

[Collection of Chronicles], including JORDANUS OSNABRUGENSIS, *De prerogativa Romani imperii vel super romano imperio*; REGINONIS PRUNIENSIS, *Chronicon* (Abridgment); Excerpts or abbreviations of Chronicles of the archbishops of Cologne, of Trier, Mainz, Tongren and Liège; ANDREAS VON REGENSBURG, *Chronica de principibus terrae Bavarorum*

In Latin and Middle English, illuminated manuscript on paper

Germany, Rhineland (likely Cologne), partially dated 1457 and c. 1475 with additions until c. 1490

94 ff., preceded by a single and followed by 2 paper flyleaves, missing a few leaves, although collation to be taken with circumspection because manuscript remounted and sewing renewed (collation: i2, ii5 [of 6, missing vi], iii2, iv3 [of 6, missing i-iii], v10, vi12, vii12, viii11 [of 12, missing v, likely cancelled blank], ix15 [of 16, missing x], x6 [of 8, missing vii-viii], xi4 [of 6, missing iv-v], xii8), on paper [a number of watermarks, including (1) ff. 5-6: Briquet, Couronne, no. 4644, Cologne, 1455; (2) ff. 33 and 35 (etc.): Briquet, pape dans sa chaire, portant la tiare et la clef de Saint-Pierre, no. 7549, Cologne, 1471-1479; Mainz, 1473; (3), ff. 91-92: Briquet, Lettre P, no. 8610, Cologne, 1474-1475], written in a variety of hands, mostly in tight cursive scripts, with ff. 15-17v copied in a insular legal script, in brown ink, on one or two columns, line count varying considerably from page to page, rubrics in red, some paragraph marks in red, some guide letters, numerous capitals stroked in red, numerous painted initials alternating blue and red (1- to 5-line high), numerous small colored armorial shields found in the margins, facing some of the entries (e.g. ff. 36v-37; ff. 53v-54; ff. 65v-66 et passim), 2 historiated miniatures (ff. 12 and 13v), one heraldic composition with 8 colored armorial shields (fol. 17v), one full-page wash-colored pen drawing with ecclesiastical and crowned figures with armorial shields and inscriptions [dated 1457] (f. 1v), contemporary marginal annotations and additions, some dated, often copied on small strips of independent paper. Bound in deerskin over wood boards, back sewn on four bands (not its original binding, although binding is a period binding, here reused, perhaps accounting of disorder of leaves). Dimensions 220 x 150 mm.

This partially dated and highly original historical miscellany related to Cologne (Collegiate Church of St.-Severin?) contains diverse abbreviated chronicles (mostly quite rare) and catalogs of bishops and archbishops, as well as ruling princes. After copying, it was subsequently considerably annotated and perfected by later hands until the end of the fifteenth century. Introduced by an illuminated frontispiece of Emperor Frederick III enthroned and surrounded by his electors north, west, south and east, the manuscript even includes text in Middle English.

## PROVENANCE

1. Copied and illuminated in Germany, most likely Cologne as confirmed by contents, watermarks in paper and style of colored drawings. There are a number of dates throughout: one must be attentive not to consider as contemporary dates that might be part of a chronicle narrative. There is one date of 1457 that appears to be a date of production, found at the bottom of the illuminated composition on f. 1v. This same date is also found in the frame of the small miniature of Pope Adrian IV (f. 13v). The core of the manuscript was likely copied in 1457, with additions over at least 30 years, given the dates of events found in the text.

There is also a small heraldic element on f. 1, traced in pen, probably by the first scribe, with the motto "Hony soet qui mal pense" [Evil to him who evil thinks] and a date 1458, a year after the dated illuminations (ff. 1v, 13v). This motto is the famous motto of the *Ordre de la jarretiere* (Order of the Garter), an Order of chivalry that originated in medieval England (founded in 1348 by Edward III). It is possible one might be able to identify this "Knight Companion" (the Order admits 24 at a time) or one of the many supernumerary members. The Order admitted foreign members, including for instance Emperor Frederick III (1415-1493) appointed member in 1457.

The first two leaves contain numerous short texts, which appear to be epitaphs with some containing dates and names. For instance, one reads: "Anno domini MCCCCXLV...obiit illi [...] dominus hartungus de clux miles famosus ac inclitus nacione alamanus et in collegio [circa] wichington londonensis sepelitur..." [In the year 1445....died Dominus Hartung of Clux, famous and renowned soldier of the German Nation and was buried in the College [near] Wichington of London] (f. 1).

Contemporary ownership inscription copied at the bottom of f. 2v: "Liber domini hermanni van wesell canonici aquensis et sancti severini coloniensis" [This book belongs to Herman van Wesell, canon at Aachen and Saint-Severinus of Cologne]. On Saint-Severinus, see Cottineau, I, col. 840. The body of Emperor Ottonius III was buried in Saint-Severinus. The town of Aachen lay within the archbishopric of Cologne. Herman van Wesel might belong to the famous family that produced the late 14<sup>th</sup> century artist Hermann Wynrich van Wesel and the merchant and trader Gerhard van Wesel, burgomaster in Cologne between 1497 and 1507 (see B. Corley, *Painting and Patronage in Cologne 1300-1500* (2000), p. 14 and note no. 27, p. 266).

2. Another, slightly later inscription, reads: "Pertineo D. Henrico Helmychz Deldano vicecuratori in pago Aerd (?) in superiori [...]" (f. 3). We have not identified this owner.

## TEXT

We suggest the proper text order should be ff. 1v-1-2-2v; 18-94v; 3-17v.

ff. 1 and 2, various epitaphs, some with dates, many likely identifiable;

f. 2v, Table of contents;

ff. 3-13v, Jordanus Osnaburgensis [or Alexander de Roes?], *De prerogativa Romani imperii vel super romano imperio*, incipit, "Mentes hominum divinis informate virtutibus omnem arrogantiam et omnem adulacionem..."; rubric, *Incipit tractatus magistri Jordani quondam canonici osnaburgensi de imperio* (fol. 3v), text beginning, "Multifarie multisque modis dominus..."; rubric (fol. 12), *Historia de sancto materno archiepiscopo* (fol. 12) [published in Waitz, 1868, pp. 86]; explicit, "[...] et crestat ad laudem et gloriam nostris sui. Qui est benedictus in secula seculorum amen";

This is the complete text of this work by Jordanus Osnaburgensis (c. 1220-1284) who was a Canon and German political writer. In his work, it is claimed that divine dispensation had allotted the Empire to Germans via Charlemagne. The work is often attributed to Alexander de Roes, from a Patrician family of Cologne and who entered the circle of Cardinal Jacobus de Columna to whom he dedicated his *Memoriale de prerogativa Romani imperii*, Cologne, 1474 (Goff F-

233; see also Grundmann and Heimpel, 1958). The fact that the work is sometimes attributed to Jacobus de Columna (c. 1250-1318) would explain the inscription found on f. 3 that reads: "Jacobus de Columna Cardinali ...inscriptum esse tradit in bibliotheca sua..." Some catalogers consider the work with the same incipit "Mentes hominum divinis..." to be composed by Alexander de Roes (see for instance Hamburg, Staats- und Universitäts Bibliothek, Hist. 31. b, ff. 57-62, catalogued as Alexander de Roes; Lohse, 1968, p. 35).

Published by Waitz, Göttingen, 1868, pp. 39-90, preceded by a lengthy study which provides a first census (likely partial) of identified manuscripts (Waitz, 1868, pp. 30-38). On Jordanus of Osnabrück, see *Dictionnaire de theologie catholique*, VIII, col. 1575-1576; see also *Catholicisme*, VI, 1066-1067; F. J. Worstbrock, in *Verfasserlexikon*, Bd. IV, 852-853; see also Potthast, *Repertorium fontium historiae medii aevi*, VI, p. 441.

ff. 13v-14, Letter of Pope Adrian IV (1154-1159) to Emperor Frederick I, rubric, *Explicit tractatus magistri Jordani de romano imperio epistola domini adriani papae ad fredericum imperatorem*; incipit, "Adrianus episcopus servus servorum dei frederico romanorum imperatorum..." [ends incomplete];

Pope Adrian IV was born in England, and was elected Pope in 1154. See B. Bolton and A. Duggan, *Adrian IV The English Pope (1154-1159)*, Ashgate, 2003. This letter is printed in *Patrologia Latina*, PL 188, col. 1635. It is worth pointing out that the same letter follows the *Memoriale de praerogativa imperii romani* by Alexander de Roes (printed by Grundmann and Heimpel, 1958, pp. 91-148) as found in Hamburg, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Hist. 31. b, ff. 57-62 (see Lohse, 1968, p. 35).

f. 14v, Various historical notes on crowned princes, including Philip Duke of Burgundy; John, Duke of Burgundy; Anthony, Duke of Brabant; Philip, Duke of Nevers; Margaret, Duchess of Bavaria etc.;

ff. 15-17v, Act of Accord, King Henry VI (1422-1461), dated Westminster 1460, in Middle English, copied by a different hand (characteristic insular legal script) incipit, "Blessyd be Ihesus in whose hands and bonnté restyth and ys the peas and victory..."; explicit, "[...] And over thys the kyng be the seyd advyse and auctorite wyll ordeyneth and stablysshyth that all other actys statutes made a for thys tyme be auctorite of any parlement nor repelled or adnulled...Factum anno prius incarnationem nostri ihesu christi millesimo et quadragentesimo sexagesimo in mense novembri in parlamento acto apud westmonasterium et anno regni regys henrici sextus prius conquestum .xxxix."; [followed by] painted heraldic shields showing the lineage of Richard, Duke of York: "Thys veue (?) the grawnceres (?) of the nobel prince Richard of York of hys fader / of hys moder";

The War of the Roses, fought roughly between 1455 and 1485, opposed the Houses of Lancaster and York (both branches of the Royal Plantagenet House). In 1422, the Lancastrian Henry VI ascended to the throne but after bouts of mental illness a council of regency was appointed, headed by the powerful Richard of York. In October of 1460, in an act of conciliation, the Act of Accord was devised, recognizing York as Henry VI's successor, effectively disinheriting Henry VI's son Edward. York agreed to the offer on the basis that this was the best he was going to get, but also as it made him Lord Protector, enabling him to govern in Henry's name. Margaret and Edward were escorted out of London. The Lancastrians opposed the Accord with vengeance, rallying to Margaret of Anjou and forming an army in the north.

The Act of Accord was a statute of Parliament enacted on 25 October 1460 and passed in November 1460. Under the terms of the Act, Henry VI was confirmed as king, but after his death the throne was to pass to Richard, Duke of York, and his heirs. The ensuing Battle of Wakefield at Christmas 1460 was a complete Lancastrian victory. Richard of York was slain in the battle, and both Salisbury and York's 17-year-old second son, Edmund, Earl of Rutland, were captured and executed. Margaret ordered the heads of all three placed on the gates of York. The Act of Accord and the events of Wakefield left the 18-year-old Edward, Earl of March, York's eldest son, as Duke of York and heir to his claim to the throne.

It is very curious that such a copy of the Act of Accord, an intrinsically English affair, should figure in the present manuscript, clearly of Cologne origin. Moreover, the Act is the only piece redacted in Middle English in this composite manuscript, the rest of the texts being all in Latin. The few leaves were clearly copied by an insular hand. How and why did it make its way in this miscellany? We do not have any convincing explanation. Likely the ties between Cologne—a preeminent member of the Hanseatic League—and the English Crown might explain the interest a Cologne citizen might have in the contemporary events in England. Also, the manuscript could have been compiled by a student or ecclesiastic that would have sojourned in England, and subsequently returned to Germany afterwards.

Cologne was a member of the powerful Hanseatic League: the 'Hansa' was a mercantile confederation which emerged in the twelfth century and provided protection and privileges for the towns and seaports of Northern Europe. Cologne established business branches and strong ties in strategic Hansa towns such as Bruges, Antwerp and especially London. Ties with England were very strong and commerce with the British Isles developed from the tenth century onwards. Ever since 1066 when Archbishop Anno II (1056-1075) had lent support to William the Conqueror, Cologne merchants and students enjoyed protection in England. In the twelfth century, Henry II granted merchants the same rights as English traders. These ties could account for the circulation of English documents or the interest in English affairs in Rhenish Cologne.

ff. 18-30v, Abridgment of Reginonis Abbatis Pruniensis (Regino Abbott of Prüm), *Chronicon* [Chronicle], rubric, *Incipit cronica reginonis abbatis prurniensis ad alberonem episcopum metensis ab origine mundi abbreviata*,

The present text is apparently an abridgement of the larger Chronicle by Regino, Abbot of Prüm. It does not seem to have been published and seems to have been composed by the compiler of the other works in this collection (see below). Clearly the compiler had access to the complete *Chronicon*, which he acknowledges in the rubric, but the work is only inspired by the source-text.

Regino, Abbot of Prüm (died 915) as well as historian and scholar, was active during the Carolingian era, and was central in the writing and re-writing of history and chronicles that defined the period. Regino dedicated his Chronicle to Bishop Adalbero of Augsburg in the year 908, and as such is regarded as the last great historian of the Carolingian Empire since he wrote in the aftermath of the empire's disintegration.

See F. Kurze, 1890 for an edition of Regino's complete Chronicle. Like many nineteenth-century editions it is now regarded as in dire need of revision. Serious doubts about Kurze's

method were raised by Schleidgen in his study (Schleidgen, 1977). Kurze consulted only 7 of the 30 known manuscripts. Only a rigorous linguistic and stylistic comparison of all the extant codices will allow a modern editor to offer a re-edition close to Regino's original text. There is a recent English translation based on Kurze's edition, see S. MacLean, 2009. In his introduction, MacLean (2009) stresses the interest of a study of the reception of Regino's Chronicle, "an interesting topic in its own right" (MacLean, 2009, p. 59). MacLean states: "Regino's work was excerpted and repackaged by several monastic compilers after Adalbert, and analysis of the ways in which this was done would contribute insights into perceptions of history and identity in the earlier Middle Ages more broadly" (MacLean, 2009, p. 59).

f. 31, Added entry, related to Maximilian I (son of Emperor Frederick III of Hapsburg), dated 1486;

f. 31v, blank;

ff. 32-38v, Abbreviated Chronicle of the Archbishops of Cologne (*Kölner Bischofschronik*), rubric, *Incipit cronica presulum et archiepiscoporum coloniensis ecclesie abbreviata*; incipit, "Circa principium descripcionis cronica presulum sancte coloniensis..."; explicit, "[...] anni domini MCCCCLXXIII [1474] usque ad festum apostulorum petri et paul anni LXXV [1475] sequitur";

This is a Chronicle of the Archbishops of Cologne, sometimes referred to as the *Kölner Bischofschronik*. Although supplementary research will certainly allow for a more precise textual tradition, the present and following chronicles are accounted for in a few other codices including Hamburg, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Hist. 31. b, ff. 119-133 (date 1465-1502) (see Lohse, 1968, pp. 35-36). The *Kölner Bischofschronik* was published by G. Eckertz as *Cronica Presulum et Archiepiscoporum Coloniensis ecclesiae*, in *Fontes adhuc inediti rerum Rhenarum. Niederrheinische Chroniken*, Köln, 1864, vol. 1, pp. 1-61. However, note that the text found in the present codex is abbreviated and is not word for word the exact copy of the Eckertz (1864) edition and our manuscript ends with Archbishop Hermannus IV. Much work remains to be done to sort the exact textual tradition of this and the following chronicles, copied by the same hand.

ff. 39-55v, Abbreviated Chronicle of the Popes, no rubric [modern heading added in pencil: "Pont. Rom."], incipit, "Beatus Petrus prefuit ecclesiae romane..."; explicit, "[...] Innocentius .viii....coronatus decima die septembris";

From Peter, the first Pontiff to Pope Sixtus IV (an added inscription specifies he died in 1481). Another entry follows relating to Pope Innocent VIII.

ff. 56-70v, Chronicle of the Archbishops of Trier, incipit, "Eucharius primus archiepiscopi treverensis sedit annis .xxiii...."; explicit, "[...] Johannes .ii. [secundus]...soror eius nomine margareta nupta fuit alberto marchioni brandenburgensis principi electori";

ff. 71-76v, Catalog of Archbishops of Mainz, heading added in a 17<sup>th</sup> or 18<sup>th</sup> c. hand, *Catalogus Archiepiscoporum Moguntinensium*; incipit, "Crescens (or Crestens?) primus moguntinensis episcopus sedit..."; explicit, "[...] Dietherus intronizato an...et per sextum papam .iiii. confirmatus";



ff. 77-82v, Catalog of Archbishops of Tongren, Utrecht and Liège (Lüttich), heading added in a 17<sup>th</sup> or 18<sup>th</sup> c. hand, *Catalogus episcoporum Leodiensium*; incipit, "Maternus primus tongrensis episcopus..."; explicit, "[...] Johannes .ix. de horne an...";

These are excerpts from a Chronicle of Bishops of Tongeren, Utrecht and Liège (Lüttich) [*Cronica pontificum Tongerensium, Traiectensium et Leodiensium per diversos conscripta*], also recorded in another manuscript: Hamburg, Staats- und Universitäts Bibliothek, Hist. 31. b, ff. 135-164 [see Lohse, 1968, p. 36]. The work is also found in Hamburg, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Theol. 1726, ff. 1-158 (*Gesta pontificum Tungrensium et Leodiensium*) [see Kruger, 1985].

ff. 83-85v, Catalog of Dukes of Brabant, incipit, "Karlsonianus primus dux brabantiae..."; explicit, "[...] Iohanna cum Wentzelao an. .li...ducissa brabatiae...";

ff. 86-86v, Epitaphs, beginning, "DONACIANI. Hic iacet examinis clarus virtute johannes...";

ff. 87-94v, Andreas von Regensburg, Excerpts from the *Chronica de principibus terrae Bavarorum*, heading, *Ex cronica fratris Andree monachi monasterii sancti magni [...] ratisponensis de ducibus a quibus terra bavarrorum...*; incipit, "Bavari traduntur ex armenia oriundi..."

Andreas von Regensburg (1380-1442) was an Augustinian canon. He composed his *Chronica de principibus terrae Bavarorum* between 1425–1428. The *Chronica* was published by G. Leidinger, *Sämtliche Werke. Andreas von Regensburg*, Munich, 1903, pp. 503-587. See F. W. Bautz in *Biographisch-Bibliographische Kirchenlexikon*, Bd. 1 (1975), col. 169. It is found in a number of manuscripts, including Hamburg, Staats- und Universitäts Bibliothek, hist. 31 e, ff. 12v-40 (see Lohse, 1968, p. 39).

#### Commentary

This is a highly original historical and political miscellany clearly related to Cologne (Collegiate Church of St.-Severin?). As a composite miscellany, this manuscript offers diverse abbreviated chronicles and catalogs of bishops and archbishops, as well as ruling princes, copied and assembled at an early date, and subsequently considerably annotated and perfected by later hands until the end of the fifteenth century. It is a very "European" codex, with a Rhenish core, but with chronicles, catalogs and documents interesting such diverse regions as the Mosan region, Bavaria, England, all regions or countries that had strong ties with the Holy Roman Empire. The entire codex is introduced by a most interesting illuminated frontispiece that represents Emperor Frederick III enthroned and surrounded by his electors north, west, south and east.

This manuscript is a composite codex composed of a number of chronicles and historical entries clearly copied in Cologne or around Cologne, all relating to Rhenish bishoprics, archbishoprics and the Holy Roman Empire. An early owner, if not the scribe of the main portions of this miscellany, has inscribed his name Herman van Wesell (or Wesel, on the Rhine, north of Cologne) at the bottom of fol. 2v, and was a Canon in Aachen and at St.-Severin. Could this signify the origin of the present miscellany might be related in some manner to St.-Severin of Cologne? The chronicles and lists of successive bishops and ruling princes were certainly annotated and updated by successive hands, with a number of small slips of paper inserted to complete, update and comment the main sections of the manuscript, witnessing historical

chronicling at the end of the fifteenth century in a very vivid and lively manner. Might this manuscript have been assembled by someone in an ecclesiastical environment, which would account for the interest in ecclesiastical and pontifical history? The miscellany was soon clearly passed on to someone who had ties or relations with England, to wit the presence of a very odd copy of the Act of Accord promulgated by the Parliament at Westminster in 1460 (thus contemporary with the few dates quoted in the manuscript and the watermarks in the paper). In a manuscript entirely redacted in Latin and copied in a Rhenish milieu, it is quite surprising to find a Middle English text, illuminated at that (ff. 15-17v, with a full page of colored heraldic shields).

The elegant city of Cologne was a refined center of culture and artifacts. Certainly a prominent town in Germany, the city had become a leading city in the Western Empire, which was ruled by duke-archbishops from 953 to 1288. By 1230, Cologne had developed into the largest city north of the Alps, surpassing both Paris and London. The early history of medieval Cologne is a complex tale of the worldly and spiritual power invested in its archbishops, or their territorial wars, allegiances and conflicts with emperors and popes. It is told in the Chronicle of the Bishops and Archbishops of Cologne, first written in 1370 by an unknown hand, of which the present manuscript offers excerpts in abbreviated form (ff. 32v-38). In this manuscript, the *Kölner Bischofschronik* are completed by other chronicles and catalogs of neighboring bishoprics, such as Trier, Mainz, Tongeren and Liège. Indeed as electors of the Holy Roman Empire, the archbishops of Cologne, Trier and Mainz enjoyed the highest status. The present manuscript should be studied and compared to another similar historical and political miscellany in Hamburg, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Hist. 31. B (see Lohse, 1968, pp. 34-37), which contains very similar texts. There is certainly still a lot to discover in the present codex.

In the absence of modern critical editions of all the texts, it is virtually impossible to ascertain for certain just how rare these texts are. However, a search of the Schoenberg Database turns up no copies of Jordanus Osnabrugensis's chronicle. One copy of Reginonis Pruniensis's chronicle was sold in 1719, and one copy of Andreas von Regensburg's chronicle changed hands in 1960. De Ricci's *Census* and its Supplement confirm the rarity of these texts: only a copy of Jordanus Osnabrugensis was known to them; the other two authors are unrecorded in their indices. The copy of Jordanus's chronicle, then in the Union Theological Seminary (Van Ess MS 7), intriguingly contains some of the same shorter texts that occur in the present manuscript (De Ricci, *Census*, II, p. 1639). Pending further research in European libraries, the manuscript stands out as exceedingly rare as much for its individual texts as for their combination.

## ILLUSTRATION

f. 1v, Emperor Friedrich III (1440-1493) enthroned with his shield and insignia, framed on either side by ecclesiastical and crowned figures, accompanied by coats of arms and inscriptions. Each figure is identified on a scroll placed beneath the figure (e.g. Archbishops of Cologne, Mainz, Trier; Dukes of Bavaria, of Saxony; King of Bohemia...) and a text is copied in the lower part of the composition: "Coloniensis treverensis moguntinensis / Quibus imperii fit cancellatus [...] / Et palatinus dapifer dux portitor..." and the date 1457. On either side of the lower inscription are the heraldic shields of the Holy Roman Emperor Frederick III (on the left) and those of his wife, Eleonor of Portugal (on the right);

f. 12, Saint Maternus, first Archbishop of Cologne, miniature, ink drawing colored in wash, set in text column. The Archbishop holds a small-scale model of the Cathedral of Cologne;

f. 13v, Pope Adrianus IV, dated miniature, ink drawing colored in wash, set in text column (dated 1457 in upper frame);

f. 17v, Coats of arms, of main ancestors of Richard, Duke of York, justifying his claims to the throne of England and France, beginning with Edward III, King of England and France; John, Count of Hannover; Peter, King of Spain; John, King of Portugal; Edmund, Count of March; Leonellus, Duke of Clarence; Thomas Holland, Count (Earl) of Kent; Richard, Count of Arundel. Between the two columns of heraldic shields are inscribed genealogical elements

These pictorial additions are an interesting feature of this manuscript, especially the full page composition now on f. 1v (probably mounted in disorder and probably originally the opening leaf). This and the two small historiated initials (Saint Maternus of Cologne and Pope Adrian IV [an Englishman!]) should be studied in relation to Cologne illumination and book production. In addition, the core of the manuscript contains a number of small heraldic shields that enliven the historical narrative.

## LITERATURE

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## ONLINE RESOURCES

Genealogy of the Richard III, Duke of York

<http://translate.google.fr/translate?hl=fr&langpair=en%7Cfr&u=http://www.royalist.info/execute/tree%3Fperson%3D72>

List of bishops and archbishops of Cologne

[http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List\\_of\\_bishops\\_and\\_archbishops\\_of\\_Cologne](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_bishops_and_archbishops_of_Cologne)

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