

orthodoxy. That early concern very soon gave way to more fundamental worries about accusers, and principles properly applied to witness testimony were repurposed to the disadvantage of accusers and their accusations. The interest in witnesses never returned, and the decretal forgeries speak only of scrutinizing the accuser's faith. That the early material on witnesses survives at all is a testament to the fundamentally hierarchical nature of the Pseudo-Isidorian forgeries, which preserved early ideas long after Pseudo-Isidore's thought had assumed new directions. If the False Capitularies, the *Capitula Angilramni* and the *Nonnullae sanctiones* predate the decretal forgeries, then everything we have surveyed is easily explained: The excerpt repositories reformulate principles as often as they find occasion repeat them, while the False Decretals rehearse key doctrines only after patterns established by the mediating sources. If the False Decretals have priority, however, or even if they were merely developed alongside these excerpt repositories, we have to ask how it is that the collections of textual excerpts, especially the False Capitularies, are able to constrain the decretals forger, always after their own example; and why it is that the reverse never seems to happen.

The Evidence of the *Capitula Angilramni*

Removing the False Decretals from dependence upon the False Capitularies, as the prevailing hypothesis of parallelism demands, has consequences for our approach to other intertextual relationships within the forgery corpus that have not been appreciated. Specifically, Isidorus Mercator knows the *Capitula Angilramni*, and so far nobody has disputed that the *Capitula Angilramni* developed alongside Book 3 of Benedictus Levita. The essentially conservative nature of Pseudo-Isidore as a compiler has preserved a wealth of evidence for this chain of relationships.

An important feature of the False Capitularies is that they appear to be arranged more or less in the order that individual capitula were compiled. Material in Book 1 thus very broadly predates material in Book 3. The final appendix, *Additio 4*, took shape latest of all⁶². The

62) There are many proofs of this little discussed but (as far as I know) undisputed fact. Bluntest among them is the changing character of the False Capitularies through the course of many chapters. The frequency of textual manipulations and forgeries rises steadily from the relatively innocent Book 1, whose source