

This leaves us with the C recension of Ps.-Leo, widely printed since Merlin's edition. In this form of J³ †1118, we find that the final *et reliqua* has been replaced with the latter half of a genuine letter of Leo I, and none other than J³ 916 – the very source that we have seen informs the exordium of J³ †1118. What at first appears to be a curious and perhaps very early textual arrangement, however, emerges upon further investigation as a much later form. The entire C recension of Ps.-Leo derives from an extant A1 codex, namely An, where we have nothing but the ordinary *et reliqua* conclusion. This second association in the C version of J³ †1118 with its model, J³ 916, is thus a coincidence; how it came about is a complex matter best relegated to a footnote⁴². In what follows we will set the C recension of Ps.-Leo aside, as the prod-

42) The form in which the C version presents J³ 916 and J³ †1118 is the final stage of a series of redactions, not all of which can be ascribed to Pseudo-Isidore, and which very likely took place over centuries. See CHAVASSE, *Lettres du pape Léon* (as n. 2) p. 32–37. As has been widely discussed (KNIBBS, *Interpolated Hispana* [as n. 38] p. 24–29, on J³ 916 [*Cum de ordinationibus*] esp. p. 28f., reiterating Friedrich MAASSEN, *Pseudoisidor-Studien* 2, SB Wien 109 [1885] p. 844–848), Pseudo-Isidore's Hispana Gallica descended from a misbound exemplar, which scrambled the text of several Leo and Innocent decretals, J³ 916 among them. Pseudo-Isidore's attempts to make sense of the tangle deepened the problems, resulting in an overlong composite text of J³ 916 that mixed three items incoherently: 1) The Dionysio-Hadriana recension of J³ 916, 2) the scrambled Hispana recension of J³ 916 and 3) a fragment of J³ 912 (inc. *Quantum dilectioni tuae*), also from the Hispana. In this form, J³ 916 was copied into An. Shortly afterwards, An was subject to expansions and redactions, and the order of Leo's letters changed; see KNIBBS, *Interpolated Hispana* [as n. 38] p. 64–71. These redactors erased the fragment of J³ 912 from the midst of J³ 916 but implemented no further revisions, leaving the An recension of J³ 916 in an intermediary state, less confused than the ordinary A1 recension, but still obviously incoherent. Many codices were ultimately derived from An, and the peculiar configuration of Leo's letters that it carried was christened „Collection 21“ by the brothers Ballerini (CHAVASSE, *Lettres du pape Léon* [as n. 2] p. 32f.). At a still later stage, the An arrangement (Collection 21) was expanded with further letters of Leo I from other sources, yielding what Chavasse has christened the „Collection des 71 Lettres“ (ibid., p. 35f.). Here the correct, substantially shorter Hispana form of J³ 916 is finally restored. The embedded Dionysio-Hadriana version of the letter – 1) in the list above – is removed from its midst. The architects of the 71-letter collection, however, were apparently unwilling to discard this extraneous piece from the Dionysio-Hadriana, and so they added it to the end of J³ †1118, providing a proper conclusion to the decretal in place of the much-discussed *et reliqua*. Plainly, they wished only to maintain the external coherence of Ps.-Leo, repurposing this spare textual item as a superficial conclusion. The 71-letter collection eventually found its way to the C form of the False Decretals: CHAVASSE, *ibid.*, 36f.