

D H II 247 of August 1012, confirming episcopal rights in the town⁴². This suggests that our second endorser was also operating in the later tenth (or very early eleventh) century. By this point, D O I 84 and D O I 161 were evidently well-established parts of the archive. This is not to deny that forgery was practised on a considerable scale in tenth-century Worms; it clearly was. It is simply to observe that the focus of such activity was on diplomas of Merovingian or Carolingian rulers, which were sometimes used to elicit authentic confirmations⁴³.

One more question must detain us before we return to the elusive Hoholt: that of our diploma's date. Following Otto I's abortive bid for the Italian throne in 951–952, we see a spate of charters recognized in the name of figures beyond the royal chancellor Bruno. The grounds for this are hard to discern, but clearly lie in the political upheaval of these years, which see many new notaries appear in the charter record. Another factor was apparently Bruno's slow transition into the role of archchancellor. As Josef Fleckenstein observes, Bruno starts appearing as archchancellor from autumn 951, perhaps in response to tensions between the king and Frederick of Mainz (who would go on to join the rebellion of Liudolf), and it would become Bruno's sole purview from September 953⁴⁴. In the meantime, there are reasons to believe that many of those who recognize acts in Bruno's stead (typically styled „chancellor“, but sometimes simply called „notary“) are the scribes of the documents in question, a conclusion which is all but certain in the cases of the well-attested notaries Wigfrid and Otpert⁴⁵. That not all of the named figures were necessarily the scribes in question, however, is revealed by the presence of the future chancellor Liudolf in three diplomas of these years, produced by at least two (and conceivably three) different hands⁴⁶. It would seem that Liudolf, like Bruno, was easing

42) D O I 161, München, Geheimes Hausarchiv, Mannheimer Urkunden, Hessen-Darmstadt 1; D O I 310, Darmstadt, Hessisches Staatsarchiv, A 2, 255/3; D O I 392, Darmstadt, Hessisches Staatsarchiv, A 2, 251/1; D H II 247, Darmstadt, Hessisches Staatsarchiv, A 1, 176/1.

43) ROACH, *Forgery and Memory* (as n. 9) p. 21–60. See already UHLIRZ, *Jahrbücher* (as n. 21) p. 217–225.

44) Josef FLECKENSTEIN, *Die Hofkapelle der deutschen Könige 2: Die Hofkapelle im Rahmen der ottonisch-salischen Reichskirche* (Schriften der MGH 16/2, 1966) p. 24f., 31.

45) SICKEL, *Beiträge VII*. (as n. 12) p. 721f., 725–730. See also Harry BRESSLAU, *Handbuch der Urkundenlehre für Deutschland und Italien*, 1 (21912) p. 426f.

46) DD O I 149, 151, 152. Of these, the former (Wolfenbüttel, Niedersächsisches Landesarchiv, 12 Urk., 1) is the work of BG and the latter (Dresden, Haupt-