

Zechiel-Eckes was careful to reserve early dates for only a subset of the decretal forgeries, namely those included in the shorter A2 recension; and even here he allowed for the possibility of later redaction, given that the manuscript tradition undeniably postdates 850⁶⁷. Fifteen of twenty-one items in the False Decretals that cite Ennodius from V, however, are encompassed by the A2 recension. Three of the four telltale forgeries that address episcopal translation are also in A2. This supposed core of the Pseudo-Isidorian forgeries does not merely have the odd late feature. This supposed core is late through and through⁶⁸.

Zechiel-Eckes weaves his arguments for an earlier date with a related thesis about the relative chronology of the False Decretals within the Pseudo-Isidorian corpus. Whereas traditional scholarship saw the decretal forgeries as the culmination of the forger's vision, Zechiel-Eckes argues that Pseudo-Isidore produced them first of all⁶⁹. Here too, the evidence of V is instructive. The Pseudo-Isidorian forgeries constitute a dense intertextual tangle, and annotated passages from the excerpted codices that Zechiel-Eckes discovered occur across the Pseudo-Isidorian forgeries. They are on hand in the False Decretals as well as in the False Capitularies of Benedictus Levita, in the procedural compendium known as the *Capitula Angilramni*, and elsewhere⁷⁰. Clearly, these ex-

67) See ZECHIEL-ECKES, *Der 'unbeugsame' Exterminator* (as n. 3) *passim* but esp. p. 189–90 on the early date of A2. The fundamental discussion of the form and manuscript basis of the A2 recension is still HINSCHIUS, *Decretales* (as n. 1) p. xli–lvii.

68) Decretals in A2 that cite Ennodius include Pseudo-Anacletus, JK †2; Pseudo-Vigilius, JK †35; Pseudo-Alexander I, JK †24; Pseudo-Sixtus I, JK †31 and †32; Pseudo-Anterus, JK †90; Pseudo-Stephen, JK †131; Pseudo-Sixtus II, JK †134; Pseudo-Dionysius I, JK †139; Pseudo-Felix I, JK †142; Pseudo-Euticianus, JK †146; Pseudo-Marcellus, JK †161; Pseudo-Eusebius, JK †163 and JK †164; Pseudo-Julius, JK †196; Pseudo-Liberius, JK †224. On episcopal translations, meanwhile, Pseudo-Evaristus, JK †21; Pseudo-Calixtus I, JK †86; and Pseudo-Anterus, JK †90 (KNIBBS, *Date of the False Decretals* [as n. 60] p. 160 with n. 82). Altogether, 17 of 60 decretal forgeries in A2 cannot antedate the later 840s.

69) An argument made at greatest length in ZECHIEL-ECKES, *Der 'unbeugsame' Exterminator* (as n. 3) p. 186–90. Also IDEM, *Fälschung als Mittel politischer Auseinandersetzung* (as n. 3), p. 13–14; and IDEM, *Auf Pseudoisidors Spur* (as n. 3) p. 25–26. For the traditional view, Emil SECKEL, *Pseudoisidor*, in: *Realencyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche* 16 (1905) p. 265–307 at 304–5 especially; HINSCHIUS, *Decretales* (as n. 1) p. clxi–clxii, on the relationship between the False Capitularies and the False Decretals specifically.

70) See the tables in ZECHIEL-ECKES, *Pseudoisidors Werkstatt* (as n. 3) p. 41–43, 50; and the appendix in IDEM, *Verecundus oder Pseudoisidor* (as n. 3) p. 431–46.