand, in Forlani's view the besieging units are even beyond the fortress, in the area between the river and the moat, while they are not present in Zenoi's view. Other differences stem from the stylistic characteristics of the two engravers: Zenoi's engraving is finer in details, the besieging camp and the figures of soldiers are drawn with considerably greater skill, while Forlani's engraving is made in the usual superficial way, with just a few lines. Although as far as Gyula is concerned it is difficult to determine who made his view first and who copied whom, it can still be ascertained that the two engravings were closely connected.

Forlani's series of small format engravings contains a view which shows the siege of Sziget fortress (ZIGET 1567). In a very detailed identifying note, Forlani gives a lot of information about the system of fortifications, about the marshes surrounding the fortress, about the bridges and the Turkish army of 100 000 soldiers besieging the fortress. In the view we can recognize the usual 4-part plan of Sziget. It is evident that the attack on the town had not happened yet, but the earthworks for the cannons' nests had been built, as well as the ramp across the moat, under the south walls of the New Town (*trinciera fatta da turchi*). The Turks made the necessary earthworks during the first two or three days of the siege. The view contains explanatory notes and names, so among them we can find the Pecs Gate, which played a very important role in the defense of the town. Taking everything into account, the view depicts the situation just after the siege began and before the evacuation of the New Town which happened on August 10.

Therefore, Forlani's view could not have been modeled on Zenoi's, which points out in the title that the fortress had fallen. However, if we compare Forlani's engraving with Antonio Lafreri's impressively executed large format engraving *Il vero ritratto de Zigeth*, published in Rome, the similarity is (despite the different size!) more than obvious. Both engravings present not only an identical illustration of the fortress, but also of the surrounding area. Moreover, even the names and the notes are the same! The only difference is the ramp (marked textually), built by filling in the moat under the walls, which in Forlani's engraving just meanders, and the attacking Turkish soldiers on it are recognized only by their banners. This ramp is not recognizable in Lafreri's engraving. In its place, there are the Turkish soldiers attacking the walls in a similarly winding formation. In any case, owing to the time factor, Lafreri's engraving cannot be regarded as the model for Forlani's. Namely, the news about the events during the first days of the siege could have arrived in Rome only several days after they were known in Venice. Besides, the making of such a large engraving would have taken two to three weeks, and the transportation of the completed prints from Rome to Venice also required a certain time. All in all, at least five to six weeks would have been needed, which means that Lafreri's engraving could have arrived in Venice in the second half of September at the earliest.

However, Forlani made another view of Sziget, the one in large format (of which more later) which must have been made after the small format, because the scene shown in it illustrates the later stage of the siege (the corner tower of the Old Town exhibits the Turkish banner, which means that the scene describes the situation after August 21, 1566). Therefore, it would not have made sense for Forlani to copy Lafreri's engraving, which shows the beginning of the siege, in late September, and then copy it again and rework it to present the situation of late August. By that time, the news of the fall of Sziget must have certainly arrived to Venice. What is more, in my opinion, by mid-September Forlani's rival Zenoi published his large format view of Sziget, which shows the scene of the counterattack of August 26 and the capture of the prisoners. All of this points to the conclusion that it was Lafreri who modeled his engraving on Forlani's.

In 1567 Forlani augmented his series of small format engravings with the view of Komárom (*Il vero disegno del sito e della fortezza di Comar...*). This engraving is almost completely filled by the view of the almost square town, which can be seen from the added ground plan with its triangular fortress situated between the two

stoljeća. Oni koji dovode u pitanje Zenoijevo autorstvo, svoje stajalište najčešće argumentiraju razlikama koje se javljaju u natpisima na ta dva lista. Ne mogu prihvatiti opravdanost tih tvrdnji, jer su odstupanja morala uslijediti naprosto zato što crteži prikazuju vremenski različite stadije opsjedanja Sigeta, a sporni tekstovi samo opisuju zbivanja s ilustracijama.

Zenoijev bakrorez Sigeta velikog formata [Disegno de Seghet, (1567)] već naslovom skreće pozornost na bitan detalj: crtež sigetske tvrđave prikazane na slici stigao je tek netom iz Ugarske. Možda baš tom crtežu zahvaljujemo da se tlocrti Novog i Staroga grada na toj grafici razlikuju od svih drugih na istu temu, pa nisu gotovo kvadratnog oblika, nego su (ispravno!) izduženi četverokuti. (Tek bismo uzgred primijetili da je zorno tlocrtno razdvajanje Novog od Staroga grada u crtežu točno, dok je naziv – uostalom, kao i na svim talijanskim gravurama – posve pogrešan, jer po tom prikazu oba dijela grada imaju isto ime, Novi grad [Fortezza nuova]). Na crtežu su, za razliku od svih drugih grafika, jasno prikazana i močvarna područja oko tvrđave, pa čak i njihove vanjske granice, kao što su drukčije i cestovne mreže, a i trase nasipa. Slika je neobična i po crtežu palisade, koja gotovo u cijelosti okružuje tvrđavu, ali i po račvanju putova na tri strane u samom dnu te po golemom cilindričnom tornju, koji se uzdiže nasred Unutarnje tvrđave.

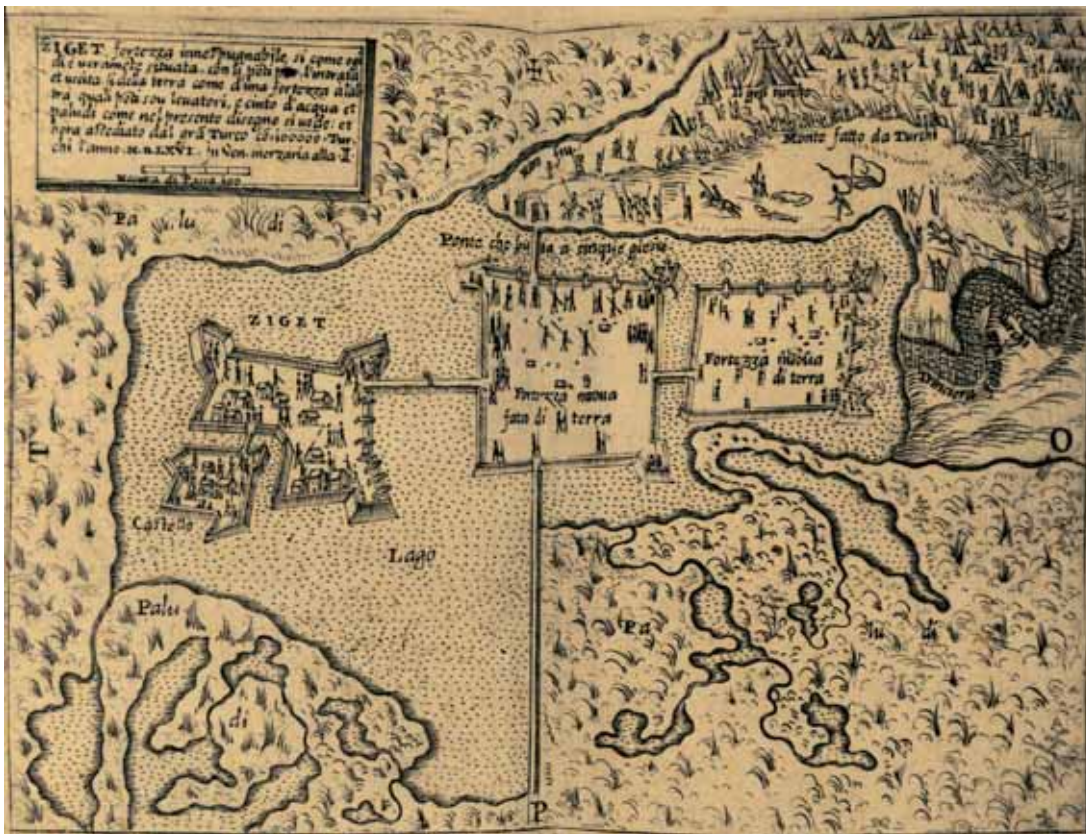
Već u identifikacijskom natpisu autor navodi da se prigodom jednog od proboja branitelja iz grada među zarobljenim Turcima našao i janjičarski aga; dapače, na listu je taj prizor prikazan čak izdvojeno. Poznat nam je nadnevak tog događaja: to se zbilo 26. kolovoza. (Zenoijev rad u malom formatu, koji smo prije podrobno opisali, već svojim naslovom govori o padu grada; on je, dakle, odraz stanja nastalog barem desetak dana nakon kolovoškog proboja.) Međutim, crtež sadrži i neke previde: Novi grad je u trenutku hvatanja janjičarskog age već bio u rukama Turaka, a na grafici vidimo da se u njemu još uvijek nalaze branitelji. Baš kao što su u identifikacijskom natpisu (... *inboscata fatta da christiani, ... krščani ga namamili u zamku*) pogrešno opisani i mjesto i način zarobljavanja janjičarskog age. Jer nije bilo riječi ni o kakvoj zasjedi, nego su se branitelji, nakon što su odbili juriš napadača, preko urušenog dijela zidina probili i krenuli u potjeru za Turcima u povlačenju, tijekom čega su, na nasipu koji je vodio od Nádasyjeve kule do Vanjske tvrđave, zarobili janjičarskog agu Alija. Međutim, taj nasip nije naznačen na bakrorezu. Daleko je teži previd u crtežu da se, sudeći po njemu, branitelji bore kao da još vladaju i Starim i Novim gradom, premda su u trenutku hvatanja janjičarskog age oba dijela grada već bila u turskim rukama. Na toj slici također ne nalazimo

ni nasipe između Staroga grada i Vanjske tvrđave, koji su tada već uglavnom bili izgrađeni, a umjesto njih pokretni je most koji je još uvijek netaknut.

Poput Zenoija, i Paolo Forlani je, no ponajprije iz poslovnih razloga, kontinuirano objavljivao svoje grafike te u stopu slijedio onodobne događaje. Ipak, kad se sve zbroji, on je izradio mnogo manje grafika s ugarskim motivima. Smatram da je Forlani pri izradbi svojih veduta Győra i Tokaja prekopirao Zenoijeve prethodno opisane listove.

Da je riječ o kopiranju, dokazuje nekoliko bitnih po jedinosti. U svakom slučaju Forlaniju je za vedutu Tokaja (Toquay, 1567), u nedostatku crteža s lica mjesta, bio potreban odgovarajući predložak. Zacijelo mu se kao uzor pri ruci našao Zenoijev bakrorez iz 1565.; međutim, na Forlanijevoj se veduti crtež zgrada u gradu (iako je riječ o malom formatu) bitno razlikuje od onoga na spomenutom listu, a posve je istovjetan prikazu zgrada s prve Zenoijeve grafike malog formata [Tochai, (1566)]. Na Forlanijevu se radu uočavaju vojne postrojbe koje opsjedaju tvrđavu (baš kao i kod Zenoija), premda on u naslovu ne spominje opsadu. Na njegovu listu nedostaju nazivi rijeka, iako je ostavljao mjesta i za njih. Forlanijeva veduta Győra (FORTEZZA DI IAVARINO..., 1567) donosi daleko više tekstualnih i slikovnih informacija (jer i sam naslov dopunjuje podatkom o utaborenoj carskoj vojci, na njegovu je crtežu daleko više vojnika, dapače, neke vojne postrojbe smještava čak i unutar gradskih zidina) nego ona Zenoijeva [FORTEZZA DI IAVARINO, (1566)], što je dokazom da Zenoi nije kopirao Forlanija, jer da jest, tako važnu informaciju da se car Maksimilijan 15. kolovoza također ulogorio pod gradom zacijelo ne bi propustio navesti. Inače, unutar gradskih zidina kod Forlanija uočavamo daleko veći broj zgrada nego kod Zenoija.

Između Forlanijeve i Zenoijeve vedute Gyule nalazimo tek nekoliko nebitnih odstupanja. Kod Zenoija se ispod crteža turskog logora nalaze čak dva tekstualna pojašnjenja, a njih kod Forlanija nema. Zato se postrojbe koje opsjedaju grad na Forlanijevoj grafici nalaze čak i iznad tvrđave, na prostoru između obrambenog jarka i rijeke, a kod Zenoija ih na tome mjestu nema. Ostala odstupanja proizlaze iz stilskih značajki dvojice grafičara: kod Zenoija je grafički crtež profinjeniji u detaljima, prikaz logora opsade i likova vojnika osjetno je vrsnije izrađen, dok je kod Forlanija sve to izvedeno uobičajeno površno, tek s nekoliko linija. Premda je u slučaju Gyule teško ustanoviti tko je od njih dvojice svoju sliku izradio prvi i tko je tu koga kopirao, ipak se sa sigurnošću može ustvrditi da su te dvije grafike bez svake sumnje vrlo usko povezane.



Paolo Forlani's view of Sigeth (ZIGET 1567)

Paolo Forlani: Veduta Sigeta (ZIGET 1567)

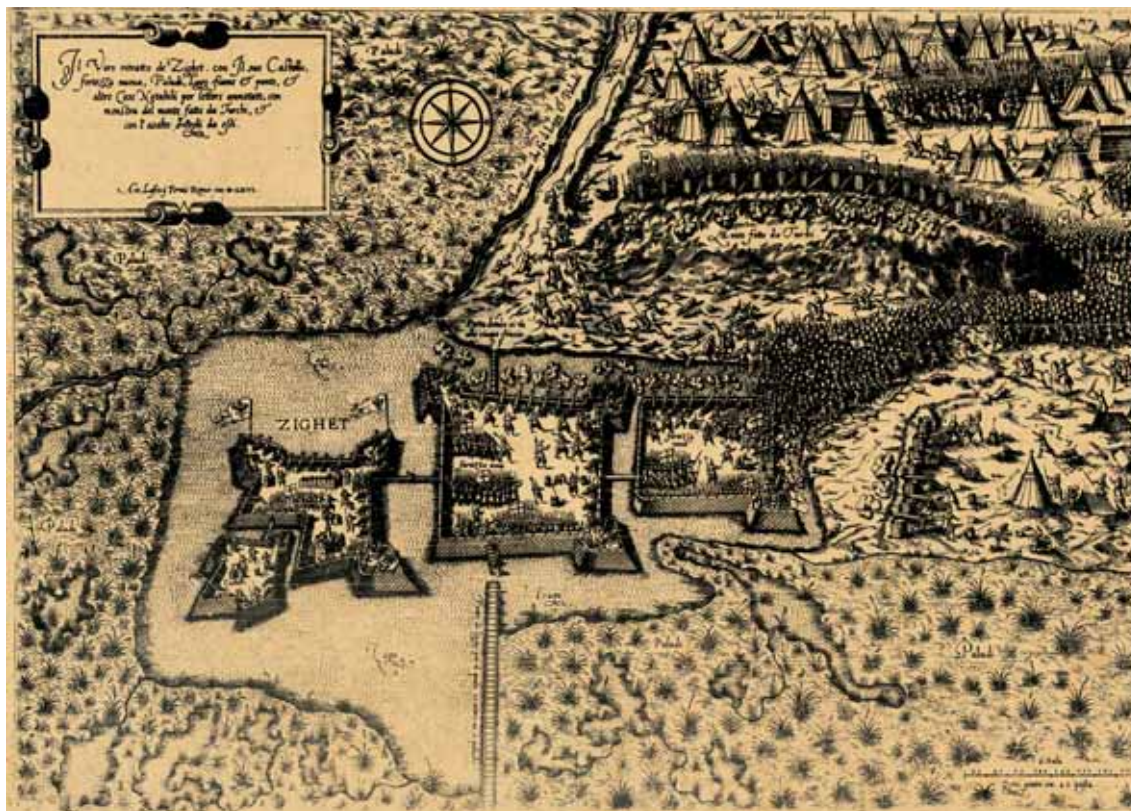
branches of the Danube. The fortifications on both illustrations are greatly enlarged, while the groups of buildings inside the town are drawn very carelessly and do not represent the actual state. The total impression of the view is rather poor.

Paolo Forlani's series of small format views of Hungarian towns contains therefore a total of five towns (Győr, Gyula, Sigeth, Komarom and Tokay), and except for Komarom, all of them are represented in Zenoi's collection. Since Forlani's series is more modest in number than Zenoi's, it seems that this fact supports the seriousness of Zenoi's intentions to produce a book of only Hungarian views.

As regards Forlani's second large format view of Sigeth (il vero disegno de sito pianta di Ziget 1566), it is quite evident that it is identical to his small format view. There are no current events in the view. From the notes imprinted in the space of the New Town and the Old Town, we can conclude that at the time presented they were in Turkish hands. However, it is incorrectly stated that the defenders burnt the Old Town before retreating; it is known that this happened in the New Town. The Old Town was abandoned in panic and Zrinyi did not have time to burn it during the evacuation

(although he planned to) and to destroy the stored military supplies. The view shows the ramp along the New Town, built at the beginning of the siege, but the part leading to the Nádasdy tower in the Inner fortress is missing. Therefore, as evidenced by the presented scene, the filling in of the wide marshy area between the Old Town and the Outer fortress was completed. The note states that wood, earth and cotton (!) were used as fill. This apparently astonishing information is, however, based on true facts: the builders of the ramp were protected from the defenders' bullets by wooden planks and bags filled with raw cotton, which were later used to fill in the terrain.

More importantly, the notes imprinted under the Inner fortress and beside the Outer fortress inform about the events which are not illustrated, and let us know that "Count Zrinyi", realizing that he will not be able to repulse the fierce attacks of "the infidels", ordered the gathering and transport of the remaining munitions to the Inner fortress (Castello) and ordered that they be set alight. Then he withdrew to the Outer fortress (Sigeth) and from there led the famous charge in which he heroically died. The note next to the Outer fortress indicates that the charge took place on the



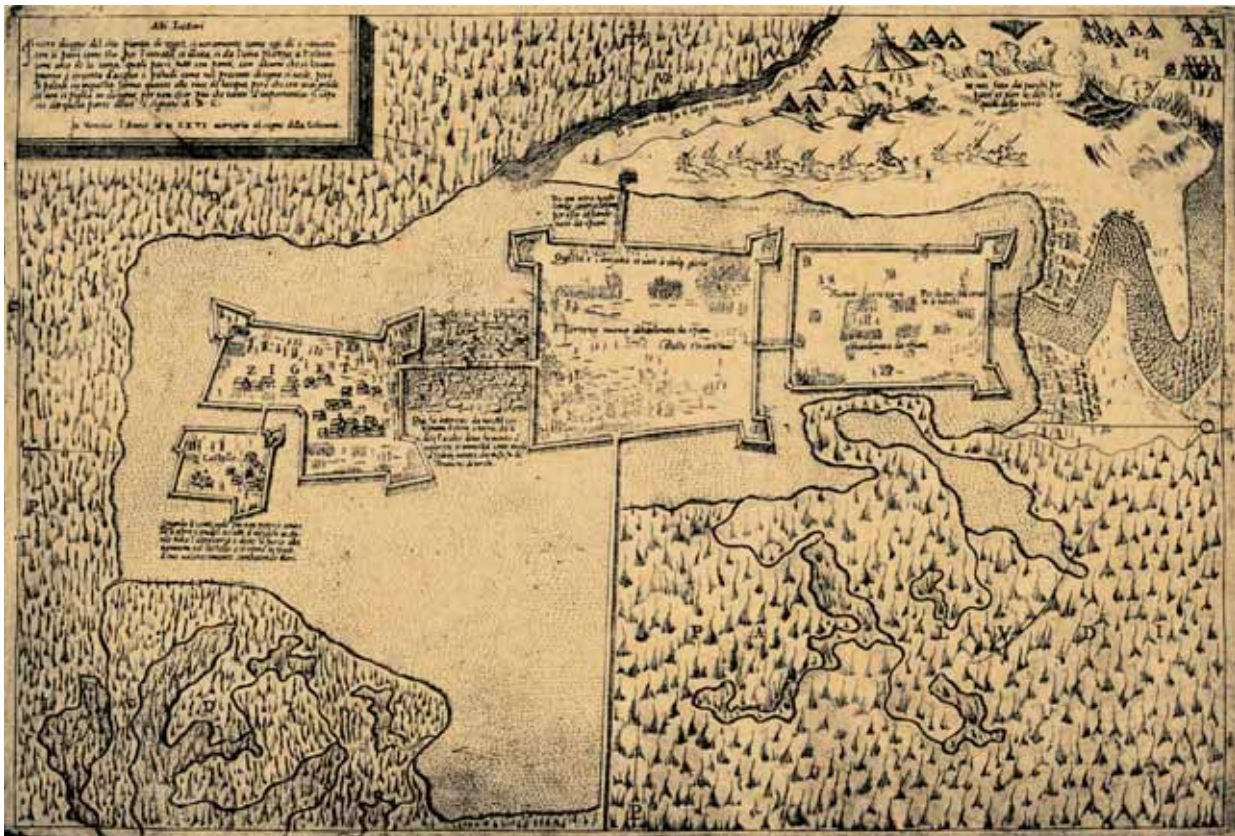
Antonio Lafreri's view of Sigeth (*Il vero ritratto de Zigeth 1566*)

Antonio Lafreri: Veduta Sigeta (*Il vero ritratto de Zigeth 1566*)

U Forlanijevu ciklusu bakroreza malog formata nalazi se list koji prikazuje opsadu sigetske tvrđave (ZIGET, 1567). U vrlo opširnom identifikacijskom natpisu autor donosi mnogo informacija o fortifikacijskom sklopu, o močvarama koje ga okružuju, o tamošnjim mostovima i o turskoj armadi od sto tisuća vojnika koja ga opsjeda. Na slici prepoznajemo uobičajeni četverodijelni tlocrt Sigeta; očito da se navala na grad još nije dogodila, no podignuti su već umjetni humci za topovska gnijezda i nasip za opsjedanje preko jarka podno južnih zidina Novoga grada (*trinciera fatta da turchi*). Turci su te zemljane radove izveli već tijekom prvih dva-tri dana opsade. Na listu se javljaju tumačenja i nazivi, pa među ostalim nailazimo i na obilježena Pečuška vrata koja su u obrani grada odigrala iznimno važnu ulogu. Kompozicija po svemu sudeći odražava stanje neposredno nakon što je opsada počela, a još se nije dogodila evakuacija Novoga grada provedena 10. kolovoza, pa joj nije mogla biti predloškom Zenoijeva grafika koja već u naslovu priopćava da je grad pao. Međutim, ako Forlanijev rad usporedimo s umjetnički vrlo dojmljivo osmišljenim listom velikog formata (*il vero ritratto de Zigeth...*) Antonija Lafrerija objavljenim u Rimu, sličnost je (unatoč različitim mjerilima!) više nego uočljiva. Ne samo što je na objema grafikama istovjetan prikaz

tvrđave, nego je identičan i crtež okolnog prostora. Štoviše, čak su i natpisi i tumačenja na oba lista navlas istil! Oni se razlikuju samo po (i tekstualno obilježenom) nasipu izgrađenom za potrebe navale pješništva nasipanjem jarka podno zidina, koji kod Forlanija samo vijuga, a turski vojnici koji napadaju preko njega prepoznatljivi su samo po zastavama. Taj se nasip na Lafrerijevoj grafici ne prepoznaje, no na istom se mjestu nalaze turske postrojbe koje jurišaju na bedeme u jednako tako vijugavoj formaciji. Ipak, zbog vremenskog faktora Lafrerijevu grafiku ne možemo smatrati predloškom za Forlanijev rad. Naime, saznanja o događajima za prvih dana opsade u Rim su mogla stići tek nekoliko dana nakon što se za njih čulo u Mlecima, a i izradba slike tako velikog formata trajala je dva do tri tjedna, kao što je i isporuka dogovorenih otisaka u Mletke zahtijevala još neko vrijeme. Moralo je, dakle, proteći najmanje pet do šest tjedana, što bi u konačnici značilo da je Lafrerijeva grafika u Mletke mogla stići najranije u drugoj polovici rujna.

Međutim, Forlani ima još jednu vedutu Sigeta, onu velikog formata (o njoj ćemo poslije), koja je bez sumnje nastala nakon ove u malom formatu, jer prikazani prizori na tom listu ilustriraju kasniji stadij opsjedanja (na kutnoj se kuli Staroga grada nalazi turska zastava, dakle,



Paolo Forlani's large format view of Sigeth (*Il vero disegno de sito pianta di Ziget 1566*)

Paolo Forlani: Veduta Sigeta velikog formata (*Il vero disegno de sito pianta di Ziget 1566*)

ramp which the Turks built from wood, earth and cotton.

There seems to be only one explanation for the contradictions found in the notes in the view (the siege can only be inferred from the fact that the besieging camp is mentioned) and in the composition which appears to be very static (without any actual events), as well as for the mention of Zrinyi's heroic death and the fall of the town. The copperplate must have been finished when the tragic news reached Venice. When Forlani learnt of them he did not cut a new plate, but engraved the recent news into the existing plate as a textual note. However, his knowledge of the events was not entirely correct: the gunpowder placed by the wall of the Inner fortress exploded by accident, partly destroying a large section of the wall, making the fortress untenable. This is why Zrinyi decided to charge, but from the Inner fortress and not the Outer one, as written in the note. The heroic death of Zrinyi and his remaining soldiers happened in the Outer fortress, in the close vicinity of the bridge leading to the Inner fortress.

Both cited notes in the view prove that it was made after the Turks had occupied Sziget; therefore, in

mid-September at the earliest. However, Woodward (1990) thinks that the plate had an earlier state without the besieging army. Unfortunately, this information is known only through a description of it. If this is the case, it is certain that the notes about the fall of the town or about the heroic death of Nikola Šubić Zrinyi were not on it. In that case we have every right to believe that the description deals with the first variant of Forlani's view of Sziget, the copperplate which he reworked after hearing the most recent news, adding some new elements which transformed the view of the siege into the view of the fall of Sziget.

5 Further Fate of Zenoi's and Forlani's Plates

As far as the later publication of Zenoi's prints is concerned (except for those in Ballino's book, which has been discussed in detail), we only know that they appeared in some Italian atlases (Lafreri's) in the 16th century (for example, the views of Gyula and Sziget). As has been mentioned above, the plates of Győr, Gyula, Sziget and Tokay from Forlani's small format series passed into Ferando Bertelli's hands, who published the views in his

riječ je o stanju nakon 21. kolovoza 1566.). Zato bi bilo besmisleno da je Forlani potkraj rujna kopirao Lafrerijevu grafiku, koja prikazuje tek početak opsade, a potom preuzeti predložak kopirao i prilagodio stanju potkraj kolovoza; ta dotad su u Mletke već sigurno stigle vijesti o zauzimanju rečene tvrđave. Dapače, smatramo da je do sredine rujna objavljena i sigetska veduta velikog formata njegova takmaca Zenoija, na kojoj se našao i prizor proboja iz grada od 26. kolovoza te hvatanje zarobljenika. Iz svega toga možemo zaključiti da je upravo Lafreri bio taj koji je svoju grafiku urezivao po uzoru na Forlanijev list.

Forlani je svoju zbirku grafika u malom formatu 1567. dopunio vedutom Komaroma (*Il vero disegno...di Comar...*, 1567). Taj list u cijelosti ispunjava pogled na gotovo kvadratni grad, što se vidi iz priloženog tlocrta i pripadajuće mu trokutaste utvrde smještene na slijevu dvaju riječnih krakova Dunava. Fortifikacijski objekti obaju sklopova prikazani su preuveličano, dok su skupine zgrada unutar grada nacrtane vrlo ovlaš i nemaju nikakve veze sa stvarnim stanjem. Ukupni je dojam te vedute i više nego skroman.

U zbirci grafika malih formata s ugarskim motivima Paolo Forlani je, dakle, prikazao ukupno pet mjesta (Győr, Gyula, Komarom, Siget i Tokaj), a s iznimkom Komaroma upravo su te lokacije zastupljene i u Zenoijevoj kolekciji. Kako je Forlanijeva zbirka opsegom skromnija od Zenoijeve, čini se da upravo to potkrepljuje ozbiljnost Zenoijevih nakana usmjerenih na sastavljanje knjige s vedutama ugarskih krajeva.

Promotri li se Forlanijeva druga veduta Sigeta, u velikom formatu (*Il vero disegno de sito pianta di Ziget*, 1566), postaje nedvojbeno da je ona topografski posve istovjetna njegovu listu u malom formatu. Na grafici nema događaja koji su u tijeku. Iz natpisa ugraviranih u prostor Novog i Staroga grada možemo zaključiti da su oni u trenutku koji je zabilježen na slici bili u turskim rukama. Međutim, posve je netočno navedeno da su branitelji uoči povlačenja spalili i Stari grad; naime, znamo da je spaljen samo Novi grad. Stari se grad napuštao gotovo u panici, Zrinski ga nije imao vremena spaliti pri evakuaciji (premda je to planirao) i uništiti u njemu namogmilane zalihe ratnog materijala. Na slici se vidi na početku opsade izgrađen nasip uz Novi grad, ali nedostaje onaj koji je vodio do Nádasdyjeve kule Unutarnje tvrđave. Do tada je već, sudeći po prikazanoj kompoziciji, bilo dovršeno nasipanje širokoga močvarnog pojasa koji je razdvajao Stari grad i Vanjsku tvrđavu. Natpis kazuje da se pri nasipanju upotrebljavala drvena građa, zemlja i pamuk (!). Taj na prvi pogled zapanjujući podatak ipak je temeljen na istinitim činjenicama: graditelje nasipa se od pušćanih metaka posade grada štitilo daskama i

vrećama ispunjenim sirovim pamukom koje su poslije također iskorištene za zatrpavanje terena.

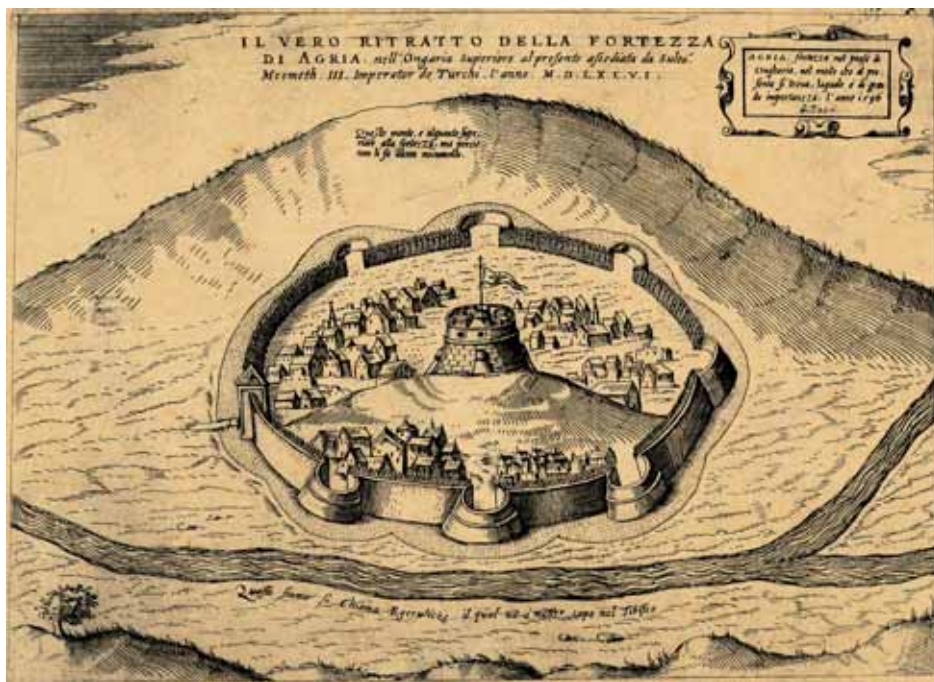
Mnogo je važnije da nas tekstovi smješteni ispod crteža Unutarnje, odnosno pokraj Vanjske tvrđave izvještavaju i o događajima koji nisu slikovno prikazani, pa tako saznajemo da je („grof”) Zrinski, shvativši da se više neće moći odupirati okrutnim jurišima nevjernika, zapovijedio skupljanje i prijenos preostalog streljiva u Unutarnju tvrđavu (Castello) i naredio da se ondje zapali; zatim se prebacio u Vanjsku tvrđavu (Sighet) odakle je izveo svoj poznati proboj na protivnika, u kojem je junački poginuo. Natpis uz Vanjsku tvrđavu daje naslutiti da je mjesto proboja bilo upravo na nasipu koji su Turci načinili od šiblja, pamuka i zemlje.

Za proturječja koja se javljaju u naslovu grafike (a da je riječ o opsjedanju, možemo naslutiti samo po tome što se spominje opsadni logor) i u kompoziciji koja se doima vrlo statičnom (bez ikakvih posebnih događaja), kao i za tekstualno spominjanje junačke pogibije Zrinskoga i pada grada, nalazimo samo jedno objašnjenje. Ploča je bez sumnje već bila dovršena kad su tragične vijesti stigle u Mletke. Saznavši za njih, Forlani nije prionuo na izradbu novog bakroreza, nego je najsvježije vijesti naprosto ugravirao u ploču, tek kao tekstualnu poruku. Međutim, njegova saznanja nisu bila posve točna: barut naslagan uza zid Unutarnje tvrđave eksplodirao je slučajno, djelomično srušivši poveći dio zidina, čime je položaj postao neobranjiv. I zato se Zrinski odlučio za proboj, koji se zbio iz Unutarnje tvrđave, a ne iz Vanjske, kako stoji na natpisu. Junačka pogibija Zrinskoga i ostataka njegove posade uslijedila je pak u Vanjskoj tvrđavi, u neposrednoj blizini mosta koji vodi u Unutarnju tvrđavu.

Oba citirana natpisa s vedute nedvojbeno dokazuju da je crtež nastao nakon što su Turci zaposjeli Siget; dovršen je, dakle, najranije sredinom rujna. Međutim, Woodward (1990) smatra da ta ploča ima svoj raniji stadij na kojem nema vojski opsade. No za taj podatak znamo na žalost samo iz opisa. Ako je pak doista bilo tako, na njoj se sigurno nisu nalazili tekstovi ni o padu grada, a ni o junačkoj smrti Nikole Šubića Zrinskoga. U tom pak slučaju s pravom vjerujemo da opis govori o prvoj inačici Forlanijeve vedute Sigeta čiju je ploču poslije, čuvši najnovije vijesti, opet uzeo u ruke i iskoristio za urezivanje svih dodatnih elemenata koji su raniju vedutu opsade pretvorili u list koji prikazuje zaposjedanje sigetske tvrđave.

5. Daljnja sudbina Zenoijevih i Forlanijevih grafika

Što se tiče kasnijeg publiciranja Zenoijevih grafika (osim u Ballinovoj zbirci, koja je već podrobno



Domenico Zenoi's view of Eger (AGRIA 1596)

Domenico Zenoi: Veduta Egera (AGRIA 1596)

books in 1568. These views, with the exception of Tokay, can also be found in Donato Bertelli's book published in 1574 with a similar title, but considerably different content. Forlani's view of Komarom (together with Zenoi's engravings) was published in 1569 in Ballino's book, while his views of Győr, Gyula and Sziget (with the following pagination in the right-hand bottom corner: 86, 87 and 88) appeared in the *isolario Isole famose, porti, fotrezze ...* which went through several additions during the 1570's. The last known appearance of the views has been found in a copy of Giacomo Franco's book titled *Teatro della piu moderne...* (Venice, 1597), which is located in the Angelica Library in Rome. In it, after Franco's engravings, there are Zenoi's views of Vienna and the Imperial camp at Győr, as well as Forlani's views of Gyula and Sziget.

When Eger was besieged again in 1569, Zenoi's copperplate of the view came into play once more. The year in the imprint was changed to 1569 and Zenoi's imprint was scratched out, with only partial success. The engraving was given a new title above the depiction of the town and it referred to the siege undertaken by the sultan Mehmed III, but the Roman numerals are difficult to distinguish. At the bottom of the view there is a line of a creek and the note underneath explains that its name is Eger-viz (Water of Eger) and that it flows into the Tisa River. The plate was thoroughly refreshed and the ornaments on the central huge tower were somewhat

changed, while a small dome, which had not been there in the earlier version, appeared amongst the buildings.

In 1574 Zenoi's views of Sziget and Tokay found their way into Sebastian Münster's *Cosmography*, which went through many editions, and in the copies published after 1578, besides Sziget and Tokay which had been delicately cut into a wooden plate, there appeared a view of the camp at Győr and the copies of Gyula and Zsáka. Three woodcuts (Gyula, Sziget and Zsáka) exhibit the imprint "GS and cutter". The woodcuts are included only in the German editions. They were also used for illustrating some books during the 16th century (for instance, the works of Alphonso Ulloa), and most of them were identical copies of Zenoi's plates published in Ballino's book.

Owing to Dilich's mediation, Zenoi's view of Tokay continued to live throughout the whole century as the model for all depictions of Tokay, just as his view of Zsáka (also through Dilich) originated all future views of Zsáka. Some elements of Zenoi's works are recognizable in other Dilich's engravings, and his view of Eger was the model for Sibmacher's view of Eger.

I do not know why Forlani's series, which has been presented here, was not copied by other artists. One possible explanation may be found in the fact that Ballino's book was much better known, judging by the considerable number of preserved copies, than Ferando and Donato Bertelli's collections.

prikazana), poznato je samo njihovo pojavljivanje u nekim talijanskim atlasima (Lafrerijevi atlasi) iz 16. stoljeća (primjerice, vedute Gyule i Sigeta). A kao što je već prije spomenuto, ploče Gyóra, Gyule, Sigeta i Tokaja iz Forlanijeva ciklusa u malom formatu prošle su u vlasništvo Feranda Bertellija, koji je njihove otiske objavio u svojoj knjizi godine 1568. Te se vedute, s iznimkom Tokaja, mogu pronaći i u knjizi Donata Bertellija objavljenoj 1574. pod sličnim naslovom, ali sadržajem bitno drukčijoj. Forlanijeva veduta Komaroma (zajedno sa Zenoijevim grafikama) izašla je 1569. u Ballinovoju knjizi, dok se njegovi listovi Gyóra, Gyule i Sigeta (s paginacijom 86, 87 i 88 u donjem kutu zdesna) javljaju i u izolaru pod naslovom *Isole famose, porti, fortezze...* koji je tijekom 1570-ih doživio nekoliko izdanja. Posljednje poznato pojavljivanje tih veduta locirao sam u primjerku grafičke zbirke Giacoma Franca pod naslovom *Teatro della piu moderne...* (Mleci, 1597), koja se nalazi u rimskoj Knjižnici Angelica, a u kojoj nakon Francovih listova slijede Zenoijeve vedute Beča i carskog logora pod Gyórom te Forlanijevi listovi s prikazima Gyule i Sigeta.

Kada se 1569. Eger ponovno našao pod opsadom, posegnulo se opet za Zenoijevom grafičkom pločom s vedutom grada. Godina je u identifikacijskom natpisu prepravljena na 1569., a izgrebena je Zenoijeva oznaka, što je doduše samo djelomično uspjelo. Grafika je dobila novi naslov iznad crteža grada i upućuje na opsadu koju je poduzeo sultan Mehmed III., a rimske su brojke u njoj vrlo teško razabirljivi. Na dnu kompozicije javlja se crta vodotoka, a ispod nje natpis koji tumači da je to potočić koji se zove *Eger-víz* (Voda egerska) i utječe u Tisu. Ploča je temeljito osvežena, a tijekom doradbe ornamenti su središnjega golemog tornja ponešto izmijenjeni, dok se među zgradama pojavila omanja kupola koje na ranijim prikazima nije bilo.

Zenoijeve vedute Sigeta i Tokaja prenesene su 1574. i u *Cosmographiji* Sebastiana Münstera, koja je doživjela mnogobrojna izdanja, a u primjercima izišlim nakon 1578. javlja se, uz Siget i Tokaj, otisnute s minucioznije urezanih drvenih podloga, i prikaz logora pod Gyórom, ali i radovi koji su prekopirali njegove crteže Gyule i Zsáke. Na tri drvoreza (Gyula, Siget i Zsáka) nalazimo oznaku „GS i rezač”. Drvorezi su uvršteni samo u izdanja na njemačkom jeziku. Otisci s tih drvenih podloga upotrebljavani su tijekom 16. stoljeća za ilustriranje još nekih knjiga (npr. djela Alphonsa Ulloe), a većina ih zapravo doslovno preuzima Zenoijeve bakroreze objavljene u Ballinovoju knjizi.

Zahvaljujući Dilichovu posredovanju Zenoijeva je veduta Tokaja nastavila živjeti kroz čitavo stoljeće kao predložak iz kojeg su izvicali svi budući prikazi Tokaja, baš

kao što će Zenoijev grafički crtež postati (također Dilichovim posredovanjem) ishodištem za sve iduće vedute Zsáke. Neki se elementi Zenoijeva rada prepoznaju i u Dilichovim grafikama, kao što će također njegovo viđenje biti prauzorom i za Sibmacherovu grafiku o Egeru. Ne znam razlog tomu, no Forlanijev grafički ciklus koji smo ovdje predstavili, u kasnijim vremenima nije nailazio na grafičare koji bi ga poželjeli kopirati. Jedno od mogućih objašnjenja za to leži u činjenici da je Ballinova knjiga bila mnogo poznatija (što se može zaključiti po znatno većem broju sačuvanih primjeraka) nego što su to bile grafičke zbirke Feranda i Donata Bertellija.

6. Zaključak

Na većinu Ganadovih, a ni na ostala u međuvremenu postavljena pitanja nisam uspio ponuditi izravne i nedvojbene odgovore. No gotovo sam siguran da je Zenoijevu djelo nastalo prije. Uz mnoge argumente dokazom za to smatram i pristanak da se njegovi licencom označeni listovi objave i u Forlanijevu knjizi. Isto sam tako uvjeren da je njihovo ranije suparništvo, kad su se u prvoj polovici 1567. nagodili, barem u pitanju radova koji nas zanimaju, zauvijek okončano. Čini se najvjerojatnijim da je nagodba vremenski sklopljena približno u doba nastanka Zenoijeve naslovnice, pa su oba djela zapravo objavljena istodobno. Na pitanje zašto se na naslovnici jednoga od njih navodi samo godina izdanja, a na drugoj i dan i mjesec, sklon sam tvrdnji da to nije čak ni meritorno. Znamo za Forlanijev bakrorez (koji je objavljen u knjigama obojice, a riječ je o prikazu turske armade u pokretu uoči opsade tvrđave) na kojem je upisan i točan nadnevak završetka: 26. listopada 1566. Imajući to na umu, mogao je i Forlani na kraj svoje posvete dodati točan datum, kao što je to učinio Zenoi. No ako ga ipak nije urezao, možda mu to uopće nije bilo ni važno. A to se moglo dogoditi samo u dva slučaja. Ili Zenoijevu knjigu nije smatrao konkurentskom (zacijelo i zbog drukčijeg sadržaja), ili se dotad već nagodio s takmacem. Međutim, teško je dati posve jednoznačan odgovor na pitanje zašto se u budimpeštanskom primjerku sa Zenoijevom naslovnicom umjesto njegovih veduta s ugarskim motivima nalaze Forlanijevi radovi slične koncepcije. Predmnijevana nagodba njih dvojice može biti odgovorom i na to pitanje. Unatoč svemu, sigurno je jedino to da nastavak knjige nijednoga od njih nije tiskan.

Posve mi je jasno da su odgovori koje sam ponudio prepuni pretpostavki, a argumenti vrve spekulativnim elementima. Dakako, postoje još neke mogućnosti i tehnike proučavanja (npr. podvrgavanje svih postojećih otisaka ispitivanju i s aspekta vodenog znaka). Ipak smatram da bismo mogli u nalaženju pravih odgovora

6 Conclusion

I have not succeeded in offering direct and exact answers to the majority of Ganado's questions nor to other questions which have been raised in the meantime. However, I am almost sure that Zenoi's work was earlier. Among many arguments offered, I consider that the final proof is in fact that he permitted his licensed engravings to be published in Forlani's book. I am also convinced that their earlier rivalry was finally ended, at least as far as the works which are the focus of our interest are concerned, when they made an arrangement in the first part of 1567. It seems highly probable that the arrangement was made at the time when Zenoi's title page was finished, so that the two works came out almost simultaneously. The question why one title page bears only the year of publication and the other the date and the month is in my opinion immaterial. We know of Forlani's engraving of the Turkish army besieging a town, which was published in the books by both of them and which bears the full date of its completion: October 26, 1566. Bearing that in mind, it is evident that Forlani could have imprinted the full date at the end of his dedication, like Zenoi did. But he did not, because maybe he didn't consider it important. There are two reasons why it may have happened: either he didn't think of Zenoi's book as a competitive work (because of its different content), or he had by then made an arrangement with his rival. As to the question why the Budapest copy with Zenoi's title page includes Forlani's views of Hungarian subjects instead of his own, it is difficult to offer an exact answer. The answer may lie in their presumed arrangement. However, it is certain that neither one published a continuation of his book.

It is quite clear that the answers I have offered are full of conjectures and that the arguments are highly speculative. Of course, there are some other possibilities and techniques of research (i.e. an analysis of watermarks on all the existing copies of engravings). Still, in my opinion, the only move forward in finding the correct answers would be possible if some new copies of the books were found for further analysis.

The examination of Zenoi's and Forlani's engravings has produced better results. It seems proven that both of them followed the events attentively and continuously, but that neither was stranger to borrowing from "other sources". I have succeeded in showing that they assiduously competed with each other (just as a reminder, I would like to mention the events which they depicted in

their views of Sziget: Forlani engraved the beginning of the siege, and then the death of Zrinyi, while Zenoi showed the capture of the Turkish aga on August 26 and the Turkish occupation of the town at the beginning of September). I have followed closely the further fate of Zenoi's and Forlani's plates, found their later editions as well as the works which copied them. I have also shown in what way some of Zenoi's works continued to live in the engravings with Hungarian subjects produced during the 17th century. I have also pointed out the fact that the influence of Venetian engravings can be easily detected in a somewhat remote and therefore less interested Rome, which constitutes additional proof of the standard practice of cooperation between the publishers of the two centers.

The research has proven that during 1566 in Venice, which lived in close vicinity to the Ottoman empire and where news about its activities arrived promptly, regularly and reliably, the events in Hungary were followed with great interest, as reflected in the work of the Venetian engravers and publishers, who produced a quantity of the related material surpassing anything produced in other parts of the world. The engravings with the Hungarian subjects are not limited only to Domenico Zenoi and Paolo Forlani, because we can also find them in the works of Ferando Bertelli, Nicolo Nelli, Giovanni Francesco Camocio and Ludovico Pozzoserrato. The Venetian exceptional interest in them can be corroborated by the fact that there were only two other Hungarian views published in Rome, the second center of map and print production competing with Venice, besides the already mentioned view of Sziget by Antonio Lafreri, which is of the highest quality. Both are by Mario Cartaro; one of Győr (I^AVARINO in ongaria 1566) and the other of Sziget [IL VERO DISEGNO...di ZIGHET (1566)]. The latter one clearly shows the influence of Zenoi's view. It is true that three woodcut renditions of Sziget were produced in German-speaking lands (one by Matthias Zündt, a second one strongly influenced by it, and a third one, which is of large format and published as a single leaf in Augsburg), and as for other countries, there is only one large format woodcut view of Sziget (an identical copy of Cartaro's view) by André Thevet published in Paris. As for the other events, we know only of Matthias Zündt's view of the fall of Gyula. Thus, as far as other more remote parts of Europe are concerned, the news of the events in Hungary was greatly overshadowed by the news about Nikola Šubić Zrinyi's brave resolve and heroic death.

učiniti korak dalje tek ako bi se pojavili još neki primjerci tih izdanja i bili nam dostupni za proučavanje.

Mnogo je jasnije rezultate donijelo istraživanje Zenoijevih i Forlanijevih grafika. Čini se dokazanim da su obojica pripremajući svoje vedute pomno i kontinuirano pratili događaje, ali da pritom ni jednom od njih nije bilo strano posezanje za „drugim izvorima”. Uspio sam pokazati da je među njima vladalo pravo nadmetanje (tek radi podsjećanja naveo bih događaje koje su ilustrirali svojim vedutama Sigeta: Forlani je u ploču urezao početak opsade, pa pogibiju Zrinskog, a Zenoi hvatanje janjičarskog age 26. kolovoza i tursko zaposjedanje grada početkom rujna). U stopu sam slijedio daljnju sudbinu Zenoijevih i Forlanijevih ploča, prikupio njihove kasnije otiske, ali i radove koji su nastali njihovim kopiranjem. Utvrdio sam na koji je način pokoje od Zenoijevih djela nastavilo živjeti u grafičkim prikazima ugarskih motiva koji su nastali tijekom 17. stoljeća. Ukazao sam također i na činjenicu da se i u donekle udaljenijem, stoga i manje zainteresiranom Rimu s lakoćom detektira utjecaj mletačkih grafika, postajući dodatnim prilogom ionako raširenoj praksi međusobne suradnje nakladnika obaju središta.

Istraživanje je dokazalo da su tijekom 1566. u Mlecima, koji su živjeli u neposrednom susjedstvu osmanlijske vlasti, a kamo su vijesti o njima stizale žurno, redovito i nadasve pouzdano, ugarske događaje pratili s iznimnim zanimanjem, što se odražavalo i u radu tamošnjih grafičara i izdavača knjiga, i to u količinama koje su u svjetskim razmjerima nadilazile proizvodnju te vrste. Bakrorezi s tim motivima nisu vezani isključivo za Domenica Zenoija i Paola Forlanija, jer među njima nailazimo i na radove Feranda Bertellija, Nicole Nellija, Giovannija Francesca Camocija i Ludovica Pozzoserrata. Iznimno zanimanje Mlečana može se potkrijepiti i činjenicom da su u Rimu, drugom središtu grafičarske djelatnosti, koje se nadmetalo s onim u



André Thévet's the portrait of Nikola Šubić Zriny
André Thévet: Portret Nikole Šubića Zrinskog

Mletcima, uz već spomenutu sigetsku vedutu Antonija Lafrerija, koja je od svih datiranih iz te godine najviše izvedbene razine, objavljeni samo po jedan list Marija Cartara o Győru i Sigetu (IAVARINO in ongaria... 1566) i [IL VERO DISEGNO...di ZIGETH...(1566)]. Potonji nedvojbeno svjedoči o poznavanju Zenoijeve vedute Sigeta. Istina, iz njemačkih su zemalja potekla samo tri drvoreza koja se bave Sigetom (jedan je djelo Matthiasa Zündta, drugi je nastao preuzimanjem njegova rada, dok je treći posve velikog formata otisnut i objavljen na augsburškom letku), a iz drugih europskih krajeva poznat je samo drvorez golemih razmjera na temu Sigeta (inače zrcalna kopija Cartarove grafike), rad Andréa Theveta objavljen u Parizu. O ostalim događajima znamo samo za ilustraciju Matthiasa Zündta o zauzimanju Gyule. U udaljenijim dijelovima Europe, po svemu sudeći, vijesti o drugim ugarskim događajima ostale su u dubokoj sjeni one o odvažnoj požrtvornosti i junačkoj pogibiji Nikole Šubića Zrinskoga i njegovih vitezova.

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