

False Capitularies. The only difference is that, in this case, the formal source is Pseudo-Isidore's own compilation, which is received not by a compiler of capitula but by a forger of papal decretals.

Conclusions

Scholars have repudiated the priority of the False Capitularies on the strength of three arguments. The first, a traditional approach reformulated by Klaus Zechiel-Eckes, proceeds from an analysis of Pseudo-Isidore's statements on the chorepiscopate⁷⁹. Pseudo-Isidore, it is posited, cannot have developed his polemic against chorbishops before the 845 Council of Meaux/Paris, which was the first Frankish synod that aimed to reign in their sacramental faculties. Pseudo-Isidorian products that deplore chorbishops, especially items among the interpolated Hispana and the False Capitularies, must therefore postdate 845, while the short version of the decretal forgeries is older because it never mentions chorbishops explicitly⁸⁰. Zechiel-Eckes enriches this argument from silence via the Damasus forgeries of the interpolated Hispana, namely J³ †573 and J³ †571 – this latter the notorious diatribe *De vana superstitione chorepiscoporum vitanda*. In these, Ps.-Damasus invokes the unspecified decretals of his apostolic predecessors several times. The interpolated Hispana is thus held to presuppose and therefore to postdate the short version of the False Decretals⁸¹. Benedictus Levita's major statement on chorbishops, BL 3.260, likewise gestures towards a tradition of papal decretals condemning the chorepiscopate, and even resonates textually with J³ †571. The False Capitularies are thus said to presuppose Ps.-Damasus and therefore also to postdate

79) ZECHIEL-ECKES, Der „unbeugsame“ Exterminator (as n. 9), passim but esp. 184–189. Particularly at p. 184–185, Zechiel-Eckes's argument expands upon WASERSCHLEBEN, Die pseudoisidorische Frage (as n. 2) p. 275–277.

80) On Meaux/Paris 845, cf. Wilfried HARTMANN, Die Synoden der Karolingerzeit im Frankenreich und in Italien (Konziliengeschichte 6, 1989) p. 208–217 and the edition by IDEM, MGH Conc. 3 (1984) p. 61–132. Chorbishops are addressed at c. 44, ed. HARTMANN p. 105–106.

81) ZECHIEL-ECKES, Der „unbeugsame“ Exterminator (as n. 9) p. 188 n. 69. The decretals are ed. HINSCHIUS, Decretales (as n. 1) p. 509–515 and 502–508, and from the interpolated Hispana they are tr. by GRABOWSKY (as n. 3), items 67 and 69. The potentially very early nature of the Damasus forgeries was first contemplated by MAASSEN, Pseudoisidor-Studien II (as n. 3) p. 858.