

that the province of Reims was Pseudo-Isidore's fatherland, rather than Mainz or Rome; and they favoured later dates for his activity. Looking back on many failed hypotheses, Hinschius in particular desired objective, external criteria for fixing the forgeries in place and time: „Multi quidem viri docti hac de re agentes ita ordinem disquisitionis instituerunt, ut primum quid sibi voluerit Pseudo-Isidorus indagarent, deinde ex consilio Pseudo-Isidori et rebus gestis regni Francorum et ecclesiae Gallicanae comparatis statuerunt, quibus annis scripserit Pseudo-Isidorus“. The approach had not succeeded, and so Hinschius proposed to work in the other direction: „Ego ... contrariam rationem inibo, ita ut ex fontibus Pseudo-Isidori definiam quibus annis scripserit, deinde quid sibi voluerit: hoc enim modo tota quaestio certius dissolvitur, quam quo modo omnes fere viri docti usque ad nostra tempora rem aggressi sunt“⁶.

Hinschius laid the foundations for what would become the dominant hypothesis of the later nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Emil Seckel, Hinschius's son-in-law, provided the canonical statement of this hypothesis in 1905. In contrast to Wasserscheleben, Seckel took a broad view of the Pseudo-Isidorian corpus, gathering under one roof the *Hispana Gallica Augustodunensis* (here, the interpolated *Hispana*), the False Capitularies and the False Decretals, which for him emerged in this order. Philological and source-critical analysis sustained this view at every stage. The False Capitularies incorporate items from the *Hispana* in its interpolated form, while the False Decretals were of course embedded among the authentic contents of the interpolated *Hispana* and – according to the extensive analysis of Hinschius – receive the False Capitularies as a source. Hinschius had also noticed that Benedict wrote his preface after the death of Otgar of Mainz on 21 April 847, and this year became the temporal fulcrum on which Seckel's entire vision turned. The interpolated *Hispana*, which predates the False Capitularies in this framework, is free of overt chronological constraint but traced to the later 840s, while the False Capitularies follow 847 directly. The False Decretals, which must postdate the ca-

6) Paul HINSCHIUS, *Decretales* (as n. 1) p. CLXXXIII. He followed important early work by Feodor GÖCKE, *De exceptione spoliū* (1858) esp. p. 52–59; WEIZSÄCKER, *Der Kampf gegen den Chorepiskopat des fränkischen Reiches im neunten Jahrhundert* (1859) here esp. p. 46–48; IDEM, *Die pseudo-isidorische Frage in ihrem gegenwärtigen Stande*, in: *HZ* 3 (1860) p. 42–96, here p. 61–63, 77–79, 92–95; IDEM, *Hinkmar und Pseudo-Isidor*, in: *Zs. für historische Theologie* 28 (1858) p. 327–430, esp. p. 399–401.