

ticalars, just after BA had confused them so badly? It is important to note that the royal court had indeed been present in Frankfurt in early 951, as Sickel was well aware; for it was there on 19 January 951 that Otto I confirmed forest rights to Fulda, in a diploma which survives in its original format (also bearing the correct incarnational and regnal years)⁴⁹. As the court is last attested at Memleben on 6 December 950 before this, there would have been ample time for Otto and his entourage to reach the old Carolingian royal palace in Frankfurt by 13 January⁵⁰. Karl Friedrich Stumpf had always been happy to accept D O I 161's transmitted date; in the light of original, he was clearly correct in this regard⁵¹. The disruptions in traditional „chancery“ practice which Sickel first detected in connection with Otto I's invasion of Italy in autumn 951 had evidently begun at start of the year⁵². This also means that Bruno did not first appear as archchancellor in response to tensions with Frederick, as Fleckenstein thought – indeed, it may be that the tensions were a result of Bruno's elevation.

So what of Hoholt? So long as his name was restricted to BA's oeuvre, there was a strong case for seeing him as the latter's alias⁵³. And if we were to maintain Sickel's redating of D O I 161, there would still be something to be said for the identification. On this reading, Hoholt first appears in a diploma of BA in early 953. Then twelve days later, a local Worms notary followed what he thought to be current convention, copying the recognition clause of the most recently issued royal diploma – little knowing that the Hoholt in question was the document's scribe rather than the chancellor. Yet if D O I 161 was issued a full two

49) D O I 131, Marburg, Hessisches Staatsarchiv, Urk. 75, 71. The indiction given, IIII, is presumably a miscopying of VIII, as found in D O I 161. For facsimiles of the former: Kaiserurkunden in Abbildungen, hg. von Heinrich von SYBEL / Theodor SICKEL (1880–1891) III, 19; Waldemar KÜTHER, Echzell im Mittelalter, in: 1200 Jahre Echzell 782–1982: Ursprung, Epochen und Strukturen einer Dörfergemeinschaft (1982) p. 42–81, at 47f.

50) D O I 130, Dessau, Landesarchiv Sachsen-Anhalt, U I, 4. See further GOCKEL / ORTH / SCHWIND, Frankfurt (as n. 17) p. 232f. (n. 88–89), noting the possibility that D O I 161 was issued (or at least enacted) on this occasion.

51) Karl Friedrich STUMPF(-BRENTANO), Die Reichskanzler vornehmlich des X., XI. und XII. Jahrhunderts, 3 vols. (1865–1881) 2, p. 19.

52) The next diploma in which Bruno is not named as chancellor is D O I 139, Chur, Bischöfliches Archiv, 011.0013, where Wigfrid (the notary of the diploma) is found in his stead.

53) ROACH, „Chancery“ of Otto I (as n. 8) p. 49–53. Note, however, the earlier objections of HUSCHNER, Transalpine Kommunikation (as n. 17) p. 154f., now proven correct.