

The first theory, a minor hypothesis from the earlier nineteenth century that has come to command wide agreement, works from within the forgeries to articulate a theory of their genesis. It descends from the thought of the canonist Ludwig Wilhelm Hermann Wasserschleben, who first wrote on Pseudo-Isidore in 1843. At that time, those who persisted in ascribing the forgeries to Rome and the papacy found themselves opposed by a growing majority who asserted the origins of Pseudo-Isidore in the Carolingian kingdoms and traced his products to Mainz. To secure Pseudo-Isidore's Frankish and therefore his Mainz associations, Wasserschleben analysed the forgeries as a reaction to Louis's retaliation against Ebo and his confederates at the 835 Council of Thionville (Diedenhofen). Originally, Wasserschleben dated the forgeries to 835, after the Council of Thionville concluded its business in March. In later years he continued to insist that Pseudo-Isidore worked very early, but accepted that his activity likely continued through 847. Wasserschleben concluded, with many scholars of his era, that Archbishop Otgar of Mainz and Pseudo-Isidore were synonymous².

Wasserschleben's view of the forgeries was a narrow one, hardly extending beyond the False Decretals. He did most of his work before Friedrich Maassen discovered the interpolated Hispana in 1885, and he denied that the False Capitularies of Benedictus Levita had anything to do with Pseudo-Isidore's deceptions³. In his mind, Benedictus was not

2) Wasserschleben's first statement on Pseudo-Isidore was *De patria decretalium pseudoisidorianarum* (1843), followed by IDEM, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der falschen Dekretalen* (1844), esp. p. 60–70 on the political scenario; and IDEM, *Pseudoisidor in: Realenzyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche* 12 (1860) p. 337–359. After Paul Hinschius edited the *False Decretals* in 1863, Wasserschleben's thought changed in important respects; cf. IDEM, *Die pseudoisidorische Frage*, in: *Zs. für Kirchenrecht* 4 (1864) p. 273–303, esp. 297–301; IDEM, *Pseudoisidor*, in: *Realenzyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche* 12 (1883) p. 367–384; IDEM, *Über das Vaterland der falschen Dekretalen*, in: *HZ* 64 (1890) p. 234–250, a response to the Le Mans thesis of Pseudo-Isidore's origins (see esp. p. 237–242). At this later stage, Wasserschleben argued that Ebo and Otgar both had a hand in the Pseudo-Isidorian forgeries (compare IDEM, *Die pseudoisidorische Frage* p. 301–303), and that the forgeries took shape between Mainz and Reims.

3) The fundamental study of the *Hispana Gallica Augustodunensis* (Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica, Vat. lat. 1341), here the interpolated *Hispana*, is Friedrich MAASSEN, *Pseudoisidor-Studien I: Die Textrecension der ächten Bestandtheile der Sammlung*, in: *SB Wien* 108 (1884) p. 1061–1104; and IDEM, *Pseudoisidor-Studien II: Die Hispana der Handschrift von Autun und ihre Beziehungen zum Pseudoisidor*, in: *SB Wien* 109 (1885) p. 801–860. Cf. also Joachim RICHTER, *Stufen pseudoisidorischer Verfälschung: Untersuchungen zum Konzilsteil der pseudoisid-*