

ARTISTIC CENTRES BOUND BY THEIR SPLENDID MANUSCRIPTS –  
THE CURRENT STATE OF RESEARCH AND NEW VIEWS  
ON THE MEETING POINTS OF TRIER AND REICHENAU  
BOOK ILLUMINATION AROUND THE YEAR 1000

Ursula Prinz

ABSTRACT

This paper explores the intricate connections between manuscript illumination in the late 10<sup>th</sup> and early 11<sup>th</sup> centuries, focusing on the Benedictine monastery on Reichenau Island and the ‘Master of the Registrum Gregorii’ from Trier. It highlights key works like the *Codex Egberti* and the *Egbert Psalter*, examining the collaborative efforts between the Trier and Reichenau scriptoria under Archbishop Egbert of Trier’s patronage. Despite geographical distances, these manuscripts show stylistic and iconographic ties, suggesting a dynamic exchange of artists and ideas. The study also addresses scholarly debates about their origins and calls for further research into their collaborative production.

KEYWORDS: Manuscripts, Book Illumination, Trier, Reichenau, Collaboration

Centri artistici legati dai loro splendidi manoscritti –

Lo stato attuale delle ricerche e nuovi punti di vista sui luoghi d’incontro della decorazione libraria  
di Treviri e Reichenau intorno all’anno 1000

ABSTRACT

Questo documento analizza le connessioni tra la decorazione dei manoscritti tra fine X e inizio XI secolo, focalizzandosi sul monastero benedettino di Reichenau e il “Maestro del Registrum Gregorii” di Treviri. Esamina opere come il *Codex Egberti* e il *Salterio di Egberto*, rivelando sforzi collaborativi tra Treviri e Reichenau sotto il patrocinio dell’arcivescovo Egberto. Nonostante la distanza geografica, i manoscritti mostrano legami stilistici e iconografici che suggeriscono uno scambio dinamico di artisti e idee. Lo studio esamina i dibattiti sulle origini dei manoscritti e auspica ulteriori ricerche sulla loro produzione da parte di diversi collaboratori.

PAROLE CHIAVE: manoscritti, decorazione libraria, Treviri, Reichenau, collaborazione

\*\*\*

When it comes to manuscript illumination in the late 10<sup>th</sup> and early 11<sup>th</sup> centuries, the Benedictine monastery on Reichenau Island in Lake Constance as well as the so-called ‘Master of the Registrum Gregorii’ from Trier are two key highlights discussed in art history. The most precious masterpieces of this period are attributed to the scriptoria of Trier and Reichenau. Shining examples include the eponymous *Registrum Gregorii*, which has only survived in fragments<sup>1</sup> and the *Gospel Book* of

---

<sup>1</sup> For the *Registrum Gregorii* (Trier, Stadtbibliothek, Hs. 171/1626a; Chantilly, Musée Condé, Ms. 14 bis) and the so-called ‘Master of the Registrum Gregorii’: C. Nordenfalk, “Der Meister des Registrum Gregorii”, *Münchener Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst* 3, no. 1 (1950): pp. 61-77; B. Nitschke, *Die Handschriftengruppe um den Meister des Registrum Gregorii* (Recklinghausen: Aurel Bongers, 1966); C. Nordenfalk, “The chronology of the Registrum Master”, in *Kunsthistorische Forschungen. Otto Pächt zu seinem 70. Geburtstag*, eds. A. Rosenauer, G. Weber (Salzburg: Residenz-Verlag, 1972), pp. 62-76; D. Oltrogge, R. Fuchs, “Naturwissenschaft und Stilkritik. Handschriften aus dem Umkreis des Registrum-Meisters”, *Kunsthistoriker. Mitteilungen des Österreichischen Kunsthistorikerverbandes* 8 (1991): pp. 96-104.

Emperor Otto III (r. 996–1002), which is one of many imperial codices ascribed to Reichenau<sup>2</sup>. According to the current state of research, there is general consensus regarding the localisation of these manuscripts. However, although the episcopal city of Trier and the Reichenau Abbey are approximately 350 kilometres apart, there are some manuscripts that scholars attribute to *both*, linking these two locations situated at different corners of the Holy Roman Empire and resulting in rather unusual terms such as ‘Trier-Reichenau book illumination’<sup>3</sup>. Despite numerous, often conflicting, research contributions from the past century, many questions remain unanswered. In this essay, the topic will be revisited, firstly by critically assessing and compiling the convoluted status quo, and secondly by presenting new aspects that establish additional connections between Trier and Reichenau.

At the centre of this discussion is the *Codex Egberti*<sup>4</sup>. Its dedicatory image shows Archbishop Egbert of Trier (r. 977–993) as the recipient and two monks labelled as Reichenau monks – *Keraldus* and *Heribertus Augigenses* – as the bearers. Egbert was an essential patron of artistic production, magnificently illustrated books as well as goldsmithing and enamelling in particular. Another manuscript, believed to be a Reichenau work, was also commissioned by the Archbishop of Trier: the *Egbert Psalter*, which probably dates from the early years of his episcopate<sup>5</sup>. The third manuscript, in which Egbert is mentioned as the initiator, serves as the starting point for the attributions of the Trier book illumination: the fragmentary *Registrum Gregorii* with surviving leaves in Trier and Chantilly. Other central manuscripts attributed to the ‘Master of the Registrum Gregorii’ or short ‘Gregory Master’ include but are not limited to the *Strahov Gospels*<sup>6</sup>, the *Sainte-Chapelle Gospels*<sup>7</sup>

<sup>2</sup> For the *Gospel Book* of Otto III (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 4453): F. Mutherich, K. Dachs, *Das Evangeliar Ottos III. Clm 4453 der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek München* (Munich: Prestel Verlag, 2001), pp. 31–35; E. Klemm, *Katalog der illuminierten Handschriften der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek in München, 2: Die ottonischen und frühromanischen Handschriften der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek* (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 2004), pp. 194–200 cat. 187. On the Reichenau most recently: K. G. Beuckers, “Bemerkungen zur Reichenauer Buchmalerei im 10. Jahrhundert”, in *Die Klosterinsel Reichenau im Mittelalter, Geschichte – Kunst – Architektur*, eds. W. Zimmermann, O. Siart, M. Gedigk (Regensburg: Schnell & Steiner, 2024), pp. 219–41.

<sup>3</sup> Please see for example: H. V. Sauerland, A. Haseloff, “Der Psalter Erzbischof Egeberts von Trier. *Codex Gertrudianus*”, in *Cividale* (Trier: Selbstverlag der Gesellschaft für Nützliche Forschungen, 1901); U. Nilgen, “Blonde Roma? Zum Sinn des Blondhaars in der Buchmalerei der Reichenau”, *Journal of Art History* 66, no. 1 (2003): pp. 19–32, esp. 27; I. Siede, “Abkopiert – ummontiert – uninterpretiert: Buchmalerei und Elfenbein im 10. und 11. Jahrhundert – byzantinische Kunst missverstanden?”, in *Byzanz und seine europäischen Nachbarn. Politische Interdependenzen und kulturelle Missverständnisse*, eds. L. Körntgen, J. Kusber, J. Pahlitzsch, F. Carlà-Uhink (Mainz: Verlag des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums, 2020), pp. 103–18, esp. 105.

<sup>4</sup> For the *Codex Egberti* (Trier, Stadtbibliothek, Cod. 24) please refer to: H. Schiel, *Codex Egberti der Stadtbibliothek Trier. Voll-Faksimile-Ausgabe* (Basel: Alkuin Verlag, 1960); G. Franz, ed., *Der Egbert-Codex. Das Leben Jesu. Ein Höhepunkt der Buchmalerei vor 1000 Jahren. Handschrift 24 der Stadtbibliothek Trier*, exh. cat. (Darmstadt: Faksimile Verlag Luzern, 2005); M. Embach, *Der Codex Egberti (StB Hs 24). Ein Meisterwerk der ottonischen Buchkunst* (Trier: Paulinus, 2009).

<sup>5</sup> For the *Egbert Palter* (Cividale, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Cod. 136) please refer to: Sauerland, Haseloff, “Der Psalter Erzbischof”, cit.; C. Hattler, M. Gedigk, O. Siart, eds., *Welterbe des Mittelalters. 1300 Jahre Klosterinsel Reichenau*, exh. cat. (Regensburg: Schnell & Steiner, 2024), pp. 388–94 cat. no. 123.

<sup>6</sup> For the *Strahov Gospels* (Prague, Strahov Abbey, DF III 3): B. Nitschke, “Obrazy evangelistů strahovského evangeliáře”, *Strahovská knihovna. Sborník Památníku Národního písemnictví* 3 (1968): pp. 5–14; E. G. Šidlovský, T. Žilinčar, *Faksimile Strahovského evangeliáře. Doprovodná publikace k faksimile rukopisu uloženého v knihovně Královské kanonie premonstrátů na Strahově v Praze pod signaturou DF III* (Prague: Tempus Libri, 2012); D. Oltrogge, “Aneignung und ‘Inszenierung’ von Evangelien in institutionellem und liturgischem Gebrauch – drei Fallbeispiele”, *Journal of Art History* 80, no. 2 (2017): pp. 201–17.

<sup>7</sup> For the *Sainte-Chapelle Gospels* (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Lat. 8851): J. Durant, M. Laffitte, eds., *Le trésor de la Sainte-Chapelle*, exh. cat. (Paris: RMN, 2001), pp. 215–20 cat. no. 59; M. Puhle, G. Köster, eds., *Otto der Große und das Römische Reich. Kaisertum von der Antike zum Mittelalter*, exh. cat. (Regensburg: Schnell & Steiner,

as well as seven miniatures and one preliminary drawing in the *Codex Egberti* – the very same manuscript that features Reichenau monks as bearers and likely as its creators<sup>8</sup>. Because of its ties to the ‘Gregory Master’ the *Codex Egberti* is generally considered a collaboration project between Trier and Reichenau; the same seems to apply to the closely related *Trier Epistolar*<sup>9</sup>. The artistic connection between these distant book illumination centres around the year 1000 extends beyond these manuscripts. Before the unexpected meeting points are further examined, the codex that, based on its inscription, brings the two places together shall be discussed as a starting point<sup>10</sup>.

*Archbishop Egbert, the Monks Ruodprecht, Keraldus and Heribertus, and the ‘Gregory Master’*

The *Egbert Psalter* is believed to be older than the *Codex Egberti*, originating around 980, the same time as the Staff Reliquary of Saint Peter from Egbert’s goldsmith workshop<sup>11</sup>. In the pictorial programmes of the Staff Reliquary and the Psalter, Egbert presents himself as the acting successor in a series of religious functionaries that trace back directly to Saint Peter. The Psalter text is divided into fifteen decades. Each group of ten is preceded by a double page, the *recto* of which shows a very richly decorated initial page, while the verso shows a bishop of Trier as part of the Apostolic succession. At the beginning of the manuscript stands the enthroned Archbishop Egbert and receives the commissioned codex from a monk named Ruodprecht (fols. 16v-17r) [fig. 1]. On the following double page, Egbert himself is the bearer and hands the book to the enthroned Saint Peter, who is also the patron saint of Trier Cathedral (fols. 18v-19r). In terms of style the *Egbert Psalter* is particularly close to the *Poussay Gospels*<sup>12</sup>. Both manuscripts are part of the so-called Ruodprecht

---

2012), pp. 658-60 cat. no.V. 57.

<sup>8</sup> Attributions to the art-historical construct ‘Gregory Master’ as an individual illuminator should be viewed with caution. For more on the ‘Gregory Master’ please refer to U. Prinz, *Studien zum sogenannten Gregormeister und der ottonischen Buchmalerei in Trier*, PhD dissertation (Universität Kiel, 2024).

<sup>9</sup> For the *Trier Epistolar* (Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Ms. theol. lat. fol. 34): A. von Euw, “Das Epistolar Ms. theol. lat. fol. 34 der Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz Berlin”, in *Egbert Erzbischof von Trier 977–933. Gedenkschrift der Diözese Trier zum 1000. Todestag*, ed. F. J. Ronig (Trier: Selbstverlag des Rheinischen Landesmuseums, 1993), II, pp. 53-60; U. Prinz, “Das unvollendete Trierer Pracht epistolar in der Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Ms. theol. lat. fol. 34”, in *Illustrierte Epistolare des frühen und hohen Mittelalters*, eds. K. G. Beuckers, V. Bienert, U. Prinz (Regensburg: Schnell & Steiner, 2021), pp. 103-51.

<sup>10</sup> The following sections contain aspects that are discussed in my dissertation: Prinz, *Studien*, cit.

<sup>11</sup> For the Trier staff reliquary of St. Peter (Limburg, Domschatz, Inv. Nr. D 2/1) please refer to: H. Westermann-Angerhausen, “Die Goldschmiedearbeiten der Trierer Egbertwerkstatt”, *Trierer Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Kunst des Trierer Landes und seiner Nachbargebiete* 4 (1973): pp. 34-40, 125 f., pp. 129-134 and passim; Ronig ed., *Egbert Erzbischof*, cit., I, pp. 38 f. cat. no. 43; S. E. Eckenfels-Kunst, *Goldemails. Untersuchungen zu ottonischen und frühalsalischen Goldzellenschmelzen* (Berlin: Pro Business, 2008), pp. 45-47, pp. 277-81 cat. no. 26; H. H. Anton, *Regesten der Bischöfe und Erzbischöfe von Trier, 1.3: Die Trierer Kirche und die Trierer Bischöfe in der ausgehenden Antike und am Beginn des Mittelalters. Bischöfe von der Wende des 4./5. Jahrhunderts bis zum Beginn des 7. Jahrhunderts* (Cologne: Böhlau, 2019), pp. 558-60 cat. no. 55; Generaldirektion Kulturelles Erbe Rheinland-Pfalz, B. Schneidmüller, eds., *Die Kaiser und die Säulen ihrer Macht. Von Karl dem Großen bis Friedrich Barbarossa*, exh. cat. (Darmstadt: wbg Theiss, 2020), pp. 248-50 cat. no. II. 41; J. Bergmann, “Egberts Petrusstab-Reliquiar. Aspekte der Restaurierungsgeschichte”, in *Der Andreas-Tragaltar. Restaurierungsgeschichte, offene Forschungsfragen und Neupräsentation eines Hauptwerks der ottonischen Goldschmiedekunst*, ed. Museum am Dom Trier (Regensburg: Schnell & Steiner, 2023), pp. 85-93. For the goldsmith workshop under Egbert: K. G. Beuckers, “Kunst als politisches Argument. Erzbischof Egbert und seine Goldschmiedewerkstatt”, in *Der Andreas-Tragaltar*, cit., pp. 10-27.

<sup>12</sup> For the *Poussay Gospels* (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Lat. 10514) and the *Ruodprecht Group*: T. Labusiak, *Die Ruodprechtgruppe der ottonischen Reichenauer Buchmalerei. Bildquellen – Ornamentik – stilgeschichtliche Voraussetzungen* (Berlin: Deutscher Verlag für Kunstwissenschaft, 2009).

Group, named after the monk depicted in the Psalter. It follows the book illumination of the so-called Anno Group, again named after an individual mentioned in one of the manuscripts. Anno was the scribe who wrote the *Gero Codex*, a commissioned work for the Cologne presbyter and later Archbishop Gero (r. 969–976)<sup>13</sup>. Like the *Egbert Psalter*, the *Gero Codex* also contains a dedication cycle. On fol. 6v, Gero presents the manuscript to Saint Peter; in the accompanying poem, Gero humbly asks for salvation and access to the heavenly realm. On fol. 7v Gero receives the codex from Anno, who introduces himself as Gero's supporter and invokes his intercession. That Anno is the scribe of the manuscript is clear from the devotional formula in the dedicatory poem (fol. 8r). For the *Egbert Psalter*, which lacks a dedicatory poem, the same form with a depiction of the scribe could be assumed. The inscription reads: "Donum fert Ruodpreht. Quod suscipit Egbreht" ("Ruodpreht brings the gift. Egbert accepts it"). The description of the manuscript as a gift from the presenter can also be found in the *Gero Codex*, which reads: "Saepius optatum garanter sume libellum, Quem tibi fert Anno saltim pro munere parvo" ("joyfully take the often desired book that Anno brings you as a not-so-small gift")<sup>14</sup>.

According to Michael Embach, the Ruodprecht depicted in the *Egbert Psalter* is identical to the Mettlach scribe Ruopert of the Adalbert Vita and the Psalter is therefore a manuscript from the Trier workshop, not a Reichenau one<sup>15</sup>. In contrast, Thomas Labusiak, who decidedly attributed the Psalter to the Reichenau, found that the depicted monk, regarding Embach's thesis, could be ruled out as a scribe (or painter)<sup>16</sup>. Ruopert from Mettlach is also an unlikely candidate for the role of conceptualiser, Labusiak argues, since as a hagiographer "the partially unchronological order of the Trier archbishops in the litany and miniature series [...] would certainly have run counter to him"<sup>17</sup>. He would therefore only be conceivable as a founder, which seemed doubtful for other reasons<sup>18</sup>. Karl Lamprecht had suggested an identification with a Ruotbert, who is the only person with this name documented at Trier Cathedral Abbey from around 970 to 981, where he was first choir bishop and then archbishop from 973<sup>19</sup>. As a possible benefactor, Ruotbert from Trier would carry different weight, as he would stand alongside Egbert as a "fellow campaigner" in church politics<sup>20</sup>. As appealing as the various speculations are, the *Gero Codex* provides an exemplary form for this type of dedication cycle. There is no reason to deviate from this or to doubt that Ruodprecht, as *scriptor*, was responsible for the handcrafted production of the codex. Hartmut Hoffmann was able to establish

<sup>13</sup> For the *Gero-Codex* (Darmstadt, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek, Hs. 1948) please refer to: A. von Euw, ed., *Vor dem Jahr 1000. Abendländische Buchkunst zur Zeit der Kaiserin Theophanu*, Ausst. Kat. Museum Schnütgen Köln, exh. cat. (Cologne: Stadt Köln 1991), pp. 118–21 cat. no. 31; A. von Euw, "Der Darmstädter *Gero-Codex* und die künstlerisch verwandten Reichenauer Prachthandschriften", in *Kaiserin Theophanu. Begegnung des Ostens und Westens um die Wende des ersten Jahrtausends. Gedenkschrift des Kölner Schnütgen-Museums zum 1000. Todesjahr der Kaiserin*, eds. A. von Euw, P. Schreiner (Cologne: Schnütgen-Museum, 1991), pp. 191–225; Hattler, Gedigk, Siart *Welterbe des Mittelalters*, cit., pp. 332–35 cat. no. 114.

<sup>14</sup> After the German translation of: von Euw, "Der Darmstädter *Gero-Codex*", cit., p. 195.

<sup>15</sup> M. Embach, "Die Adalbert-Vita des Benediktinermönchs Ruopert von Mettlach – eine hagiographische Auftragsarbeit Erzbischof Egberts von Trier", in *Egbert Erzbischof*, cit., II, esp. 30–32; please refer also to Labusiak, *Die Ruodprechtgruppe*, cit., p. 317.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 318.

<sup>17</sup> *Ivi.*

<sup>18</sup> It would not only be "the only known case of a simple monk" as the donor of a magnificent manuscript, but also "a reason would have to be found as to why a monk from Mettlach was able to donate a manuscript that was so important for Trier in terms of its political content". *Ibid.*, p. 318.

<sup>19</sup> K. Lamprecht, "Der Bilderschmuck des *Cod. Egberti* zu Trier und des *Cod. Epternacensis* zu Gotha", *Jahrbücher des Vereins von Alterthumsfreunden im Rheinlande* 70 (1881): pp. 56–112, esp. 59.

<sup>20</sup> Labusiak, *Die Ruodprechtgruppe*, cit., p. 319.

the involvement of four Reichenau scribes<sup>21</sup>. Ruodprecht could have most likely been the head of the project.

Like Gero in his *Codex*, Egbert is also depicted twice: as the recipient and the bearer. He thus personally establishes the connection between the earthly production and the heavenly foundation. As the recipient Egbert appears like a ruler, frontally seated on an ornate throne. With his left hand he grasps his golden crosier, while his right hand points toward the approaching Ruodprecht. The archbishop also appears in a very similar way on the frontispiece of the *Codex Egberti* [fig. 2]; and while most attributions are based on stylistic comparisons and attempts at historical reconstruction, this particularly important manuscript contains actual tangible references to Trier and Reichenau through its inscriptions. The motif of handing over the codex gains a special significance when assuming that the bearer and recipient come from two different regions. The brief moment of their coming together materialises in the very object depicted.

The *Codex Egberti* is an evangelistary with 52 miniatures of Christological scenes that illustrate the corresponding periscopes. It is the oldest and most comprehensive surviving cycle of images on the life of Jesus. The evangelistary begins with four double decorative pages: dedication text and image (fol. 1v/2r), evangelist images (fols. 3v-4r, 5v-6r) and the *incipit* with an initial page at the beginning of the text (fols. 7v-8r). From a stylistic point of view this introductory sequence must be distinguished from the rest of the decoration of the book. In particular, the wide ornamental frames and patterned carpet backgrounds with lots of gold and purple are similar to the book decoration of the *Egbert Psalter*, whose ornamental richness is the defining feature of the manuscript.

Due to the wide ornamental frame, Egbert's depiction on the dedication painting is significantly smaller than that of the evangelists. His figure nevertheless appears monumental, as he towers over the monks standing only knee high. Egbert is dressed in a red robe, while the white pallium, whose colour has faded and become transparent over the years, falls low from his shoulders, kinking in his lap and continuing over his left knee. As in the *Egbert Psalter*, the archbishop, is depicted *en face* with a rectangular nimbus, and sits enthroned in a regal pose. His monumental figure creates a sense of distance from the monks below him. Without turning towards them, he accepts the codex from Keraldus with his right hand. The latter carries the book with both hands towards the archbishop, to whom he looks up. Heribertus, standing on the right-hand side and unnoticed by Egbert, appears somewhat detached, holding a similar codex – which is believed to represent the *Trier Epistolary* – in front of his body. Doris Oltrogge and Robert Fuchs established that the monk Heribertus was an initially unplanned addition<sup>22</sup>. For the figures of Egbert and Keraldus, the corresponding areas were left blank in the first layer of the purple ground. Heribertus was painted over the coloured ground in a later step. As the painting was less able to adhere, this also explains the damaged state of preservation of his figure. According to the original concept, only Keraldus was intended. The need to depict Heribertus evidently arose during the production process.

The significance of the two monks has long been disputed. An early and still common assumption regards Keraldus and Heribertus as the “scriptores et pictores codicis”<sup>23</sup>. Hartmut Hoffmann saw the monks as the actual founders of the codex, who appear in the name of Reichenau<sup>24</sup>. According to Oltrogge and Fuchs, they were the project managers – a position initially held by Keraldus and later

<sup>21</sup> H. Hoffmann, *Buchkunst und Königtum im ottonischen und frühsalischen Reich* (Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1986), I, p. 315.

<sup>22</sup> D. Oltrogge, R. Fuchs, “Kerald und Heribert. Zur Entstehungsgeschichte des Widmungsbildes im *Codex Egberti*”, *Kurtrierisches Jahrbuch* 29 (1989): pp. 65-86.

<sup>23</sup> J. H. Wyttenbach, *Catalogus Manuscriptorum Bibliothecae publicae Treverensis* (Trier: 1831), cat. no. 24, quoted from Schiel, *Codex Egberti*, cit., p. 171 note 4.

<sup>24</sup> Hoffmann, *Buchkunst und Königtum*, cit., I, p. 84.

shared with Heribertus<sup>25</sup>. The original concept only envisaged the artistic introductory sequence followed by pure text. The inclusion of a Christological cycle was a change to the original plan<sup>26</sup>.

The dedicatory text, written in hexameters, describes the codex as an offering by the ‘blessed meadow’: “Hunc Egberte librum divino dogmate plenum / Suscipiendo vale, nec non in saecula gaude / Augia fausta tibi quem defert praesul honori” (Egbert, receive this book full of divine teaching / May it bring you prosperity and joy for eternity / The blessed meadow offers it to you, Bishop, in your honour.)<sup>27</sup>. *Augia fausta* can only mean Reichenau, although this name is not documented elsewhere and the monastery is actually called Augia dives – ‘rich meadow’<sup>28</sup>. It is highly unlikely that the *Codex Egberti* was a genuine present from the Reichenau monastery to the Archbishop of Trier<sup>29</sup>. In the older *Gero Codex* and in the *Egbert Psalter*, the manuscripts are also respectively described as gifts from Anno and Ruodprecht in their dedicatory texts. Despite this wording, however, both were probably scribes carrying out a commissioned work, rather than actual donors. The monks depicted and named are the makers. Why would simple monks, who are not explicitly characterised as abbots representing their monastery, make such an expensive gift to the Archbishop of Trier? There is no sufficient evidence for this practice. Egbert also appears, as in his Psalter, not as the active recipient of a gift, but as a donor who accepts a commissioned work. With his donation and pictorial representation, Egbert secures his own *memoria*<sup>30</sup>.

Since Walter Gernsheim, the following seven miniatures of the Christological cycle of the *Codex Egberti* have been attributed to the ‘Gregory Master’: *Annunciation* (fol. 9v), *Visitation* (fol. 10v), *Dream of Joseph* (fol. 12r), *Nativity* (fol. 13r), *Infanticide in Bethlehem* (fol. 15v), *Healing the centurion’s servant* (fol. 22r) and *Healing the mother of Peter’s wife* (fol. 22v)<sup>31</sup>. Doris Oltrogge and Robert Fuchs also attributed the preparatory drawing for the *Banquet in Bethany* (fol. 65r) to the same artist<sup>32</sup>. Probably four or five different illuminators contributed to the miniature scenes<sup>33</sup>.

The discussion of historical models for the cycle of images in the *Codex Egberti* is always linked to the question whether it belongs to a Reichenau or Trier pictorial tradition, which is crucial for

<sup>25</sup> Oltrogge, Fuchs, “Kerald und Heribert”, cit., p. 79 f.; K. G. Beuckers, “Der verfügte Adressat. Manifestation und Autorenschaft in Herrscherbildern ottonischer und frühsalischer Buchmalerei”, in *Mäzenaten im Mittelalter aus europäischer Perspektive. Von historischen Akteuren zu literarischen Konzepten*, eds. B. Bastert, A. Bihrer, T. Felber (Göttingen: V&R unipress, 2017), pp. 239–66, esp. 257, note 36: saw Ruodprecht of the Egbert Psalter as the workshop manager. Following the logic of representation, a similar position could be assumed for Keraldus and Heribertus.

<sup>26</sup> Please refer to: W. Schmid, “Zwischen Frömmigkeit und Politik. Reliquien im Mittelalter. Das Beispiel Erzbischof Egberts von Trier”, in *Medien des Wissens. Interdisziplinäre Aspekte von Medialität*, eds. G. Mein, H. Sieburg (Bielefeld: transcript-Verlag, 2011), pp. 65–98, esp. 74.

<sup>27</sup> After the German translation of: F. J. Ronig, “Erzbischof Egbert und die Entstehung seines Evangeliums [mit] Erläuterungen zu den Tafeln. Ikonographie”, in *Codex Egberti. Teilfaksimile-Ausgabe des Ms. 24 der Stadtbibliothek Trier*, ed. G. Franz (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 1983), p. 51.

<sup>28</sup> Please refer to: Schiel, *Codex Egberti*, cit., p. 104.

<sup>29</sup> Please refer to Lamprecht with the idea of a gift (Lamprecht, “Der Bilderschmuck”, cit., pp. 75–77); Berschin and Kuder agree with this (W. Berschin, U. Kuder, *Reichenauer Buchmalerei 850–1070* (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 2015), p. 23). Please see Hoffmann on Ruodprecht as the donor of the Egbert Psalter (Hoffmann, *Buchkunst und Königtum*, cit., I, p. 315).

<sup>30</sup> On the memorial function of donor images: O. G. Oexle, “Memoria und Memorialbild”, in *Memoria. Der geschichtliche Zeugniswert des liturgischen Gedenkens im Mittelalter*, eds. W. Schmid, J. Wollasch (Societas et Fraternitas. Munich: Fink, 1984), pp. 384–440, esp. 391–94.

<sup>31</sup> W. Gernsheim, *Die Buchmaler der Reichenau*, PhD dissertation (Universität Munich, 1934), p. 18.

<sup>32</sup> D. Oltrogge, “*Materia und Ingenium*. Beobachtungen zur Herstellung des Egbertcodex”, in *Egbert Erzbischof*, cit., II, pp. 123–52; D. Oltrogge, R. Fuchs, “Mit Infrarot und Röntgenstrahl. Ergebnisse naturwissenschaftlicher und kunsttechnologischer Untersuchungen des *Egbert-Codex*”, in *Der Egbert-Codex. Das Leben Jesu*, cit., pp. 189–217.

<sup>33</sup> Please refer to Schiel, *Codex Egberti*, cit., pp. 86–89 with an overview of various painter differentiations of past research. An updated overview in: Labusiak, *Die Ruodprechtgruppe*, cit., esp. 79–83.

determining the manuscript group's origin. Carolingian book illumination primarily depicted Old Testament themes alongside the *Maiestas Domini* and images of the Evangelists<sup>34</sup>. An extensive Christological cycle first appears in the *Codex Egberti* during the Ottonian period. The decoration concept was quickly copied, for example in the Gospels of Otto III, the *Bamberg Apocalypse* and the *Pericopes* of Henry II (r. 1002–1024)<sup>35</sup>. A frequently drawn connection is to the wall paintings of Saint George in Reichenau–Oberzell<sup>36</sup>. The New Testament picture cycle contains eight scenes of healing and resurrection miracles<sup>37</sup>. The dating is still subject to dispute. There initially seemed to be a consensus that the paintings of Saint George's probably began under Abbot Witigowo (r. 985–996)<sup>38</sup>, before Koichi Koshi attributed it to Abbot Hatto III (r. 888–913), with Ulrich Kuder later supporting this view<sup>39</sup>. This approach was rejected by more recent research, with Barbara Franzé coming to the conclusion that the nave paintings must have been created under Abbot Alawich II (r. 997–1000) or Werinher (r. 1000–1006)<sup>40</sup>. Finally, Rainer Warland also examined the Byzantine influences of the monumental paintings, whose foundation he believes to have been in the circle of

<sup>34</sup> Please refer to K. Martin, *Die ottonischen Wandbilder der St. Georgskirche Reichenau-Oberzell* (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1975), p. 31.

<sup>35</sup> For the *Bamberg Apocalypse* (Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Msc.Bibl.140) please refer to G. Suckale-Redlefsen, B. Schemmel, eds., *Das Buch mit 7 Siegeln. Die Bamberger Apokalypse*, exh. cat. (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2000); H. Zens, M. Pippal, B. Schemmel, eds., *Graphisches Nachdenken über die Bamberger Apokalypse*, exh. cat. (Bamberg: Selbstverlag Staatsbibliothek, 2005); B. Schneidmüller, B. Wagner, H. Wolter-von dem Knesebeck, eds., *Die Bamberger Apokalypse. Visionen vom Ende der Zeit*, exh. cat. (Darmstadt: wbg Edition, 2022). For the *Pericopes* of Henry II (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 4452): H. Fillitz, R. Kahsnitz, U. Kuder, eds., *Zierde für ewige Zeit. Das Perikopenbuch Heinrichs II.* (Ausstellungskataloge. Bayerische Staatsbibliothek 63, Frankfurt am Main: Fischer, 1994); E. Klemm, *Katalog der illuminierten Handschriften der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek in München, 2: Die ottonischen und frühromanischen Handschriften der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek* (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 2004); J. K. Eberlein, "Das Perikopenbuch Heinrichs II. (Clm 4452). Ein Blick auf die Herstellungsweise der Miniaturen", in *Wege zum illuminierten Buch. Herstellungsbedingungen für Buchmalerei in Mittelalter und früher Neuzeit*, eds. C. Beier, E. T. Kubina (Cologne: Böhlau, 2014), pp. 10–25.

<sup>36</sup> On the history of the building please refer to W. Erdmann, "Neue Befunde zur Baugeschichte und Wandmalerei in St. Georg zu Reichenau–Oberzell", in *Die Abtei Reichenau. Neue Beiträge zur Geschichte und Kultur des Inselklosters*, ed. H. Maurer (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1974), pp. 577–90; M. Untermann, "Die archäologische Erforschung der Insel Reichenau", in *Klosterinsel Reichenau im Bodensee. UNESCO-Weltkulturerbe*, eds., M. Untermann, K. Kramer (Landesdenkmalamt Baden-Württemberg. Arbeitsheft 8. Stuttgart: Theiss, 2001), pp. 157–71. On the uncovering of the frescoes in the 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries please refer to J. Sauer, "Die Monumentalmalerei der Reichenau", in *Die Kultur der Abtei Reichenau. Erinnerungsschrift zur zwölfhundertsten Wiederkehr des Gründungsjahres des Inselklosters 724–1924*, ed. K. Beyerle (Munich: Verlag der Münchner Drucke, 1925), II, pp. 902–55, esp. 905 f. On their fundamental restoration in the 1980s: D. Jakobs, "Die Wandmalereien von St. Georg in Reichenau-Oberzell. Untersuchung – Dokumentation – Kontroversen", *ICOMOS. Hefte des Deutschen Nationalkomitees* 23 (1998): pp. 161–90. On the theology of the wall paintings please refer to W. Brändle, T. Keller, *Die Macht der Bilder. Die ottonischen Wandbilder in der Kirche St. Georg auf der Klosterinsel Reichenau* (Beuron: Beuronischer Kunstverlag, 2011) with large colour photographs.

<sup>37</sup> On the north wall from west to east: healing of the possessed man of Gerasa, healing of the water addict, calming of the storm on the Sea of Galilee, healing of a man born blind; on the south wall from east to west: healing of a leper, raising of the young man of Nain, raising of Jairus' daughter and healing of the woman with the issue of blood, raising of Lazarus.

<sup>38</sup> "First the crypt (after 980), then the nave (shortly before 1000)": Erdmann, "Neue Befunde", cit., p. 590.

<sup>39</sup> K. Koshi, "Neue Aspekte zur Erforschung der Wandmalereien in Reichenau-Oberzell", *Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* 44 (1991): pp. 47–62; K. Koshi, *Die frühmittelalterlichen Wandmalereien der St. Georgskirche zu Oberzell auf der Bodenseeinsel Reichenau*, II, (Berlin: Dietrich Reimer Verlag, 1999); W. Berschin, U. Kuder, *Reichenauer Wandmalerei 840–1120. Goldbach. Reichenau-Oberzell St. Georg. Reichenau-Niederzell St. Peter und Paul* (Heidelberg: Mattes, 2012), pp. 58–66.

<sup>40</sup> B. Franzé, "Images et société à Reichenau, vers l'an mil. Les peintures d'Oberzell et les manuscrits apparentés", *Journal of Art History* 84 (2021): pp. 147–80.

Emperor Otto III<sup>41</sup>. This dating approach places the paintings close to the Gospels of Otto III and the subsequent manuscripts. The Oberzell wall paintings share more similarities with this group of manuscripts than with the *Egbert Codex*, which deviates more iconographically and “shows hardly any reflection” overall<sup>42</sup>.

Adolf Weis assumed that the manuscript picture cycles were based on a fully illustrated lectionary from the late 6<sup>th</sup> century, which was located on the monastery island and is said to have served as the Reichenau ‘main model’<sup>43</sup>. Franz Ronig rightly questioned whether this late antique prototype could also have been located in Trier or in the neighbouring Echternach<sup>44</sup>. This would be supported by the *Echternach Evangelistary* of Henry III (r. 1046–1056), which has numerous correspondences to the *Codex Egberti*. It is however, probably not based directly on it, but both are related by a common source<sup>45</sup>. In the search for the ‘main model’, Barbara Zimmermann fundamentally warned “that the question of the archetype of a late antique Bible cycle in view of the surviving monuments is a kind of dead end if one does not accept at the same time that the narrative mode of representation is not bound to one medium, just as little as the narrative frieze form of a cycle must have its roots in book illumination”<sup>46</sup>. The illuminators of the *Codex Egberti* did not just draw from one source, as can be seen in the Carolingian and Byzantine influences<sup>47</sup>. The high intellectual standard of the overall concept as well as the individual pictorial programme testifies to the remarkable creative power of those involved in the production, who were also able to further develop the models independently and were capable of formulating new pictorial inventions without specific models.

The *Codex Egberti* sparked a still unresolved research debate regarding its localisation. It prompted some authors to reconstruct a background story of travelling illuminators and others to completely deconstruct the notion of a Reichenau production of splendid manuscripts<sup>48</sup>. Carl Nordenfalk’s much-received attempt at an explanation envisioned the idea of travelling artists. He imagined that the ‘Gregory Master’ visited Reichenau, helped to produce the *Codex Egberti* there, and then traveled back to Trier. Georg Swarzenski argued in favour of the reverse case, i.e. an origin

<sup>41</sup> R. Warland, “Die Wandmalereien von St. Georg in Reichenau-Oberzell und ihr Rückgriff auf die frühbyzantinische Allegorese des Codex Rossano”, in *Die Klosterinsel Reichenau im Mittelalter. Geschichte – Kunst – Architektur*, eds. W. Zimmermann, O. Siart, M. Gedigk (Regensburg: Schnell & Steiner, 2024), pp. 272–87. On the wall paintings and the dating discussion: C. Raither-Schärli, “Wunderbilder im Großformat. Die frühmittelalterlichen Wandmalereien von St. Georg in Oberzell”, in *Welterbe des Mittelalters*, cit., pp. 318–31.

<sup>42</sup> Ronig, “Erzbischof Egbert”, cit., pp. 29–141, esp. 40; M. Exner, “Die ottonischen Wandmalereien der Reichenau. Aspekte ihrer chronologischen Stellung”, *Zeitschrift des deutschen Vereins für Kunstwissenschaft* 58 (2004): pp. 93–115, esp. 106 f. A fragment with the head of a saint was uncovered in the crypt of Saint George’s, which requires knowledge of the *Codex Egberti* and the *Ruodprecht group*. Martin, *Die ottonischen Wandbilder*, cit., p. 34.

<sup>43</sup> A. Weis, “Die spätantike Lektionar-Illustration im Skriptorium der Reichenau”, in *Die Abtei Reichenau*, cit., pp. 311–62; W. Erdmann, *Die Reichenau im Bodensee. Geschichte und Kunst* (Königstein im Taunus: Langewiesche, 1993), p. 34.

<sup>44</sup> Ronig, “Erzbischof Egbert”, cit., p. 40.

<sup>45</sup> Please refer to J. M. Plotzek, “Anfänge der ottonischen Trier-Echternacher Buchmalerei”, *Wallraf-Richartz-Jahrbuch. Westdeutsches Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* 32 (1970): pp. 7–36, esp. 9; Ronig, “Erzbischof Egbert”, cit., p. 40. For the Evangelistary of Henry III (Bremen, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Ms. b. 21) please refer to B. Bruch, W. Böhne, “Das Evangeliar Heinrichs III. in der Staatsbibliothek zu Bremen. Seine Bilder- und Perikopenfolge”, *Kurtrierisches Jahrbuch* 8 (1968): pp. 34–58; continued *Kurtrierisches Jahrbuch* 9 (1969): pp. 45–69; J. M. Plotzek, “Das Perikopenbuch Heinrichs III”, in *Bremen und seine Stellung innerhalb der Echternacher Buchmalerei* (Cologne: Kleikamp, 1970); *Das Echternacher Evangelistar Kaiser Heinrichs III. Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Bremen, Ms. b. 21*, ed. G. Knoll (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 1995).

<sup>46</sup> B. Zimmermann, *Die Wiener Genesis im Rahmen der antiken Buchmalerei. Ikonographie, Darstellung, Illustrationsverfahren und Aussageintention* (Wiesbaden: Reichert 2003), p. 236.

<sup>47</sup> Please refer to: Ronig, *Egbert Erzbischof*, cit., I, pp. 23 f. cat. no. 10, esp. p. 24.

<sup>48</sup> Nordenfalk, “The chronology”, cit., p. 68; Berschin, Kuder, *Reichenauer Buchmalerei*, cit., p. 23.



of the manuscript in Trier with the participation of Reichenau monks<sup>49</sup>. Hubert Schiel agreed with this view, considering it unlikely that the farewell greeting in the dedicatory verses was addressed to the Archbishop of Trier, who was leaving Reichenau, but rather to Keraldus and Heribertus, who were leaving Trier to go back to Reichenau, especially since no other manuscripts attributed to the Reichenau contain such a reference to their origin<sup>50</sup>.

However, after critically analysing the various attributions to the ‘Gregory Master’ the highly heterogeneous nature of the illuminations, which could in no way have originated from one and the same person or their circle, was revealed<sup>51</sup>. Instead, smaller clusters can be identified according to stylistic and technical similarities. The main cluster surrounding the *Registrum Gregorii* also includes the Strahov Gospels and – with a certain distance – the *Sainte-Chapelle Gospels*. But as for the *Codex Egberti*, the book illumination differs significantly from the manuscripts mentioned, which may be summarised under the art-historical term ‘Gregory Master’. Instead, the seven miniatures form a separate cluster with the *Trier Sacramentary*<sup>52</sup>. This manuscript contains saints from Trier in the *Communicantes* and the *Libera nos*, which should confirm its purpose for usage in Trier. Stylistically, the figurative paintings within the manuscript are tightly linked to the miniatures of the *Codex Egberti*. So, although there is no attribution to the phantom illuminator ‘Gregory Master’, there is still a clear connection with Trier.

The entire layout of a decorative text page on fol. 9r in the *Trier Sacramentary*, which contains a depiction of the crucified Christ in the middle and small busts in the ornamental frame, can be found in a similar way in a sacramentary from around 1030<sup>53</sup>. The later manuscript is assumed to have been produced on Reichenau, but for use in Trier; its calendar is tailored to Trier, the litany to Reichenau. Thus, by the 11<sup>th</sup> century, close ties between the two places still existed.

Around 1960, Romuald Bauerreiß and in particular Charles Reginald Dodwell, together with Derek Howard Turner, endeavoured to re-evaluate the Ottonian Reichenau book production. According to Bauerreiß, only three manuscripts are confirmed to be Reichenau works – including the *Egbert Codex*<sup>54</sup>. He consciously abandoned stylistic-critical methods and, after relocating the remaining manuscripts for monastic-historical reasons, established a “Trier-Regensburg school of painting” as the “fruit of the great monastic reform around 1000”, based on the Gorze-Trier monastic reform<sup>55</sup>. Bauerreiß also based his argument on the theory that the saints listed in the calendars were an indication of the place of production, not the place of destination<sup>56</sup>. In 1965, Dodwell and Turner monographically undertook a meticulous revision of the idea of a Reichenau centre of illumination from a historical and liturgical perspective<sup>57</sup>. Dodwell outlined “four general difficulties in accepting

<sup>49</sup> G. Swarzenski, *Die Regensburger Buchmalerei des X. und XI. Jahrhunderts. Studien zur Geschichte der deutschen Malerei des frühen Mittelalters* (Leipzig: K. W. Hiersemann, 1901), pp. 114 f.

<sup>50</sup> Schiel, *Codex Egberti*, cit., pp. 104 f.

<sup>51</sup> Please refer to: Prinz, *Studien*, cit.

<sup>52</sup> For the *Trier Sacramentary* (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Lat. 10501) please refer to: Ronig, *Egbert Erzbischof*, cit., I, p. 26 cat. no. 13; A. Wiczorek, H.-M. Hinz, eds., *Europas Mitte um 1000*, exh. cat. (Stuttgart: Theiss, 2000), p. 37 cat. no. 02, 03, 16.

<sup>53</sup> For the Reichenau-Trier Sacramentary (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Lat. 18005): F. Avril, C. Rabel, *Manuscrits enluminés d'origine germanique, Xe–XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale de France, 1995), p. 99 cat. no. 90.

<sup>54</sup> R. Bauerreiß, “Gab es eine ‘Reichenauer Malschule’ um die Jahrtausendwende?”, *Studien und Mitteilungen zur Geschichte des Benediktiner-Ordens und seiner Zweige* 68 (1957): pp. 40–72, esp. 47.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 71.

<sup>56</sup> Critically W. Eckert, who suggested a palaeographical examination for the classification of the manuscript group (W. Eckert, “Review of Bauerreiß”, *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters* 15 (1959): p. 566).

<sup>57</sup> C. R. Dodwell, D. H. Turner, *Reichenau Reconsidered. A Re-Assessment of the Place of Reichenau in Ottonian Art* (London: Warburg Institute, 1965); Bloch provided counter-arguments “in favour of a common school whose most

the traditional view of Reichenau as a school of illumination of overwhelming importance”<sup>58</sup>. Firstly, there are no historical sources in favour of said workshop; secondly, the quality of the manuscripts that were demonstrably on the Reichenau at this time would not meet the standard of those supposedly produced; furthermore, there is no obvious relationship to Reichenau that would justify the gifts expressed in dedications, and finally, the representation of different garments in the monks’ depictions is difficult to understand if they were created in the same scriptorium. Overall, Dodwell and Turner did not consider the factual basis for attributing the magnificent codices to Reichenau to be sufficient. They agreed with Schiel and localised them in Trier: that Trier was a flourishing centre of manuscript production is also demonstrable. Most scholars would agree that the Gregory Master was one of the greatest of all Ottonian painters, and he must have been living in Trier, for it is well known that his work is associated with the name of Egbert<sup>59</sup>.

There are connections to the manuscripts of the Anno and Ruodprecht Group not only through the iconography of dedication images. The text layout of the *Codex Egberti* follows the “basic structure” of the *Gero Codex*<sup>60</sup>. Even though this model appears to be from the Reichenau, it was executed by Trier scribes. Hoffmann distinguished three scribes for the main text<sup>61</sup>. Hand A is a leading Trier scribe, whose style is emulated by Hand B. Hand C is “a not particularly good Reichenau hand that belongs to the succession of Anno”<sup>62</sup>. Hoffmann later clarified his observations and identified scribe B with a Trier cathedral canon named Walker<sup>63</sup>. He therefore assumed that Trier Cathedral was the place of production for the *Codex Egberti*. Walter Berschin considered the main scribe B to be a Trier monk, presumably from St Maximin<sup>64</sup>. Both paleographers therefore argue – with other regional attributions – that the manuscript originated in a Trier scriptorium.

There are many examples of collaborations between illuminators and scribes from different locations. The *Würzburg Lectionary*, for example, was largely written by a Würzburg scribe, but its book decoration is attributed to Reichenau<sup>65</sup>. A Seon scribe and a Reichenau illuminator seem to have been involved in the *Hillinus Codex*, who produced the codex for and perhaps also in Cologne<sup>66</sup>. The production process of the *Egbert Psalter* differed. According to Hoffmann, the manuscript was created exclusively by scribes from Reichenau and, according to Labusiak, only by painters from Reichenau. It would appear to be a purely external commission. However, if the comparative works such as the Poussay Gospels are localized to Trier instead of Reichenau, as Dodwell suggests, the whole argumentative construct shifts in favour of the city on the Moselle<sup>67</sup>.

---

sensible location remains the Reichenau” (P. Bloch, *Das Reichenauer Evangelistar. Codex 78 A 2 aus dem Kupferstichkabinett der Staatlichen Museen Preußischer Kulturbesitz Berlin* (Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1995), pp. 23–28, esp. 28).

<sup>58</sup> Dodwell, Turner, *Reichenau*, cit., pp. 7 f.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 19.

<sup>60</sup> A. von Euw, “Der Egbert-Codex und der Meister des Registrum Gregorii”, *Kurtrierisches Jahrbuch* 46 (2006): pp. 317–31, esp. 326; Lamprecht “Der Bilderschmuck”, cit., p. 76 on the reading order dating back to the year 969.

<sup>61</sup> Hoffmann, *Buchkunst und Königtum*, cit., I, p. 488.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 489.

<sup>63</sup> H. Hoffmann, *Handschriftenfunde*, (Hannover: Hahn, 1997), p. 6.

<sup>64</sup> W. Berschin, “Der Hauptschreiber des ‘Codex Egberti’. Ein Kalligraph des X. Jahrhunderts”, *Scriptorium* 61 (2007): pp. 3–47.

<sup>65</sup> For the *Würzburg Lectionary* (Universitätsbibliothek Würzburg, M.p.th.q.5): Hoffmann, *Buchkunst und Königtum*, cit., pp. 347 f.; I. Siede, “Das Festtagslektionar in Würzburg (Universitätsbibliothek, M.p.th.q.5) und sein Bezug zu den Reichenauer Epistolaren”, in *Illustrierte Epistolare*, cit., pp. 179–95.

<sup>66</sup> For the *Hillinus Codex* (Erzbischöfliche Diözesan- und Dombibliothek Köln, Cod. 12): Hoffmann, *Buchkunst und Königtum*, cit., p. 410; J. H. Vennebusch, “Geliebter Leser, erbarme dich gleichermaßen auch unser! ‘Der Hillinus-Codex’ (Cod. 12) als mehrschichtiges Erinnerungsobjekt”, *MEMO* 4 (2019): pp. 1–25.

<sup>67</sup> Dodwell, Turner, *Reichenau*, cit., pp. 13–16.

*Further Links to Complicate the Case*

The manuscript most closely related to the *Codex Egberti*, the *Trier Epistolary* – and possibly the second manuscript depicted in the dedication image – shares the same complex connections, which point simultaneously to Trier and Reichenau. The epistolary contains four miniatures from Palm Sunday to Pentecost (fols. 15v, 17v, 25r, 26r), which are stylistically linked to those in the *Codex Egberti*. Further miniatures were planned, but never realised, and the spaces left free on fols. 44r and 45r-45v were filled with sketches that were not further elaborated. Overall, the epistolary is characterised by unfinished efforts that spoil its appearance and only hint at the concept originally planned. The image of Saint Paul on fol. 4v, which serves as the frontispiece, is of outstanding quality. The full-page miniature is closely related to the evangelist images in the *Codex Egberti*, which becomes particularly clear when compared with the depiction of Saint Mark. In the sanctorale of the epistolary on fol. 49v, the feast of Saint Paulinus of Trier is particularly marked, which attests to the epistolary's original purpose for use in Trier. The question of whether the manuscript was created in Trier or at Reichenau has been debated in art history without a solution<sup>68</sup>. From a palaeographical point of view, Hartmut Hofmann and Anton von Euw – with different hand distinctions, but the same result – identified Trier scribes at work<sup>69</sup>. After fol. 19v, there is a deterioration in quality both in the pictorial decoration and in the script<sup>70</sup>. The breach also corresponds to von Euw's observation that the 'Gregory Master' had an influence only on the initials, decorative pages, and miniatures from fol. 6v to 19v<sup>71</sup>. While the sketch on fol. 44r can at best be described as rudimentary, the drawings on fols. 45r and 45v are of a higher quality and stylistically reminiscent of Reichenau book illumination such as the Commentary to the Book of Daniel<sup>72</sup>. In its surviving form, the *Trier Epistolary* was created in separate stages, with early phases presumably extending over at least a decade after its creation. How the drawings in the style of Reichenau book illumination around the year 1000 found their way into the codex, which is said to have been in Trier, raises new questions rather

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 26; Bauerreiß, "Gab es eine 'Reichenauer Malschule', cit., pp. 53, 68. Bauerreiß favoured Trier for stylistic and geographical-practical reasons (R. Bauerreiß, "Über die angeblichen Reichenauer Malermönche Eburnant und Ruodprecht um das Jahr 1000", *Studien und Mitteilungen zur Geschichte des Benediktiner-Ordens und seiner Zweige* 76 (1965): pp. 36–40, esp. 39); V. H. Elbern argued in favour of an origin in Trier by Reichenau forces (V. H. Elbern, ed., *Preussischer Kulturbesitz*, exh. cat. (Berlin: Selbstverlag, 1967), p. 118 cat. no. 454). Powell distinguished between two phases, the first of which belonged to the style of the *Codex Egberti* and could be dated to around 980 (K. B. Powell, "Observations on a Number of Liuthar Manuscripts", *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 34 (1971): pp. 1–11). The unfinished complex was supplemented at a later date by – also unfinished – drawings in the 'Liuthar style', on the other hand, decidedly favoured an origin on Reichenau (Weis, "Die spätantike Lektionar", cit., p. 339). After no solution was found for the place of origin Brandis and Achten left the question open (T. Brandis, G. Achten, eds., *Zimelien. Abendländische Handschriften des Mittelalters aus den Sammlungen der Stiftung Preussischer Kulturbesitz Berlin*, exh. cat. (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 1975), p. 39 f. cat. no. 31; T. Brandis, G. Achten, eds., *Kostbare Handschriften und Drucke*, exh. cat. (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 1978), p. 19 cat. no. 4).

<sup>69</sup> Hoffmann, *Buchkunst und Königtum*, cit., I, pp. 462 f.; von Euw, "Das Epistolar", cit., p. 60.

<sup>70</sup> Berschin, "Der Hauptschreiber", cit., p. 19.

<sup>71</sup> von Euw, "Das Epistolar", cit., p. 60.

<sup>72</sup> For the Commentary to the Book of Daniel (Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Msc. Bibl. 22): B. Schemmel, ed., *Staatsbibliothek Bamberg. Handschriften, Buchdruck um 1500 in Bamberg*, E. T. A. Hoffmann, exh. cat. (Bamberg: Staatsbibliothek, 1990), pp. 70 f. cat. no. 28; H. Hoffmann, *Bamberger Handschriften des 10. und des 11. Jahrhunderts* (Hannover: Hahn, 1995), pp. 107 f.; G. Suckale-Redlefsen, *Katalog der illuminierten Handschriften der Staatsbibliothek Bamberg, I: Die Handschriften des 8. bis 11. Jahrhunderts der Staatsbibliothek Bamberg* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2004), pp. 85–88 cat. no. 63.

than answering existing ones.

The works that are attributed to the ‘Gregory Master’ seem to have been highly influential on the Reichenau book illumination. The *Registrum Gregorii* is a manuscript commissioned by Archbishop Egbert of Trier and was given an artistic preface immediately after the unexpected death of Otto II (r. 973–983), memorialising the deceased emperor. Two miniatures belonged to the manuscript: a depiction of Saint Gregory the Great after whom the illuminator – ‘Gregory Master’ – was retrospectively named<sup>73</sup>, as well as a painting showing Otto II surrounded by female personifications representing his empire. This particular iconography of the ruler’s image can be found in a very similar form in the Reichenau *Gospel Book* of Emperor Otto III and on a double sheet prebound to a copy of Flavius Josephus’ *De bello Judaico* in Bamberg<sup>74</sup>. The main difference to the Trier prototype is that here the image is spread over two pages and expanded to include spiritual and secular figures by the throne.

Another work closely linked to the *Registrum Gregorii* and believed to be also produced by the Trier ‘Gregory Master’ are the *Sainte-Chapelle Gospels*. It is an unfinished imperial manuscript that was probably written during the turmoil in early 984 after the death of Otto II, as can be seen from the alleged depiction of Henry the Quarrelsome (951–995), who briefly was a – albeit highly controversial – candidate for the succession to the throne. The miniatures of the manuscript were taken up again in the Echternach book illumination of the mid-11<sup>th</sup> century, but they had already been received in the Reichenau book illumination before that. The images of the evangelists in the Pericopes of Henry II and in the so-called *Bamberg Gospels*<sup>75</sup> are practically copies of the originals from the *Gospel Book* of Sainte-Chapelle. The book decoration of the Sainte-Chapelle manuscript is linked not only to the *Registrum Gregorii* but also to the Strahov Gospels and firmly located in the Trier context. Nevertheless, one detail led scholars to suspect that Reichenau illuminators were involved in its production: The small figures in the ornamentation above the canon arches are very similar to those in Reichenau manuscripts. Carl Nordenfalk assumed an exchange between Trier and Reichenau; the ‘Gregory Master’ may have visited Reichenau and helped to produce the *Codex Egberti*, a Reichenau book illustrator may have travelled to Trier to add the figures above the canon tables of the *Gospels of Sainte-Chapelle*<sup>76</sup>. The painted figures depict a carpenter and a stonemason at work, who can also be found in the *Gospel Book* of Emperor Otto III [fig. 3]. While there are models for the artistic design of the canon arches of the *Sainte Chapelle Gospels* in the manuscripts of the so-called court school of Charlemagne, the motif of the craftsmen can be found elsewhere, namely in the Ebo Gospels, which were created in around 825<sup>77</sup>. However, the painted men in the *Sainte-Chapelle Gospels* and the *Gospel Book* of Otto III do not go back independently to the Carolingian model, but are closely linked to each other. At first glance, the carpenter and stonemason in both Ottonian manuscripts may appear even almost identical. However, on closer inspection, subtle but clear differences in the brushwork become apparent. The figures in the *Gospel Book* of Otto III

<sup>73</sup> Please refer first to: Sauerland, Haseloff “Der Psalter Erzbischof”, cit., p. 76.

<sup>74</sup> For the miniatures in the *Flavius Josephus manuscript* (Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Msc. Class. 79): G. Suckale-Redlefsen, “Das zerkratzte Antlitz. Das Herrscherbild der Bamberger Flavius-Josephus-Handschrift”, in *Hortulus floridus Bambergensis. Studien zur fränkischen Kunst- und Kulturgeschichte. FS Renate Baumgärtel-Fleischmann*, ed. W. Taegert (Petersberg: Imhof, 2004), pp. 345–62; Suckale-Redlefsen, *Katalog*, cit., pp. 79–81 cat. no. 61.

<sup>75</sup> For the *Bamberg Gospels Cathedral* (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 4454): C. Fabian, C. Lange, eds., *Pracht auf Pergament. Schätze der Buchmalerei von 780 bis 1180*, exh. cat. (Munich: Hirmer, 2012), pp. 172–75 cat. no. 35.

<sup>76</sup> Nordenfalk, “The chronology”, cit., p. 68. The migration theory was refuted by: C. Caesar, *Der ‘Wanderkünstler’. Ein kunsthistorischer Mythos* (Berlin: LIT Verlag, 2012), p. 176 as an “art-historical construct”.

<sup>77</sup> For the *Ebo Gospels* (Epernay, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. 1) please refer to K. Bierbrauer, “Ebo-Evangeliar”, in *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, III (1986), col. 1529.

are more sharply outlined and less painterly in their surface structures. Their dark contours and white highlights stand out in a stark contrast and make the painting appear sharper overall. Although the motif is very similar, the stylistic conception is different and a divergent approach to painting is evident, which suggests that they were not painted by the same artist, but by illuminators who shared the same template.

The *Willibrord leaf* is a single leaf bound into an Echternach manuscript from the 12<sup>th</sup> century, which shows an initial in the Trier style of the late 10<sup>th</sup> century on one side and a miniature of Saint Willibrord with two clergymen at his side on the other<sup>78</sup>. It is generally attributed to the ‘Gregory Master’, although Nordenfalk supposed, that the painting also came from that Reichenau illuminator, who travelled to Trier to add the canon table figures in the *Gospels of Sainte-Chapelle*<sup>79</sup>. There is an early model for the constellation of the miniature, showing Willibrord enthroned like a ruler and flanked by two clergymen, which can be found in the *Egino Codex*, a manuscript commissioned by the Bishop of Verona at the end of the 8<sup>th</sup> century and taken with him when he retired to the island of Reichenau<sup>80</sup>. The actual depiction of the founder of the monastery in Echternach corresponds to the Gregory leaf in Trier or, even more, to the image of Saint Mark in the *Sainte-Chapelle Gospels* [fig. 4]. The design of the clothing and the throne is almost identical. The biggest difference lies in the painting style of the head, which is actually a comparable type in each case: In the *Sainte-Chapelle Gospels*, the narrow face is painted with a much finer brush – even more so in the Gregory leaf. The shading of the incarnation, especially the hair on the head and beard, appears more painterly and nuanced, and less linear. The style of the Willibrord leaf corresponds much more closely to the painting on the bifolium in the *Bamberg Flavius Josephus*. The close relationship between the miniatures becomes particularly clear in the juxtaposition with the two clergymen standing at the ruler’s throne. They epitomise the two types that can also be found in Willibrord and his assistant figures. Their eyes are shaped in the same way, with a long upper line and an L-shaped lower line, as are the pointed, strong eyebrows. The shapes of their noses are similar, as are the soft lines on their chins and the rings under their eyes. In the bearded figures, the long moustache is traced from the inside with a dark line, while the full beard is shaded with black dots on the chin and jaw. In both figures, the facial hair is continued as a curved line on the neck. The pallium of Willibrord, decorated with black crosses, and that of the Bamberg clergy rest on the chasuble without any obvious contours. Instead, the collar of the light blue alb has two black contour lines. In the case of the clergymen of the Bamberg double leaf, the collar-detail is larger and more jagged. Despite all the similarities, the painting as a whole appears somewhat more stylised. There are also small differences in the motifs, such as the eyelid crease, which is drawn as a line running parallel to the upper edge of the eyelid in Bamberg and is missing in this form on the Willibrord leaf. Nevertheless, a great similarity remains.

Some scholars, such as Katherine B. Powell, have tried to attribute the whole of the Liuthar group to Trier – a delicate undertaking, because that is the main group of the Reichenau book illumination featuring its most splendid manuscripts<sup>81</sup>. For the eponymous *Liuthar Gospels*, it can be said that it indeed shows a close connection to the Trier manuscripts in stylistic and iconographic terms<sup>82</sup>.

Overall, several aspects require further clarification. It is commonly believed that the high-quality

<sup>78</sup> For the *Willibrord leaf* (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Lat. 10510) please refer to: Ronig, *Egbert Erzbischof*, cit., I, p. 31 cat. no. 25; Hoffmann, *Handschriftenfunde*, cit., pp. 1–20, esp. 14.

<sup>79</sup> Nordenfalk, “The chronology”, cit., p. 68.

<sup>80</sup> For the *Egino-Codex* (Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Ms. Phill. 1676) please refer to: K. Bierbrauer, “Egino-Codex” in *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, III (1986), col. 1613.

<sup>81</sup> Powell, “Observations”, cit.

<sup>82</sup> For the *Liuthar Gospels* (Aachen, Domschatzkammer, G 25) please refer to Hattler, Gedigk, Siart, eds., *Welterbe des Mittelalters*, cit., pp. 368–71 cat. no. 124.

manuscript production in Trier came to an abrupt halt with the death of Egbert in 993. Simultaneously, book illumination in Reichenau began to thrive, a development that was stylistically closely linked to Trier. By the third to middle of the 11<sup>th</sup> century, when Reichenau's book illumination reached its zenith, a new wave of manuscript production seems to have emerged at the monastery of Echternach, near Trier, drawing upon the style of the *Codex Egberti* and the *Sainte-Chapelle Gospels*. The temporal gap in Trier, paired with the stylistically seamless continuation in Reichenau, is indeed striking. The close relationship between the manuscripts would logically suggest their production in one location – the Trier-Echternach region. However, the connections are far more intricate.

Our understanding of the most significant manuscripts of this era is still far from complete. While scholars like Henry Mayr-Harting, Peter Bloch, and Thomas Labusiak considered the doubts raised by Charles Reginald Dodwell and Derek Howard Turner regarding Reichenau's status as a center of book illumination to be resolved, not all of these concerns have been adequately addressed<sup>83</sup>. Most recently, Johann Konrad Eberlein and Christine Jakobi-Mirwald have expressed reservations<sup>84</sup>.

Thus, further research is essential to unravel the intricate web of magnificent manuscripts. A critical gap exists in the field of palaeography, which could shed light on this unique subject. Although Hartmut Hoffmann's commendable corpus remains a seminal work, numerous issues have arisen since its publication that require reassessment. These challenges can only be addressed through renewed, specialized scholarly engagement, underscoring the necessity of revisiting his conclusions with a more nuanced perspective.

Until new findings emerge, the assumption of two distinct centres of book illumination – each interconnected by traveling artists and the exchange of templates – must be maintained. Ultimately, researchers are called to approach these often discussed and renowned masterpieces of art with a renewed perspective. In conclusion, the prevailing research hypothesis aligns remarkably well with the overarching theme of this journal: the distant regions of Trier and Reichenau, seemingly unrelated, are primarily connected by their magnificent manuscripts – *communities bound by art*.

---

<sup>83</sup> H. Mayr-Harting, *Ottomische Buchmalerei. Liturgische Kunst im Reich der Kaiser, Bischöfe und Äbte* (Stuttgart: Belser, 1991), pp. 401-06; Bloch, *Das Reichenauer Evangelistar*, cit., pp. 16-28; Labusiak, *Die Ruodprechtgruppe*, cit., pp. 48-51.

<sup>84</sup> Eberlein "Das Perikopenbuch", cit., p. 12. C. Jakobi-Mirwald, "Bodenseeraum? Das karolingische Epistolar in der Hochschul- und Landesbibliothek Fulda, Aa7", in *Illustrierte Epistolare*, cit, pp. 45-78, esp. 56.



1. Egbert Psalter. Ruodprecht [Ruodpreht] and Archbishop Egbert [Egbreht] of Trier  
Cividale, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Cod. 136, fols. 16v-17r  
(Photo: *I libri dei patriarchi. Un percorso nella cultura scritta del Friuli medievale*, ed. C. Scalon (Udine:  
Istituto Pio Paschini, 2014))



2. *Codex Egberti*: Archbishop Egbert [Egbertus] of Trier with Keraldus and Heribertus  
Trier, Stadtbibliothek Weberbach, Cod. 24, fol. 2r  
(Photo: Anja Runkel, Trier, Stadtbibliothek Weberbach)



ARTISTIC CENTRES



*3. Ebo Gospels*

Eprenay, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. 1, fols. 12r, 13v

(Photo: gallica.bnf.fr / BnF);

*Sainte-Chapelle Gospels*

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Lat. 8851, fol. 12r

(Photo: gallica.bnf.fr / BnF)

*Gospel Book of Emperor Otto III: canon arch figures of a carpenter and a stonemason, detail*

München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 4453, fol. 18r

(Photo: Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, CC BY-NC-SA 4.0)



4. *Sainte-Chapelle Gospels: Saint Mark*

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Lat. 8851, fol. 12r

(Photo: gallica.bnf.fr / BnF; Photo: Author);

*Willibrord leaf: Saint Willibrord*

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Lat. 10510, fol. 20v

(Photo: gallica.bnf.fr / BnF; Photo: Author);

*Flavius Josephus: clergymen by the throne, detail*

Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Msc.Class.79, fol. 1r

(Photo: Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, CC BY-NC-SA 4.0)