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Joan A. Holladay

Some Arguments for a Wider View of Cologne Book Painting in the Early Fourteenth Century

I am pleased to acknowledge the help of the curators and librarians who allowed me to consult manuscripts in their collections. Judith Oliver brought me up-to-date on some recent bibliography, and she and Karen Gould made helpful comments on an earlier draft of this article; I thank them both warmly. I am also grateful to Verena Kessel for sharing her thoughts on Cologne painting over the years. Grants from the University Research Institute at the University of Texas at Austin provided support for research and for the purchase of photographs.

1 See the works of Eberhard Galley, Hermann Knaus, Gisela Plotzek-Wederhake, and Juliana Kirschbaum, cited in notes 2, 5, 8, and 9 below. The most recent publication on the Wettinger Gradual (Aarau, Kantonsbibliothek, MsWettFm 1–3), which I also consider a Cologne work, concentrates on the artists' sources; Hoegger, Peter, *The Fourteenth-Century Gradual of Wettingen*, in: 1000 Years of Swiss Art, ed. Heinz Horat, New York 1992, pp. 34–43.

2 Plotzek-Wederhake 1974, Plotzek-Wederhake 1977, Budde 1986, pp. 21–32.

3 Eichner 1977, p. 194. This street, on the site of the Roman «decumanus», has preserved its name to the present day.

4 Wolfram von Eschenbach, *Parzival*, ed. Karl Lachmann, tr. Dieter Kühn, commentary by Eberhard Nellman (Bibliothek des Mittelalters 8, Bibliothek deutscher Klassiker 110), Frankfurt a.M. 1994, vol. 1, p. 266:

als uns diu äventiure gieht,
von Kölne noch von Mästrieht
kein schiltære entwürfe in baz
denn alser üfem orse saz. (158:13–16)

The modern German in the parallel translation translates «schiltære» as «Maler». The English translation uses «shield painter», see ed. A. T. Hatto, Harmondsworth 1980, p. 89. See below, p. 14.

In the years around 1300, Cologne was the third largest city north of the Alps, ranking behind only Paris and London in population. Like these two capitals, Cologne was a busy trade center. Its location on the Rhine made it a transfer and storage point for goods being shipped in both directions; these transactions brought together local businessmen and foreign merchants and provided income for the city.

Judging by the numbers of preserved works of art, Cologne's artistic life was lively as well. Yet the study of painting in Cologne in the early years of the fourteenth century remains curiously fragmented. Essays, catalog entries, and inventory volumes have tended to treat groups of closely related works, adding new works here and there, and until recently, concentrating on their sources elsewhere in Europe.¹ The wealth of manuscripts generally agreed to have been painted in Cologne has been grouped and placed in chronological order, with one style neatly succeeding another through the first years of the century.² This paper will argue for a wider view of Cologne manuscript painting, one that simultaneously takes into account stylistic and documentary evidence. This broader view will extend both to the wide variety of painting styles practiced by the city's numerous illuminators and to the professional identification of the anonymous illuminators themselves. While all the manuscripts and much of the evidence cited here have been previously adduced in the scholarly literature, they have typically been used in a narrower sense, to develop the identity of a single workshop or to situate an isolated manuscript. The focus here will be on the big picture.

At the end of the twelfth century the city's painters were numerous enough that their concentration in a single street provided the «Schildergasse» with its name.³ Early in the thirteenth century Wolfram von Eschenbach mentioned Cologne in passing, referring to the quality of painting executed there.⁴ While there are few surviving thirteenth-century works, some fifty known manuscripts

5

Fig. 1: Bible from Gross St. Martin, fol. 6v: Genesis initial, 1310s, 48 x 34 cm, Düsseldorf, Universitätsbibliothek (on loan from the city of Düsseldorf), Ms. A5.

5 Galley, Eberhard, *Miniaturen aus dem Kölner Klarissenkloster: Ein Kapitel rheinischer Buchmalerei des 14. Jahrhunderts*, in: *Aus der Welt des Bibliothekars. Festschrift für Rudolf Juchhoff zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. Kurt Ohly/Werner Kreig, Cologne 1959, pp. 15–28, here p. 15, and Galley, Eberhard, *Noch einige Bemerkungen zur Kölner Buchmalerei der Gotik*, in: *Archiv für Geschichte des Buchwesens* 3, 1960/61, cols. 581–594, here col. 581.

6 See, for example, Vitzthum, Georg, *Die Pariser Miniaturmalerei von der Zeit des hl. Ludwig bis zu Philipp von Valois und ihr Verhältnis zur Malerei in Nordwesteuropa*, Leipzig 1907, p. 198 and the works cited in note 2 above.

7 The two manuscripts are Cologne, Diözesanbibliothek, Ms. 1B and Bonn, Universitätsbibliothek, Ms. 384. The inscription on fol. 1v of the Cologne manuscript reads »Ego frater iohannes de valkenburg scripsi et notavi et illuminavi istud graduale et complevi anno domini millesimo ducesimo LXXX nono«. The inscription on fol. 2v of the Bonn manuscript is identical, except for the spelling of the date: »m°.cc°.nonagesimo.nono«. For the most recent detailed discussion of the style of Johannes von Valkenburg and his sources, see the important article by Oliver, Judith, *The Mosan Origins of Johannes von Valkenburg*, in: *Wallraf-Richartz-Jahrbuch* 40, 1978, pp. 23–37.

8 Düsseldorf, Universitätsbibliothek, Ms. A5. The group of works around the Bible has been defined by two essays in Stefan Lochner (colloquium vol.) 1977: Plotzek-Wederhake 1977, and Kirschbaum, Juliane, *Ein Kölner Chorbuch des frühen 14. Jahrhunderts*, in: *Vor Stefan Lochner (colloquium vol.)* 1977, pp. 76–80.

9 Darmstadt, Hessische Landesbibliothek, Mss. 837, 874, and 876. Galley, Eberhard, *Eine Kölner Buchmalerwerkstatt aus der ersten Hälfte des 14. Jahrhunderts*, in: *Düsseldorfer Jahrbuch* 46, 1954, pp. 121–136; Galley 1960/61 (as in note 5); Knaus, Hermann, *Johann von Valkenburg und seine Nachfolger*, in: *Archiv für Geschichte des Buchwesens* 3, 1960/61, cols. 57–76; and the catalog entries by Knaus in: Eizenhöfer, Leo/Knaus, Hermann, *Die liturgischen Handschriften der Hessischen Landes- und Hochschulbibliothek Darmstadt* (Die Handschriften der Hessischen Landes- und Hochschulbibliothek Darmstadt 2), Wiesbaden 1968, nos. 36–38, pp. 123–134. — Ms. 874 was originally made for the parish church of St. Severin, but had arrived at St. Kunibert before about 1485, where it was significantly expanded (Knaus 1968, pp. 133–135).

10 Galley 1959 (as in note 5). See, more recently, Benecke, Sabine, *Randgestaltung und Religiosität. Die Handschriften aus dem Kölner Kloster St. Klara*, Ammersbek bei Hamburg 1995.

11 Plotzek-Wederhake 1974 and Plotzek-Wederhake 1977.

12 Plotzek-Wederhake 1977, p. 69, comes to this conclusion as well. — For a similar pluralistic situation in contemporary Cologne sculpture, see Schmoll gen. Eisenwerth, J. A., *Stilpluralismus statt*

and fragments⁵ and about half as many paintings on panels and walls point to a renewed flurry of activity in the first half of the fourteenth century.

The history of Gothic painting in Cologne traditionally begins with Johannes von Valkenburg.⁶ The two graduals that he wrote, noted, and illuminated for the Franciscan house in which he was a brother show not only the distant influence of Parisian court painting from the reign of St. Louis, but more local influences from the Meuse Valley.⁷ A decade later, in the 1310s, a group of works centering around a Bible from Gross St. Martin develops Johannes' forms, combining them with a renewed contact with Parisian painting (fig. 1).⁸ About 1330, a more popular painting style, which combined strong linearity with lively doll-like figures, characterized two groups of works, defined around three missals from St. Kuniibert, now in Darmstadt (figs. 2–5) and the frontispieces of the »Gaffel Windeck«'s inventory book (fig. 6).⁹ Finally, in the years about mid-century, the works associated with the Clarissan nun Loppa de Speculo use an elongated figure style set into lush decorative initials and page borders.¹⁰

This simplified picture of Cologne illumination, with one painting style dominating each decade, suggests a linear development from one group to the next, with each school of painters giving way to its successor.¹¹ Yet surely the situation was more complicated than this. The idea of a straight evolution is too simple a picture for painting in this international meeting place where large numbers of artists were certainly active.¹²

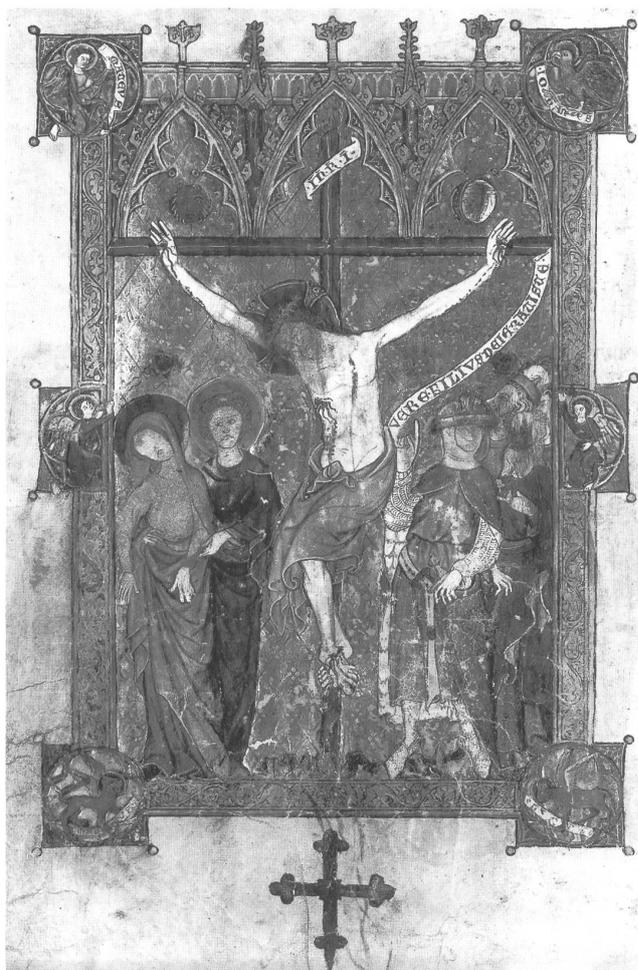
Within the last fifteen years, this simplified picture of succeeding styles has already started to break down. With the introduction of other manuscripts into the discussion, each arbitrary ten year period of painting in Cologne is now provided with at least one alternative, works that testify to the variety of the city's artistic production. No longer is Johannes von Valkenburg the sole contender for the honor of having initiated a new western style in the metropolitan city; Judith Oliver has identified works by slightly earlier miniaturists who had already introduced north French and Mosan stylistic elements into Cologne.¹³ A Gradual made for the Dominican Holy Cross cloister between 1310 and 1320 (fig. 7) likewise provides an option to the style of the Gross St. Martin Bible group that was more prevalent in these years (fig. 1).¹⁴ Careful observation of several of the manuscripts mentioned above allows us to enlarge our view of Cologne painting with the work of a number of other hands. Kirschbaum, in her study of the unnumbered Antiphony now in the parish church St. Margareta in Brühl, a member of the group related to the Bible from Gross St. Martin, identifies a second hand in the miniature of the Resurrection.¹⁵ The larger head and hands of the Christ and his generally stockier proportions, along with the playfully staged placement of the three half-length sleeping soldiers, indeed point to an artist whose work is not clearly identifiable elsewhere in this manuscript or in the others of this group.

The clear presence of a yet another master in a work of the Gross St. Martin Bible group can be seen in another Antiphony, Cologne, Diözesanbibliothek, Ms. 149. The first two miniatures, the Pentecost represented on folio 4v and the Trinity on folio 14v (fig. 8), are by a hand whose monumental, dramatic style has little to do with the illuminations in the rest of the manuscript. The execution of these two initials by another master is all the more striking since this manuscript

*In principio
pro creatura
Dei: caeli et
terram:* Incipit liber genesis.

Terra autem erat inanis et uacua;
et tenebre super faciem abyssi: et
spiritus dei ferebatur super aquas.
Dixitque deus: Fiat lux. Et facta
est lux. Et uidit deus lucem quod
esset bona: et diuisit lucem a tene-
bris. Appellauitque lucem diem: et
tenebras noctem. Factumque est uel-
pere et mane: dies unus. Dixit quoque
deus: Fiat firmamentum in medio a-
quarum: et diuidat aquas ab aquis.
Et fecit deus firmamentum: diui-
sitque aquas que erant sub firma-
mento. ab hijs que erant super fir-
mamentum. Et factum est ita. Do-
cauitque deus firmamentum celum.
Et factum est uespere et mane: dies
secundus. Dixit uero deus. Congre-
gentur aque que sub celo sunt in lo-
cum unum: et appareat arida. Factum
que est ita. Et uocauit deus aridam
terram: congregationesque aquarum
appellauit maria. Et uidit deus quod
esset bonum. Et ait. Germinet terra
herbam uirentem et facientem semen.
et lignum pomiferum faciens fructum
iuxta genus suum: cuius semen in
semetipso sit super terram. Et factum
est ita. Et protulit terra herbam ui-
rentem. et afferentem semen iuxta
genus suum: lignumque faciens fruc-
tum. et habens unumquodque semen
secundum speciem suam. Et uidit deus
quod esset bonum. Factumque est uespe-
re et mane: dies tertius. Dixit autem
deus. Fiant luminaria in firmame-
to celi: et diuidant diem ac noctem.

Fig. 2: Missal from St. Kunibert, fol. 223v: Crucifixion, ca. 1330, 38,3 x 26,8 cm, Darmstadt, Hessische Landesbibliothek, Ms. 876.



Einheitszwang. Zur Kritik der Stilepochen-Kunstgeschichte, in: *Beiträge zum Problem des Stilpluralismus*, ed. W. Hager/N. Knopp (Studien zur Kunst des Neunzehnten Jahrhunderts 38), Munich 1977, pp. 9–19, here pp. 13–14. Schmoll suggests the co-existence of six concurrent styles in Cologne sculpture in the first quarter of the fourteenth century.

13 Oliver, Judith, *The French Gothic Style in Cologne: Manuscripts before Johannes von Valkenburg*, in: *Miscellanea Neerlandica*, Opstellen voor Dr. Jan Deschamps ter Gelegenheid van zijn zeventigste Verjaardag, ed. E. Cockx-Indestege/F. Hendrickx, Louvain 1987, pp. 381–396.

14 Cologne, Diözesanbibliothek, Ms. 173. Published in Vor Stefan Lochner (exh. cat.) 1974, no. 70, p. 129. Sixteen of the illuminations from this manuscript are illustrated in color in the *Kölner Dombild Kalender* 1987, Cologne 1986. See also Jesberger, Bettina, *Ein Dominikanisches Graduale aus dem Anfang des 14. Jahrhunderts: Cod. 173 der Diözesanbibliothek Köln*, Cologne 1986.

15 Kirschbaum 1977 (as in note 8), p. 77, n. 4. This manuscript has been badly damaged and then restored, making it extremely difficult to tell anything about the book's codicology. The Resurrection miniature clearly belongs to this book, however, since it is one of the miniatures that was never snipped from its page.

16 Cologne, Dombibliothek, Ms. 263 has no seventh miniature to correspond to that of Christ preaching on fol. 201r in Diözesanbibliothek, Ms. 149. — The later material added into separate quires at the ends of both codices also corresponds closely in content and initial style and suggests that they were kept together until relatively recent times. I am grateful to Susanna Spickale, who was preparing an M.A. thesis at the University of Cologne on Ms. 263 in the summer of 1987, for sharing her observations with me. See also Jezler, Peter, *Himmel, Hölle, Fegefeuer. Das Jenseits im Mittelalter*, exh. cat. Schweizerisches Landesmuseum, Zurich 1994, no. 154, p. 370.

has a clear pendant in Cologne, Dombibliothek, Ms. 263. The image cycles in these two codices correspond closely in iconography and style and convincingly indicate that the two manuscripts were made as a pair.¹⁶

The presence of these other masters in works of the Gross St. Martin Bible group is important for it allows us to break down still further the idea of stylistic homogeneity in Cologne in the decade of the 1310s. This large group of closely related manuscripts now represents only one of a number of styles being practiced simultaneously; while the Gross St. Martin Bible group was perhaps the most popular, it must now be seen alongside the Dominican Gradual for the Holy Cross cloister, the work of the Resurrection painter in the Brühl Antiphonary, and the illuminations at the beginning of Diözesanbibliothek, Ms. 149. While the stylistic group defined around Gross St. Martin Bible may have dominated the book painting scene, clearly the artists working in this style did not exclude or ignore other styles; indeed they accepted them, cooperating with artists outside their immediate sphere on collaborative projects.

Other works executed a full decade later indicate that these are not isolated examples but that this variety and collaboration were standard practice. The large group of works defined around three missals now in Darmstadt shows striking

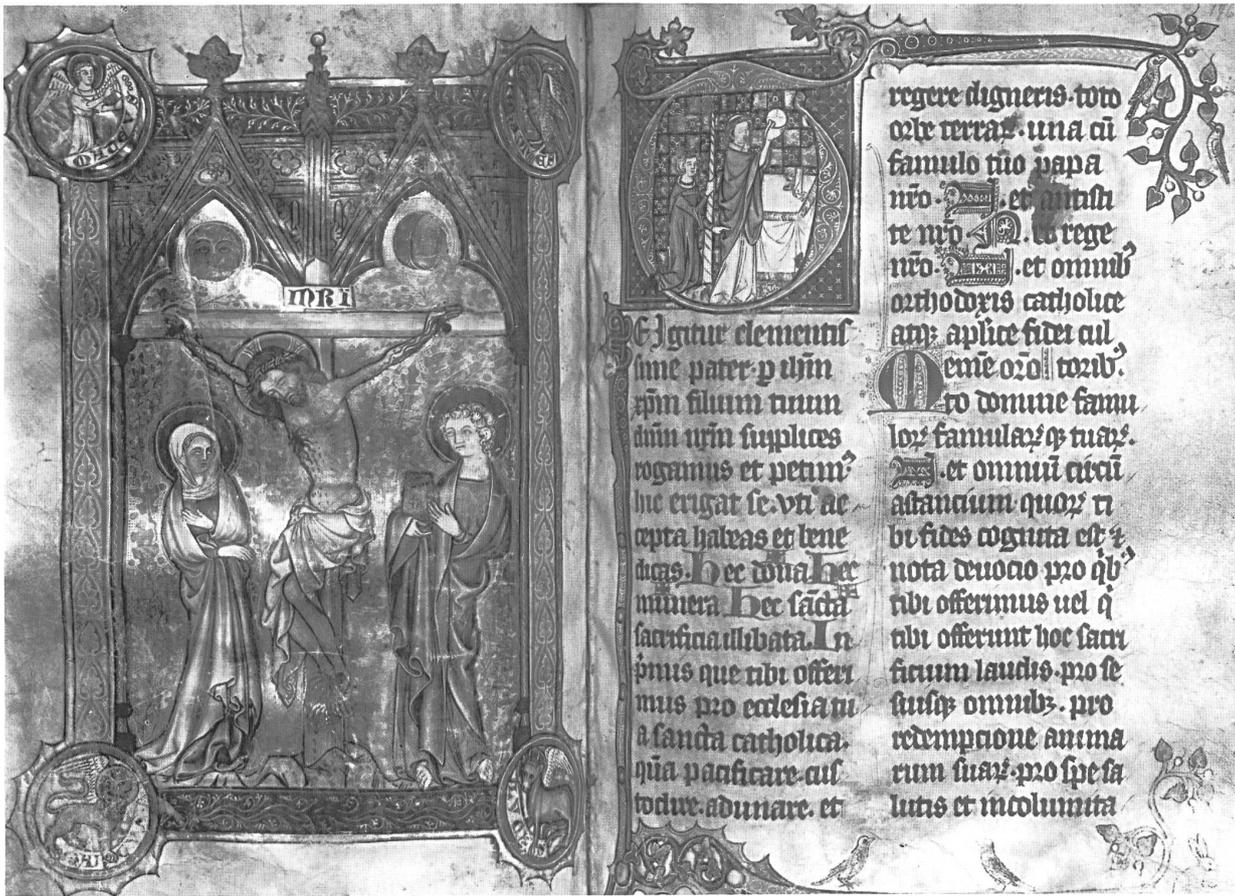


Fig. 3: Missal from St. Kunibert, fol. 145v–146r: Crucifixion, ca. 1330, 33 x 23,3 cm (each page), Darmstadt, Hessische Landesbibliothek, Ms. 837.

stylistic consistency in its small initials (figs. 3 and 5). Its larger images, however, particularly the Crucifixion scenes introducing the canon of the Mass in each of the three missals, show greater variations in style (figs. 2–4). The lower quality of the Crucifixion image in Ms. 876 (fig. 2) distinguishes it from its two contemporaries (Mss. 837 and 874); the thin, stiffly posed figures of John and the Virgin, the brittle linear folds of their robes and the facial types of the angels in the medallions of the frame mark the work of an artist not seen elsewhere in the manuscripts of this group. Likewise, the multi-figure iconography and the looser handling of the paint set this image apart from those in the other two missals.

In the Crucifixion in Ms. 837 (fig. 3), another hand is apparent in at least part of the image and suggests collaboration of two artists within a single illumination. While the head of John is close to that of his counterpart in Ms. 874 (fig. 4) and appears as a larger version of the heads of the manuscripts' smaller figures, the Virgin's head is of a different type. Not only has the artist chosen a less chunky head shape, but instead of describing the features in line, he has introduced modeling and highlights. The figure's proportions are also slimmer than those of both the large and small figures in the other missals. Thus it seems that, in at least two of these missals, the single full page image was assigned, completely or in part, to a different artist from the one who executed the smaller scenes in the initials (figs. 3 and 5). At the very least, it is now clear that the artists who worked

Fig. 4: Missal from St. Severin, fol. 68v: Crucifixion, ca. 1330, 37,1 x 26,3 cm, Darmstadt, Hessische Landesbibliothek, Ms. 874.



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in the manner that gives coherence to this group cooperated with other illuminators whose work adhered less closely to the stylistic canon of their colleagues.

Other kinds of evidence also suggest that this more differentiated, less homogeneous view of the city's painting production is closer to reality. An examination of patronage shows active support for the arts in Cologne and its environs. Documents reveal the presence of painters in Cologne and demonstrate potential connections between panel painting and illumination. Although these avenues of investigation are circumstantial, they point consistently to a broader spectrum of painters and a wider range of their activity than the scholarly literature has acknowledged.

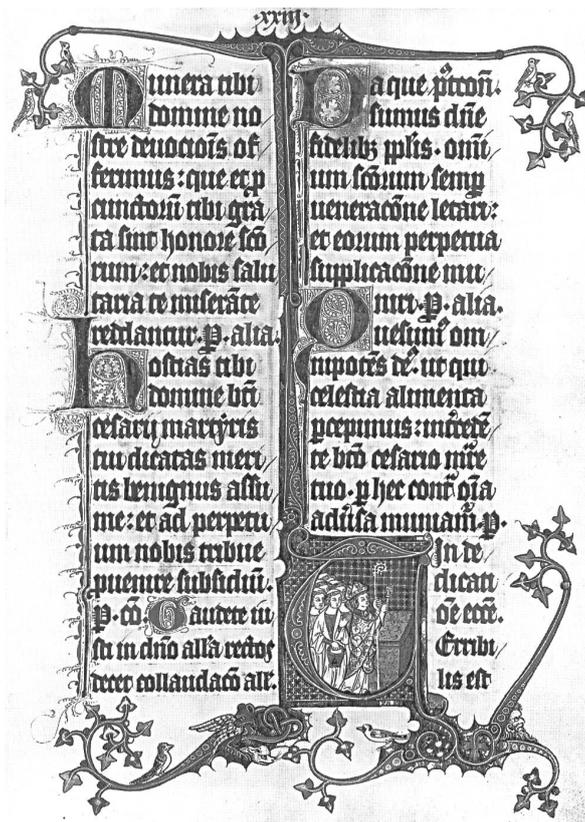
It is important to note, first of all, that the producers and illuminators of manuscripts in Cologne worked for a very wide and diversified clientele. Most of the surviving codices are religious in content, reflecting the fact that the greatest number of manuscript commissions came from the various religious houses in Cologne. Among the works mentioned above, books for the Franciscans, the Dominicans, and the Poor Clares can be documented.¹⁷ The parish churches of St. Severin and St. Kunibert are also represented. Likewise, the order of the Augustinian Hermits, who like the Dominicans and Franciscans possessed a »studium generale« in Cologne,¹⁸ would have needed books for both their religious and scholarly activities. Local manuscript productions were also employed within the cathedral precinct; before his death in 1357, Deacon Konrad von Renneberg donated his missal to the cathedral.¹⁹ Although at best a pair of surviving manuscripts represents each of these patron groups, it is certain that each of these foundations possessed

17 In addition to the works cited in notes 5, 7, and 14 above, see also *Medieval and Renaissance Miniatures from the National Gallery of Art*, ed. Gary Vikan, exh. cat. National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C. 1975, pp. 131–133, no. 36, and Mattick, Renate, *Choralbuchfragmente aus dem Kölner Kloster St. Klara*, in: *Wallraf-Richartz-Jahrbuch* 45, 1984, pp. 291–303. Some of these manuscripts were written and illuminated by the cloister inmates themselves. See above, p. 6, and below, pp. 13f.

18 Plotzek-Wederhake 1974, pp. 59–60.

19 The Crucifixion opening the canon of the Mass in this manuscript, *Dombibliothek, Ms. 149*, fol. 51v, is illustrated in Vor Stefan Lochner (exh. cat.) 1974, p. 192.

Fig. 5: Missal from St. Severin, fol. 23r: Consecration of a Church, ca. 1330, 37,1 x 26,3 cm, Darmstadt, Hessische Landesbibliothek, Ms. 874.



20 These manuscripts are located, respectively, in Koblenz, Stiftung Staatliches Görresgymnasium, Codex A; in an unidentified private collection; and in the Landeshauptarchiv in Koblenz, Best. 1 C Nr. 1, 2, and 3. The fourth volume of the *Balduineen*, until 1989 in the Zentrales Staatsarchiv der DDR, Dienststelle Merseburg, is not illustrated. See Mötsch, Johannes, *Die Balduineen. Aufbau, Entstehung, und Inhalt der Urkundensammlung des Erzbischofs Balduin von Trier* (Veröffentlichungen der Landesarchivverwaltung Rheinland-Pfalz 33), Koblenz 1980, and Mötsch, Johannes/Heyen, Franz-Josef (eds.), *Balduin von Luxemburg, Erzbischof von Trier, Kurfürst des Reiches 1285–1354*, exh. cat. Landesausstellung in Trier, Trier 1985, nos. C. 41, C. 42, and D. 9. The breviary is also discussed and illustrated in *Schatzkunst Trier*, Trier 1985, no. 85. — Dr. Verena Kessel's forthcoming Habilitationsschrift on Baldwin's patronage of the arts will treat all these manuscripts in more detail. Kessel attributes only the so-called »Reisebalduineum« (Nr. 3) to Cologne (letter of 18 June 1996). She is undecided about whether Baldwin called Cologne artists to Trier or sent his manuscripts to Cologne for their painted decoration; see also Ronig, Franz J., *Kunst unter Balduin von Luxemburg*, in: *Balduin von Luxemburg, Erzbischof von Trier – Kurfürst des Reiches 1285–1354, Festschrift aus Anlass des 700. Geburtsjahres, (Quellen und Abhandlungen zur Mittelrheinischen Kirchengeschichte 53)*, Mainz 1985, pp. 489–558, here pp. 549–550.

21 The cathedral chapter had elected Baldwin archbishop in 1328, thwarting the pope's intention to fill this important seat with his own nominee (Otto, Heinrich, *Regesten der Erzbischöfe von Mainz von 1289–1396*, pt. 1, vol. 2: 1328–1353, Darmstadt 1932–1935, p. 12, no. 2978). During the period until the dispute was finally settled in favor of the papal candidate, Heinrich von Virneburg, in 1337, Baldwin used the titles »herre und beschirmer« (lord and protector) of the Mainz see.

22 A photo of the pendant to the »panel« illustrated here is included in Vor Stefan Lochner (exh. cat.) 1974, p. 71, no. 5. — These are difficult works to order in the Cologne painting scene. The catalog mentioned above includes them among the panel paintings, which they resemble in scale. In technique and support, however, they are closer to manuscript paintings. The implied crossover between the two media will bring these paintings back into the discussion below. — Marienstatt's artistic dependence on Cologne can also be seen a quarter century later in the choice of high altar; see Bergmann, Ulrike, *Schnütgen Museum: Die Holzskulpturen des Mittelalters (1000–1400)*, Cologne 1989, pp. 32–33 and 49–51.

a full complement of manuscripts necessary for the performance of the mass and office; many of these may have been commissioned during these years at the high-point of Cologne's painting activity.

Religious figures and houses located at significant distances outside the city also turned to Cologne workshops to fill their needs for illuminated manuscripts of all types. Among the works associated with the Darmstadt missals are a number of manuscripts connected with Archbishop Baldwin of Trier (1308–1354). The archbishop's breviary, finished in 1336 (fig. 9), a missal of about the same date and at least one of the four volumes of documents known as the »Balduineen« reveal his consistent patronage of the shop that produced the small initials in Darmstadt missal Ms. 874 (fig. 5).²⁰ Baldwin's turn to Cologne artists for the execution of his manuscripts suggests the greater skill and prestige of Cologne shops not only over those in Trier, but also over those in Mainz. In the absence of a properly elected archbishop at Mainz, Baldwin styled himself »provisor« of the see from 1328 to 1337.²¹ If the manuscript painters of Mainz had provided sophisticated competition for Cologne artists, surely it would have been to Baldwin's political advantage to patronize their shops.

A decade before Baldwin's patronage of Cologne painters, the Cistercian cloister at Marienstatt, forty miles to the southeast of Cologne, also acquired a work from one of the city's painting workshops. A pair of large illustrated documents describing the cloister's foundation was almost certainly commissioned in conjunction with the 1324 dedication of the monastery church (fig. 10).²² The image



Fig. 6: Inventory of the Gaffel Windeck, fol. Iv–2r: Virgin and Child and St. Nicholas with members of the Gaffel, ca. 1330, 17,8 x 12,8 cm, Cologne, Stadtarchiv, Zunftakten 75.

23 Frankfurt, Stadt- und Universitätsbibliothek, Ms. Barth. 115. This manuscript is discussed in Powitz, G./Buch, H., *Kataloge der Stadt- und Universitätsbibliothek Frankfurt am Main*, 3/11: *Die Handschriften des Bartholomäusstifts und des Karmliterklosters in Frankfurt*, Frankfurt a.M. 1974, pp. 266–268.

24 Kassel, Hessische Landesbibliothek, Ms. 2^o poet. et roman. 1. See Holladay, Joan, *The Willehalm Master and His Colleagues. Collaborative Manuscript Decoration in Early-Fourteenth-Century Cologne*, in: *Making the Medieval Manuscript Book. Techniques of Production, Proceedings of the Fourth Conference of the Seminar in the History of the Book to 1500*, Oxford 1992, ed. Linda L. Brownrigg, Los Altos Hills, C.A. 1995, pp. 67–91, here pp. 83–87; and Holladay, Joan, *Illuminating the Epic: The Kassel Willehalm Codex and the Landgraves of Hesse in the Early Fourteenth Century*, (College Art Association Monograph 54), Seattle 1997, pp. 67–71.

25 Plotzek-Wederhake 1974, p. 60.

26 Recorded in Merlo 1895, col. 954, after the »Mittwochs-Rentkammer«, Bl. 13b, under the date August 14, 1370: »Item magistro Wilhelmo ad pingendum librum iuramentorum 9m.«

of the enthroned Virgin and Child and the head types of the enframing abbots suggest that these works too belong in the Darmstadt missal group.

Although fewer in number, secular manuscripts were also decorated in the illuminating shops of Cologne. In the »Balduineen« mentioned above, copies of Archbishop Baldwin's documents were decorated in a fashion similar to that of his breviary. In 1324, Johann von Dusburg, a member of the Teutonic Order at its Cologne house dedicated to St. Katherine, had written and illuminated a copy of the »Golden Legend« in a similar style.²³ A decade later Landgrave Heinrich II of Hesse turned to a Cologne shop for the illustration of his extravagant »Willehalm« Codex.²⁴ Although no books from their collections have been identified, the Benedictines and the Carthusians were known for their large collections of classics and history texts and may well have commissioned or been given manuscripts at this time.²⁵

Two other kinds of manuscripts attest to the wealth of uses for miniatures in secular contexts. A city document from 1370 records a payment to a Master Wilhelm for painting a legal text.²⁶ This is presumed to have been a Crucifixion on which oaths were taken. It seems likely that this was not the first book of this type that the city had possessed. Likewise there is some evidence that the guilds, or »Gaffel«, had books decorated by local illuminators. Two miniatures now bound into the front of a volume of sixteenth- through eighteenth-century inventories of the »Gaffel Windeck« are generally supposed to have been painted for an earlier collection of this society's inventories. Both images, an enthroned Virgin and Child and a standing Saint Nicholas, contain representations of members of the



Fig. 7: Gradual from the Dominican cloister of the Holy Cross, fol. 22r: Ascension, 1310s, 10,2 x 9,8 cm, Cologne, Erzbischöfliche Diözesanbibliothek, Ms. 173.



Fig. 8: Antiphonary, fol. 14v: Trinity, 1310s, 9,3 x 9,3 cm, Cologne, Erzbischöfliche Diözesanbibliothek, Ms. 149.

27 Vor Stefan Lochner (exh. cat.) 1974, no. 75.
28 Vogts, Hans, *Die Kölner Patriziergeschlechter des Mittelalters als Bauherren und Förderer der Kunst*, in: *Annalen des historischen Vereins für den Niederrhein*, 155/156, 1954, pp. 501–525, traces dozens of examples of patrician patronage in Cologne in the years around 1300, without touching on the subject of manuscript illumination.

29 Herborn, Wolfgang, *Wirtschaftliche und soziale Grundlagen des Kölner Mäzenatentums im 13. und 14. Jahrhundert am Beispiel der Familien vom Hirtze und Hardevust*, in: Vor Stefan Lochner (colloquium vol.) 1977, pp. 164–178, see especially pp. 171–176.

30 *Ibid.*, p. 170.

31 Knaus 1968 (as in note 9), pp. 83, 123–124, and 127, argues for a continuation of the Franciscans' earlier manuscript painting activity in Darmstadt, Mss. 3116, 837, and 876. Knaus's idea has recently been taken up again by Anton von Euw, in the catalog entry on Darmstadt, Ms. 874, in: *Un trésor gothique. La chasse de Nivelles*, exh. cat. Musée de Cluny, Paris 1996, pp. 394–397, no. 57. See, however, Galley 1960/61 (as in note 5). — On manuscript production in the Cologne cloister of Poor Clares, see Benecke 1995 (as in note 10).

32 Keussen 1910, coordinates the entries of the »Schreinsbücher« with the street plan of medieval Cologne. J.-J. Merlo's works (1850 and 1852) also use the »Schreinsbücher« as their major source, but as they frequently note only the book in which

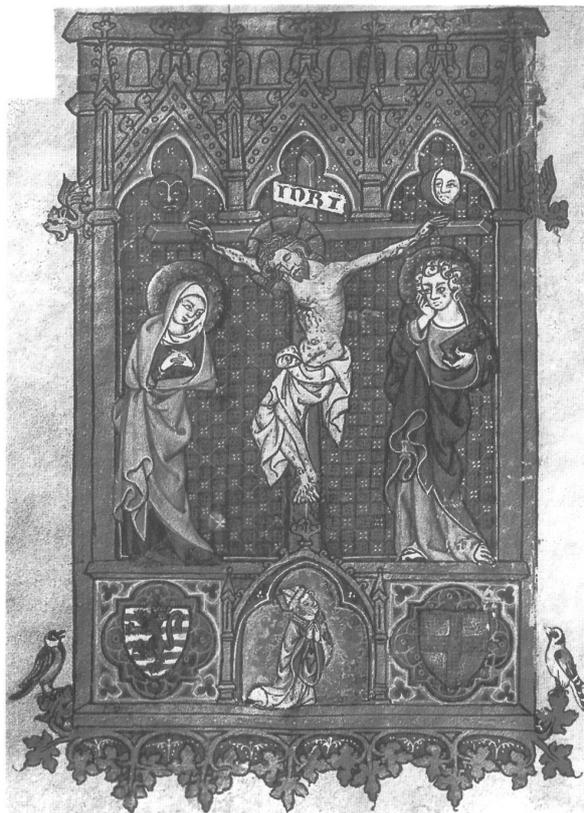
»Gaffel« (fig. 6), a trading organization whose members specialized in commerce with England.²⁷

No early fourteenth-century manuscripts remain from this period to allow us to verify the interest of the city's ruling patricians in the products of the city's illumination shops. But we surely can not suppose that families like the Overstolz, the Hardevust, the von Hirtze, and the Raitze, whose public commissions in the form of building contributions, altar foundations, and stained glass window donations were spread among the city's religious houses, had little or no interest in manuscripts for their more private religious needs.²⁸ The popularity of the »Hausaltar« in Cologne suggests a personal piety that would have demanded devotional books as well. Indeed, Heinrich von Hirtze, a cleric well endowed with prebends in a number of local churches, possessed phenomenal collections of reliquaries and liturgical vestments that were complemented by an extensive library: in his will he left twenty-seven books to various religious foundations and fellow clerics.²⁹ Duplicate copies of breviaries and psalters, ten and four of these books respectively, a »book of saints«, and an unspecified number of law books indicate that his collection filled other than specifically religious needs. While Heinrich was perhaps the city's greatest patron of the arts in the second quarter of the fourteenth century,³⁰ surely he was not the only one who included manuscripts among the personal luxury objects with which he surrounded himself.

If the spectrum of patrons in Cologne was extremely broad, corresponding to the diverse needs and financial capabilities of the city's different social and economic groups, so were the number and variety of painters. We have mentioned above the illumination activity in both the Franciscan mens' and womens' cloisters, where Johannes von Valkenburg and Loppa de Speculo are known by name.³¹ At least a partial view of the secular side of the painting profession in Cologne in the first half of the fourteenth century is enabled through the entries in the »Schreinsbücher«, records of property transactions that frequently identify the participating parties by occupation.³² It should be noted first of all that the paint-

Fig. 9: Breviary of Baldwin, Archbishop of Trier, fol. 95v: Crucifixion, ca. 1336, 16,8 x 11,5 cm, Koblenz, Stiftung Staatliches Görresgymnasium, Codex A.

Fig. 10: Foundation document from Cloister Marienstatt: Seated Virgin and Child, ca. 1324, 81 x 57,5 cm, Bonn, Rheinisches Landesmuseum, Inv. no. 234.



ers active in Cologne were not all natives of the city. It comes as no surprise that outsiders numbered among the painters of Cologne. While it is not possible to tell whether Hermann and Arnold of Neuss and Johann of Münster received their training before moving to Cologne or were trained in part after their arrival there, they were successful enough at their professions to be able to purchase property.³³ In view of the variety of painting styles now documented, it seems clear that the market could bear – indeed it may well have welcomed – the variety these outsiders provided.

For the years 1320–1340, some twenty painters can be identified in the documents.³⁴ While there is some dispute about the respective roles of »pictor« (»Maler«) and »clippeator« (»Schilderer«), several factors suggest that, at least by the early fourteenth century, both these names were used for artists in the same profession.³⁵ The terms »clippeator« and »Schilderer« derive from the Latin and German words for »shield« respectively, and must originally have designated painters who decorated both ceremonial shields and the shields that decorated houses and gave them their names, but this specific usage seems to have changed by the period under consideration here. The use of both names in the earliest guild documents at the end of the fourteenth century,³⁶ the location of the overwhelming majority of the »pictores« in the »platea clippeorum« (Schildergasse),³⁷ and the appearance of Hildegard Platvoys as »clippeator« in 1332 and as »depictor« nine years later³⁸ would all seem to indicate an identity of the two professions. It should be kept in mind that these twenty documented painters represent only a portion of those

given artist is mentioned, properties can be located only by neighborhood, rather than by specific street. See also Merlo 1895.

³³ Keussen 1910, vol. 1, p. 368, Merlo 1852, pp. 8–9, 24, Merlo 1895, cols. 610, 617.

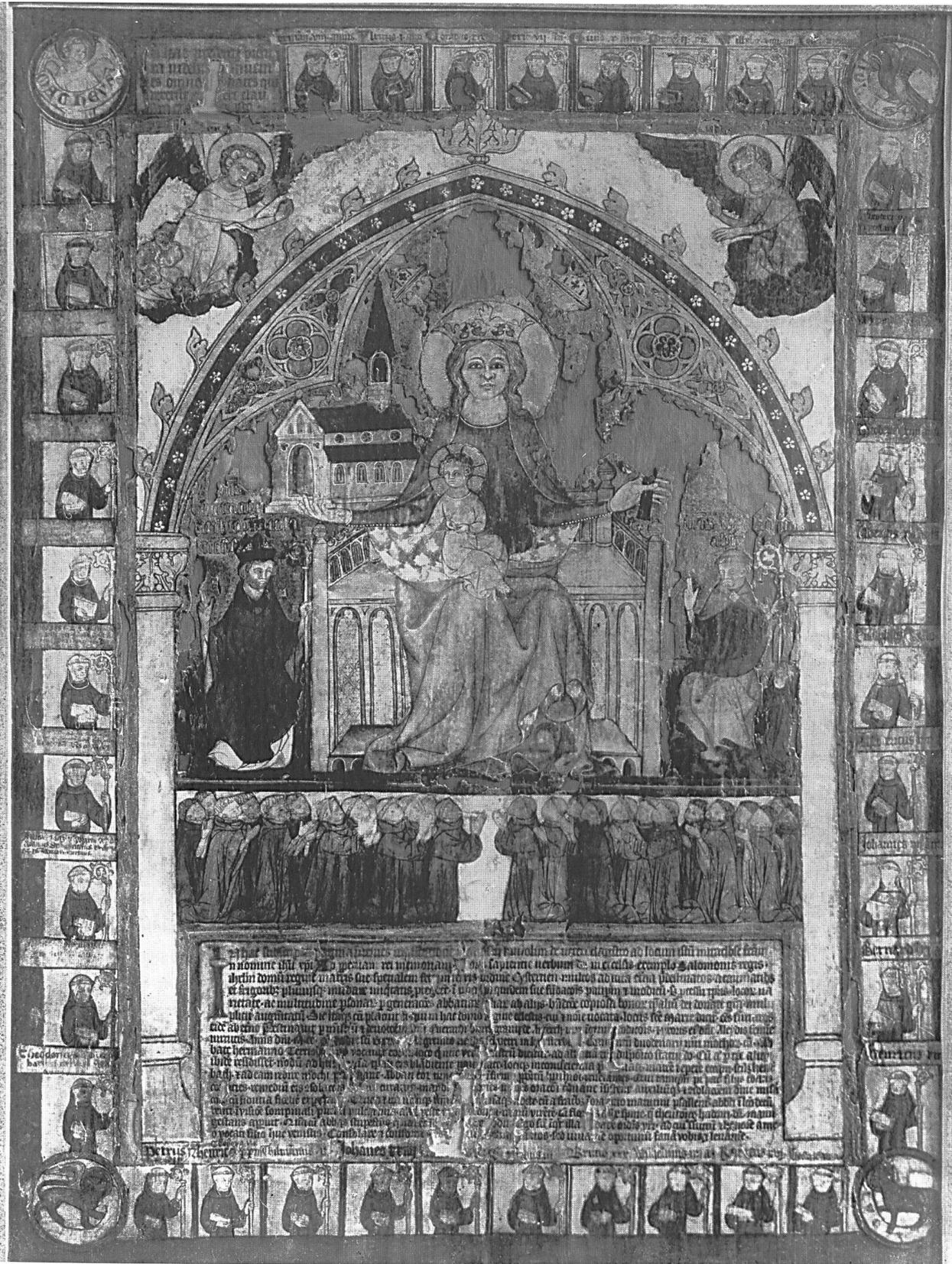
³⁴ This is the count of both the »Schilderer« (»clippeatores«) and »Maler« (»pictores«) listed in Merlo 1852, pp. 9–22 and 183–184.

³⁵ Merlo 1852, p. 182, comes to this conclusion without further explanation. Eichner 1977, p. 194, arrives at the same result after examining several different kinds of historical evidence.

³⁶ Eichner 1977, pp. 193–194.

³⁷ Merlo 1852, pp. 5–22, Keussen 1910, vol. 1, pp. 261–263, 367–368.

³⁸ Merlo 1895, col. 675.



active in Cologne in these years; those who did not purchase or inherit property or whose profession is omitted from the records remain unknown to us.³⁹

If the numerical strength of the painters remains unclear, so does the full extent of their professional activity. It has generally been assumed that neither the »pictores« nor the »clippeatores« were active primarily in manuscript illumination.⁴⁰ »Illuminatores« are mentioned in the surviving archives, but in contrast to the twenty painters recorded for the decades 1320–1340, only two »illuminatores« appear in the entire period 1290–1350.⁴¹ It may be that illuminators were not as financially successful as »pictores« and »clippeatores«, and were therefore not as likely to purchase their own homes and shop buildings. The tax rolls in Paris, where »peintres« outnumber »enlumineurs« by a ratio of about two to one,⁴² might give some rough idea of the number of illuminators actually working in Cologne at this time.

Yet even if we could ascertain the full strength of the profession in Cologne, it remains unclear whether »illuminatores« were actually painting the miniatures in the religious and secular manuscripts that are preserved or otherwise documented. In some French examples from the years around 1300, »enluminer« and »illuminare« are used in contracts or colophons in reference to manuscripts decorated solely with filigree letters.⁴³ A Westfalian example testifies to a similar usage near Cologne: the colophon of a large choir psalter, decorated only with non-figural penwork, notes that Hermann Bûge »wrote, noted, and illuminated« the book.⁴⁴ While some masters may have executed both flourished initials and figured miniatures,⁴⁵ it is no longer possible to tell by the professional designation alone which artists these were. Unless they perceived themselves as specialists in illumination or even in non-figural flourishing, they too may have been called »Maler«.

Finally, the possible overlap between »Maler« and book painters may be illustrated by the location of painters near those involved in the book arts. Although we tend to think of all Cologne's painters plying their trade in the Schildergasse, this was hardly the case. Other concentrations of painters existed; in the period between 1300 and 1360, for example, nearly a dozen painters, both »Maler« and »clippeatores«, bought houses near the cloister of the Augustinian Hermits in the Hohe Strasse, not far from the east end of the Schildergasse.⁴⁶ More interesting for our purposes here are the isolated painters and those living in smaller clusters near the sites where »pergamentarii« (parchment makers and sellers), »scriptores« (scribes), and »rubeatores« (rubricators) were active. A single »pergamentarius« is documented just to the northeast of the cathedral, in the southeast corner of the Niederich district as early as 1235.⁴⁷ Others established themselves close by in the early fourteenth century, one near the church of St. Lupus, one on the south side of the Goldgasse two short blocks away, and one on the Johannisstrasse halfway in between.⁴⁸ A number of »scriptores« further up the Johannisstrasse⁴⁹ suggest that this area may have been a major center for the production of books. Merlo lists three other »pergamentarii« between 1281 and 1350 and four additional »scriptores« between 1260 and 1324 in this same relatively small neighborhood, »Ad portam«, although without specific street addresses.⁵⁰ Between about 1300 and 1360, two painters (»Maler«, »pictor«) are documented in the immediate area, one near St. Lupus, and the other in the Trankgasse, which ran for two very short blocks to the east of

39 Eichner 1977, p. 191, using a variety of documents available for the year 1417, is able to suggest that fewer than half of the painters appear in the property rolls for that period.

40 Eichner 1977, p. 193. Schmidt, Gerhard, *Die Wehrdener Kreuzigung der Sammlung von Hirsch und die Kölner Malerei*, in: Vor Stefan Lochner (colloquium vol.) 1977, p. 24, note 58, remarks on the lack of stylistic contact between manuscripts and panel paintings of Cologne provenance.

41 Merlo 1852, pp. 188–189, lists under the year 1301 a Johannes »illuminator«, who acquired two adjacent houses in the Schottengasse and under 1332 a Hermannus, »filius quondam magistri Henrici ligatoris librorum, illuminator«, with a property in the »Lata platea« (Breite Strasse) of the St. Columba district. In 1342 Hermannus also acquired a property in the Berlici quarter of the St. Columba district.

42 Baron, Françoise, *Enlumineurs, peintres et sculpteurs parisiens des XIII^e et XIV^e siècles d'après les rôles de la taille*, in: Bulletin archéologique du comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques n.s. 4, 1968, pp. 37–122, publishes the names of the artists appearing in the tax roles between 1292 and 1313. I count 103 painters and 47 illuminators.

43 Avril, François, *Un enlumineur ornemaniste parisien de la première moitié du XIV^e siècle: Jacobus Mathey (Jacquet Maci?)*, in: Bulletin monumental 129, 1971, pp. 249–264, here pp. 256–257. See also Branner, Robert, *Manuscript Painting in Paris during the Reign of Saint Louis* (California Studies in the History of Art 18), Berkeley 1977, pp. 7–8, note 35.

44 Nordhoff, J., *Die Soester Malerei unter Meister Conrad*, in: Jahrbücher des Vereins von Alterthumsfreunden im Rheinlande 67, 1879, pp. 100–137, here p. 115. At the time of Nordhoff's study, the manuscript was in the parish church of Brilon near Soest. I am grateful to Judith Oliver for this example.

45 Holladay 1995 (as in note 24), pp. 72–74.

46 Merlo 1852, p. 183, Merlo 1895, cols. 309–310.

47 Keussen 1910, vol. 2, p. 92.

48 Keussen 1910, vol. 2, pp. 86, 101.

49 Keussen 1910, vol. 2, p. 92.

50 Merlo 1850, pp. 566–567, Merlo 1852, pp. 187–188.

Fig. 11: Diptych from St. Georg (left wing, interior): Seated Virgin and Child, ca. 1310, 49 x 34 cm, Berlin, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Inv. no. 1627.



St. Lupus and two slightly longer blocks to the west.⁵¹ Is it not likely that these men were involved, at least some of the time, in book painting? Whether proximity bred professional contact or whether painters sought out properties for their strategic locations near potential colleagues and collaborators in other professions is no longer possible to tell, but both seem likely.

Similar constellations existed in other parts of town. In the beginning of the final third of the thirteenth century, a »Maler« is documented among a cluster of rubricators along the Weberstrasse in the Airsbach district at the south edge of town, and at the beginning of the fourteenth, a »clippeator« owned a house among their colleagues along the parallel street comprising the »Lata platea« neighborhood.⁵² In the decades framing the single mention of the »illuminator« Johannes in 1301, the »pictor« Eckhard owned a house in the same short street, the Schottengasse.⁵³ It is also worth mentioning in this context that, at the end of the thirteenth century, at least three »scriptores« owned houses in the Clericorum neighborhood of the St. Columba district, the area narrowly defined along the north side of the Schildergasse, where we find the greatest concentration of painters.⁵⁴

Evidence from other major painting centers about this time and from Cologne in later periods suggests that miniatures were at least sometimes executed by the same artists who painted in larger scale. Robert Branner's identification of the Potocki shop illuminators in the painted medaillons of the Sainte-Chapelle's upper level indicates a coincidence of manuscript and wall painters in French

51 Merlo 1852, p. 8, Merlo 1895, cols. 296, 878.

52 Merlo 1852, pp. 4, 183–184, 187–188, Merlo 1895, col. 160.

53 Keussen 1910, vol. 1, p. 278, Merlo 1852, p. 188.

54 Merlo 1852, p. 188.



Fig. 12: Achatius-Diptych (interior): Martyrdom of the 10'000, ca. 1330, 16,8 x 14,2 cm (each wing), Cologne, Wallraf-Richartz-Museum, Inv. no. 822.

55 Branner, Robert, *Rediscovering a Parisian Paintshop of the Thirteenth Century*, in: *Bulletin. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston* 69, 1971, pp. 165–172, here pp. 170–171.

56 These works have been treated recently in *Age of Chivalry. Art in Plantagenet England 1200–1400*, ed. Jonathan J. G. Alexander/Paul Binski, exh. cat. Royal Academy of Arts, London 1987, nos. 329, 330–332 and 338, and 351 respectively. See also the important works by Binski, Paul, *The Painted Chamber at Westminster*, London 1986, and Klein, Peter, *Endzeiterwartung und Ritterideologie. Die englischen Bilderapokalypsen der Frühgotik und Ms. Douce 180*, Graz 1983. On documentary evidence for English painters working in both large and miniature scales, see Michael, Michael A., *Oxford, Cambridge and London. Towards a Theory for Grouping Gothic Manuscripts*, in: *Burlington Magazine* 130, 1988, pp. 107–115, here pp. 109, 115.

57 Eichner 1977, p. 192, note 13. See also Dickmann, Ines, *Stefan Lochner – ein Buchmaler zu Köln? Bemerkungen zum Stand der Forschung*, in: *Stefan Lochner, Meister zu Köln. Herkunft – Werke – Wirkung*, ed. Frank Günter Zehnder, exh. cat. Wallraf-Richartz-Museum, Cologne 1993, pp. 109–118, and Budde 1986, p. 135.

58 Merlo 1895, cols. 948–954. Budde 1986, p. 16, also accepts the identity of these two men.

court circles shortly before the mid-thirteenth century.⁵⁵ This situation is paralleled at London about 1270: the stylistic proximity of the Westminster Retable, the lost Painted Chamber murals from Westminster Palace, and the Douce Apocalypse points not only to the the royal family's consistent preference for works in this style but to the availability of artists to execute them in a variety of vastly different scales.⁵⁶

In Cologne itself documentary evidence of artists crossing over between large and small scale media exists only for later dates. Two of the city's most illustrious panel painters of the fifteenth century, Stefan Lochner and the Master of the Bartholomäus-Altar, both executed miniatures in addition to their better known panel paintings.⁵⁷ Closer to the period under discussion, a »Meister Wilhelm«, touted in the »Limburg Chronicle«'s entry for 1380 as the best painter (»Maler«) in German lands, may be identical with the »magister Wilhelm« whom the city paid a decade earlier for illustrating the »liber iuramentorum«.⁵⁸ Either the term »Maler« was used for painters both on panel and in manuscripts or the boundaries between panel and manuscript painting were not as strict as previously assumed.

The hypothesized relationship between the manuscript painters and the panel painters in the first half of the fourteenth century, which in some cases may have extended to their identity with one another, can be supported by similarities in style and other formal elements.⁵⁹ The panels from the Cologne church of St. Georg (fig. 11), now in the Staatliche Museen in Berlin, resemble the illuminations from the Gross St. Martin Bible group not only in the figure proportions and head types, but especially in the soft modeling of the robes to create deep pockets of shadow.⁶⁰ On the left wing of the diptych, the fold configuration of the

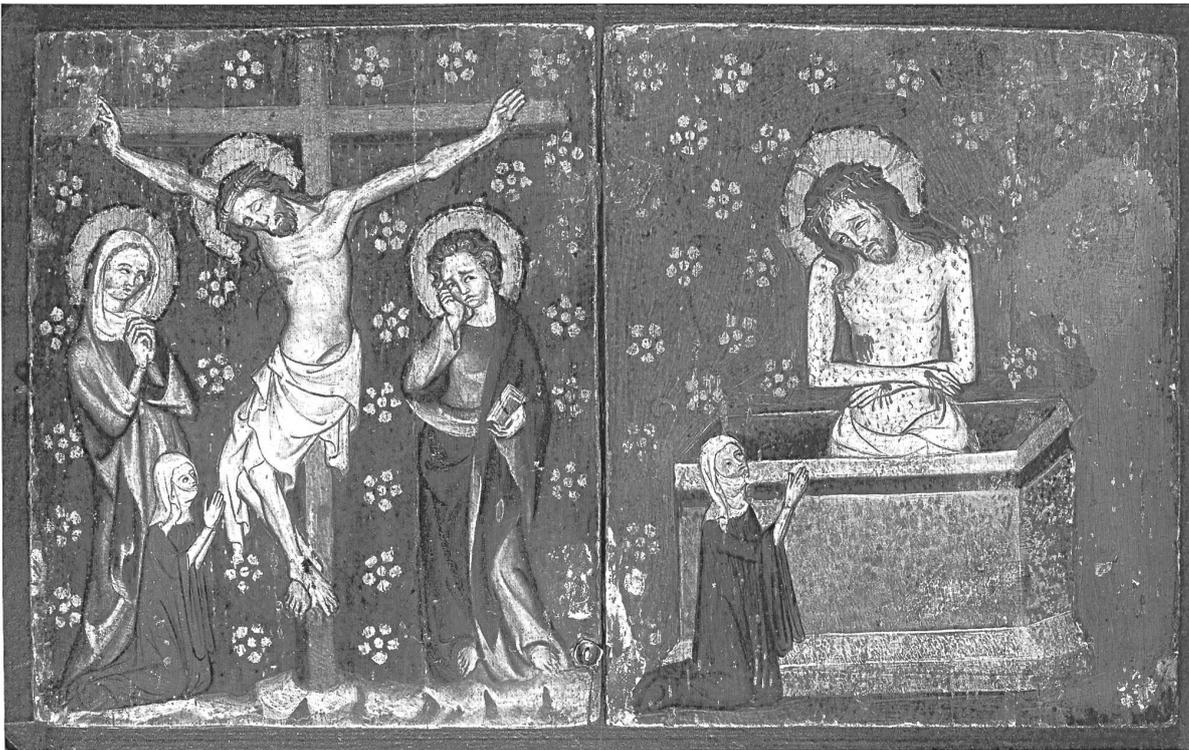


Fig. 13: Achatius-Diptych (exterior): Crucifixion and Christ in the tomb, ca. 1330, 16,8 x 14,2 cm (each wing), Cologne, Wallraf-Richartz-Museum, Inv. no. 822.

59 Budde 1986, pp. 21–27, defines one whole group of early fourteenth-century panels around their proximity to manuscript painting. While I do not agree with some of the specific manuscript/panel parallels he suggests, I do support his insistence on the proximity of these two media in Cologne.

60 Rode, Herbert, *Colloquium zur Kölner Glasmalerei*, in: Vor Stefan Lochner (colloquium vol.) 1977, p. 98, suggests a date of about 1310 for the Berlin panels on the basis of a comparison with the axial window in the cathedral clerestory. This places the panels in exactly the same years as the Gross St. Martin Bible. Budde 1986, p. 25, also dates the Berlin diptych about 1310. In the museum's *Katalog der ausgestellten Gemälde des 13.–18. Jahrhunderts*, Berlin 1975, p. 215, the diptych is placed slightly later, in the decade of the 1320s.

61 Inv. no. 1736. See Vor Stefan Lochner (exh. cat.) 1974, no. 2.

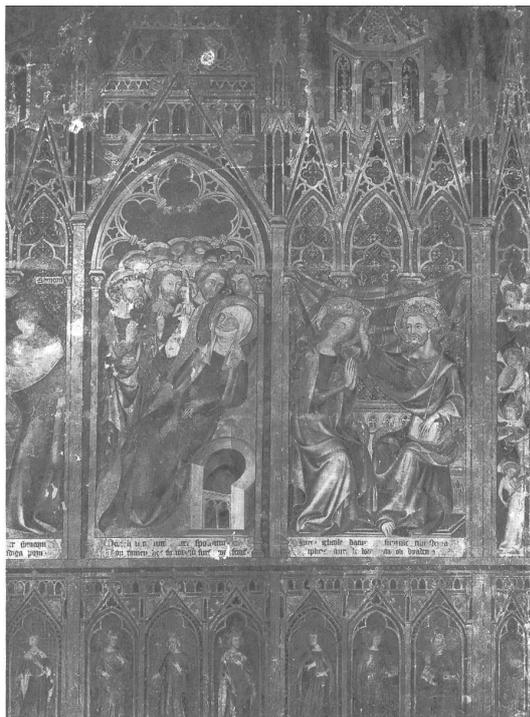
62 Inv. no. 4–5. See Vor Stefan Lochner (exh. cat.) 1974, no. 3.

Virgin's robes recreates in large scale the patterns of God's robes in the bottom medallion of the Bible's Genesis initial (fig. 1) and those of the Virgin in the Pentecost miniature on folio 4v of the related Antiphony, Dombibliothek Ms. 263. Closer to the doll-like figures of the Darmstadt missal group (figs. 3 and 5) are the martyrs on the tiny Achatius diptych (figs. 12–13). The caricatured, slightly stiff gestures and wide-eyed, naive expressions on the heart-shaped faces are shared by the strongly outlined figures in both works.

In addition to the stylistic links between panel painting and manuscript illumination in Cologne in the early fourteenth century, other parallels should also be noted. A local preference for tiny, pocket-sized panels and diptychs blurs the traditional distinction between miniature and monumental painting. Each panel of the Achatius diptych measures a mere 16,8 by 14,2 centimeters; its individual scenes are no bigger than illuminations in the »Willehalm« Codex. At 16,5 by 10 centimeters, each of the four Marian panels now in the Louvre⁶¹ is the size of a postcard, or of one of the large initials in the Brühl Antiphony. The Crucifixions illuminating the Darmstadt missals (figs. 2–4) dwarf the tiny panel scenes in actual size and in monumentality of conception.

Other works cross the boundaries between media more dramatically. The painted documents from the Cistercian cloister of Marienstatt (fig. 10) are almost twice the height of the Annunciation and Presentation panels in the Wallraf-Richartz-Museum⁶² or the Berlin diptych panels (fig. 11). Indeed the monumental seated Madonna on the parchment document and her counterpart on the Berlin panel are nearly the same size. While the cloister documents' parchment support, framing devices and physical relationship of text and image on the page all relate

Fig. 14: Cologne cathedral, choir screen, south side: Death and Coronation of the Virgin with German kings below, 1330s, ca. 1,65 m wide.



these works more closely to the realm of manuscript painting, the similarities in scale and in style to the Berlin panels make the distinction between media seem a false one.⁶³ Rather than belonging to one or the other, the Marienstatt paintings blur the divisions between manuscript and panel painting and insist on the esthetic and conceptual unity between the two types of works.

The largest scale works of early fourteenth-century Cologne painting preserved in the metropolitan city today also show strong affinities to manuscript painting. The choir screen paintings in the cathedral (fig. 14), anchored firmly in the sphere of mural painting by their scale and their architectural setting, are executed in the techniques of panel painting⁶⁴ and employ the characteristic architectural frames of the nearby stained glass windows. Yet other features strongly suggest manuscript illumination. The architectural frames and diapered backgrounds recall those of miniatures and the lively fanciful figures that fill the individual background compartments recall the marginal drolleries of manuscript painting. The Genesis frieze along the bottom, obscured beneath the upper edge of the choir stalls, suggests the »bas-de-page« of a manuscript composition in its subsidiary position and scale and in the use of this space to present a supplementary subject. Likewise the energized poses and gestures of its figures and the less formal line drawings suggest the conception of this area in a large scale parallel to the »bas-de-page«.⁶⁵

In all these works, the canon page Crucifixions in the Darmstadt missals, the tiny and medium sized panels, the large documents painted on parchment, and the choir screen narratives, one senses a lively interaction among the various painting media. Contact between artists who specialized in different techniques is certain, and mutual influence is clearly visible. Indeed the fluid boundaries be-

63 The confusion about how to order the Marienstatt painted documents can be seen in two relatively recent catalogs. Vor Stefan Lochner (exh. cat.) 1974, no. 5, places the works in the section on panel painting, while the catalog of the Rheinisches Landesmuseum in Bonn. *Gemälde bis 1900*, Cologne 1982, p. 254, insists on their relationship to manuscript painting.

64 Hausscherr, Rainer, *Die Chorschrankenmalereien im Kölner Dom*, in: Vor Stefan Lochner (exh. cat.) 1974, pp. 50–54, here p. 5; Budde 1986, p. 27.

65 A number of authors have commented on these features. See, for example, Hausscherr 1974 (as in note 64), pp. 50, 52, and Schmidt, Gerhard, *Die Chorschrankenmalereien des Kölner Domes und die Europäische Malerei*, in: *Kölner Domblatt* 44/45, 1979/80, pp. 293–340, here pp. 300–301, 332.

tween painting media appear to be one of the signal characteristics of Cologne painting in the first third of the fourteenth century. It seems highly probable that, in some cases at least, the artists who executed these works moved from one technique or scale to another, adapting to the needs of different patrons and the demands of diverse projects. Like Master Wilhelm, Stefan Lochner, and the Master of the St. Bartholomew altarpiece, other painters must have been encouraged by their patrons – or by their own inclinations – to cross what we now perceive as the strict boundaries of medium.

A broad view of Cologne painting in the first half of the fourteenth century must include within a single framework not only the extant works of manuscript painting but the panels and murals executed at the same time. In this larger picture, the diversified painting production in the Rhenish metropolitan city becomes one more factor, along with the city's long standing reputation as an art center and the consistent high quality and international reputation of the works produced there, that contributed to the prestige in which Cologne work was held.

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