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## The Frankapan Seat of Modruš with Tržan-grad in Jan van Scorel's *Holy Kinship* in Obervellach\*\*

According to his biographer, Karel van Mander, the Netherlandish painter Jan van Scorel spent a brief period studying with Albrecht Dürer before setting off for Carinthia, where he was warmly received by the local nobility. Historians have long been aware of the commissions from this period of van Scorel's career – the *Adoration of the Magi* and the *Frangipani-Altar*. 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. The coats of arms on the reverse of the *Holy Kinship* indicate that the painting was commissioned by Count Christopher Frankapan and his wife Apollonia Lang of Wellenburg. However, over time, art historians have come to assume that the *Holy Kinship* portrays members of the Lang family, leading to the conclusion that the work was commissioned by Apollonia's brother, Matthäus Lang von Wellenburg, Cardinal and Prince-Archbishop of Salzburg. However, the backdrop against which the family members are portrayed, featuring the town, new fortress, and castle on the hill, corresponds to Modruš with Tržan-grad, owned at the time by the Frankapan family.

*Keywords:* Bernardin and Christopher Frankapan of Modruš, Apollonia Lang, Jan van Scorel, Frangipani-Altar, Modruš, Venice, 1518 – 1519

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## Introduction

Towards the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, an ancient triptych found itself encased within a Baroque retable situated in the northern nave of the Church of St. Martin in the Carinthian village of Obervellach. The triptych comprised three panels: the central panel, measuring 144,5 x 142 cm, depicted the *Holy Kinship*, while the left panel, measuring 61,5 x 141 cm, featured *St. Christopher*, and the right panel, also measuring 61,5 x 141 cm, portrayed *St. Apollonia*. The exterior panels showcased the *Flagellation of Christ* on the left wing and the *Veil of Veronica* on the right wing. Notably, the reverse side of the central panel bore the coats of arms of the Croatian aristocratic Frankapan family of Modruš on the left, and the German noble family of Lang von Wellenburg on the right. Above these coats of arms were inscriptions in both German and Latin, alongside the year 1520. The artist's signature, namely that of Jan van Scorel, appears in the lower-right section of the middle panel, denoting the year 1519, when the painting was completed. Additionally, van Scorel's signature can also be found in the lower section of the triptych's right wing reverse side, subtly incorporated into the hem of Veronica's robe. It was initially dubbed the *Frangipani-Altar* by art historians due to the presence of the Frankapan family coats of arms and the depictions of St. Christopher and Apollonia. In 1879, the paintings were discovered to be severely damaged. Consequently, they underwent restoration efforts in 1887, 1912, and 1955, with the most recent restoration taking place in 2023.

Originally, it was believed that the paintings had been commissioned by the Frankapans. However, subsequent studies by German and Austrian art historians attributed the commission solely to Apollonia and her brother, Matthäus Lang, the Prince-Archbishop of Salzburg. The figures depicted in the middle panel, representing the Holy Kinship, were identified as members of the extended Lang family. Moreover, the fortresses depicted in the upper-left section of the panel were reinterpreted as Falkenstein Castle and the purported new tower above Obervellach.

This paper undertakes a comparative analysis of visual and textual sources to provide new insights into the aforementioned issues. It posits that the triptych may indeed have been commissioned by the Frankapans (Bernardin, Christopher, and Apollonia), with the fortress in the upper-left corner of the *Holy Kinship* panel representing Tržan-grad and the new Renaissance tower above the Frankapan seat of Modruš.

### *The Frangipani-Altar: Painter and Patrons*

According to Karel van Mander (1548 – 1606), the young Netherlandish painter Jan van Scorel (1495 – 1562) spent a brief period studying with Albrecht Dürer (1471 – 1528) before setting off for Tyrol and Carinthia.<sup>1</sup> There, he was warmly

<sup>1</sup> “Hy is oock gecomen tot Noremburgh, by den constighen *Albert Durer*, daer hy om leeren eenighen tijdt by bleef...”. Furthermore, van Mander succinctly explains why van Scorel spent but a short time

received by two noble families, who commissioned a painting each: the *Adoration of the Magi*<sup>2</sup> and the *Frangipani-Altar*.<sup>3</sup> 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 the Falkenstein Castle.<sup>4</sup> 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*.<sup>5</sup>

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with Dürer: he was, allegedly, disconcerted by Dürer’s participation in Luther’s movement. “Doch also op dien tijdt *Lutherus* met zijn leeringhe de gheruste Weerelt begon beroeren, en dat *Durer* hem der saken oock eenichsins begon te bemoeien, vertrack *Schoorel* nae Stiers in Carinthen...”; cf. Carel van Mander, *Het Schilder-Boeck* (Haerlem: Paschier van Wesbvsch, 1604): f. 235r. See also: Dana E. Cowen, *Albrecht Dürer’s “Oblong Passion”: The Impact of the Reformation and Netherlandish Art on the Artist’s Late Drawings* (PhD Thesis: Case Western Reserve University, 2014), 125-26, notes 39-41. The itinerary of van Scorel’s journey to Carinthia is discussed in more detail later in the text.

<sup>2</sup> Jan van Scorel, *Adoration of the Magi*, oil on fir panel, 44,7 x 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, no. 1124 (1996), no. 1124: 729 (figs. 13-15, note 19). The conclusion was reached based on the fact that van Scorel himself dated the *Holy Kinship* on the *Frangipani-Altar* in 1519. However, the circumstances surrounding the painting of the altar suggest that the *Adoration of the Magi* must have been completed before the *Frangipani-Altar*, specifically in 1518.

<sup>3</sup> 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. Molly Faries, “Jan van Scorel’s Obervellach Altarpiece,” *ResearchGate*, Catalogue Entry, 2 (n. 4 on p. 14), accessed on February 10, 2023, [https://www.researchgate.net/publication/367379508\\_Jan\\_van\\_Scorel's\\_Obervellach\\_Altarpiece](https://www.researchgate.net/publication/367379508_Jan_van_Scorel's_Obervellach_Altarpiece).

<sup>4</sup> On the chronology of the Obervellach Altarpiece and the damage incurred 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. The first article on the topic appeared in 1882: Rudolf Eitelberger von Edelberg, “Wien. Das Altarbild von Johannes Scorel in Ober-Vellach in Kärnten,” *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, Bd. V (Berlin; Stuttgart: Verlag von W. Spemann, 1882): 87-89. The paintings were described and attributed by: 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. Five years later, the attribution was accepted by: Henry Thode, *Der Ring des Frangipani: ein Erlebnis* (Frankfurt am Main: Verlag von Heinrich Keller, 1895): 129-38. The definitive attribution, now widely accepted in scholarly literature, was provided by: Wilhelm Schmidt, “Varia,” *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, Bd. XII (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 (Klagenfurt 1914), Heft 5-6: 133-47. The latest work on the Altarpiece: Faries, “Jan van Scorel’s Obervellach Altarpiece.”

<sup>5</sup> 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 of the *Holy Kinship* (located in the lower-right corner in the form of an open stone book), Faries

Initially, art historians identified Christopher and Apollonia as the clients who commissioned the work. However, particularly in recent Austrian literature, scholars have asserted that the work was commissioned by Apollonia and her brother, Matthäus Lang, with the *Holy Kinship* depicting the members of their family, as well as Emperor Maximilian and Charles V.<sup>6</sup> Over time, this became the accepted interpretation.<sup>7</sup>

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uncovered the presence of Arabic numerals “1519”. This finding suggests that van Scorel completed the work in 1519. 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. See also: Jos A. L. de Meyere, *Jan van Scorel. 1495-1562. Schilder voor prinsen en prelaten* (Utrecht: Centraal Museum, 1981): 9 (note 3); Faries, “Jan van Scorel’s Obervellach Altarpiece,” 1. By examining the *Holy Kinship* and the *Flagellation of Christ* (in the left exterior wing) with infrared reflectography, Faries also revealed the preparatory sketches beneath the paint layers. These sketches substantiate the claim that van Scorel employed the techniques he acquired during his time in the workshop of Jacob Cornelisz van Oostsanen (c. 1470 – 1533), but also the atmospheric perspective learned while collaborating with Dürer in Nuremberg. Friedrich Winkler, “Biblische Darschstellungen Scorels aus seiner italienischen Zeit,” *Oud Holland* 47 (1930): 35-36; 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*, ed. by Molly Faries and Liesbeth M. Helmus (Utrecht: Centraal Museum, 2011.): 24 (note 13) and 28-29 (note 59 and fig. 6a); 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, Vol. 31 (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2019): 451 (note 41).

<sup>6</sup> Ludwig Baldass, “Die Tafelbilder Jan van Scorels in Obervellach,” *Österreichische Zeitschrift für Kunst und Denkmalpflege* IX (1955), Heft 1: 101-11; Maximilian Kobalt, “Die Entstehung des Obervellacher Triptychons,” in: *1000 Jahre Obervellach, gesammelte Beiträge zur Ortsgeschichte (Festschrift)*, ed. by Werner Antoni, Karl-Heinz Frankl and Ernst Höhr, (Klagenfurt: Druckerei Carinthia, 1963): 32-39; Wolfgang Wegner, “Bemerkungen zum Wanderweg Jan van Scorels nach Italien,” *Carinthia I, Zeitschrift für geschichtliche Landeskunde von Kärnten* 163 (1973): 207-11; Stefan Krenn, “Zur Stiftung des Scorel-Altars in Obervellach,” *Carinthia I. Zeitschrift für geschichtliche Landeskunde von Kärnten* 169 (1979): 143-59; Hanno Bayr, *Die Personal- und Familienpolitik des Erzbischofs Matthäus Lang von Wellenburg (1519 - 1540) im Erzstift Salzburg unter Einbeziehung des Zeitraumes von 1495 - 1519* (PhD Thesis: University of Salzburg, 1990): 319-23; Johann Sallaberger, *Kardinal Matthäus Lang von Wellenburg (1468 - 1540). Staatsmann und Kirchenfürst im Zeitalter von Renaissance, Reformation und Bauernkriegen* (Salzburg: Pustet, 1997): 476-77; Joseph Tupping, “Das Altarbild ‘Die Sippe Christi’ von Jan van Scorel in der Pfarrkirche zu Obervellach,” in: *Jan van Scorel, Ein Leben in Skizzen*, ed. by Hanny Alders (Klagenfurt: Heyn, 1999): 194-200; 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; Lukas Madersbacher, “Die Burgkapelle als Ort verwandtschaftlicher Inszenierung – Neue Familienbilder an der Zeitenwende,” in: *Burgkapellen: Formen – Funktionen – Fragen. Akten der Internationalen Tagung Brixen, Bischöfliche Hofburg und Cusanus-Akademie 2. bis 5. September 2015*, ed. by Gustav Pfeifer and Kurt Andermann (Innsbruck: Universitätsverlag Wagner, 2018): 128.

<sup>7</sup> Meyere, *Jan van Scorel*, 7-10; Nicole Dacos, *Roma quanta fuit: tre pittori fiamminghi nella Domus Aurea* (Rome: Donzelli editore, 1995): 24 (note 6); Molly Faries, “Jan van Scorel’s clerical patronage,” *Bollettino d’Arte del Ministero dei beni e delle attività culturali e del turismo* 100 (1997): 108; Höfler, *Die Tafelmalerei der Dürerzeit in Kärnten*, 76-82; 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. by Nakamura Toshiharu (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2014): 80-81 (notes 43-45); Faries, “Jan van Scorel’s Obervellach Altarpiece,” 5 and 8 (notes 12 and 40, with an explanation of how the argument



**Fig. 1.** Jan van Scorel (1519), *Holy Kinship*, St. Martin, Obervellach, Austria

was developed. For instance, Molly Faries consistently refers to it as the Holy Kinship Altarpiece or the Obervellach Altarpiece). However, in recent times, a number of researchers have accepted the initial assumption that the painting was commissioned by Christopher and Apollonia: Elka Schrijver, “The Life of Jan Van Scorel,” *History Today* 28 (1978), no. 2: 122; 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): 68-70; 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: *Frankapani 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): 26-27 (notes 32, 34 and 36) and 29 (note 44); Gaila Jehoel, *Het culturele netwerk van Jan van Scorel (1495-1562) – Schilder, kanunnik, ondernemer en kosmopoliet*, *Middeleeuwse Studies en Bronnen* 176 (Hilversum: Uitgeverij Verloren, 2020): 105-06 and 109-13; 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: 165-66. Both articles list Matthäus Lang as co-patron, along with Christopher and Apollonia, unlike: Ivan Jurković, “The Scattered Frankapan Heritage – Dürer’s Unknown Man and van Scorel’s Venetian

However, how can this assertion hold true when there is ample evidence indicating that the work was commissioned by the Frankapans of Modruš, especially the patriarch of the family, Bernardin? To answer that question, we must revisit the brief accounts provided by Karel van Mander.

In his description, van Mander does not name the *Baron* who extended his hospitality to van Scorel. However, he does state that the *Baron* was “a great lover of painting” who wished to “give his daughter’s hand in marriage” to van Scorel.<sup>8</sup> While this description fits in with the literary conventions and tastes of the time, as evidenced in other contemporary writings, there is some truth in it.<sup>9</sup> In fact, these details subtly allude to a real individual, namely Count Bernardin Frankapan.

Firstly, Bernardin was indeed a baron of the realm (*barones regni*), a member of the highest stratum of nobility in the Kingdom of Hungary-Croatia.<sup>10</sup> Furthermore, owing to his wealth and family ties with Italian, Spanish, Hungarian, and German aristocratic and ruling families, he commanded the highest regard among members of the Croatian nobility.<sup>11</sup>

Secondly, although there have been no monographs or doctoral theses on the Frankapans’ artistic heritage,<sup>12</sup> in a number of articles Bernardin has been sin-

Nobleman,” *Povijesni prilozi* 42 (2023), no. 65: 33-56. In this article, I have highlighted the fact that Jan van Scorel was welcomed by Bernardin in Modruš (Jurković, “The Scattered Frankapan Heritage,” 35-36), where the *Holy Kinship* was painted before the painter’s departure for Venice.

<sup>8</sup> ... en woonde by eenen Baron, een groot liefhebber van schilderije, die hem niet alleen goet onthael en belooninghe wilde doen oft gheven: maer oock zijn eyghen dochter te Houwlijck...; Mander, *Het Schilder-Boeck*, f. 235r.

<sup>9</sup> Based on this description, the same conclusion was reached by: Höfler, *Die Tafelmalerei der Dürerzeit in Kärnten*, 81.

<sup>10</sup> On the etymology of the term: Pál Engel, *The Realm of St Stephen. A History of Medieval Hungary, 895–1526* (London; New York: I.B. Tauris Publishers, 2001): 91-93 and 342-44.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. Ivan Jurković, “Family Ties and Written Multilingual Heritage of the Frankapani at the Dawn of the Early Modern Period,” *Tabula – Časopis Odjela za humanističke znanosti, Sveučilište Jurja Dobrile u Puli* 17 (2020): 207-11 (and appendices on: 229-32); Bernardin Frankapan Modruški, *Oratio pro Croatia – Govor za Hrvatsku – 500. obljetnica [Oratio pro Croatia – The Speech for Croatia – 500<sup>th</sup> Anniversary Edition]*, ed. by Ivan Jurković and Violeta Moretti (Zagreb: Školska knjiga; Sveučilište Jurja Dobrile u Puli; Katedra Čakavskog sabora Modruše, 2022): 59-63 (and appendices on: 148-56). Furthermore, in his speech before Adrian VI (*Oratio ad Adrianum Sextum Pontificem Maximum*), Christopher points out that the Croatian noblemen addressed his father in the following manner: “Thou as the eldest and mightiest among us and the best known and most renowned among the princes shalt with all diligence urge our cause before our Most Holy Lord, the Pope, and the Holy Apostolic See and the Christian Princes and Kings...”; Vedran Gligo, ed., *Govori protiv Turaka – Orationes contra Turcas*, ser. Humanisti, Book 7 (Split: Splitski književni krug; Logos, 1983): 335.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. Sanja Cvetnić, “The Frankapan Family and the Political Iconography of Early Modern and Modern Croatia,” in: *Art and Politics in the Modern Period. Conference Proceedings*, ed. by Dragan Damjanović et al. (Zagreb: Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, University of Zagreb, 2019): 186 (note 6).

gleded out as “a great lover of painting” and a patron of Renaissance masters, mostly Italian.<sup>13</sup>

Thirdly, van Mander’s assertion that this *Baron* “wished to give his daughter’s hand in marriage” to van Scorel is also substantiated by fact. The artist’s signature on the reverse side of the right exterior wing of the triptych supports the claim that the paintings comprising the triptych were originally separate commissions. Additionally, the artist signed himself in the middle panel (*Holy Kinship*), which would not have been necessary had the panels constituted a single triptych from the outset.<sup>14</sup> However, it is worth noting that although Bernardin did not remarry after the death of his wife, Luisa Marzano d’Aragona (†1489), he did have two illegitimate children with an unnamed woman. One of those children was a daughter, Veronica, who reached adulthood at the time of the

<sup>13</sup> Radmila Matejčić, “Arhitektura u Vinodolu” [“Architecture in Vinodol”], in: *Prošlost i baština Vinodola – The Heritage of Vinodol*, ed. by Jasna Tomičić (Zagreb: Povijesni muzej Hrvatske, 1988): 67-82; Zorislav Horvat, “Pregled sakralne arhitekture Modruša i okolice u srednjem vijeku” [“An Overview of Medieval Religious Architecture of Modruš and Its Surroundings”], in: *Krbavska bitka i njezine posljedice [The Battle of Krbava Field and Its Aftermath]*, ed. by Dragutin Pavličević (Zagreb: Hrvatska matica iseljenika, 1997): 130-150; Zorislav Horvat, *Srednjovjekovne katedralne crkve Krbavsko-modruške biskupije [Medieval Cathedrals in the Diocese of Krbava and Modruš]* (Zagreb; Gospić: Hrvatski institut za povijest; Državni arhiv u Gospiću, 2004); Predrag Marković, “Mramorni reljefi venecijanske radionice Bon u Senju i krčki knezovi Frankopani” [“Marble Reliefs by The Venetian Workshop of Bon in Senj and The Family of Counts of Krk / the Frankopans”], *Radovi Instituta za povijest umjetnosti* 30 (2006): 9-28; Milan Pelc, *Renesansa [Renaissance Art]* (Zagreb: Naklada Ljevak, 2007): 71-72 and 291; Zorislav Horvat, “Fortifikacijska djelatnost Bernardina Frankopana” [“Bernardin Frankopan’s Fortification Efforts”], *Modruški zbornik* 3 (2009): 237-86; Ivan Braut, “Skulptura 15. i 16. stoljeća na prostoru Vinodola” [“Fifteenth and Sixteenth Century Sculpture in Vinodol”], in: *Czriquenicza 1412. – život i umjetnost Vinodola u doba pavlina [Czriquenicza 1412 – Life and Art in Vinodol in the Age of Pauline Monks]*, ed. by Nina Kudiš (Crikvenica: Muzej Grada Crikvenice, 2012): 81-90 and appendices: 151-56; Zorislav Horvat, *Burgologija: srednjovjekovni utvrđeni gradovi kontinentalne Hrvatske [Burgologija: Medieval Fortified Towns in Continental Croatia]* (Zagreb: UPI-2M PLUS d.o.o.; Sveučilište u Zagrebu; Arhitektonski fakultet, 2014); Rosana Ratković, *Srednjovjekovno zidno slikarstvo u kontinentalnoj Hrvatskoj [Medieval Wall Painting in Continental Croatia]* (Zagreb: Umjetnička organizacija Kultura umjetnosti, 2014); Kristian Bertović, *Between the Cross and the Sword: Frankapan Patronage over the Order of St. Paul the First Hermit* (MA Thesis: Central European University, 2014); Ines Srdoč-Konestra, Saša Potočnjak, eds., *Putovima Frankopana: Frankopanska baština u Primorsko-goranskoj županiji [In the Steps of the Frankopans: Frankopan Heritage in the Primorje-Gorski Kotar County]* (Rijeka: Primorsko-goranska županija, 2018). Although the list might seem extensive, Sanja Cvetnić rightfully points out that “... there is no other significant public memory of the Frankapans in Croatia, despite their important role as art patrons and political actors ... In other words, the Frankapans have been stripped of their identity and importance on the national level”: Cvetnić, “The Frankapan Family,” 186. Given this situation in Croatian literature, it is understandable that international historiography has a limited grasp of the Frankapans’ role.

<sup>14</sup> It appears that the triptych is the result of two separate commissions, with the *Holy Kinship* executed first, and the panels depicting St. Christopher and Apollonia (featuring the *Flagellation of Christ* and the *Veil of Veronica*) painted at a later date. Ultimately, it was concluded that the panels were assembled to form the triptych. Cf. Faries, “Jan van Scorel’s Obervellach Altarpiece,” 10-11 (notes 52-54 on p. 16).

painting of the *Frangipani-Altar*. It is intriguing that van Scorel chose to sign his name on the hem of Veronica's robe and that, of all the Stations of the Cross, he decided to paint the right exterior wing with the ones in which Veronica and Simon of Cyrene take center stage. The painting could represent the individuals described by van Mander: Jan van Scorel with his signature (IOANNES),<sup>15</sup> *Baron* Bernardin Frankapan (as Simon of Cyrene),<sup>16</sup> Veronica, whose hand in marriage the *Baron* offered to the young painter (as the eponymous saint).<sup>17</sup> Two questions follow from this: why did the marriage not occur and why would a high-ranking nobleman not hesitate to offer his daughter's hand in marriage to a painter? In a laconic manner, Karel van Mander concludes that van Scorel, driven by his passion for painting and his desire to refine his artistic skills, declined the offer and embarked for Venice. Nicole Dacos has rightly pointed out that this episode is consistent with the prevailing topoi and stereotypes about artists during that era. The claim is further bolstered by van Scorel's signature in the *Holy Kinship*, where he presents himself as *Pictori[a]e artis amator*.<sup>18</sup> The answer to the question of whether Bernardin would be willing to marry off his illegitimate daughter to a painter is affirmative, too. Baldassare Estense (1443 – 1504), the illegitimate

<sup>15</sup> A reproduction of the signature can be found under fig. 2 in: Faries, "Jan van Scorel's Obervellach Altarpiece," 2.

<sup>16</sup> The elderly man appearing as a bystander and witness in the *Flagellation of Christ* (wearing a turban) in the left exterior wing, as well as Simon of Cyrene in the *Veil of Veronica* (bareheaded) in the right exterior wing, depicts the same person, namely Bernardin Frankapan. On Bernardin's visit to Venice on March 13, 1522, Marino Sanudo described him as *vechio, canuto, magro, et barba bianca longa*; Marino Sanudo, *I diarii di Marino Sanudo*, vol. XXXIII (Venice: Fratelli Visentini, 1892): col. 33 and 39). Jan van Scorel's portraits are, therefore, not only comparable, but also match Bernardin's facial features around 1520; cf. Frankapan Modruški, *Oratio pro Croatia*, 106 and 158-59 (App. 11 C).

<sup>17</sup> One of the two abovementioned illegitimate children was a daughter, Veronica. At the end of 1525, Bernardin reclaimed his estate and town of Dubovac, which he had leased to his son-in-law, Gregory Štefković, as a lien on Veronica's dowry; Ivan Kukuljević Sakcinski, *Acta Croatica / Listine hrvatske* (Zagreb: Narodna tiskarnica dra. Ljudevita Gaja, 1863): 214-215 (doc. 213). This indicates that Veronica married Štefković a couple of years earlier, and the lease treaty was co-witnessed and signed by Bernardin and Christopher. See also: Radoslav Lopašić, *Karlovac. Poviest i mjestopis grada i okolice. Sa grbom i slikom grada Karlovca [Karlovac. Notes on the History and Topography of the Town and Its Surroundings. With the Coat of Arms and a Photograph of Karlovac]* (Zagreb: Matica hrvatska, 1879): 234, repr. in: Emilij Laszowski, *Hrvatske povjesne gradjevine. Mjestopisni i povjesni opisi gradova, kula, samostana, crkava i drugih povjesnih gradjevina domovine Hrvata [Croatian Historical Buildings. Topographical and Historical Descriptions of Towns, Towers, Abbeys, Churches, and Other Historical Buildings in the Homeland of Croats]* (Zagreb: Naklada autorova, 1902): 242; Marija Šerčer, "Žene Frankopanke" ["Frankapan Women"], *Modruški zbornik* 4-5 (2011): 33-34; 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): 86. The second illegitimate child was a son, John. For further details on John, see: Frankapan Modruški, *Oratio pro Croatia*, 57, no. 180.

<sup>18</sup> Dacos, *Roma quanta fuit*, 24; Höfler, *Die Tafelmalerei der Dürerzeit in Kärnten*, 81. On the signature on the hem of Veronica's robe: Faries, "Jan van Scorel's Obervellach Altarpiece," 1 and 5 (notes 8-10 on p. 14).



son of Bernardin's grandfather, Niccolò d'Este, was a successful portraitist at the court of the Sforza family in Milan and eventually became the court painter of the Ferrara family: his own brothers and their families.<sup>19</sup> As "a great lover of painting", Bernardin recognized van Scorel's artistic potential and therefore was not opposed to the idea of giving his illegitimate daughter to a painter who, like his uncle, Baldassare, would associate with secular and church dignitaries. Finally, van Scorel's signature in the *Holy Kinship* was visible when the triptych was open, and the one on the hem of St. Veronica's robe when the triptych was closed. This means that his name was always visible, albeit in a subtle manner. Additionally, he inserts himself into the painting in two instances, both times alongside the Frankapans: firstly, with a signature and a self-portrait<sup>20</sup> depicting him as a would-be member of the family, and secondly, with a signature on the hem of Veronica's dress.

Fourthly, the assertion that it was Bernardin who commissioned the painting is further substantiated by the depictions in the 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 interior right 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 represents Alexandria, St. Apollonia's birthplace in Egypt. However, upon closer examination it becomes evident that the painting portrays Apollonia Lang and the town of Senj [Latin: *Senia*, *Segnia*, German and Hungarian: *Zengg*, Italian: *Segna*], one of the towns from which the Frankapans derived their title of the Counts of Senj, Krk, and Modruš

<sup>19</sup> During the siege of Wiener Neustadt, launched by Matthias Corvinus, Bernardin escorted the Ferrara embassy from Zagreb to Esztergom. At Esztergom, the son of Ercole d'Este and the queen's sister, Eleanor of Aragon, the underage Ippolito (1479 – 1520), was to be named Archbishop. Upon his arrival, Ippolito joined Bernardin's sons Matthias, Christopher, and Ferrante in play, much to the amusement of the royal couple, particularly Queen Beatrice of Aragon, and their courtiers; cf. Luka Špoljarić, "Frankapani Modruški i put od Senja do Zagreba u izvještajima ferrarskih ambasadora na dvoru kralja Matije Korvina 1486. i 1487. godine" ["The Frankapani of Modruš and the Journey from Senj to Zagreb in the Reports of Ferrara Ambassadors at the Court of King Matthias Corvinus in 1486 and 1487"], in: *Frankapansko naslijeđe: pet stoljeća Njemačko-rimskoga brevijara [The Frankapan Heritage: Five Centuries of Das deutsch-römisch Brevier]*, ed. by Danko Šourek and Tanja Trška (Zagreb: FF-press, 2024), forthcoming. It is likely that Baldassare Estense was present at the Hungarian court at the time, given that in 1486 he painted a portrait of King Matthias's illegitimate son, John Corvinus, who would later become Bernardin's son-in-law: cf. Baldassare d'Este, *Johannes Corvinus als Hochzeiter*, 1486 (tempera on canvas, 59,7 x 45,4 cm), Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen – Alte Pinakothek München, inv. no. 12441. For more information on Baldassare, see: Edoardo Arslan, "BALDASSARRE d'Este (Baldassarre Estense, Baldassarre da Reggio)," *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* 5 (Rome: Istituto della enciclopedia italiana, 1963), accessed on February 10, 2023, [https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/baldassarre-d-este\\_\(Dizionario-Biografico\)/](https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/baldassarre-d-este_(Dizionario-Biografico)/).

<sup>20</sup> It is widely believed that the figure wearing the black hat (positioned behind the Blessed Virgin) in the *Holy Kinship* is a self-portrait of Jan van Scorel; Meyere, *Jan van Scorel*, 9 (fig. 15); Höfler, *Die Tafelmalerei der Dürerzeit in Kärnten*, 78; Bergmeier, "Die Familie Lang von Wellenburg im Triptychon," 211; Faries, "Jan van Scorel's Obervellach Altarpiece," 5.

(*comites Segniae, Vegliae, Modrusiique*).<sup>21</sup> The second detail can be found in the middle panel of the altar (in the *Holy Kinship*). The painting likely depicts the secondary seat of the Frankapans, the town of Modruš, along with the fortress (castle) seated above it (Tržan-grad, painted in the upper-left corner). Following the commission for the Khuen von Belasy family (*Adoration of the Magi*) in South Tyrol, it seems that Jan van Scorel traveled via Carinthia to Modruš before reaching Senj and there embarking for Venice, where Christopher and Apollonia were forcibly held.<sup>22</sup> Once there, van Scorel finished the panels for the triptych by completing their portraits as St. Christopher and St. Apollonia. The buildings depicted in the *Holy Kinship* correspond to the sketches and plans of Modruš dating to the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> century. Further discussion on this topic will be provided in the next chapter.

Other observations made by researchers linking the Obervellach Altarpiece with Matthäus Lang do not necessarily discount the interpretation that the triptych was commissioned by the Frankapans. These observations are as follows: Karel van Mander states that, after his encounter with Dürer in Nuremberg, Jan van Scorel set out for Carinthia.<sup>23</sup> Scholars suggest that he reached Carinthia via Styria.<sup>24</sup> However, if we consider the possibility that van Scorel first painted the *Adoration of the Magi* and only then the *Frangipani-Altar*, this route seems illogical. It would be more plausible for him to have traveled from Nuremberg (via Munich, Innsbruck,<sup>25</sup> and the Brenner Pass) to the vicinity of Merano and Bolzano in South Tyrol, where the Khuen von Belasys owned estates and castles.<sup>26</sup>

<sup>21</sup> On the depiction of Senj in the painting: Jurković, “Senj i sv. Antun Opat,” 172-77.

<sup>22</sup> On Christopher's imprisonment in Venice (1514 – 1519), where he was joined by Apollonia in 1517, see: Thode, *Der Ring des Frangipani*; Kruhek, *Knezovi Modruški Bernardin i Krsto Frankopan*, 116-33. For a comprehensive overview of scholarly literature on the subject, including a detailed account of the episode, see: Jurković, “The Scattered Frankapan Heritage,” 38-40; 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 500<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of Her Death”], in: *Frankapansko naslijeđe: pet stoljeća Njemačko-rimskoga brevijara [The Frankapan Heritage: Five Centuries of Das deutsch-römisch Brevier]*, ed. by Danko Šourek and Tanja Trška (Zagreb: FF-press, 2024), forthcoming.

<sup>23</sup> “...vertrock Schoorel nae Stiers in Carinthen...”: Mander, *Het Schilder-Boeck*, f. 235r.

<sup>24</sup> The Brenner Pass itinerary is also supported by: Wegner, “Bemerkungen zum Wanderweg,” 210. However, scholars have interpreted the term “Stiers” as referring to Styria: Krenn, “Zur Stiftung des Scorel-Altars in Obervellach,” 154-55; Meyere, *Jan van Scorel*, 7 (fig. 12); Höfler, *Die Tafelmalerei der Dürerzeit in Kärnten*, 81. See also: Faries, “Jan van Scorel's Obervellach Altarpiece,” 4-5.

<sup>25</sup> In his memoirs, Georg Hirschmair mentions Jakob Khuen von Belasy as the burgomaster of Innsbruck: “Jakob Kuen der Burgmaister von Inspruck”; cf. Theodor Georg Karajan, “Georg Kirchmair's Denkwürdigkeiten 1519-1553,” *Fontes Rerum Austriacarum*, Vol. 1: Österreichische Geschichts-Quellen, ser. Scriptores, Bd. I (Vienna: Kaiserl. Königl. Hof- und Staatsdruckerei, 1855): 444.

<sup>26</sup> The Khuen von Belasys owned several castles, including Belasi in Nonsberg [Italian: Val di Non], acquired around 1380; Neuhaus (Maultasch) [Italian: Casanova], in 1422; and Lichtenberg [Italian: Montechiaro], in 1513; Hueck, Walter von, ed. *Genealogisches Handbuch des Adels – Adelslexikon*,

After completing the *Adoration*, van Scorel likely traveled from Sterzing [Italian: Vipiteno] to Carinthia. The Latinized form of its German name, *Sterçengum*, was documented as early as 1182.<sup>27</sup> Karel van Mander's "Stiers" could thus refer to this town. Moreover, even today, the main road from Merano to Carinthia passes through Sterzing. In the Carinthian town of Obervellach, van Scorel was likely greeted by the servants of his next patrons, Christopher and Bernardin Frankapan and Apollonia Lang.

In recent times, scholars studying van Scorel's work have pointed out that the panels of the *Frangipani-Altar* are crafted from stone pine (*pinus cembra*).<sup>28</sup> It is noteworthy that this type of wood was accessible not only in Carinthia, but also in western parts of Croatia, where the Frankapan estates were situated. *Pinus cembra* can still be found in Slovenia, particularly in Pohorje, and historical records suggest that it was widespread in Gorski kotar, around Čabar, even into the 19<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>29</sup>

While it is widely accepted that Matthäus Lang commissioned the *Frangipani-Altar* soon after being named the Prince-Archbishop of Salzburg (on September 24, 1519), merely twenty days after Apollonia's death in Milan (on September 4, 1519),<sup>30</sup> it is evident that the paintings had been completed before her passing. It

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Band VI: J-Kra / Band 91 der Gesamtreihe. (Limburg (Lahn): C. A. Starke Verlag, 1987), 214-16. Although a village named Tiers [Italian: Tires] exists in the valley of Tierser Tal [Italian: Val di Tires] near Bozen, it is improbable that van Scorel spent time there, given the locations of the Khuen von Belasys' castles, particularly Neuhaus. It appears that the background of the *Adoration of the Magi* depicts the town of Terzano with the Neuhaus castle, dominated by a rectangular tower situated 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. For further insights on van Scorel's use of the grid as a compositional transfer device in this painting, albeit without the specific identification of the town as Terzano, refer to: Faries, Wolff. "Landscape in the early paintings," 728-31.

<sup>27</sup> Cf. 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).

<sup>28</sup> For an overview from August von Jaksch in 1890 to the present day, see: Faries, Wolff. "Landscape in the early paintings," 730; Faries, "Jan van Scorel's Obervellach Altarpiece," 2 (especially note 4 on p. 14).

<sup>29</sup> Cf. Dragutin Hirc, "Iglasto drveće i grmlje hrvatske flore" ["Conifers of the Croatian Flora: Trees and Shrubs"], *Šumarski list* XII (1898), no. 10: 387-88; Uroš Marolt *et al.*, "Današnja razširjenost in stanje cemprina (*Pinus cembra* L.) v Sloveniji" ["Present Distribution and Condition of Swiss Stone Pine (*Pinus cembra* L.) in Slovenia"], *Gozdarski vestnik* 74 (2016), no. 4: 179-80. On Čabar as a Frankapan estate: Emilij Laszowski, *Gorski kotar i Vinodol. Dio državine knezova Frankopana i Zrinskih. Mjestopisne i povjesne crtice [Gorski Kotar and Vinodol. Some of the Estates Owned by the Counts Frankapan and Zrinski. Notes on Topography and History]* (Zagreb: Matica hrvatska, 1923): 44-45.

<sup>30</sup> Marino Sanudo wrote the following: "On the fourth of this month [September 1519], in Milan, died the lady Apollonia, sister to the Cardinal of Gurk and the wife of Count Christopher Frankapan, who is imprisoned in Milan, where his wife followed him; her body was placed in a casket and sent to this land through Friuli, to be buried at one of the castles of the abovementioned Count, called [...] near

was she, along with her husband Christopher and father-in-law Bernardin, who commissioned them. It is generally assumed that Matthäus Lang commissioned the triptych in the name of his underage protégée, Anna Maria Lodron, Apollonia's daughter from her first marriage, and that he would have had no trouble finding a painter (namely, Jan van Scorel).<sup>31</sup> However, this interpretation faces two key challenges. Firstly, the suggested timespan (from October to December 1519) would have been too short for the completion of all the panels needed for the triptych. Secondly, this interpretation contradicts both Lang's and van Scorel's itineraries. They could not have met at the end of 1519, as Lang was spending most of his time in Augsburg, while van Scorel was in Venice.<sup>32</sup> Moreover, Jan van Scorel traveled to Venice to portray the patrons as St. Apollonia and St. Christopher, which he could not have done in Obervellach or Modruš. This implies that the panels of the *Frangipani-Altar* were painted during Apollonia's lifetime. Following her death, Christopher managed to escape the prison in Milan on October 13, 1519, allegedly after bribing his guards.<sup>33</sup> At the end of November 1519, he requested leave of the Venetian authorities (via Zuan Antonio Dandolo)<sup>34</sup> to fulfil his vow to St. Mary of the Assumption by going on pilgrim-

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Capodistria": Marino Sanudo, *I diarii di Marino Sanuto*, vol. XXVII (Venice: Fratelli Visentini, 1890): col. 630.

<sup>31</sup> For articles supporting this interpretation, see: Godefricus J. Hoogewerff, ed., *Jan van Scorel. Exhibition catalogue: 3 August – 30 October* (Utrecht: Centraal Museum Utrecht, 1955): 12; Wegner, "Bemerkungen zum Wanderweg," 210 (note 8); Krenn, "Zur Stiftung des Scorel-Altars in Obervellach," 155; Faries, "Jan van Scorel's Obervellach Altarpiece," 5-6. It would be logical to assume that the painting was commissioned a year earlier, either by Matthäus or by someone else. Cf. Jehoel, *Het culturele netwerk*, 425.

<sup>32</sup> Lang's itinerary from 1518 to 1520: **1518**: February, Augsburg → March/April, Innsbruck → July, Augsburg → end of September/October, Innsbruck → November/December, Salzburg; → **1519**: January, Wels → February/April, Augsburg → May, Frankfurt am Main → June, Mainz → July, Frankfurt am Main → August, Munich → September, Salzburg → November/end of December, Augsburg; **1520**: until July, Augsburg, with stints in Innsbruck and Salzburg → September/October, Augsburg, Löven, Maastricht, Aachen → November, Worms, Salzburg; cf. Sallaberger, *Kardinal Matthäus Lang*, 146-53, 205-07, 218-19, 227-29, 231 and 544. Jan van Scorel's itinerary from 1518 to 1520: **1518**: March, Speyer, Strasbourg → April/August, Basel, Nuremberg (?) → September/October, South Tyrol (Neuhaus?) → October/November, Obervellach, Modruš → December, Venice (via Senj); → **1519**: Venice → **1520**: Venice, the Holy Land; cf. Mander, *Het Schilder-Boeck*, f. 235r; Jehoel, *Het culturele netwerk*, 425-26; Jurković, "Senj i sv. Antun Opat," 170-71.

<sup>33</sup> Ivan Kukuljević Sakcinski, "Rapporti della Republica Veneta con Slavi meridionali. Brani tratti dei diari manoscritti di Marino Sanudo," *Arkiv za povjestnicu jugoslavensku* VIII (1865): 51-52 and for news of the escape: 65; Marino Sanudo, *I diarii di Marino Sanuto*, vol. XXVIII (Venice: Forni editore, 1890): col. 27. See also: Kruhek, *Knezovi Modruški Bernardin i Krsto Frankopan*, 128.

<sup>34</sup> Zuan Antonio Dandolo, the general superintendent of Venetian prisons, "who this illustrious *Signorina* has named our lord and master", as Christopher wrote to his brother John, proved to be a gracious and fair host not only to Christopher but also to Apollonia and her companions. They formed a strong bond, which lasted until Christopher's passing. As Christopher set out for Milan, he presented Dandolo with a ring inscribed with the motto "Spes mea in Deo est". Kukuljević Sakcinski, "Rapporti della Republica Veneta," 51. Furthermore, indications suggest a deeper connection between Dandolo

age to Chioggia [Italian: *Cattedrale di Santa Maria Assunta – Duomo di Chioggia*]. It can therefore be assumed that all parts of the triptych, completed partly in Modruš and partly in Venice, were still in Venice in the fall of 1519, probably as a votive offering to the Blessed Virgin of Chioggia, which Christopher wished to deposit at the church during his pilgrimage.

The Venetian authorities denied Christopher's request but assured him that his belongings would be promptly sent from Venice.<sup>35</sup> At the beginning of December, Christopher was still in Novigrad [Slovene: Podgrad, German: Newhaws, Italian: Castel Nuovo], his fortress on the mountainous plateau of Čićarija, northwest of Rijeka [Italian: Fiume].<sup>36</sup> Considering his itinerary in the fall and winter of 1519 – 1520, the paintings likely arrived in Novigrad sometime during November or December and were probably assembled in Falkenstein during January 1520 or in the subsequent months.<sup>37</sup> Christopher then departed for Augsburg with an entourage of twelve cavalry. Once there, he met with his brother-in-law, Matthäus Lang, who recommended him to Charles V. As a result, the emperor appointed Christopher as Captain of Rašpor and Kras.<sup>38</sup>

During the joining of the panels to the *Holy Kinship*, an anonymous artist painted the coats of arms of Christopher and Apollonia, as well as that of the Lang

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and Christopher, possibly through family ties or marriage: Francisco Javier Juez y Galvez, "Maruliana en la Biblioteca Colombina de Sevilla," *Colloquia Maruliana* 14 (2005): 200 (note 129).

<sup>35</sup> It is likely that these personal belongings included the paintings by Jan van Scorel, which formed the triptych. The notion that the triptych served as a votive offering to the Blessed Virgin of Chioggia was first proposed by Henry Thode (Thode, *Der Ring des Frangipani*, 112 and 130). For further details regarding the vow, consult: Sanudo, *I diarii di Marino Sanuto XXVIII*, col. 112-13; Kruhek, *Knezovi Modruški Bernardin i Krsto Frankopan*, 172 (mistakenly assumed the church in Svetice to be the votive offering); cf. Ivan Jurković, "Vizualni identitet Stjepana III. Frankapana Ozaljskog u crkvi »Blasene Dywe Marie na Zmolcha warhu«" ["Visual Identity of Stephen III Frankapan of Ozalj in The Church of the 'Blessed Virgin Mary at Zmolcha Peak'"], *Croatica Christiana periodica* 42 (2018), no. 82: 1-10; Jurković, "Senj i sv. Antun Opat," 171.

<sup>36</sup> "... a Castelnuovo suo castello vicino a Fiume": Kukuljević Sakcinski, "Rapporti della Republica Veneta," 66; Sanudo, *I diarii di Marino Sanuto XXVIII*, col. 112. It was here that Apollonia's remains were transported to from Milan: Sanudo, *I diarii di Marino Sanuto XXVII*, col. 630.

<sup>37</sup> 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*, year 5, vol. IX (1930), no. 18: 466; Hoogewerff, *Jan van Scorel. Exhibition catalogue*, 26; Jurković, "O grbovima," 68-69.

<sup>38</sup> Kukuljević Sakcinski, "Rapporti della Republica Veneta," 73; Matija Mesić, "Krsto Frankopan u tudjini" ["Christopher Frankopan Abroad"], *Rad Jugoslavenske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti* 13 (1870): 74; Sanudo, *I diarii di Marino Sanuto XXVIII*, col. 274 and 303; 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 (1904), no. 4: 52; Jurković, "U spomen na groficu Apoloniju Lang," note 29.

family.<sup>39</sup> Two dates are present, one in Latin above the Frankapan coat of arms (*Anno Domini 1520*), and the other one in German (*XV<sup>e</sup> und in XX Jar*). Prior to the accurate dating with infrared reflectography, this year was accepted as the one in which van Scorel finished work on the *Holy Kinship*.<sup>40</sup> However, scholars have not reached a consensus on Christopher and Apollonia's quartered coat of arms. It comprises five sections, with the sinister base point divided into two further sections. In the dexter chief point (A) is a silver six-pointed star on a blue field, while the sinister chief point (B) contains golden lions breaking bread. Both have been confirmed as Frankapan coats of arms. The dexter base point (C) contains a black cross potent [Latin: *crux patibulata*, Italian: *croce potenziata*] against a silver background. The sinister base point (D) is further split horizontally. The upper half depicts three golden *fleurs-de-lis* on a green background, while the lower half displays the Lang of Wellenburg coat of arms. This field deviates from the standard in this coat of arms. It is not solely Apollonia's personal coat of arms, as proposed by Stefan Krenn.<sup>41</sup> It appears that Christopher requested the anonymous painter to split the D point of the Frankapan coat of arms so that the three golden *fleurs-de-lis* of his grandmother, Isotta d'Este of Ferrara, are situated in the upper half, and the red-silver *fleur-de-lis* with the heraldic rose of his wife, Apollonia, in the lower part.<sup>42</sup> In this way, Christopher created a joint coat of arms for Apollonia and himself, thereby demonstrating love, respect, and gratitude to his late wife.<sup>43</sup> By commissioning the painting of the coats of arms, Christopher indirectly revealed the triptych's patrons: himself, his wife Apollonia, his father Bernardin, as well as Apollonia's brother, Matthäus Lang. The cardinal of Salzburg did not ignore Christopher<sup>44</sup>, but maintained a good relationship with him, even after his sister's untimely death.<sup>45</sup>

<sup>39</sup> The Lang coat of arms is situated to the right of the Frankapan one, following the same sequence as depicted in the woodcuts by John Andrew Valvasor (Ioannes / Giovanni, Zuan, Zoan, Andrea Vavasore / Valvassore), printed in the Frankapan Breviary; cf. Sanja Cvetnić, "Vizualna egzegeza na većim drvorezima i ukrasnim okvirima. Katalog drvoreza" ["Visual Exegesis in Large Woodcut Prints and Ornamental Frames. A Catalogue of Engravings"], 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): 83-85.

<sup>40</sup> Hoogewerff, *Jan van Scorel – Peintre*, 19; Hoogewerff, *Jan van Scorel. Exhibition catalogue*, 26; Krenn, "Zur Stiftung des Scorel-Altars in Obervellach," 156-59; Höfler, *Die Tafelmalerei der Dürerzeit in Kärnten*, 77; Jurković, "O grbovima," 69-70; Jurković, "Senj i sv. Antun Opat," 166-67; Faries, "Jan van Scorel's Obervellach Altarpiece," 2.

<sup>41</sup> Cf. Krenn, "Zur Stiftung des Scorel-Altars in Obervellach," 159.

<sup>42</sup> The dexter base point (C), featuring the cross potent of Christopher's mother, Luisa Marzano d'Aragona, remained intact.

<sup>43</sup> Cf. Jurković, "O grbovima," 63 and 67-70.

<sup>44</sup> Krenn, "Zur Stiftung des Scorel-Altars in Obervellach," 155-59; Höfler, *Die Tafelmalerei der Dürerzeit in Kärnten*, 79.

<sup>45</sup> Cf. Sanudo, *I diarii di Marino Sanuto* XXVIII, col. 274, 303 and 437-38.

The above suggests that the paintings executed by Jan van Scorel for the altarpiece, now in Obervellach, were commissioned by the Frankapan family, possibly with the financial backing of Matthäus Lang.

## On the Town and Fortresses in Jan van Scorel's Holy Kinship

The *Holy Kinship* has been extensively studied, particularly by Gustav Bergmeier. In his interpretation, he attempted to establish a connection between the purported patron, Matthäus Lang, and the imperial Habsburg family. While Bergmeier successfully analyzed the symbolism of the details, his interpretations may have been misplaced within their context. Bergmeier's observations can be categorized into two groups: 1) depictions of an unidentified town and fortresses; 2) representations of marginal figures (such as a hunter with dogs, a woman with a child), along with the depiction of symbolically charged minor details (such as a dark house with a crescent on the roof).<sup>46</sup>

### *Unidentified Town and Fortresses*

In the chapter titled *Beschreibung der Gebäude* [*Description of the Buildings*], Bergmeier provides a detailed account of the structures depicted in the *Holy Kinship*: "The central panel is divided into two sections. The lower half contains human figures, while the upper half depicts the buildings. This upper section is further divided by a massive round tower, its tip almost reaching the upper edge of the painting. To the left of the tower are the castle buildings in noticeably light colors. Below them lies a patrician house with an open gate and what appear to be outbuildings. Connecting the castle complex and the patrician house is a path, upon which a woman with a child and a man resembling a hunter with two dogs are depicted.<sup>47</sup> Opposite this idyllic scene, to the right of the tower, are noticeably darker buildings with slight signs of decay. On one of the rooftops, there is a barely noticeable crescent".<sup>48</sup> After providing this description, in the chapter *Die Erzählwege des Triptychons* [*Narrative Paths in the Triptych*] he gives the following explanation: "The two narrative paths and three narrative spaces [in the painting] are depicted in different ways. The buildings and tertiary figures (...) are the main components of this veduta-like division. The first narrative path begins in the upper-left corner of the central panel with the light fortresses. They juxtapose the Christian defense system with the foreign (Oriental) elements, and

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<sup>46</sup> Bergmeier, "Die Familie Lang von Wellenburg im Triptychon."

<sup>47</sup> In his article, Bergmeier provides images of the details on p. 213: "Abb. 8 – Detail aus der Mitteltafel (Mann mit zwei Hunden unterhalb der Burggebäude)" and "Abb. 9 – Detail aus der Mitteltafel (Frau mit Kind direkt unterhalb der Burggebäude)".

<sup>48</sup> Bergmeier, "Die Familie Lang von Wellenburg im Triptychon", 203.

the construction work on the tower tells of the building or expansion of this system". Although Bergmeier does not identify this Habsburg castle complex,<sup>49</sup> he rightfully concludes that "These can be interpreted as protectors of land and faith. The imposing round tower symbolically represents the imperial frontier. To its right are darker buildings with subtle signs of decay, with the crescent moon on the rooftop pointing to the east"<sup>50</sup> (cf. Fig. 2).



**Fig. 2.** Details in the upper section of the *Holy Kinship*: **A** – Tržan-grad; **B** – the new tower; **C** – Modruš; **a** – woman with a child; **b** – man (hunter) with dogs; **c** – crescent on the rooftop

Starting from the assumption that the painting portrays a castle complex under Habsburg control situated on the border shared with an Oriental (Ottoman?) enemy, Bergmeier could not establish whether it represents an existing or fictional urban settlement on the Christian frontier.<sup>51</sup> Nonetheless, the urban structures in the *Holy Kinship* correspond to those found in vedutas and plans of Modruš dating to the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries.<sup>52</sup> Following the extinction of the male line of

<sup>49</sup> In note 28, he simply states: "Welche Burganlagen dargestellt sind, ist unklar".

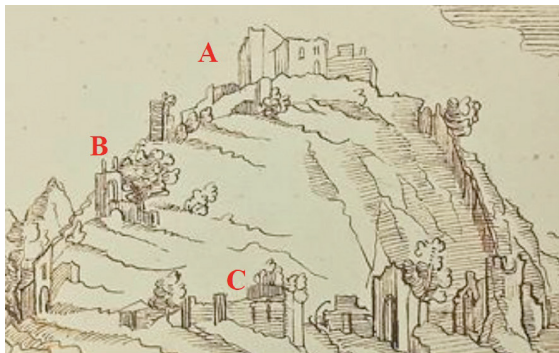
<sup>50</sup> Bergmeier, "Die Familie Lang von Wellenburg im Triptychon," 212.

<sup>51</sup> Jan van Scorel's exceptional ability to depict landscapes, cityscapes, and ruins has been examined by: Winkler, "Biblische Darschtellungen Scorels," 30-40. For a more recent publication with a comprehensive bibliography on the subject, see: DiFuria, *Maarten van Heemskerck's Rome*, 59-76.

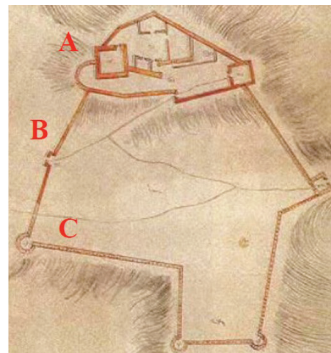
<sup>52</sup> In this article, only the veduta (fig. 3; Milan Kruhek, *Srednjovjekovni Modruš. Grad knezova Krčkih-Frankopana i biskupa Krbavsko-modruške biskupije* [*Medieval Modruš. The Town of the Counts of Frankapan and the Bishops of the Diocese of Krbava and Modruš*] (Ogulin: Matica hrvatska Ogranak Ogulin, 2008): 10; also published in: Damir Stanić, "Modruš. Usmrćeni gorostas, ili o tradiciji hrvatskog nemara," ["Modruš. The Slain Giant, or On the Tradition of Croatian Negligence"] *Hrvatska revija* 2 (2021): 27-31) and the plan (fig. 4; Kruhek, *Srednjovjekovni Modruš*, 20) are provided, although other contemporary depictions exist. These include: *ibidem*, 11 (veduta, Martin Stier, 1660), 13 (plan, Luigi F. Marsili, 1699), 21 (plan, anonymous, 18<sup>th</sup> century), 22 (veduta, Mathias A. Weis, 1729; also published in: Stanić, "Modruš. Usmrćeni gorostas") and finally, 72 and 74 (plans drawn during archeological excavations: Milan Kruhek, Zorislav Horvat, "Castrum Thersan et civitas



of this branch of the Frankapan family, the town came under the jurisdiction of military authorities and eventually became depopulated, leading to its depiction in a state of ruin in the vedutas and plans.



**Fig. 3.** Giovanni Pieroni (1639), *Modruš*, Croatian State Archives – Print collection



**Fig. 4.** Friedrich Hollestein (c. 1700), *Plan of Tržan-grad and the Modruš Ramparts*, Austrian War Archives, Vienna

A – *Tržan-grad*; B – the new tower; C – *Modruš*

Already in 1486 Giovanni Maria Parenti<sup>53</sup> described *Modruš* as “the most significant settlement in Croatia”, referring to it as “the town of Count Bernardin” and “the capital of Croatia”. Parenti also provided information on the distribution of town units, mentioning that the houses were constructed with “strong beams and covered in planks”. He further noted that he, along with the Ferrara envoy, was quartered in *Tržan* (*uno castello in una suma d’un monte*) ... an “unconquerable fortress” ... with views extending all the way to the *Una River*, which served as the natural border with the Ottomans.<sup>54</sup> However, seven years later (in 1493), upon his return from a raid in *Carniola* and *Pokuplje*, during which he plundered with an *akinji* troop of 9000 cavalry, *Hadim Yakup Pasha* ravaged and

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*Modrussa: povijesni i topografski pregled* [“Castrum Thersan et civitas Modrussa: A Historical and Topographical Overview”], *Godišnjak zaštite spomenika kulture Hrvatske* 16 (1990): 97.

<sup>53</sup> Parenti served as chancellor to Cesare Valentini, the Ferrara ambassador. His role was to document the journey of the Ferrara embassy, which was tasked with escorting Ippolito, the underage son of Duke Ercole d’Este and Eleanor of Aragon, to his residence in Esztergom. The embassy reached *Modruš* in the latter part of June via *Senj* before proceeding to *Zagreb*.

<sup>54</sup> Cf. App. 2: “Budim, 3. kolovoza 1486. | Giovanni Maria Parenti u svom dnevniku opisuje hrvatsku dionicu puta do ugarskog dvora” in: Luka Špoljarić, “Frankapani *Modruški* i put od *Senja* do *Zagreba*.”

incinerated Modruš.<sup>55</sup> He then proceeded to Krbava Field, where he decimated the combined forces of the Croatian magnates and Ban Emerik Derenčin. The sole magnate to survive the battle, along with only six of his 600 cavalrymen, was Bernardin Frankapan.<sup>56</sup> Considering the tragic events at Krbava Field, coupled with the prior sack of Modruš, Croatian scholars have traditionally maintained that Modruš never recovered, experiencing a swift surge in depopulation instead, even during Bernardin's lifetime. However, upon closer examination of the urban landscape depicted in the lower section and the fortresses in the upper part of the *Holy Kinship*, the following conclusions can be drawn:

The characteristics of the fortress/castle on the hill (A in figs. 2 and 5) depicted in the *Holy Kinship* correspond to the vedutas and plans of the remains of Tržan-grad (A in figs. 3 and 4) dating from the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries. Despite commanding a large contingent, Hadim Yakup Pasha could not pose a significant threat to Tržan-grad during the plunder of Modruš. This fortress was rightly described as “unconquerable” by Parenti. The positioning of the castle/fortress in the *Holy Kinship* aligns with the perspective of Tržan-grad from the painter's viewpoint: situated on a steep hill in close proximity to where the painter likely stood. The painting portrays the fortress/castle as a Gothic-style fortification with a prominent, west-facing square tower, consistent with the medieval skyline of Tržan-grad.<sup>57</sup>

<sup>55</sup> On the devastation of Modruš and the subsequent archeological discoveries, see: Kruhek, Horvat, “Castrum Thersan”; Kruhek, *Srednjovjekovni Modruš*, 57-59 and 79-81. For more information on the *Record of Father Martinac* [Croatian: *Zapis popa Martinca*] and its entry for 1493 (“I jošće izide baša Rumanije i Vrh'bosnê i porobivъ Posav'je pade v' Modrušu. I poče r'vati Modrušu, požga že og'njem burgê ohrs(t)nije i kloštri jošće i crikve Gospod'nje.”), refer to: Josip Bratulić, Zoran Ladić, *Hrvatske glagoljične i ćirilične isprave iz Zbirke Stjepana Ivšića 1100.-1527*. [Croatian Glagolitic and Cyrillic Charters from the Collection of Stjepan Ivšić, 1100 – 1527], ser. Acta Croatica – Hrvatski spomenici, Book I (Zagreb: Hrvatska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, 2017): 323 (doc. 138). For the latest insights into this topic and an overview of existing scholarly literature, see: Zrinka Vitković, “Glagoljički zapisi u Drugom novljanskom brevijaru (1495.): Izvori za kasnosrednjovjekovnu kulturno-crkvenu povijest” [“Glagolitic Notes in the Second Novi Breviary (1495): Sources of Late Medieval Cultural and Ecclesiastical History”], *Obnovljeni Život* 77 (2022), no. 4: 495-506.

<sup>56</sup> Recent articles on the Battle of Krbava Field include: Juraj Lokmer, “Europska sastavnica hrvatske obrane od Turaka: Družba svetoga Mauricija u opisu Krbavske bitke popa Martinca” [“European component of the Croatian defence against Turks: society of Saint Mauritius in description of the Battle of Krbava by priest Martinac”], *Croatica Christiana periodica* 28 (2004), no. 54: 19-28; Hrvoje Kekez, “Bernardin Frankapan i Krbavska bitka: je li spasio sebe i malobrojne ili je pobjegao iz boja?” [“Bernardin Frankapan and the Battle of Krbava: Did he Save Himself and a Few Others or Did He Flee the Battle?”], *Modruški zbornik* 3 (2009): 65-101; Neven Jovanović, “Antonio Fabregues o Krbavskoj bici” [“Antonio Fabregues about the Battle of Krbava”], *Povijesni prilozi* 30 (2011), no. 41: 173-87; Krešimir Kužić, “Bitka Hrvata – bitka na Krbavskom polju 1493. godine” [“The Battle of Croats – The Battle of Krbava Field in 1493”], *Historijski zbornik* 67 (2014), no. 1: 11-63; Hrvoje Kekez, “The consequences of the battle of Krbava (1493) as seen by its contemporaries,” *Review of Croatian history* 14 (2016), no. 1: 63-90.

<sup>57</sup> Even as late as the 19<sup>th</sup> century, when compared to their current state, the walls of Tržan-grad remained relatively intact (cf. lithographic postcard in: Kruhek, *Srednjovjekovni Modruš*, 98). Emilij

The round tower located beneath the fortress/castle (B in figs. 2 and 5) corresponds to the abovementioned vedutas and plans of the upper western gate (B in figs. 3 and 4). Pieroni's veduta (fig. 3) distinctly depicts not only the ruins of the tower but also the bridge, which Jan van Scorel meticulously painted behind the figure of the woman with the child (a in fig. 5). It is noteworthy that as late as 1518 Bernardin had not relinquished Modruš, despite its plundering by Yakup Pasha in 1493, as traditionally asserted in Croatian historiography. He reinforced the existing fortifications of the upper western gate to Modruš with a new, round tower. Van Scorel depicted the crane (B in fig. 5) as evidence of ongoing construction work on the new Renaissance tower, reminiscent of Leo's Tower in Senj portrayed on the right, exterior wing of the triptych.<sup>58</sup> Bernardin often led the defense on the walls and withstood Ottoman sieges and could draw from his personal experience in adapting town ramparts. He meticulously designed defenses to accommodate the increasingly prevalent firearms, ensuring the defenders' mobility along the ramparts, protected by parapets, and providing access to embrasures and loopholes. The fortifications in Bernardin's towns were influenced by Italian and Central European architecture but tailored to combat Ottoman forces (particularly the *akinji* and the *martolos*).<sup>59</sup> Like the castle/fortress (A), van Scorel accurately portrays the new tower (B) as a Renaissance stronghold at the western city entrance, consistent with archeological findings.<sup>60</sup>

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Laszowski observed that "there were square towers atop both the eastern and western parts of the hill": Emilij Laszowski, "Modruš," *Prosvjeta* II (1894), no. 24: 746.

<sup>58</sup> For more information on that tower, consult: Jurković, "Senj i sv. Antun Opat," 176.

<sup>59</sup> Bernardin reinforced ramparts (in Modruš, Grobnik, Novi, Ozalj), constructed round towers at fortress corners to minimize vulnerability to cannon fire (Ledenice, Novi, Grižane, Hreljin, Bakar, Grobnik, Ozalj, Trsat, Modruš...), and erected new, modern fortifications with sturdy round towers resembling roundels (Ribnik, Novigrad na Dobri, Drivenik, Ogulin...). Additionally, he reinforced existing settlements with ramparts to offer protection to his subjects during Ottoman raids (Zvečaj, Plaški, Grižane, Lička Jesenica, Dubovac...); cf. Horvat, "Fortifikacijska djelatnost Bernardina Frankopana," 237-82; Frankapan Modruški, *Oratio pro Croatia*, 45-46. The latter source also offers a comprehensive overview of existing literature on the subject.

<sup>60</sup> Zorislav Horvat characterizes it as "an enclosed and safeguarded area allocated for merchants and transit". He highlights the existence of "a semicircular tower within the western outer walls". The reconstructed plan illustrating these features can be found in: Kruhek, Horvat, "Castrum Thersan," 97; Kruhek, *Srednjovjekovni Modruš*, 74.



**Fig. 5.** Details in the upper-left corner of the *Holy Kinship*, **A** – Tržan-grad; **B** – the new tower; **a** – woman with a child

When describing the town unit in the upper-left corner, Bergmeier rightly draws attention to the “patrician house with an open gate and what appear to be out-buildings” and “the noticeably darker buildings with slight signs of decay”, with a subtly painted crescent on one of the rooftops.<sup>61</sup> When writing about the patrician house, Bergmeier refers to the patricians of Augsburg, the Langs. However, in addition to Tržan-grad, the Frankapans also owned houses in Modruš, as did the members of their household, also of noble birth. The patrician house could therefore be recognized as belonging to a member of the Frankapan entourage.<sup>62</sup> Additionally, Parenti states that the houses in Modruš were built of “strong beams and covered in planks”,<sup>63</sup> which is not surprising, given that the feudal estate of Modruš was known in Venice for its richness in wood.<sup>64</sup> Fur-

<sup>61</sup> Bergmeier, “Die Familie Lang von Wellenburg im Triptychon,” 203.

<sup>62</sup> Kruhek, *Srednjovjekovni Modruš*, 80 (note 91).

<sup>63</sup> *E li sono le case de travi coperte d’asse*: cf. App. 2: “Budim, 3. kolovoza 1486. | Giovanni Maria Parenti u svom dnevniku opisuje hrvatsku dionicu puta do ugarskog dvora” in: Špoljarić, “Frankapani Modruški i put od Senja do Zagreba”.

<sup>64</sup> In 1471, Bernardin’s father, Stephen, offered the Venetian Arsenal 1000 rows and an additional 5000 to the Venetian Senate. Venetian authorities agreed to his terms, provided a fair price was reached: Davor Salihović, ed., *Monumenta varia ad historiam mediaevalis Croatiae vicinarumque partium pertinentia. Ab anno 1469 ad annum 1490 / Razni spomenici koji se odnose na povijest srednjovjekovne Hrvatske i okolnih krajeva. Od godine 1469. do godine 1490. / Various documents related*

thermore, van Scorel painted the houses exactly as described by Parenti: urban houses “covered in planks”, with buildings in the country in the St. Apollonia panel constructed of wood with thatched roofs,<sup>65</sup> as was the case with traditional architecture in the Velebit area until the 20<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>66</sup> When considering the “noticeably darker buildings with slight signs of decay”, beyond the symbolic significance of color (darker) and the association with the enemy of Christendom in the East (crescent), attention should also be given to the condition of the steep roofs. These are depicted as covered in planks and low vegetation, suggesting a state of neglect that would not have been easily remedied (Fig. 6). Finally, it might appear odd that not a single church is depicted in the *Holy Kinship*. However, this is consistent with the skyline of the town observed by van Scorel from his vantage point while painting. The churches of the Holy Trinity, St. Michael, and St. Stephen were situated in Modruš, to his right (in other words, to the east). Behind him (to the southeast) was the episcopal complex with the cathedral (St. Mary), along with an older church dedicated to St. Mark, both of which were protected by ramparts.<sup>67</sup> These observations align with archeological findings in Modruš.

In light of the above, it can be concluded that Jan van Scorel began painting real landscapes and vedutas not upon his arrival in the Holy Land in 1521, as previously suggested by scholars, but rather when working on the *Adoration of the Magi* for the Khuen von Belasys<sup>68</sup> and the Obervellach Altar for the Frankapans. These are not mere “idyllic towns and castles”, but rather precise depictions of the castle of Neuhaus with Terlan in Tyrol in the *Adoration of the Magi*, along with Senj in the right exterior wing,<sup>69</sup> and Modruš with Tržan-grad and the tower under construction in the central panel of the *Frangipani-Altar*. The new tower in the *Holy Kinship* is depicted as being closer to the viewer. Van Scorel’s brushstrokes are therefore clear and precise, and the color warmer, unlike the background depiction of Tržan-grad, which is rendered with softer strokes and in less saturated, bluish hues. This indicates that the young painter was becoming acquainted with atmospheric perspective, perhaps influenced by Dürer. However, the *Holy Kinship* was not rendered in linear perspective (with the objects foreshortened). Van Scorel approached this painting semantically, emphasizing the significance of certain objects by portraying them as larger and closer, such

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to the history of medieval Croatia and neighbouring areas. From 1469 to 1490. (Zadar: Državni arhiv u Zadru, 2022): 159-60 (doc. 67).

<sup>65</sup> Figures 2 and 3 in: Bergmeier, “Die Familie Lang von Wellenburg im Triptychon,” 198 and 199.

<sup>66</sup> Cf. Zdravko Živković, *Hrvatsko tradicijsko graditeljstvo [Croatian Traditional Architecture]* (Zagreb: Ministarstvo kulture. Uprava za zaštitu kulturne baštine, 2013): especially 141-96.

<sup>67</sup> Compare the plan by F. Hollestein (Fig. 4) with the reconstruction of the historical topography of Modruš provided in: Kruhek, *Srednjovjekovni Modruš*, 72.

<sup>68</sup> See note 26.

<sup>69</sup> Jurković, “Senj i sv. Antun Opat,” 172-77.

as the new tower and Tržan-grad.<sup>70</sup> Iconographically, the painting can be easily deciphered by considering the extended family as that of Christopher and Bernardin Frankapan: the saintly attributes point not to the Langs and Habsburgs, but the Frankapans. An article on the subject is forthcoming.

### ***Details: Previous Scholarly Insights***

In his analysis of the *Holy Kinship*, Gustav Bergmeier highlights two details, accompanied by illustrations in his publication. He draws attention to the pathway linking the castle complex and the patrician house, where “a woman with a child and a man resembling a hunter with two dogs are depicted”.<sup>71</sup> The woman and the child (a in figs. 2 and 5) symbolically embody the vulnerable members of the community who are unable to defend themselves and thus require protection in times of peril. The new tower represents a place of refuge, with the patricians — towards whose house the woman and child are heading — assuming the role of guardians.<sup>72</sup> Another notable figure on the pathway is that of “a man resembling a hunter with two dogs”. These hunting dogs, likely greyhounds, are depicted walking on a leash ahead of the hunter, who is carrying a saber and wearing a cap. This detail suggests that the hunter serves seigniorial lords who employed dogs for hunting in times of peace and as aids in battle during times of war.<sup>73</sup> Both details are situated in the left portion of the painting, which Bergmeier rightly interprets as representing “the protectors of land and faith”. Here, the light, ancient fortress/castle atop the steep hill and the imposing round tower symbolize the imperial frontier.<sup>74</sup> This assertion is supported by historical records; even the Ferrara envoy, Parenti, expressed astonishment at the panoramic views from this impregnable fortress, which extended all the way to the Una River, which served as the natural border with the Ottomans.<sup>75</sup>

Furthermore, Bergmeier skillfully juxtaposes these details with the presence of the crescent on the rooftop within the “darker” section of the painting (c in figs. 2 and

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<sup>70</sup> In contrast, van Scorel employed a combination of linear and atmospheric perspectives in rendering Senj and the mountain range of Velebit in the right exterior wing of the triptych.

<sup>71</sup> Bergmeier, “Die Familie Lang von Wellenburg im Triptychon,” 203 and figures 8 and 9 on p. 213.

<sup>72</sup> On Bernardin as protector of his subjects from the Ottoman threat, see: Frankapan Modruški, *Oratio pro Croatia*, 38-41 and 45-46.

<sup>73</sup> For more information on visual representations of hunting dogs in both times of war and peace, consult: Richard Almond, *Medieval Hunting* (Thrupp, Stroud: Sutton Publishing Limited, 2003): 58-59. The monograph interprets hunting as both an economic necessity and a manifestation of the medieval need to live in accordance with nature. Almond highlights that members of all strata of medieval society participated in (and enjoyed) hunting.

<sup>74</sup> Bergmeier, “Die Familie Lang von Wellenburg im Triptychon,” 212.

<sup>75</sup> *Del dicto castello se vede le confine del Turcho che sono ad uno fiume dicto Uno*: Cf. App. 2: “Budim, 3. kolovoza 1486. | Giovanni Maria Parenti u svom dnevniku opisuje hrvatsku dionicu puta do ugarskog dvora” in: Špoljarić, “Frankapani Modruški i put od Senja do Zagreba”.

6). Drawing from this observation, he infers that the crescent symbolizes the East.<sup>76</sup> Indeed, when considering the artist's viewpoint, the house bearing the crescent is positioned to his right, or to the east. Given that this entire section is depicted in darker tones, Bergmeier's proposition regarding the "first narrative path [in the triptych], beginning in the upper-left corner of the central panel with the light fortresses" in the west, which "juxtaposes the Christian defense system with the foreign (Oriental)" adversary, allegorically represented by the darker buildings to the east "with the slight signs of decay" and "the crescent on the rooftop", holds merit.<sup>77</sup> However, as demonstrated above, this does not symbolize an imaginary Oriental adversary on the imperial frontier. Rather, it represents the Ottoman threat at the doorstep of the Frankapan stronghold of Modruš and the Tržan-grad fortress.



Fig. 6. The upper-right corner of the *Holy Kinship*, c – the crescent on the rooftop

### In Lieu of a Conclusion

The present-day inhabitants of Modruš, numbering around a hundred, have inherited a splendid Renaissance portrayal of a segment of their town, including the fortress overlooking it. Gratitude is owed to two remarkable individuals. Firstly, the youthful and intrepid Jan van Scorel, who ventured not only to centers of political and cultural prominence like Nuremberg, Venice, and Rome, but also to places where Christians lived in constant fear of Muslim incursions, including Modruš

<sup>76</sup> Bergmeier, "Die Familie Lang von Wellenburg im Triptychon," 212.

<sup>77</sup> Bergmeier, "Die Familie Lang von Wellenburg im Triptychon," 212.

and Senj in Croatia, and Bethlehem in the Holy Land. Secondly, the elderly Count Bernardin Frankapan, who persisted in his love and patronship of the arts, despite his decade-long struggle against the Ottomans. Over five centuries have elapsed since the veduta of Modruš with Tržan-grad and the new tower was unveiled to the faithful of Falkenstein Castle, or more precisely, to the parishioners of St. Martin in Obervellach. This rendition stands as the oldest depiction of Modruš, situated in the central panel of the Holy Kinship, pre-dating Giovanni Pieroni's sketch from 1639. Alongside the fortifications, the painting includes representations of the western gate and the associated structures. Unfortunately, it does not encompass the southeastern part of Modruš, featuring the churches, the episcopal complex, and the fortifications. Nevertheless, Jan van Scorel has given the inhabitants of Modruš (and Ogulin) the earliest depiction of their town, executed in accordance with Bernardin's instructions and unmatched in its beauty.

### List of illustrations

**Fig. 1** – *Holy Kinship*, the middle panel of the Obervellach Altarpiece by Jan van Scorel. Located in the apse of the left nave of the Church of St. Martin in Obervellach. 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. 2** – Detail: Upper section of the *Holy Kinship*. Reproduced with the kind permission of the principal investigator of the research project *Predložak, original, kopija...*

**Fig. 3** – Detail: Reproduced with the kind permission of the publisher. Kruhek, *Srednjovjekovni Modruš*, 10.

**Fig. 4** – Detail: Reproduced with the kind permission of the publisher. Kruhek, *Srednjovjekovni Modruš*, 20.

**Fig. 5** – Detail: Upper-left section of the *Holy Kinship*. Reproduced with the kind permission of the principal investigator of the research project *Predložak, original, kopija...*

**Fig. 6** – Detail: Upper-right section of the *Holy Kinship*. Reproduced with the kind permission of the principal investigator of the research project *Predložak, original, kopija...*



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Ivan Jurković\*

## Frankapanski Modruš s Tržan-gradom na slici *Sveto Rodbinstvo* Jana van Scorela u Obervellachu \*\*

### Sažetak

Nizozemski je slikar Jan van Scorel prema njegovu životopiscu, Karel van Manderu, kratko naukovao kod Albrechta Dürera nakon čega je otputovao za Korušku, gdje ga je lokalno plemstvo izvrsno primilo. Na tom je putu odradio historiografiji dobro poznate dvije narudžbe – *Poklonstvo kraljeva* (za tirolsku plemenitu obitelj Khuen von Belasy) i *Frankapanski oltar* (1519.). Potonje je djelo (prvotno triptih) “modernizirano” i 1692. ugrađeno u barokni oltar koji se i danas nalazi u crkvi sv. Martina u koruškome mjestu Obervellach. Zahvaljujući grbovima na poleđini središnje slike (*Sveto Rodbinstvo*) historiografiji su također poznati i naručitelji triptiha – knez Krsto I. Frankapan i supruga mu Apolonija Lang od Wellenburga. No povjesničari su umjetnosti s vremenom zaključili da su upravo na slici *Svetog Rodbinstva* portretirani članovi obitelji Lang pa su stoga konstatairali kako je riječ o narudžbi kardinala i salzburškog nadbiskupa Mateja, Apolonijinog brata. Oslici ambijenta (grada i nove tvrđave te dvorca na brdu) u kojem je portretirano niz pripadnika očigledno iste obitelji (kao *Sveto Rodbinstvo*), međutim, odgovaraju vizuri tadašnjega frankapanskog Modruša s Tržan-gradom.

*Ključne riječi:* Bernardin i Krsto Frankapan Modruški, Apolonija Lang, Jan van Scorel, *Frankapanski oltar* u Obervellachu, Modruš, Venecija, 1518. – 1519.

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