

ment; and Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica, Vat. lat. 1341, the only complete manuscript of the interpolated Hispana⁶². Everyone agrees that these codices, together with the rest of the early Pseudo-Isidorian manuscript tradition, postdate 850. Zechiel-Eckes's hypothesis of an earlier Pseudo-Isidore requires that the sources underpinning the False Decretals predate the earliest Pseudo-Isidorian codices by two decades at least. The Vatican Ennodius shows that no such temporal interlude exists. Pseudo-Isidore's latest source is roughly contemporary with the earliest copies of the False Decretals⁶³.

As evidence for a later Pseudo-Isidore, V does not stand alone. The decretal forgeries strive to dismantle ancient prohibitions on episcopal translation in terms calculated to establish the legality of Ebo's move to Hildesheim after 845⁶⁴. The preface to the False Capitularies of Benedictus Levita is aware that Otgar is no longer bishop of Mainz, and must therefore have been composed well after 21 April 847⁶⁵. All of these clues agree in placing the composition of the forgeries immediately before the indirect tradition, which begins probably in 852 and certainly in 857; and immediately before the earliest extant manuscripts⁶⁶.

62) On Leipzig II.70, BISCHOFF, *Katalog der festländischen Handschriften des neunten Jahrhunderts 2: Laon – Paderborn*, ed. Birgit EBERSPERGER (2004) p. 70; for Vat. lat. 1341, Hubert MORDEK, *Kirchenrecht und Reform im Frankenreich: Die Collectio Vetus Gallica (Beiträge zur Geschichte und Quellenkunde des Mittelalters 1, 1975)* p. 252.

63) Compare PATZOLD, *Gefälschtes Recht* (as n. 30) p. 67–9, who assumes an early date for the False Decretals in line with Zechiel-Eckes's theories, and proposes that the delay between the early date of the forgeries and their circulation in the 850s reflects the strategy of the forgers; and Clara HARDER, review of Patzold, in *DA 72* (2016) p. 667–8, who declares that Patzold's thesis of the delay „wird die Forschung ernsthaft erwägen müssen“ (p. 668). This is a false problem. Pseudo-Isidore circulated his forgeries as soon as he finished them. Multiple recensions reflect not the careful strategy of the forgers but precisely their haste to assemble and circulate a massive corpus of forged, falsified and redacted materials from disparate fair copies and internal drafts of separate components.

64) KNIBBS, *Date of the False Decretals* (as n. 60) p. 168–73.

65) *Capitularia*, ed. PERTZ (as n. 20) p. 39 l. 22; and HINSCHIUS, *Decretales* (as n. 1) p. clxxxiii–clxxxiv.

66) KNIBBS, *Date of the False Decretals* (as n. 60) p. 177–8. For the first references in 852, see Hinemar's first capitulary, ed. Rudolf POKORNY and Martina STRATMANN (*MGH Capit. episc. 2, 1995*), p. 40 and 68–9, with discussion in Fuhrmann, *Einfluß und Verbreitung* (as n. 20) p. 200–210. For the first verbatim citations, see the 857 Council of Quierzy, ed. Wilfried HARTMANN (*MGH Conc. 3, 1984*) p. 383–98 at 392–96. Also Victor KRAUSE, *Hincmar von Reims, der Verfasser der sog. Collectio de raptoribus im Capitular von Quierzy 857*, in: *NA 18* (1893) p. 303–8; and Fuhrmann, *Einfluß und Verbreitung* (as n. 20) p. 211–15.