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The Scattered Frankapan Heritage – Dürer’s Unknown Man and van Scorel’s Venetian Nobleman**

Since 1753, the British Museum has housed Albrecht Dürer’s *Portrait of an Unknown Man* (The British Museum, Department of Prints and Drawings, inv. no. SL 5218.22), which was bequeathed to the museum by Sir Hans Sloane. After the death of the German collector Johann Gottlob von Quandt in 1859, the *Portrait of a Venetian Nobleman* by Jan van Scorel was initially sold to a private collection in Oldenburg (Grossherzogliche Gemäldegalerie) in 1868, and later acquired by the Oldenburg State Museum (Landesmuseum für Kunst und Kulturgeschichte Oldenburg, inv. no. LMO 15.567) in 1922. Art historians have been studying these works since the 19th century and have successfully attributed the portraits. However, they have been unable to identify the sitter. Furthermore, the two portraits have not been compared or linked, despite depicting the same individual.

Keywords: Count Christopher Frankapan of Modruš and Ozalj, Albrecht Dürer, Jan van Scorel, Pope Adrian VI, Nuremberg and Rome 1523

On Jan van Scorel, Albrecht Dürer and the Painting of the *Frangipani-Altar*

According to Karel van Mander (1548–1606), Jan van Scorel (1495–1562) spent some time studying with Albrecht Dürer (1471–1528)¹ before setting off for Tyrol

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¹ Carel van Mander, *Het Schilder~Boeck* (Haerlem: Paschier van Wesbvsch, 1604), chapter: “Het leven van Ioan Schoorel, Schilder,” f. 235r: “Hy is oock gecomen tot Noremburgh, by den constighen

and Carinthia, where he was well received by the local nobility. Historians have long been aware of the most famous commissions from van Scorel's early period, namely the *Adoration of the Magi*² and the *Frangipani-Altar*.³ Originally a triptych, the latter work was "modernized" and, in 1692, encased in a Baroque altar housing in the church of St. Martin in the Carinthian village of Obervellach [Slovene: Zgornja Bela, Croatian: Gornji Beljak], at the foot of Falkenstein Castle.⁴ Austrian historians have attributed it to van Scorel.⁵ The triptych was commissioned by Count [Latin: *comes perpetuus*, German: Graf] Christopher [Croatian: Krsto] Frankapan (†1527) and his wife Apollonia Lang von Wellenburg (†1519), for whom the altar is still popularly called the *Frangipani-Altar*.

Albert Durer, daer hy om leeren eenighen tijdt by bleef.... Furthermore, van Mander mentions that, upon his arrival in Nuremberg at the end of 1518 or the beginning of 1519, van Scorel noticed Dürer's involvement with the evangelical movement. It was for this reason that van Scorel decided to travel elsewhere; Dana E. Cowen, *Albrecht Dürer's "Oblong Passion": The Impact of the Reformation and Netherlandish Art on the Artist's Late Drawings*, PhD Thesis (Cleveland, OH: Department of Art History and Art, Case Western Reserve University, 2014), 125-126, notes 39-41.

² Jan van Scorel, *Adoration of the Magi*, oil on fir panel, 44.7 by 55.5 cm (The Art Institute of Chicago, Ref. no. 1935.381). Presumably commissioned by Jakob Khuen von Belasy (†1562) and Magdalena Fuchs von Fuchsberg (†1556), a couple from Tyrol married in 1514. Their coats of arms were in the lower corners of the fir panel (*Abies alba*), suggesting that the *Adoration of the Magi* was painted c. 1519 during van Scorel's sojourn in Austria; Molly Faries, Martha Wolff, "Landscape in the early paintings of Jan van Scorel", *Burlington Magazine* 138 (1996) no. 1124: 729 (figs. 13-15, note 19).

³ Jan van Scorel, *Der Frangipani-Altar*, five oils on pine panels (*Pinus cembra*, Croatian: limba) originally comprising a triptych. The commission was carried out on local wood, as was the *Adoration of the Magi*; Faries, Wolff, "Landscape in the early paintings", 730.

⁴ On the chronology of the Obervellach Altarpiece and the damage done to the original panels of the triptych, see: Janez Höfler, *Die Tafelmalerei der Dürerzeit in Kärnten (1500-1530)* (Klagenfurt: Geschichtsverein für Kärnten, 1998), 77-78. I would like to thank Dr Miha Kosi from the Milko Kos Historical Institute (ZRC SAZU) in Ljubljana for sharing Höfler's article. For the latest contribution on the altarpiece: Molly Faries, "Jan van Scorel's Obervellach Altarpiece," *ResearchGate*, Catalogue Entry, version as of I.2023 (available at: https://www.researchgate.net/publication/367379508_Jan_van_Scorel's_Obervellach_Altarpiece, accessed 10 February 2023).

⁵ The altar came to scholarly attention in 1882 through Rudolf Eitelberger von Edelberg, the founder of the Vienna School of Art History, "Wien. Das Altarbild von Johannes Scorel in Ober-Vellach in Kärnten," in: *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, Bd. V, ed. Hubert Janitschek (Berlin; Stuttgart: Verlag von W. Spemann, 1882), 87-89. However, the Obervellach paintings were first described and attributed by the Austrian historian and archivist August von Jaksch. He attempted to explain the circumstances under which the triptych was painted, starting from the assumption that the paintings were completed in Falkenstein; August von Jaksch, "Die Scorel'sche Altartafel zu Obervellach und ihre Stifter", *Neue Carinthia, Zeitschrift für Geschichte, Volks- und Alterthumskunde Kärntens* 1 (Klagenfurt 1890), Heft II: 81-94. The attribution was also accepted by Henry Thode, who published his famous work on the Frankapan ring five years later; Henry Thode, *Der Ring des Frangipani: ein Erlebniss* (Frankfurt am Main: Verlag von Heinrich Keller, 1895), 129-138. The final attribution, now widely accepted in scholarly literature, was provided by: Wilhelm Schmidt, "Varia", in: *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, Bd. XII, ed. Hubert Janitschek (Berlin; Stuttgart: Verlag von W. Spemann, 1889), 41-43; Franz G. Hann, "Leben und Wirken des holländischen Malers Jan Scorel und dessen Obervellacher Altarbild", *Carinthia I. Mitteilungen des Geschichtsvereines für Kärnten* 104 (1914), Heft 5-6: 133-147.

Unlike the attribution, the year in which the triptych was painted remained uncertain until Molly Faries' significant breakthrough. Through infrared imaging of the artist's signature in the middle panel (located in the lower right corner in the form of an open stone book: *Joannes Scorelius hollandus / pictorie artis amator / pingebat anno...*), Faries uncovered the presence of Arabic numerals "1519". This finding suggests that van Scorel completed the work in 1519.⁶ By examining the *Holy Kinship* and the *Flagellation of Christ* (in the left exterior wing) with infrared reflectography, Faries also revealed the preparatory sketches under the paint layers. These sketches prove that van Scorel employed the techniques he acquired during his time in the workshop of Jacob Cornelisz van Oostanen (c. 1470–1533), including the use of the grid, a compositional transfer device.⁷

The narrowest timeframe within which the described events could have taken place is between 1518 and 1519. The encounter between van Scorel and the patrons who commissioned the paintings must have occurred in the two years following the meeting between Dürer and van Scorel.⁸ It is therefore reasonable to assume that van Scorel spent a certain amount of time with Christopher's father,

⁶ Molly Faries, "Underdrawings in the workshop production of Jan van Scorel – A study with infrared reflectography", *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 26 (1975): 103, 205, note 30.

⁷ Faries, "Underdrawings", 102-103, figs. 10 and 206, note 32; Molly Faries, "Jan van Scorel's Drawing and Painting Technique", in: *Catalogue of paintings, 1363–1600: Centraal Museum Utrecht*, eds. Molly Faries and Liesbeth M. Helmus (Utrecht: Centraal Museum, 2011), 24 (note 13) and 28-29 (note 59 and fig. 6a).

⁸ According to Karel van Mander, Jan van Scorel, after encountering Dürer in Nuremberg, is said to have journeyed to Carinthia (...*vertrock Schoorel nae Stiers in Carinthen...*: Mander, *Het Schilder-Boeck*, f. 235r). Historians contend that van Scorel reached Carinthia through Styria, since the toponym "Stiers" is commonly interpreted as pertaining to Styria. However, if we hypothesize that van Scorel first painted the *Adoration of the Magi*, followed by the *Frangipani-Altar*, this itinerary would be logically inconsistent. A more plausible scenario posits that van Scorel traveled from Nuremberg through Innsbruck and the Brenner Pass to Merano and Bolzano in South Tyrol, where the Khuen von Belasy family held estates and castles. The background of the *Adoration of the Magi* depicts the view of the town of Terzano with the Neuhaus/Maultasch castle (Italian: Casanova), dominated by a rectangular tower on a distant hillside. The Terzano vista also includes the two bell towers of the parish church of the Assumption of Mary (German: Pfarrkirche Maria Himmelfahrt, Italian: Chiesa Parrocchiale di Santa Maria Assunta): the Late Gothic tall tower and the squat Romanesque one. Having completed the *Adoration of the Magi*, van Scorel likely set out for Carinthia via Sterzing (Italian: Vipiteno). The German name of Sterzing was documented in its Latinized form (*Stercengum*) as early as 1182 (Martin Bitschnau, Hannes Obermair, *Tiroler Urkundenbuch, II. Abteilung: Die Urkunden zur Geschichte des Inn-, Eisack- und Pustertals*, vol. 2: 1140–1200 (Innsbruck: Universitätsverlag Wagner, 2012), 302, doc. 783). Van Mander's "Stiers" could thus easily refer to Sterzing. Furthermore, even today, the main road from Merano to Carinthia traverses Sterzing. For a comprehensive bibliography on the subject, see: Ivan Jurković, "Frankapanski Modruš s Tržan-gradom na slici *Sveto Rodbinstvo* Jana van Scorela u Obervellachu" ["The Frankapan Seat of Modruš with Tržan-grad in Jan van Scorel's *Holy Kinship* in Obervellach"], in: *Zbornik Znanstvene tribine povodom 500. obljetnice Govora za Hrvatsku (Oratio pro Croatia) Bernardina Frankopana Modruškog [Proceedings of the Academic Forum Commemorating the 500th Anniversary of Bernardin Frankapan Modruški's Speech for Croatia (Oratio pro Croatia)]*, ed. Tomislav Galović (Zagreb: Odjel za povijest Matice hrvatske, 2023), notes 23-27.

Bernardin Frankapan [Latin: *Bernardinus de Frangepanibus*]. This assumption is supported by specific details found in two panels of the *Frangipani-Altar*. The first detail is the remarkably realistic depiction of a harbor town located in the left corner of the right interior wing featuring St. Apollonia, at the same height as her head. The town is masterly depicted in perspective behind the figure of the saint. In terms of iconography, the town symbolizes Alexandria, St. Apollonia's birthplace in Egypt. However, upon closer examination it becomes evident that the painting actually portrays a pregnant Apollonia Lang and the town of Senj [Latin: *Senia*, *Segnia*, German and Hungarian: *Zengg*, Italian: *Segna*].⁹ The second detail is found in the middle panel of the altar (in the *Holy Kinship*), which portrays members of the Frankapan family headed by van Scorel's host and Christopher's father, Bernardin.¹⁰ The painting likely depicts the secondary seat of the Frankapans, the town of Modruš, along with Tržan-grad the fortress (castle) seated above it, painted in the upper left corner.¹¹ In light of the above, it

⁹ Due to the incredible level of precision at which the town was painted, the artist had to either sketch it in person on his way to Venice or follow instructions provided by a person with eidetic memory, which is less likely even when it comes to the Frankapans (who were Counts of Senj from 1302 until 1469, when Matthias Corvinus "temporarily" seized it). On the depiction of Senj in the Obervellach Altarpiece, see: Ivan Jurković, "Senj i sv. Antun Opat na slikama *Frankapanskog oltara* u Obervellachu" ["Senj and Saint Anthony the Abbot in the Pictures of the Frankopan Altar in Obervellach"], *Senjski zbornik* 49 (2022), no. 1: 172-177.

¹⁰ In recent times, the triptych has also sparked interest among Austrian scholars and historians of art: Ludwig Baldass, "Die Tafelbilder Jan van Scorels in Obervellach", *Österreichische Zeitschrift für Kunst und Denkmalpflege* IX (1955), Heft 1: 101-111; Stefan Krenn, "Zur Stiftung des Scorel-Altars in Obervellach", *Carinthia I. Zeitschrift für geschichtliche Landeskunde von Kärnten* 169 (1979): 143-159; Gustav Bergmeier, "Die Familie Lang von Wellenburg im Triptychon 'Die Heilige Sippe' des Jan van Scorel in Obervellach/Kärnten", *Carinthia I. Mitteilungen des Geschichtsvereins für Kärnten* 191 (2001): 195-218. A concise biography of Jan van Scorel, an in-depth description of the Obervellach Altarpiece, and an extensive bibliography were provided by: Höfler, *Die Tafelmalerei der Dürerzeit in Kärnten*, 76-82 and 246-247. The prevailing consensus was that the paintings were commissioned by Apollonia and her brother, Matthäus Lang. According to this theory, the *Holy Kinship* depicted members of the Lang family, as well as Emperor Maximilian and Charles V. See: Bergmeier, "Die Familie Lang von Wellenburg im Triptychon", 211; Hirakawa Kayo, "Faith, Family and Politics in Lucas Cranach the Elder's *Holy Kinship Altarpiece*", in: *Images of Familial Intimacy in Eastern and Western Art*, ed. Nakamura Toshiharu (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2014), 80-81, notes 43-45. However, the individuals portrayed in the *Holy Kinship* can readily be identified as members of Count Bernardin Frankapan's family, rather than the Langs and Habsburgs: see the chapter "*Frangipani-Altar* in Obervellach", in: Krsto Frankapan Modruški, *Oratio ad Adrianum Sextum Pontificem Maximum – Govor papi Hadrijanu VI. (500. obljetnica)* [*Oratio ad Adrianum Sextum Pontificem Maximum – Speech to Pope Adrian VI (500th Anniversary Edition)*], eds. Ivan Jurković and Violeta Moretti (Zagreb: Školska knjiga; Sveučilište Jurja Dobrile u Puli; Katedra Čakavskog sabora Modruše, 2023), forthcoming.

¹¹ The layout of the urban units in the painting corresponds to the sketches and maps of Modruš dating back to the 17th and 18th centuries: cf. Jurković, "Frankapanski Modruš s Tržan-gradom", notes 52 and 57.

can be inferred that Jan van Scorel spent some time in Modruš before embarking on his journey to Venice.¹²

It was in the *Serenissima* that the patrons who commissioned the triptych, namely Christopher Frankapan and his wife Apollonia Lang involuntarily resided. During the initial years of the War of the League of Cambrai (1508–1523), fought primarily between the Habsburgs and the Venetians, Count Christopher Frankapan emerged as one of Emperor Maximilian's finest military commanders.¹³ During the battle he led under the walls of Muggia he also fought a notable duel against the Venetian patrician Andrea Civrano. The duel was described by Civrano himself in a letter dated 11 November 1511, addressed to his brother Luigi (*Alvixe*):

“...I came into conflict with Count Christopher hand to hand and we dealt many blows to one another without drawing blood, I then struck him across the face, slashing it with a great outpouring of blood and fracturing. He then inflicted minor injuries upon me: I sustained slight cuts on three fingers of my right hand and a sting to my left thumb...”¹⁴

Furthermore, a highly precise depiction of the moment of their mutual wounding was created by an anonymous woodcutter and subsequently featured in the rhymed epic *La rotta de Todeschi* by Perossino della Rotonda. The woodcut print (Fig. 1) portrays Christopher stabbing Civrano in the thumb, with Civrano swinging his sword, ultimately landing it on top of Christopher's helmet. Civrano's description reveals that he managed to drive his sword through Christopher's visor,

¹² For a detailed description of van Scorel's sojourn in Venice, including insights into the circle of painters with whom he collaborated, details regarding his residences in that city, and an examination of his clients and patrons, see: Gaila Jehoel, *Het culturele netwerk van Jan van Scorel (1495-1562) – Schilder, kanunnik, ondernemer en kosmopoliet*, *Middelieuwe Studies en Bronnen* 176 (Hilversum: Uitgeverij Verloren, 2020), 114-163.

¹³ The first comprehensive account of Christopher Frankapan's military career during this war was penned by: Matija Mesić, “Krstó Frankapan u tudjini” [“Christopher Frankapan Abroad”], *Rad Jugoslavenske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti* 13 (1870): 27-28, 30-32 and 34-51. Brief summaries were also provided by: Gusztáv Wenzel, *Frangepán Kristóf' velencei fogsága 1514-19: nagyobb részt még ismeretlen egykorú levelezések és egyéb kútfőkről* [*The Incarceration of Christopher Frankapan in Venice (1514-1519): A Substantial Collection of Correspondence and Other Previously Unknown Sources from the Same Period*] (Pest: Eisenfels és Emich' Könyvnyomdája, 1850); Thode, *Der Ring des Frangipani*, 24-30 and 38-48; Luigi Frangipane, “Vita militare e politica di Cristoforo Frangipane conte di Veglia, Segna e Madruzzo, antagonista di Girolamo Savorgnan nelle guerre in Friuli del 1511 fra Veneziani e imperiali”, *Pagine Friulane. Periodico mensile di storia e letteratura della regione friulana* 16/4 (Udine, 30 January 1904); Milan Kruhek, *Knezovi Modruški Bernardin i Krsto Frankopan: mačem i govorom za Hrvatsku* [*Bernardin and Christopher Frankapan, Counts of Modruš: Defending Croatia Through Sword and Oratory*] (Modruš: Čakavski sabor Modruše, 2016), 108-115.

¹⁴ ... veni in conflieto con il conte Cristoforo a corpo a corpo, et afrontatesi se menassemo molti colpi l'uno a l'altro, senza sangue, poi io li menai un traverso su la faza et li squarzai tuto el volto, con grande effusion di sangue et fractura. Lui veramente menome su la man destra et tagliome 3 dita con lesion non pericolosa, con una punta in el dito grosso sinistro...; Marino Sanudo, *I diarii di Marino Sanuto*, vol. XIII (Venice: Fratelli Visentini, 1886), col. 249.

slashing his nose and right eye with “a great outpouring of blood and fracturing” his bones. Consequently, Christopher was left with a permanent scar!



Fig. 1. Detail: *Knights in combat*¹⁵

Two years later, Christopher married Apollonia Lang, the widow of Count Julian von Lodron.¹⁶ It was a love match, as demonstrated by the wedding ring Apollonia gave him – the engraving reads *Myt Wyllen dyn eygen* (Willingly Thine Own).¹⁷ However, on 5 June 1514, Christopher fell into Venetian captivity. Although a substantial ransom was offered for his release, the Venetians, recognizing his significance as one of Maximilian's best commanders, refused to grant him freedom.

From 9 June 1514, Christopher was incarcerated in Torresella, the cell complex in the Doge's Palace [Italian: *Palazzo Ducale*] reserved for prisoners of rank and stature. Once she had lost hope that her husband would soon be released,

¹⁵ In: Perossino della Rotonda, *La rotta de Todeschi* ([Venice]: s.e., 1514), cited in: Sanja Cvetnić, “Vitez, dama, fratar, tiskar i drvorezac: protagonisti izdavačkog pothvata Frankapanskoga brevijara” [“The Knight, the Lady, the Printer, and the Woodcutter: Key Figures in the Production of the Frankapan Breviary”], in: *Frankapanski brevijar. Otisak sudbine. Ilustracije molitvene knjige u zlatno doba mletačkoga tiskarstva* [The Frankapan Breviary: The Print of Destiny – Illustrating a Breviary in the Golden Age of Venetian Printing], ed. by Sanja Cvetnić, Danko Šourek and Tanja Trška (Zagreb: FF press, 2019), 24 (fig. 2).

¹⁶ Marino Sanudo, *I diarii di Marino Sanuto*, vol. V (Venice: Fratelli Visentini, 1881), col. 152, 327 and 336; Heinz Noflatscher, *Räte und Herrscher. Politische Eliten an den Habsburgerhöfen der österreichischen Länder 1480-1530* (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern Verlag, 1999), 264.

¹⁷ Few historians writing about Apollonia and Christopher fail to mention the ring and the promise engraved on it, which was thoroughly described (and supported by evidence) by Thode in *Der Ring des Frangipani*.

Apollonia traveled to Venice unannounced with a splendid entourage.¹⁸ On several occasions, she managed to outsmart both Christopher's guard, Zuan Antonio Dandolo (the general superintendent of Venetian prisons) and (allegedly, to his horror) Doge Leonardo Loredan himself. As a result, she resided with her husband in Torresella on multiple occasions for months at a time (from 20 January 1517 until 6 January 1519).¹⁹

During Christopher's hopeless and monotonous days of captivity, Apollonia endeavored to lift his spirits through various activities. One such endeavor, with Christopher's support, involved collaborating with the Franciscan Jakob Wyg to prepare the Roman breviary for printing. This edition marked the first translation of the Breviary from Latin to German. Consequently, visitors to Torresella included not only Apollonia and Wyg, but also the esteemed Venetian printers, the brothers Giovanni and Gregorio de Gregoriis, and possibly even the renowned woodcutter Giovanni Andrea Vavassore. Together, they collaborated to present the world with the exquisite Breviary (Fig. 2).²⁰ However, they were not the sole visitors to Christopher. Christopher and Apollonia made a vow to the Blessed Virgin that they would construct an altar upon his release from captivity. With this intention in mind, Jan van Scorel was commissioned to paint the triptych. Consequently, the Netherlandish artist must have visited Christopher

¹⁸ Following unsuccessful attempts at securing a letter of guarantee from Venetian authorities, which would have allowed her to travel to Venice and visit her husband, Apollonia made an unannounced appearance in Venice in the middle of winter in 1517, accompanied by a splendid entourage. On 20 January 1517, she was granted an audience before the Doge, accompanied by the general superintendent of Venetian prisons, Zuan Antonio Dandolo. Apollonia requested permission to visit her husband twice a week, citing her illness and refusing to undergo the prescribed treatment without her husband's presence. The Doge and his advisors, faced with an unprecedented request and powerless before her arguments, granted it. With the necessary permissions in hand, she entered Christopher's apartments on the very same day. See: Ivan Jurković, "U spomen na groficu Apoloniju Lang, suprugu Krste Frankapana, povodom 500. obljetnice smrti" ["In Remembrance of Countess Apollonia Lang, Wife of Christopher Frankapan: Commemorating the 500th Anniversary of Her Death"], in: *Frankapansko naslijeđe: pet stoljeća Njemačko-rimskoga brevijara [The Frankapan Heritage: Five Centuries of Das deutsch-römisch Brevier]*, eds. Danko Šourek and Tanja Trška (Zagreb: FF-press, 2023), forthcoming.

¹⁹ Šime Ljubić, "Nadpis Krsta Frankopana i njegove žene Apolonije, u Mletcih", *Viestnik Hrvatskoga arheologičkoga društva* 2 (1880): 61-62. This episode from the life of the imperial commander and his wife in the Venetian prison gained widespread fame, primarily due to Thode's novel. Shortly after the first English-language edition, an American tourist guide to Venice was published, featuring a romanticized, yet surprisingly accurate account of the events: Francis Marion Crawford, *Salve Venetia. Gleanings from Venetian History*, vol. II (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1905), 66-76.

²⁰ For a description of the activities preceding the printing of the *Breviary*, along with a comprehensive bibliography on the subject, see: Cvetnić, "Vitez, dama, fratar, tiskar i drvorezac". A detailed analysis of the *Breviary* was published to commemorate its 500th anniversary: Cvetnić, Šourek, Trška, *Frankapanski brevijar*.

and Apollonia during the final months of 1518, because he portrayed them as St. Christopher (in the left wing, Fig. 3) and St. Apollonia (in the right wing).²¹

Owing to political lobbying by the Langs and Frankapans, Christopher was soon transferred to the prison in Milan [*Castello Sforzesco*], from where he finally made his escape on the night of 13 October 1519, allegedly after bribing the guards.²² However, Apollonia did not live to see his freedom. Despite regular visits to the baths in Terme Abano, she died on 4 September 1519 in Milan, where she had followed her beloved husband.²³ It is also known that, at the end of November 1519, Christopher requested leave to fulfill his vow to the Blessed Virgin of Chioggia. He made his request through Zuan Antonio Dandolo. The authorities forbade this but allowed him to send someone to collect his belongings in Venice. Furthermore, it is known that in December Christopher still resided in his fortress of Novigrad [Slovene: Podgrad, German: Newhaws, Italian: Castel Nuovo].²⁴ After collecting van Scorel's finished paintings, he traveled with them to Falkenstein in January 1520, where he installed the triptych.²⁵ Soon after, he continued his journey to Augsburg with an entourage of twelve horsemen. There, he met with his brother-in-law, Matthäus Lang, who recommended his services to Emperor Charles V. The latter subsequently appointed Christopher as Captain of Rašpor and Kras.²⁶

²¹ They were portrayed as St. Christopher and St. Apollonia in the same order in multiple miniatures in the *Breviary*: *ibid.* 97, 107, 126 and 130.

²² Marino Sanudo, *I diarii di Marino Sanuto*, vol. XXVIII (Venice: Forni editore, 1890), col. 27.

²³ *Noto. A Milan, a di 4 di questo mexe, morite madona Polonia sorela dil reverendissimo cardinal Curzense et moglie dil conte Cristoforo Frangipani, qual è preson in castelo di Milan e la moglie lo seguitava; e il corpo posto in una cassa fo mandato in questa terra, e passò in Friaul per terra per sepelirla in uno castelo del prefato Conte...*; Marino Sanudo, *I diarii di Marino Sanuto*, vol. XXVII (Venice: Fratelli Visentini, 1890), col. 630.

²⁴ ... a Castelnuovo suo castello vicino a Fiume...: Sanudo, *I diarii*, vol. XXVIII, col. 112-113.

²⁵ Godefricus J. Hoogewerff, *Jan van Scorel – Peintre de la Renaissance Hollandaise* (La Haye: Martinus Nijhoff, 1923), 19; Emilij Laszowski, "Frankopanske uspomene u Obervellachu" ["Frankopan Memories in Obervellach"], *Svijet: ilustrirani tjednik*, yr. 5, vol. IX (1930), no. 18: 466; Godefricus J. Hoogewerff, ed., *Jan van Scorel. Exhibition catalogue: 3 August – 30 October* (Utrecht: Centraal Museum Utrecht, 1955), 26; Ivan Jurković, "O grbovima u molitvenicima koje su dali tiskati 1518. u Veneciji Krsto Frankapan sa suprugom Apolonijom Lang i 1560. u Padovi Katarina Frankapan, supruga Nikole Zrinskog Sigetskog" ["On the Coats-of-Arms in the Prayer Books Printed in Venice in 1518 by Christopher Frankapan and His Wife Apolonia Lang and in Padua in 1560 by Katharine Frankapan, the Wife of Nicholas IV of Zrin (the Hero of Szigetvár)"], *Zbornik Odsjeka za povijesne znanosti Zavoda za povijesne i društvene znanosti HAZU* 35 (2017): 68-69.

²⁶ Mesić, "Krsto Frankapan u tudjini", 74; Frangipane, "Vita militare", 52; Jurković, "U spomen na groficu Apoloniju", note 29.



Fig. 2. Detail: Christopher Frankapan in *Das deutsch-römisch Brevier*, 1518



Fig. 3. Detail: St. Christopher by Jan van Scorel in the *Frangipani-Altar* in Obervellach, 1519

Jan van Scorel and Christopher Frankapan parted ways at the beginning of 1519 but reunited four years later in Rome. This Roman encounter was preceded by Christopher's meeting with Albrecht Dürer...

Nuremberg, 1522–1523

The combined military forces of the Pashas of Bosnia and Mostar captured Knin, the capital of medieval Croatia, on 28 May 1522. After the initial shock, faced with the reality that they could no longer withstand Ottoman attacks without assistance, the representatives of the Croatian estates made the decision to send Bernardin Frankapan as their ambassador to the autumn session of the Imperial Diet in Nuremberg. His mission was to appeal for military and financial assistance.²⁷

Upon his arrival in Nuremberg, Bernardin gave a speech titled *Oratio pro Croatia* before the members of the Imperial Diet and had it printed by Friedrich Peypus

²⁷ On the circumstances which resulted in Bernardin traveling to Nuremberg: Bernardin Frankapan Modruški, *Oratio pro Croatia – Govor za Hrvatsku – 500. obljetnica* [*Oratio pro Croatia – The Speech for Croatia – 500th Anniversary Edition*], eds. Ivan Jurković and Violeta Moretti (Zagreb: Školska knjiga; Sveučilište Jurja Dobrile u Puli; Katedra Čakavskog sabora Modruše, 2022): 69-74.

to be circulated as an *anti-turcica* pamphlet (Fig. 4).²⁸ One of the recipients of the printed *Oratio* was Frederick II, Elector Palatine [German: Friedrich II. von der Pfalz].²⁹ Christopher also played an important role in Bernardin's activities: he was part of Archduke Ferdinand's entourage. Since Bernardin needed to urgently return to Croatia to prevent the Pasha of Bosnia from seizing his lands, Christopher took over his role as ambassador after the Feast of St. Lucy.³⁰ Following Bernardin's departure, the members of the Diet reconvened in a sufficient number and continued the session. Led by Frederick II, they decided at the beginning of 1523 to aid Croatia.³¹

Christopher resided in Nuremberg from November 1522 until February 1523, collaborating closely with Friedrich Peypus to ensure the timely printing of his father's speech for distribution among the members of the Diet. By then Peypus had established a notable partnership with Albrecht Dürer.³² It is worth emphasizing once again that Jan van Scorel had studied under Dürer four years earlier.³³ Attention should also be given to Dürer's portrait of Frederick II,³⁴ executed using the same technique and on the same material as the *Portrait of an Unknown Man* (Fig. 5). Dürer dated both portraits to 1523, leading art historians to conclude that the *Unknown Man* was also a member of the Imperial Diet in Nuremberg.³⁵ As both portraits eventually found their way into the private collection of

²⁸ The *Oratio* comprises four *anti-turcica* texts: the first, an epistle to Pope Adrian VI, serves as an introduction, while the remaining three are speeches delivered before the Imperial Diet; Frankapan Modruški, *Oratio pro Croatia*, 69-74.

²⁹ Frankapan Modruški, *Oratio pro Croatia*, 120, 129 and 138.

³⁰ Adolf Wrede, ed., *Deutsche Reichstagsakten unter Kaiser Karl V. Jüngere Reihe*, Bd. III (Gotha: Königlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1901), 306 (doc. 51), 365-366 (doc. 69). Bernardin departed for Croatia on Monday, 15 December 1522.

³¹ Frankapan Modruški, *Oratio pro Croatia*, 160-161.

³² Josef Benzing, "Humanismus in Nürnberg 1500-1540. Eine Liste der Druckschriften", in: *Albrecht Dürers Umwelt. Festschrift zum 500. Geburtstag Albrecht Dürers am 21. Mai 1971.*, Nürnberger Forschungen, Bd. 15 (Nuremberg: Verein für Geschichte der Stadt Nürnberg; Senatskommission für Humanismus-Forschung der Deutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft, 1971), 255-299; Hans-Otto Keunecke, "Friedrich Peypus (1485-1535). Zu Leben und Werk des Nürnberger Buchdruckers und Buchhändlers. Mit einem Kurztitelverzeichnis seiner Drucke", *Mitteilungen des Vereins für Geschichte der Stadt Nürnberg* 72 (1985): 24, 25, 28 and 34.

³³ See above, notes 1 and 3-7. For a comprehensive bibliography on van Scorel's time studying with Dürer, see: Jehoel, *Het culturele netwerk van Jan van Scorel*, 94-100.

³⁴ Jane Campbell Hutchison, *Albrecht Durer: A Guide to Research* (New York: Garland Publishing, 2000), 183-184.

³⁵ "L. III, 292. Brustbild eines vornehmen Mannes von 1523. Der Dargestellte ist vermutlich einer Teilnehmer am Nürnberger Reichdtag von 1523." In: Eduard Flechsig, *Albrecht Dürer – Sein Leben und seine künstlerische Entwicklung*, Bd. II (Berlin – Leipzig: G. Grote'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung – Fischer & Wittig, 1931), 333. The assumption that the "bearded man" was a member of the Imperial Council can also be found in: Walter L. Strauss, *The Complete Drawings of Albrecht Dürer*, vol. 4 (New York: Abaris Books, 1974), 2222, no. 1523/9. An extensive bibliography on Dürer's *Portrait of*

Pieter Spiering van Silvercroon, it can be inferred that they were painted by the same artist at the same time, specifically at the beginning of 1523. Additionally, Spiering acquired them at the same time.³⁶ The majority of his collection later passed into the possession of Sir Hans Sloane, whose collection was purchased by the British Museum for £ 20 000 upon his death.³⁷

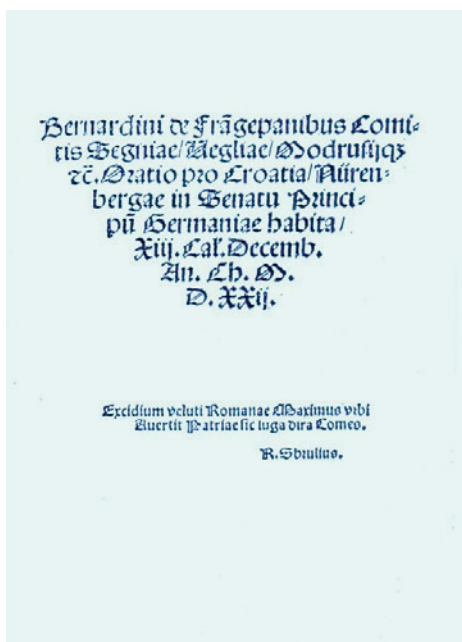


Fig. 4. The title page of Bernardin's *Oratio pro Croatia*, 1522



Fig. 5. *The Portrait of an Unknown Man* by Albrecht Dürer, 1523

Given the timeframe (November 1522 – February 1523), the location (Nuremberg), and the individuals mentioned (Peypus, Frederick II), it becomes evident

an *Unknown Man* can be found in: John Rowlands, *Drawings by German Artists and Artists from German-Speaking regions of Europe in the Department of Prints and Drawings at the British Museum: the Fifteenth Century, and the Sixteenth Century by Artists Born Before 1530*, assist. Giulia Bartrum (London: British Museum Press, 1993). The bibliography and exhibitions in which the portrait was showcased can also be accessed via the following link: https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/P_SL-5218-22 (accessed 2 May 2022).

³⁶ Aert Spiering, Pieter's brother, collaborated with Karel van Mander Jr., the son of Karel van Mander, who wrote Jan van Scorel's biography. For more information on the relationship between the Spierings and the van Manders, see: Ilja M. Veldman, "Portrait of an art collector: Pieter Spiering van Silvercroon", *Simiolus: Netherlands Quarterly for the History of Art* 38 (2015), no. 4: 228-229.

³⁷ Jan G. van Gelder; Ingrid Jost, *Jan de Biscshop and his Icones & Paradigmata* (Doornspijk: Davaco, 1985), 200-206; James Delbourgo, *Collecting the World: The Life and Curiosity of Hans Sloane* (London: Allen Lane, 2017).

that there were ample opportunities for Albrecht Dürer and Christopher Frankapan to meet. Furthermore, upon careful examination of the *Portrait of an Unknown Man* one observes a detail indicating that the sitter is, in fact, Christopher Frankapan. Unlike the left eyebrow, which starts at the root of the nose, the “head” of the right eyebrow is missing, corresponding to the blow which Andrea Civrano dealt to Christopher’s face during their duel under Muggia in November 1511.³⁸ Since Dürer’s metalpoint depiction (in which the man is not wearing a gold-decorated cap) has faded over time, the drawing should be compared with Jan van Scorel’s *Portrait of a Venetian Nobleman*, which offers a more accurate portrayal of the sitter...

Rome, 1523

Following the Diet’s decision to aid Croatia, Count Christopher Frankapan returned to his family estates, and from there his father promptly sent him on a journey to Rome to meet with Pope Adrian VI. His trip to Rome can be interpreted as an act of pledging obedience to the newly elected pope,³⁹ as well as a political mission. Christopher had two objectives to accomplish: firstly, to provide justification to Adrian VI for his father’s military assault on Senj, and secondly, to request financial and material support in the war against the Ottomans.⁴⁰

³⁸ Dürer drew the “beginning” of this eyebrow above the pupil of the *unknown man*’s eye, rather than at the right side of his nose on the frontal bone.

³⁹ Adriaan Florisz Boeyens (church prelate, rector of the University of Leuven, tutor to Emperor Charles V and instructor to Erasmus of Rotterdam) was elected pope while staying in Zaragoza. At the time, Emperor Charles V was en route to England, where he planned to meet with King Henry VIII to discuss an alliance against the French king. Lope Hurtado de Mendoza, a courtier and diplomat of Charles’s, sent a letter from Zaragoza on 18 May 1522, informing Charles that the English ambassador had already pledged allegiance and obedience to Adrian VI on behalf of Henry VIII. The Portuguese ambassador stated that his king would follow suit once Adrian arrived in Rome. Mendoza added that he had made the same promise in Charles’s name, as well as in the names of the kings of Hungary, Poland, and Denmark (!), and advised Charles to pledge allegiance himself before the Pope departed for Rome, as Adrian VI expressed pleasure at Henry VIII’s commitment; Gustav Adolf Bergenroth, ed., *Calendar of Letters, Despatches, and State Papers, Relating to the Negotiations between England and Spain*, vol. II: *Henry VIII. 1509–1525*. (London: Longmans, Green, Reader, & Dyer, 1866), 422–423. Furthermore, the diplomat and bishop Thomas Niger also traveled to Zaragoza from Croatia. There, he met with Adrian in June and presented him with a letter from Marko Marulić, which had been printed in Rome. The letter invited the Pope to join an anti-Ottoman league; Branko Jozić, “Nepoznato pismo pape Hadrijana VI. Marku Maruliću” [“An Unknown Letter of Pope Adrian VI to Marko Marulić”], *Colloquia Maruliana* XXV (2016): 154. The Pope traveled from Zaragoza to Rome only at the end of September, a period during which the Eternal City was struck by the plague. Due to his poor health (Bergenroth, ed., *Calendar of Letters*, 483) and political differences with Charles V (Bergenroth, ed., *Calendar of Letters*, 486), the ceremony of pledging obedience to the Pope extended into the following year.

⁴⁰ In his speech before Pope Adrian, Christopher elaborately described the (unsuccessful) attempt he and his father made at renewing their old rights to Senj during April and May 1523. For an account

Christopher carried out his mission in a manner almost identical to that of his father in Nuremberg. He had his speech, titled *Oratio ad Adrianum sextum pont. max. Christophori de Frangepanibus, veg. seg. Modrusieque comitis etc.*, printed in a newly established printing house founded by Francesco Minizio Calvo (Fig. 6),⁴¹ who would later gain renown as a printer. The precise timeline of Count Christopher's meeting with Pope Adrian remains unclear,⁴² but we know that Christopher spent June and July 1523 in Rome, working closely with the Pope's collaborators, the majority of whom were Netherlanders (like the Pope himself). Among them were Jan van Scorel, an old acquaintance of Christopher's, and van Scorel's patron, Willem van Enckevoirt, who was not only a trusted associate but also the sole bishop admitted to the College of Cardinals during Adrian's papacy.⁴³

This assumption is based on the portraits. The faithful copies of Adrian's and van Enckevoirt's portraits, which were derived from originals attributed to van Scorel, feature a dark background, as did the *Portrait of a Venetian Nobleman* in Oldenburg (Fig. 7) before its restoration in 1925.⁴⁴ Can we thus assume that van Scorel's *Venetian Nobleman* was not painted between 1518 and 1521, despite exhibiting elements comparable to other portraits from van Scorel's Venetian

of these events, refer to: Marino Sanudo, *I diarii di Marino Sanuto*, vol. XXXIV (Venice: Fratelli Visentini, 1892), col. 91, 95, 100 and 156. Scholarly literature on the subject has insufficiently emphasized Adrian's assistance. The Pope provided aid in the form of money (50 000 ducats!), grain, and gunpowder, which were sent to Hungary during the sessions of the Imperial Diet through Cardinal Thomas de Vio (Gaetanus/Cajetan): cf. Casparus Burmannus, *Analecta historica de Hadriano sexto Trajectino, papa Romano* (Trajecti ad Rhenum: Apud Jacobum à Poolsum, 1727), 67.

⁴¹ Francesco Barbieri, ed., *Tipografi romani del Cinquecento: Guillery, Ginnasio Mediceo, Calvo, Dorico, Cartolari* (Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 1983), 89.

⁴² Unlike the ceremonies described in detail by Marino Sanudo (Sanudo, *I diarii*, vol. XXXIV, col. 204-228), in which the distinguished Venetian embassy pledged obedience to Adrian during Christopher and Bernardin's endeavor to reclaim Senj, there is no written evidence available regarding the protocol and ceremony through which Christopher pledged his obedience to the Pope.

⁴³ For insights into the collaboration between the painter van Scorel, the cardinal van Enckevoirt, and Pope Adrian, refer to notes 65-69 in the chapter "*Maiestas Papalis* and Memory: *Arte Sacra*, Numismatic Art, and Portraits" and notes 81-95 in the chapter titled "Art Patronage during Adrian's Pontificate: Enckevoirt and What Art Might have Been" in: Sheryl E. Reiss, "Adrian VI, Clement VII, and Art", in: *The Pontificate of Clement VII: History, Politics, Culture*, eds. Kenneth Gouwens and Sheryl E. Reiss (Aldershot, UK; Burlington, Vermont: Ashgate, 2005), 341-364; Arthur J. DiFuria, *Maarten van Heemskerck's Rome. Antiquity, Memory, and the Cult of Ruins*, Brill's Studies on Art, Art History, and Intellectual History 31 (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2019), 3-4, 87 (note 23 on pg. 456) and 100 (note 62 on pg. 458), and the bibliographies provided in these works.

⁴⁴ Molly Faries, "Jan van Scorel's clerical patronage", *Bollettino d'Arte del Ministero dei beni e delle attività culturali e del turismo* 100 (1997): 109-110 (fig. 4) and 112-113 (fig. 5); Molly Faries, "Made in Venice: Jan van Scorel's Earliest Portraits", in: *Face Book. Studies on Dutch and Flemish Portraiture of the 16th-18th Centuries. Liber Amicorum presented to Rudolf E.O. Ekkart on the occasion of his 65th Birthday*, eds. Edwin Buijsen, Charles Dumas and Volker Manuth (Leiden; The Hague: Primavera Pers; RKD, 2012), 34-35 (fig. 6).

period?⁴⁵ By comparing the portraits of Adrian and van Enckevoirt, painted in Rome during April and May 1523, it becomes evident that the background of the *Venetian Nobleman* “matches” the style used for the backgrounds of the Roman portraits (i.e., a dark background). Furthermore, the infrared photographs of the *Venetian Nobleman* reveal minimal outlining, unlike the works from van Scorel’s Venetian period, which display a series of such lines, as van Scorel perfected the final sketch before applying paint.⁴⁶

By the time van Scorel arrived in Rome, he had already established himself as a seasoned portrait painter (a fact also acknowledged by Marino Sanudo,⁴⁷ who admired van Scorel’s work), which further supports the assumption that the *Venetian Nobleman* – depicting Christopher Frankapan – was likely painted shortly after Adrian’s portrait, specifically in June or July 1523.⁴⁸

⁴⁵ By examining the Oldenburg portrait using infrared reflectography, Molly Faries detected “loose underdrawn lines [...] that suggest the artist originally planned a landscape background,” similar to other portraits of unidentified men from van Scorel’s Venetian period: Faries, “Made in Venice,” 34 (cf. the entire article, including illustrations and explanations).

⁴⁶ Ibid. 32-35 (figs. 3-6). It can also be assumed that the portrait was originally painted in Venice, and that Christopher brought it to Rome as a gift for the Pope, entrusting Jan van Scorel with the task of “fixing” it by repainting the background dark.

⁴⁷ The portraying of Adrian VI by van Scorel was first mentioned in May 1523, when Sanudo, a member of the Venetian embassy, observed him working on “*dui retrati dil Papa*” [two portraits of the Pope] in the papal apartments and expressed admiration for van Scorel’s skills, despite his youth – ... *Da un'altra parte contigua a questa, da man manca vi sono infinite camere, camerini et saloti, in uno de'quali vi habita un pictore fiamengo giovane di meno di 30 anni, molto excelente per quello si vete per alcuni quadri tenia li dove lavorava, zoè dui retrati dil Papa tanto simili che parve di veder lui; ma li retrati, si dipenti come impressi, che si vendeno li in Roma, non lo someglia: Sanudo, I diarii, vol. XXXIV, col. 226. The paragraph is also referred to in: Faries, “Jan van Scorel’s clerical patronage,” 109 (note 14 on pg. 115).*

⁴⁸ *The Portrait of the Venetian Nobleman* was initially acquired by Johann Gottlob von Quandt, who traveled to Italy in 1813. This may suggest that he purchased the portrait during that time. However, it is worth noting that he also visited Rome between 1819 and 1820, during his honeymoon (cf. Andreas Rüfenacht, *Johann Gottlob von Quandt (1787–1859). Kunst fördern und ausstellen* (Berlin: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2019), 18-19). It is plausible that he had the opportunity to acquire the portrait at an art market in Rome. The portrait became part of Quandt’s collection in Dresden and, on his passing, eventually found its way to Oldenburg. For more information on the painting’s provenance, refer to the website of the RKD Netherlands Institute for Art History: <https://rkd.nl/en/explore/images/28479> (accessed 25 February 2022).

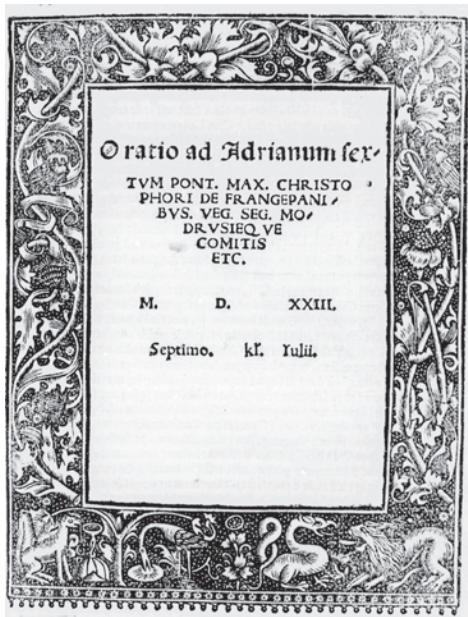


Fig. 6. The title page of Christopher's *Oratio ad Adrianum Sextum*, 1523



Fig. 7. *Portrait of a Venetian Nobleman* by Jan van Scorel, 1523

The Portraits of Count Christopher Frankapan of Modruš in Oldenburg and London

The identity of the individual portrayed in Jan van Scorel's *Venetian Nobleman*⁴⁹ has not been established as the same person whose portrait Albrecht Dürer drew at the beginning of 1523 in Nuremberg (see Figs. 5 and 7). However, a comparison of the two portraits reveals striking similarities in facial features (such as cheekbones, lips, mustache, beard, nose, eyes, eyelashes, and even a distinct wrinkle above the left eyelid). The identifying detail lies in the right eyebrow, which lacks its head. However, in contrast with Dürer's drawing, the individual depicted in van Scorel's painting dons a "gold-decorated cap", identical to the one

⁴⁹ The portrait was initially attributed to Hans Suess von Kulmbach: cf. Friedrich Kurd von Alten, *Verzeichniss der Gemälde, Gypse und Bronzen in der Grossherzoglichen Sammlung zu Oldenburg* (Oldenburg: Schulzische Verlagsbuchhandlung R. Schwartz, 1881), 96 (no. 237); Wilhelm von Bode, *Die Grossherzogliche Gemälde-Galerie zu Oldenburg* (Vienna: Gesellschaft für Vervielfältigende Kunst, 1888), 80. However, in 1996, the work was definitively attributed to Jan van Scorel: Herbert Wolfgang Keiser, *Gemäldegalerie Oldenburg* (Munich: Buckman, 1966), 45. For an article on the subject by the foremost van Scorel expert, refer to: Faries, "Made in Venice", 29-36. The latest articles with illustrations and bibliographies can be found in: Molly Faries, "Portrait eines venezianischen Edelmannes", in: *Die Gemäldegalerie Oldenburg: eine europäische Altmeistersammlung*, eds. Sebastian Dohe, Malve Anna Falk and Rainer Stamm (Petersberg: Michael Imhof Verlag, 2017), 410-412; Jehoel, *Het culturele netwerk van Jan van Scorel*, 151-156 and 336 (fig. 57).

worn by Christopher as portrayed in the *Breviary*. This specific cap, referred to as the *scufia d'oro*, *scufion d'oro*, or *scufoto d'oro*, is documented twice by Sanudo in 1518 in his descriptions of Christopher Frankapan.⁵⁰ Additionally, in the period between 1514 and 1526, Sanudo mentions it in reference to men on only four more occasions, primarily as worn by government officials or rulers.⁵¹ Notably, Sanudo also mentions such headwear when describing Christopher's father, Bernardin (however, without explicitly stating whether it was embroidered with gold thread).⁵² This could imply that the father and son shared a taste in fashion or, more plausibly, that they endeavored to present themselves as members of the upper echelons of society. Furthermore, during the same period, Sanudo mentions similar headgear with reference to women on three occasions. Christopher's wife, Apollonia, is identified as wearing one such cap.⁵³ Additionally, Sanudo notes that Venetian women, irrespective of their social standing, were prohibited from wearing such caps, whether "silver or gold", if their value exceeded ten ducats!⁵⁴ The *scufion d'oro*, akin to the one observed on van Scorel's *Venetian Nobleman*, appears a mere six times in Sanudo's records from this period, with two instances directly linked to Christopher Frankapan. It is likely that individuals of Christopher's social standing, as well as members of ruling families, would have worn such caps even if their cost exceeded the ten ducats, as exemplified by van Scorel's *Venetian Nobleman*.

⁵⁰ ... e il conte Cristoforo havia uno scufion d'oro in testa (Sanudo, *I diarii*, vol. XXV, col. 437); ... vene in Colegio vestito di veludo nuovo con uno gran scufion d'oro in testa: Sanudo, *I diarii*, vol. XXVI, col. 49.

⁵¹ In chronological order: *e lui vestito di veludo et raso negro a la usanza di Portogallo; in testa una scufia d'oro* (the Portuguese ambassador to Rome: Sanudo, *I diarii*, vol. XVIII, col. 59); ... *il Re sopra uno corsiero bajo chiaro con uno sajón d'ariento bellissimo, uno scofioto d'oro a la testa* (Henry VIII: Sanudo, *I diarii*, vol. XXIX, col. 19); ... *et in testa una scufia d'oro a la alemana con una baretta tutta coperta di penachi bianchi* (Charles V, Holy Roman Emperor: Sanudo, *I diarii*, vol. XXIX, col. 376); ... *vestiti tutti con sagioni di veludo negro, di lovi et di martori, e di raso e datmaschin pur negro e scufioni d'oro in testa*: the Brescian ambassadors to Venice: Sanudo, *I diarii*, vol. XXXII, col. 452-453.

⁵² ... *il conte Bernardin Frangipani vestito a la ungharescha con vesta di veludo paonazo e scufia in testa*: Sanudo, *I diarii*, vol. XXXIII, col. 89.

⁵³ *Lei è vestita di novo di seda, e di sopra una vesta di raso negro, fodrà di martori, e una grossa cadena d'oro al collo, e in capo una scufia d'oro a la todesca*: Sanudo, *I diarii*, vol. XXIII, col. 498.

⁵⁴ ... *che a le dicte donne de questa nostra città non sia prohibito a portare in testa scufia o scufion o altro d'oro o d'ariento; purchè non sia de recamo, et che non excieda la valuta de ducati diece*: Sanudo, *I diarii*, vol. XL, col. 749. Cf. Sanudo, *I diarii*, vol. XXXVI, col. 285. *Scufie* and *scuffioni* were crafted from a variety of materials, including cotton, silk, linen, and velvet. Those composed of gold and silver threads were respectively termed *d'oro* and *d'ariento*. Additionally, *scufie* were often adorned with pearls and other precious stones. Notably, Isabella d'Este of Mantua, who was Christopher's cousin, designed distinctive *scuffiotti*, which gained recognition as a distinctive Mantuan style in the 1520s. These headdresses enjoyed popularity not only in Ferrara, Mantua, and Urbino but also found favor in Venice and Milan, as well as France and England. Cf. Tatiana Sizonenko, "Solving the Mystery of the Sitter in Bartolomeo Veneto's *Portrait of a Lady in a Green Dress*", *California Italian Studies*, 6 (2016) no. 1: 1-36; see pages: 8 (note 19), 16 (note 34) and 16-18 (notes 34-43).

By comparing the two portraits (Figs. 5 and 7) with the ones in *Das deutsch-römisch Brevier* (Fig. 2) and the Obervellach Altarpiece (Fig. 3), several observations can be made:

- two works depict Christopher with his hair under a cap (*scufion*) (Figs. 2 and 7),⁵⁵
- two works depict Christopher with his hair down, and in both cases, it is the same length (Figs. 3 and 5),
- the man portrayed in the Obervellach painting has a normal eyebrow, which is to be expected since Christopher is depicted as St. Christopher, requiring him to be painted as a saint without defects (Fig. 3),
- two works were painted by the same artist, Jan van Scorel, who was in contact with Christopher (Figs. 3 and 7),
- two works were done by artists who also had contact with Christopher (Giovanni Andrea Vavassore, Fig. 2; Albrecht Dürer, Fig. 5),
- all works depict the same individual, Christopher Frankapan – he has been positively identified in two works (Figs. 2 and 3), while this has not been the case with the remaining two (Figs. 5 and 7).

In light of the evidence presented in this study, a compelling case emerges suggesting that Dürer's *Unknown Man* and van Scorel's *Venetian Nobleman* may be identified as portraits of Count Christopher, the son of Bernardin Frankapan of Modruš, the most prominent and influential Croatian aristocrat of the period. The possibility that Dürer's drawing represents the *Portrait of Christopher Frankapan, Count of Senj, Krk, and Modruš (Croatia)* should be considered by the British Museum (Department of Prints and Drawings). Similarly, the painting by van Scorel could be recognized as *Porträt von Christophorus Frankapan, Graf von Senj, Krk und Modruš (Kroatien)*, and this proposition merits attention by the Landesmuseum für Kunst und Kulturgeschichte (Oldenburg).

⁵⁵ By comparing the cap (*scufion*) worn by the patron in the painting *Sacra Conversazione* (attributed to Giovanni Francesco di Niccolò de Luteri, commonly known as Dosso Dossi) with the cap depicted on Christopher in *Das deutsch-römisch Brevier* (fig. 2), art historians have put forth the suggestion that Christopher was the one who commissioned Dossi's painting: Silvia Urbini, "Henry Thode fra storia, arte e romanzo. 'L'anello dei Frangipane'", in: *Storia per parole e per immagini, Atti del Convegno Internazionale*, Cividale del Friuli, 4-6 dicembre 2003, eds. Ugo Rozzo and Mino Gabriele (Udine: Forum, 2006), 319, 336-337 and 340 (figs. 9 and 10). The connection between the Frankapans and Dosso Dossi lies in their association with the ducal family of Este. Dossi served as the court painter for the Este family, while Isotta d'Este, Bernardin's mother, was herself a member of this prominent family; Frankapan Modruški, *Oratio pro Croatia*, 158-159.

List of illustrations:

Fig. 1 – detail: Perossino della Rotonda, *La rotta de Todeschi* ([Venice]: s.e., 1514), cited in: Cvetnić, “Vitez, dama, fratar, tiskar i drvorezac”, 24, fig. 2.

Fig. 2 – detail: depiction of Christopher Frankapan in *Das deutsch-römisches Brevier...* (Venice: Gregorius de Gregoriis, 1518). A copy of this work is housed in the National and University Library in Zagreb, within the “Manuscript and Old Books Collection”, under library number RIIF-4°-361. A high-resolution scan can be accessed through the following link: [https://digitalna.nsk.hr/pb/?object=view&id=578578&tify={%22pages%22:\[36\],%22panX%22:0.493,%22panY%22:0.624,%22view%22:%22scan%22,%22zoom%22:0.424}](https://digitalna.nsk.hr/pb/?object=view&id=578578&tify={%22pages%22:[36],%22panX%22:0.493,%22panY%22:0.624,%22view%22:%22scan%22,%22zoom%22:0.424}) (accessed 25 February 2022).

Fig. 3 – detail: St. Christopher by Jan van Scorel in the left wing of the Obervellach Altarpiece (*Der Frangipani-Altar*). A comprehensive photographic documentation of the Obervellach Altarpiece was carried out by Dr Danko Šourek in collaboration with Dr Sanja Cvetnić and Dr Tanja Trška on 28 August 2017, with authorization from the local parish priest. This activity was an integral part of the research project *Predložak, original, kopija: hrvatska umjetnička baština od XV. do XIX. stoljeća u doba digitalne revolucije III*, supported financially by the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, University of Zagreb. I extend my gratitude to Dr Šourek for providing the photographs of the Altarpiece with the kind consent of the principal investigator, Dr Cvetnić. Their collaboration and unwavering support are sincerely appreciated.

Fig. 4 – image of the title page from: B. Frankapan Modruški, *Oratio pro Croatia*, 131.

Fig. 5 – Albrecht Dürer, *Portrait of an Unknown Man* or *Portrait of a Bearded Man / Brustbild eines vornehmen Mannes* (1523), 151 by 104 mm, metalpoint on prepared paper, The British Museum, Department of Prints and Drawings, SL 5218.22 (Miscellaneous number: C 07.22). The use of this image has been authorized by the British Museum (Receipt number 133340).

Fig. 6 – image of the title page from: K. Frankapan Modruški, *Oratio ad Adriatum VI*.

Fig. 7 – Jan van Scorel, *Bildnis eines venezianischen Edelmannes / Portret van een Venetiaanse edelman / Portrait of a Venetian Nobleman*, 45 by 33.5 cm, oil on poplar panel, Landesmuseum für Kunst und Kulturgeschichte Oldenburg, Oldenburg (Deutschland) on display in the “Aufbruch in die Moderne” exhibition hall (inv./cat.nr LMO 15.567). The use of this image has been authorized by the Landesmuseum für Kunst und Kulturgeschichte Oldenburg (2 May 2022, contact person: Sven Adelaide).

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Ivan Jurković*

Rasuta frankapanska baština – Dürerov nepoznati muškarac i van Scorelov plemeniti Mlečanin**

Sažetak

Od 1753. godine se u Londonu čuva *Portret nepoznata muškarca* Albrechta Dürera (The British Museum, Department of Prints and Drawings, inv. no. SL 5218.22), koji je u Britanski muzej dospio donacijom Ser Hansa Sloanea nakon njegove smrti. U Njemačkoj je pak nakon smrti kolekcionara Johanna Gottloba von Quandta (1859.) u Drezdenu, *Portret plemenitog Mlečanina* Jana van Scorela dospio prodajom 1868. godine u privatnu zbirku (Grossherzogliche Gemäldegalerie) u Oldenburg, a potom 1922. godine i u Zemaljski muzej tog grada (Landesmuseum für Kunst und Kulturgeschichte Oldenburg, inv. no. LMO 15.567). Tim se djelima povjesničari umjetnosti bave od druge polovice 19. stoljeća i s vremenom su uspjeli ispravno atribuirati portrete, ali im nije pošlo za rukom odgonetnuti koju stvarnu osobu oni predstavljaju. Štoviše, u znanosti ta dva portreta nisu uspoređivana i povezivana, iako je riječ o portretima iste osobe.

Ključne riječi: knez Krsto Frankapan Modruški i Ozaljski, Albrecht Dürer, Jan van Scorel, papa Hadrijan VI., Nürnberg i Rim 1523.

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