

poor job of doing so. There was, therefore, always a strong case for treating this document as substantially authentic<sup>39</sup>; and the realization that it was not the work by HB lends weight to such arguments. It also explains other features which would be unusual of an outright forgery: how D O I 84 bears a plausible date (14 January 947) and place of issue (Frankfurt)<sup>40</sup>, names the correct chancellor (Bruno), and displays an appropriate form of chrismon, recognition sign and monogram.

What we are dealing with, therefore, is an early Worms notary, whose career spanned at least 947 to 951, and who in all probability went on to introduce HB to diploma production a few years later – hence the close resemblance between their script. One final feature speaks in favour of D O I 84. The surviving single sheet is endorsed in a distinctive hand, which is found on the reverse of a number of other early Ottonian single sheets for the see. Endorsement at Worms seems to have proceeded by archival dossier, with a Caroline hand endorsing all those documents concerning rights within the city and a majuscule hand doing the same for those relating to Ladenburg and the Lobdengau. It is the former we find on D O I 84. This hand is last attested on the reverse of D O III 12 from April 985 and there are good reasons for suspecting that it was active in the later years of Bishop Hildibald (Hoffmann dated the script to the tenth century)<sup>41</sup>. Our other diploma (D O I 161), meanwhile, is endorsed in the majuscule hand found on the Ladenburg charters. The last to bear these forms is D O I 392 of April 970 and a very different script can be found on the reverse of

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Staatsarchiv, A 2, 251/1, which cites the interpolated privilege. See further ROACH, *Forgery and Memory* (as n. 9) p. 37, 42–45.

39) As WEISERT, *Titulatur* (as n. 17) p. 19f. n. 5, already appreciated. See further *ibid.*, 1, p. 170–175; Thomas KOHL, *Religious Exemption, Justice, and Territories around the Year 1000: The Forgeries of Worms*, *Medieval Worlds* 6 (2017) p. 217–230, at p. 223 n. 23.

40) GOCKEL / ORTH / SCHWIND, *Frankfurt* (as n. 17) p. 231 (n. 84); Eckhard MÜLLER-MERTENS, *Reichsstruktur im Spiegel der Herrschaftspraxis Ottos des Großen. Mit historiographischen Prolegomena zur Frage Feudalstaat auf deutschem Boden, seit wann deutscher Feudalstaat? (Forschungen zur mittelalterlichen Geschichte* 25, 1980) p. 274.

41) D O I 84, Darmstadt, Hessisches Staatsarchiv, A 2, 255/1; D O II 46, Speyer, Landesarchiv, F 7, 2; D O III 12, Darmstadt, Hessisches Staatsarchiv, A 2, 255/5, with Hartmut HOFFMANN / Rudolf POKORNY, *Das Dekret des Bischofs Burchard von Worms. Textstufen – Frühe Verbreitung – Vorlagen* (MGH Hilfsmittel 12, 1991) p. 14 n. 6. Hoffmann's remarks are only addressed to the first two documents, but the endorsement of the third clearly takes the same forms.