

closed, while WB's is extremely small (even by the standards of diplomatic minuscule), sometimes disappearing entirely; Willigis' e is angular, with a small, horizontal eye, whereas WB's is fluid, with the eye pointing up diagonally to the right (Plates 6–7)¹³⁵. Even allowing for the natural evolution of the archbishop's hand, these variations make identity most improbable. Much the same must be said for Bresslau's alternative identification of the hand of Willigis' subscription with that of Hildibald H. Though the latter's more upright and angular aspect comes closer to the archbishop's, the forms of e, g and r are again clearly distinct here¹³⁶. There is, however, much to be said for returning to Stengel's identification of WB with Herward, the schoolmaster of Aschaffenburg. The latter is explicitly identified as an imperial notary in a private charter of Archbishop Willigis (*Herwardus domni nostri Ottonis serenissimi imperatoris notarius et ecclesie, que est in Ascaffaburg, dydascalus*)¹³⁷. And the strong concentration of diplomas produced by WB for Aschaffenburg is far better explained in this manner than by a general appeal to Willigis' interest as the foundation's metropolitan. Moreover, Herward's one known absence from the realm – a trip to Rome in 975 – corresponds to an extended hiatus in WB's scribal activity. Finally, the significant presence of Swabian and Bavarian recipients among WB's early diplomas finds ready explanation here. The foundation of Aschaffenburg was initiated by Duke Liudolf of Swabia and his

135) D H II 143, Bamberg, Staatsarchiv, Bamberger Urkunden 21. For a recent reproduction: Bernd SCHNEIDMÜLLER, *Die einzigartig geliebte Stadt. Heinrich II. und Bamberg*, in: Kaiser Heinrich II. 1002–1024, hg. von Josef KIRMEIER et al. (2002) p. 30–51, at p. 38. For these purposes, I have compared this to the following diplomas in WB's hand: D O I 365, Magdeburg, Landesarchiv Sachsen-Anhalt, U 1, I 30; D O II 95, Würzburg, Staatsarchiv, Mainzer Urkunden (Kaiser-Selekt 141), 975 Januar 26.

136) As examples of Hildibald H's hand, I have used D O III 146, Wolfenbüttel, Niedersächsisches Landesarchiv, WO 6 Urk. 20, and D H II 178, Darmstadt, Hessisches Staatsarchiv, A 3 257/1. Cf. Harry BRESSLAU, *Erläuterungen zu den Diplomen Heinrichs II. (Erster Abschnitt)*, in: NA 20 (1895) p. 125–176, at p. 160 n. 2. My findings confirm those of HOFFMANN, *Buchkunst* (as n. 29) 1, p. 246.

137) *Mainzer Urkundenbuch 1: Die Urkunden bis zum Tode Erzbischof Adalberts I. (1137)*, hg. von Manfred STIMMING (1932) no. 219, with STENGEL, *Immunität* (as n. 27) p. 173–181. See further SICKEL, *Erläuterungen* (as n. 127) p. 88 n. 1; and cf. VOGTHERR, *Diplome des 9.–12. Jahrhunderts* (as n. 18) p. 306, endorsing Huschner's conclusions without discussing the „Herward thesis“. On Herward himself: Karl Heinrich REXROTH, *Der Stiftsscholaster Herward von Aschaffenburg und das Schulrecht von 976*, in: *Aschaffenburg Jb.* 4 (1957) p. 203–230; FLECKENSTEIN, *Hofkapelle* (as n. 115) p. 38 f., 121 f.