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Pseudo-Isidore's Ennodius

By

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The False Decretals of Pseudo-Isidore know two great heroes. One is Athanasius, irascible patriarch of Alexandria and irreconcilable foe of Arianism. As a bishop persecuted for his orthodoxy and often driven from his see, Athanasius spoke to Pseudo-Isidore's anxiety over the unjust trial and exile of bishops in the Frankish kingdoms under Louis the Pious and Charles the Bald. No less than thirteen Pseudo-Isidorian forgeries pretend to document Athanasius's trials at the hands of Arians and his appeals to Rome for assistance[1]. Pseudo-Isidore knew the historical Athanasius from the Historia Tripartita, a compilation and translation of Greek histories that Cassiodorus commissioned from Epiphanius Scholasticus at the beginning of the sixth century. In 1998, Klaus Zechiel-Eckes discovered Pseudo-Isidore's cryptic notae in the margins of the most ancient manuscript of the Historia Tripartita, St. Petersburg, National Library, ms. F.v.I.11. This codex spent the Middle Ages at Corbie; legend holds that it was copied by scribes who

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1) On Athanasius and his turbulent episcopate, see Athanasius Handbuch, ed. Peter Gemeinhardt (2011), esp. p. 113–165. Pseudo-Isidore's Athanasian forgeries are Pseudo-Mark, JK †181; Pseudo-Julius I, JK †195 and †196; Pseudo-Liberius, JK †222; Pseudo-Felix II, JK †230 and †231, interleaved with three fictitious letters of Athanasius and the rest of the orthodox Egyptian episcopate, a statement of faith derived largely from the Historia Tripartita, and an invented letter from the heretical bishops Eusebius, Teognius, Theodorus and Berintus at Antioch, all in Decretales Pseudo-Isidorianae, ed. Paul Hinschius (1863) p. 451–498. For the true history of Athanasius and the papacy during this period, with simultaneous references to Pseudo-Isidore's fictions, see Erich Caspar, Geschichte des Papsttums 1 (1930) p. 137–195 and 585–92 (chapters 4 and 5).

accompanied Abbot Adalhard to his exile at Noirmoutier between 814 and 821[2]. One of three source codices found by Zechiel-Eckes to bear signs of direct exploitation by Pseudo-Isidore or his secretaries, ms. F.v.I.11 attests to the close relationship that prevailed between the Pseudo-Isidorian enterprise and the Corbie library. With its discovery, Zechiel-Eckes inspired a new era of research on Pseudo-Isidore and reawakened interest in the hard problem of the origins of the forgeries and the identity of their author[3].

2) On the manuscript, see Cassiodori-Epiphanii Historia Ecclesiastica Tripartita, ed. Walter JACOB / Rudolf HANSLIK (Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum 71, 1952) p. xvii–xviii; and JACOB, Die Handschriftliche Überlieferung der sogenannten Historia Tripartita des Epiphanius-Cassiodor (1954) p. 10–11 and 64–65. On the fly leaf an eleventh-century hand has written *hic codex hero insula* [Noirmoutier] *scriptus fuit iubente sancto patre Adalhardo dum exularet ibi.* For further bibliography, see David GANZ, Corbie in the Carolingian Renaissance (Beiheft der Francia 20, 1990) p. 143; and Terence A.M. BISHOP, The Scribes of Corbie a–b, in: Charlemagne's Heir: New Perspectives on the Reign of Louis the Pious (814–40), ed. Peter GODMAN / Roger COLLINS (1990) p. 523–36, esp. 524–5. The latest on the Historia Tripartita is Désirée SCHOLTEN, Cassiodorus's Historia Tripartita Before the Earliest Extant Manuscripts, in: The Resources of the Past in Early Medieval Europe, ed. Clemens GANTNER / Rosamond McKITTERICK / Sven MEEDER (2015) p. 34–50.
3) In addition to ms. F.v.I.11, Zechiel-Eckes discovered a Pseudo-Isidorian annotator at work in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, ms. lat. 11611, copied at Saint-Denis (s. IX 2/2), but at the Corbie library; and Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica, Pal. lat. 1719, likely from western Germany but perhaps studied at Corbie. See ZECHIEL-ECKES, Verecundus oder Pseudoisidor?: Zur Genese der Excerptiones de gestis Chalcedonensis concilii, in: DA 56 (2000) p. 413–46 (on ms. lat. 11611); IDEM, Ein Blick in Pseudoisidors Werkstatt: Studien zum Entstehungsprozeß der Falschen Dekretalen mit einem exemplarischen editorischen Anhang, in: Francia 28 (2001) p. 37–90 (ms. F.v.I.11 and ms. lat. 11611); IDEM, Auf Pseudoisidors Spur. Oder: Versuch, einen dichten Schleier zu lüften, in: Fortschritt durch Fälschungen? Ursprung, Gestalt und Wirkungen der pseudoisidorischen Fälschungen, ed. Wilfried HARTMANN / Gerhard SCHMITZ (MGH Studien und Texte 31, 2002) p. 1–28 (announcing the discovery of the annotator at work in Pal. lat. 1719); IDEM, Der "unbeugsame" Exterminator? Isidorus Mercator und der Kampf gegen den Chorepiskopat, in: Scientia veritatis: Festschrift für Hubert Mordek zum 65. Geburtstag, ed. Oliver MÜNSCH / Thomas ZOTZ (2004), p. 173–90; IDEM, Altes Recht und falsche Päpste, in: Persistenz und Rezeption: Weiterverwendung, Wiederverwendung und Neuinterpretation antiker Werke im Mittelalter, ed. Dietrich BOSCHUNG / Susanne WITTEKIND (Schriften des Lehr- und Forschungszentrums für die antiken Kulturen des Mittelmeerraumes 6, 2008) p. 85–104; IDEM, Politische Exegese und falsches Recht, in: Präsenz und Verwendung der Heiligen Schrift im christlichen Frühmittelalter, ed. Patrizia CARMASSI (Wolfenbütteler Mittelalter-Studien 20, 2008) p. 117–37; and finally, IDEM, Fälschung als Mittel politischer Auseinandersetzung: Ludwig der Fromme (814–840) und die Genese der pseudoisidorischen

The second great hero of the False Decretals is Pope Symmachus I. On 22 November 498, a clerical faction inclined to Chalcedonian orthodoxy elected the deacon Symmachus to the see of St. Peter, while another with Eastern sympathies chose the archpriest Laurentius of Santa Prassede. Symmachus's opponents eventually accused him of financial and moral impropriety, and he or his supporters responded with the so-called Symmachian forgeries. These are a series of false councils and trial narratives that enshrined in canon law the maxim that „prima sedes a nemine iudicabitur"[4]. Pseudo-Isidore knew one of these forgeries, though its associations with Symmachus were obscure to him and the matter of papal immunity lay beyond his concerns[5]. Instead, Pope Symmachus I interested Pseudo-Isidore as another bishop who, like Athanasius, had been driven from office, unjustly tried and finally vindicated. To the single authentic decretal of Symmachus that Pseudo-Isidore found in his most important formal source, the interpolated Hispana, he appended six further conciliar documents and two letters in Symmachus's name[6].

Dekretalen (Rheinisch-Westfälische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Geisteswissenschaften: Vorträge 428, 2011).

4) On the Symmachian forgeries and the political drama that prompted them, see Eckhard WIRBELAUER, Zwei Päpste in Rom: Der Konflikt zwischen Laurentius und Symmachus (498–514) (Quellen und Forschungen zur Antiken Welt 16, 1993). A convenient account of the events of the schism itself is Thomas F.X. NOBLE, Theoderic and the Papacy, in: Teoderico il Grande e i Goti d'Italia: Atti del XIII Congresso internazionale di studi sull'Alto Medioevo 1 (1993) p. 395–423. For "prima sedes a nemine iudicabitur" in later canonical theory and practice, see Harald ZIMMERMANN, Papstabsetzungen des Mittelalters (1968).

5) The Excerpta quaedam ex synodalibus gestis sancti Sylvestri Papae, ed. HINSCHIUS, Decretales (as n. 1) p. 449–50, are based in part on the Constitutum Sylvestri, one of the Symmachian forgeries. See Eckhard WIRBELAUER, Zum Umgang mit kanonistischer Tradition im frühen Mittelalter: Drei Wirkungen der Symmachianischen Documenta, in: Schriftlichkeit im frühen Mittelalter, ed. Ursula SCHAEFER (ScriptOralia 53, 1993) p. 207–225, here 221–4.

6) From the interpolated Hispana (Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica, Vat. lat. 1341) comes JK 764, transcribed by Annette GRABOWSKY, at http://www.benedictus. mgh.de/quellen/chga/chga_159t.htm. HINSCHIUS, Decretales (as n. 1) p. 657 has the decretal from Collectio Canonum Ecclesiae Hispanae 2, ed. Francisco Antonio GONZÁLEZ (1821), repr. PL 84 col. 811–12. There follow three Roman councils under Symmachus that Pseudo-Isidore has from the Dionysio-Hadriana, the last of them the Synodus Palmaris from 502. HINSCHIUS, Decretales (as n. 1) p. 657–64, reprints from the Collectio Dionysio-Hadraian (specifically, the Codex canonum vetus Ecclesiae Romanae restitutus, ed. Pierre PITHOU [Paris 1609]) rather than from the Pseudo-Isidorian tradition. (For a critical text of these councils, including the Dionysian tradition but excluding Pseudo-Isidore, see Acta Synodorum Hab-

Pseudo-Isidore derived a great part of this Symmachian dossier from the œuvre of Magnus Felix Ennodius, the sixth-century rhetorician, poet and bishop of Pavia. As a prominent Pseudo-Isidorian source, Ennodius has long attracted attention, for he was an exceedingly rare author in the early medieval period. Among the few Carolingian-era scholars to demonstrate a clear knowledge of Ennodius beyond Pseudo-Isidore was Paul the Deacon. A plausible theory holds that Paul learned of Ennodius while he was a student at Pavia, and introduced a copy of his work to the palace library. This would explain evidence suggesting that Ennodius was read at Charlemagne's court[7]. After 814, the palace library was dispersed, and Ennodius disappeared to emerge decades later with the production of two manuscripts. The older is Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, ms. 9845–48 (B), copied for the abbey of Lorsch sometime shortly before 830. Shortly thereafter came Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 3803 (V), set down by Corbie scribes around 850[8]. In other cases, mid-century manu-

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itarum Romae, ed. Theodor MOMMSEN [MGH Auct. ant. 12, 1894] p. 399–455). Then comes the Libellus pro synodo of Ennodius, which HINSCHIUS, Decretales (as n. 1) p. 664–75, reprints from Magni Felicis Ennodii Episcopi Ticinensis Opera, ed. Jacques SIRMOND (Paris 1611). In penultimate position are the false fifth and sixth Symmachian synods, which HINSCHIUS, Decretales (as n. 1) p. 675–84, must edit from the Pseudo-Isidorian tradition. The final two items, false letters from Symmachus, HINSCHIUS, Decretales (as n. 1) p. 684–6, prints from the Pseudo-Isidorian tradition, though both are misattributed authentic letters again from Ennodius. Because of these lapses the only complete edition of Pseudo-Isidore's Symmachian dossier remains Tomus primus quatuor conciliorum generalium, ed. Jacques MER-LIN (Paris 1524), repr. PL 130 col. 991–1033.

7) On Ennodius's reception among Carolingian-era authors, see Friedrich VO-GEL, Magni Felicis Enodii Opera (MGH Auct. ant. 7, 1885) p. xxvi–xxvii; Christian ROHR, Der Theoderich-Panegyricus des Ennodius (MGH Studien und Texte 12, 1995) p. 170–71; Michael LAPIDGE, The Authorship of the Adonic Verses 'ad Fidolium' Attributed to Columbanus, Studi Medievali 3a/18/II (1977) p. 249–314 at 256–9 and 272–3; and most recently, Stéphane GIOANNI, Ennode de Pavie, Lettres: Tome I, Livres I et II (2006), cxli–cxlvi. Lapidge and Rohr suggest that other court scholars beyond Paul, including Alcuin and Josephus Scotus, knew Ennodius in the time of Charlemagne. For a plausible if at points speculative theory of Ennodius's early medieval reception, see Richard H. ROUSE / Mary A. ROUSE, Ennodius in the Middle Ages: Adonics, Pseudo-Isidore, Cistercians, and the Schools, in: Popes, Teachers and Canon Law in the Middle Ages, ed. James Ross SWEENEY / Stanley CHODOROW (1989) p. 91–113, especially p. 91–101.

8) On these manuscripts see ROHR, Theoderich-Panegyricus (as n. 7) p. 65–81; and VOGEL, Enodii Opera (as n. 7) p. xxxii–xxxviii. B was copied in the second quarter of the ninth century and is surely older than V: Bernhard BISCHOFF, Die Abtei Lorsch im Spiegel ihrer Handschriften (Geschichtsblätter Kreis Bergstraße:

scripts from Corbie are known to derive from rare exemplars kept in Charlemagne's library; Ennodius's journey from the palace library to Corbie therefore has precedent[9]. The sibling of the Vatican Ennodius, B, suggests the intermediary stages of the tradition. Among the many scribes at work in this codex is one who may have been trained at Saint-Vaast. Because Lorsch and Saint-Vaast shared an abbot around the time that B was copied, it seems reasonable to trace the archetype of both V and B to the Saint-Vaast library[10].

However we parse the evidence for Ennodius's ninth-century sojourns, the early manuscript tradition is undeniably intertwined with the Reims province, specifically the neighboring northeastern dioceses of Amiens (Corbie) and Cambrai (Saint-Vaast)[11]. This is confirmed by the third early witness for Ennodius, Pseudo-Isidore, who is also from the province of Reims and whose Ennodian appropriations bear textual variants that align them closely with V. Today, scholars believe that Pseudo-Isidore knew an antecedent, probably the direct antecedent, of V, a lost codex to which they have traditionally ascribed the siglum X[12]. As with Athanasius and the Historia Tripartita, therefore, Ennodius provides strong evidence of Pseudo-Isidore's Corbie associations.

Sonderband 10, 1989) p. 48 and 75; IDEM, Katalog der festländischen Handschriften des neunten Jahrhunderts 1: Aachen – Lambach (1998) p. 159. Bischoff's opinion on the date of V, "written at Corbie at or just after midcentury," is reported in ROUSE / ROUSE, Ennodius in the Middle Ages (as n. 7) p. 97. Previously, Bischoff had placed V in the second half of the ninth century: BISCHOFF, Abtei Lorsch (as n. 7) p. 98 n. 27.

9) GANZ, Corbie in the Carolingian Renaissance (as n. 2) p. 59; Bernhard BISCHOFF, Die Hofbibliothek Karls des Grossen, in: Mittelalterliche Studien: Ausgewählte Aufsätze zur Schriftkunde und Literaturgeschichte 3 (1981) p. 166–7; Bernhard BISCHOFF, Hadoardus and the Manuscripts of Classical Authors from Corbie, in: Didascaliae: Studies in Honor of Anselm M. Albareda, ed. Sesto PRETE (1961) p. 57 (in German: Hadoard und die Klassikerhandschriften aus Corbie, in: Mittelalterliche Studien 1 [1966] p. 49–63).

10) ROUSE / ROUSE, Ennodius in the Middle Ages (as n. 7) p. 92–5.

11) ROUSE / ROUSE, Ennodius in the Middle Ages (as n. 7) p. 93: „The stemma codicum of Ennodius begins to make geographical sense … if the two oldest manuscripts were written at Arras and Corbie, some thirty miles apart; Corbie is just off the Roman road linking Arras with Amiens to the south". Compare ROHR, Theoderich-Panegyricus (as n. 7) p. 179–81 and 186–87, who does not envision a Carolingian-era shared ancestor for B and V.

12) On the nature of Pseudo-Isidore's text of Ennodius, see VOGEL, Enodii Opera (as n. 7) p. xii and xlv; ROHR, Theoderich-Panegyricus (as n. 7) p. 186–7; ROUSE / ROUSE, Ennodius in the Middle Ages (as n. 7) p. 92–3 (despite the erroneous stemma codicum on p. 92); GIOANNI, Lettres: Tome I (as n. 7) p. cliv–clxxvii.

What is more, in this analysis Pseudo-Isidore becomes entangled with nearly all subsequent reception of Ennodius, who found his way to later centuries either through his presence in the Symmachian dossier of the False Decretals, or via the later manuscript tradition – which, with the exception of B, depends wholly upon V[13].

This picture is mistaken in one respect. A review of the evidence reveals X to be an artifact of a paleographical misunderstanding that originated in the nineteenth century. The fundamental source for Ennodius in the False Decretals is in fact V itself, and of this there are two proofs. A subset of the textual corruption on hand in Pseudo-Isidore's Ennodius clearly arose from a misunderstanding of glosses in V. Additionally, the margins of the Vatican Ennodius, like the margins of the source codices uncovered by Zechiel-Eckes, bear distinctive notae showing that Pseudo-Isidore studied its folios closely. Dated by Bernhard Bischoff to the years immediately following 850, V is far younger than the three source codices that Zechiel-Eckes discovered. Its evidence provides important chronological insight into the development of the forgeries, falsifying a recent hypothesis about the date and origin of the False Decretals.

<div align="center">✻</div>

Magnus Felix Ennodius was born in 473/4, probably in Gaul and possibly at Arles. After a failed betrothal, he was ordained a deacon by Epiphanius of Pavia and joined the clergy at Milan. In 515, Ennodius became bishop of Pavia, an office he held until his death on 17 July 521[14]. Modern scholars know Ennodius, above all, as an elaborate and opaque stylist. His difficult Latin won him renown in the self-conscious literary culture of Ostrogothic Italy, even as it inspired the distaste of later readers[15]. For Pseudo-Isidore, Ennodius's œuvre amounted to a trove

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13) ROUSE / ROUSE, Ennodius in the Middle Ages (as n. 7) p. 97: „... since B had no discernible influence ... this implies ... that Pseudo-Isidore bears indirect responsibility for all the subsequent medieval transmission".

14) On the biography of Ennodius, see VOGEL, Enodii Opera (as n. 7) p. i–xxviii; Jacques FONTAINE, Ennodius, in: Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum 5 (1960) p. 398–422; ROHR, Theoderich-Panegyricus (as n. 7) p. 1–15; Stefanie A.H. KENNELL, Magnus Felix Ennodius: A Gentleman of the Church (2000) p. 1–42; Bianca-Jeanette SCHRÖDER, Bildung und Briefe im 6. Jahrhundert: Studien zum Mailänder Diakon Magnus Felix Ennodius (Millennium-Studien 15, 2006) p. 20–31; and GIOANNI, Lettres: Tome I (as n. 7) p. viii–xxxiv.

15) See, for example, Bruno KRUSCH, review of Magni Felicis Ennodii: Opera Omnia, ed. Wilhelm HARTEL (Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum 6, 1882), in: HZ 51 (1884) p. 100–4, here 100–1: „Magnus Felix Ennodius ... hat bei

of ancient Latinity that was all the more valuable for being little known to his contemporaries and containing politically sympathetic views on judicial and ecclesiastical subjects. Ennodius's diocesan, Bishop Laurentius of Milan, was a leading member the faction that supported Symmachus, and it was through him that Ennodius became entangled in the later stages of the Symmachian schism. After the final vindication of Symmachus at the Synodus Palmaris of October 502, the anti-Symmachian faction circulated a tract Adversus synodum incongruae absolutionis to denounce the proceedings. Ennodius answered their objections with his Libellus adversus eos qui contra synodum scribere praesumpserunt[16].

The False Decretals appropriate this Libellus in its entirety. Pseudo-Isidore supplies false rubrication that recasts its content as a conciliar decree, promulgated in Symmachus's defense. He also enhances its text with characteristic interpolations[17]. Also from the works of Ennodius, Pseudo-Isidore borrows a speech composed to commend Bishop Maxi-

der Nachwelt mit seinen Schriften nicht den Beifall gefunden, welchen er selbst-bewußt vorausgesetzt hatte. Der komplizirte Stil und Mangel an Inhalt mögen die Lektüre verleidet und die Abschreiber abgehalten haben, die umfanreichen Werke des vielseitigen Bischofs zu verfielfältigen". ROHR, Theoderich-Panegyricus (as n. 7) p. v: „In der Tat waren die Jahre der Beschäftigung mit dem [Ennodius] nicht immer ein Vergnügen, sondern vielmehr ein Ringen, ihn … zu verstehen". For recent remarks on Ennodius's style and particularly his difficulty, see SCHRÖDER, Bildung und Briefe (as n. 14) p. 53–63; and GIOANNI, Lettres: Tome I (as n. 7) p. xcvi–cxxxiii.

16) The decrees of the Synodus Palmaris, from 23 October 502, are ed. MOMMSEN (as n. 6) p. 419–37. For the political controversies and chronological problems surrounding this synod and the prior legal entanglements of Symmachus, see WIRBELAUER, Zwei Päpste in Rom (as n. 4) p. 17–34. The Libellus is ed. VOGEL, Enodii Opera (as n. 7) p. 48–67 (n. 40/Opusc. 2). On Ennodius's defense of Symmachus and the Libellus, see WIRBELAUER, Zwei Päpste in Rom (as n. 4) p. 147–9; KENNELL, Magnus Felix Ennodius (as n. 14) p. 186–201; and Bianca-Jeanette SCHRÖDER, Petrus, Paulus, and Roma: Three Prosopopeias in Ennodius' Libellus adversus eos qui contra synodum praesumpserunt, in: Quarta Giornata Ennodiana, ed. Silvia CONDORELLI / Daniele DI RIENZO (Quaderni di 'Paideia' 13, 2011) p. 11–33. For Ennodius's wider views of papal primacy in the context of the Laurentian schism, see Stéphane GIOANNI, La contribution épistolaire d'Ennode de Pavie à la primauté pontificale sous le règne des papes Symmaque et Hormisdas, Mélanges de l'École française de Rome: Moyen Âge 113 (2001) p. 245–68. The Laurentian attack upon the Synodus Palmaris does not survive and must be reconstructed from the Libellus; Ennodius gives its title at p. 49.

17) For the false rubrication: HINSCHIUS, Decretales (as n. 1) p. 664–5. Otherwise, because Hinschius reprints the Libellus of Ennodius from Sirmond's 1611 edition, he obscures Pseudo-Isidore's interpolations (for which see below, p. 19–24).

mus of Pavia; via another false rubric and address, he portrays this item as a letter from Symmachus to Bishop Laurentius of Milan. He further incorporates a letter that Ennodius wrote on the occasion of the election of Marcellinus to the diocese of Aquileia. Once again, fictitious rubric and address transform this into an item of Symmachian correspondence[18]. Finally and most anomalously, a further letter of Ennodius has become embedded in an otherwise unrelated Pseudo-Isidorian decretal forgery in the name of Pope Liberius I, apparently through some editorial accident.[19] All four of these appropriations are in addition to Pseudo-Isidore's finer-grained use of the Ennodian corpus. Twenty-one items among the decretal forgeries, together with three capitula in Benedictus Levita and two alterations to the Fifth Council of Carthage from the interpolated Hispana, draw on Ennodius's work in some way. The most widely cited item is the Libellus, but Pseudo-Isidore also leans heavily on Ennodius's other products, particularly his letters[20].

For all of these appropriations, Pseudo-Isidore had one source, namely a collection of Ennodius's literary production that, in the traditional view, was assembled sometime shortly after his death by a secretary or associate. The anthology juxtaposes 470 distinct compositions, and

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18) Ed. HINSCHIUS, Decretales (as n. 1) p. 684–6 (JK †760 and 752); Ennodius n. 214/Dict. 3 and n. 174/Ep. 5.1 are ed. Vogel, Enodii Opera (as n. 7) p. 171–2 and 153–4.

19) Pseudo-Liberius, JK †224, ed. HINSCHIUS, Decretales (as n. 1) p. 494–8; insert from Ennodius n. 48/Ep. 2.13 (ed. Vogel, Enodii Opera [as n. 7] p. 47–8) at 497–8. On this error, which is not present in the A/B recension and which introduces serious incoherence into the Liberius forgery, such that it cannot have been intended, see HINSCHIUS, Decretales (as n. 1) p. xcvi.

20) See the overview in HINSCHIUS, Decretales (as n. 1) p. cxxix–cxxx. The following items in the False Decretals draw on Ennodius: Pseudo-Anacletus (JK †2, at HINSCHIUS, Decretales [as n. 1] p. 69–70), Pseudo-Alexander (JK †24, at p. 98), Pseudo-Sixtus I (JK †31 and †32, at p. 107 and 109), Pseudo-Vigilius (JK †35, at p. 114), Pseudo-Anterus (JK †90, at p. 152–3), Pseudo-Stephen (JK †131, at p. 186), Pseudo-Sixtus II (JK †134, at p. 192), Pseudo-Dionysius I (JK †139, at p. 196), Pseudo-Felix I (JK †142, at p. 198), Pseudo-Euticianus (JK †146, at p. 212), Pseudo-Marcellus (JK †161, at p. 228), Pseudo-Eusebius (JK †163 and †164, at p. 231–2 and 237), Pseudo-Julius (JK †196, at p. 468–9 and 471), Pseudo-Liberius (JK †224, at p. 497–8), Pseudo-John I (JK †872, at p. 694–5), the false letter from Amator to Pope Silverius (at p. 708), Pseudo-Pelagius II (JK †1049 and †1050, at p. 727–8 and 731–2). The false fifth Symmachian Synod also draws on Ennodius (at p. 676). Benedictus Levita uses Ennodius at 3.108, Add. 3.8 and Add. 3.15 (Benedicti diaconi capitularia, ed. Georg Heinrich PERTZ [MGH LL 2.2, 1837] p. 109, 139 and 140). On the interpolations to the Fifth Council of Carthage, see Horst FUHRMANN, Einfluß und Verbreitung der pseudoisidorischen Fälschungen (Schriften der MGH 24/I, 1972) p. 149–50; and below, p. 29 with n. 72.
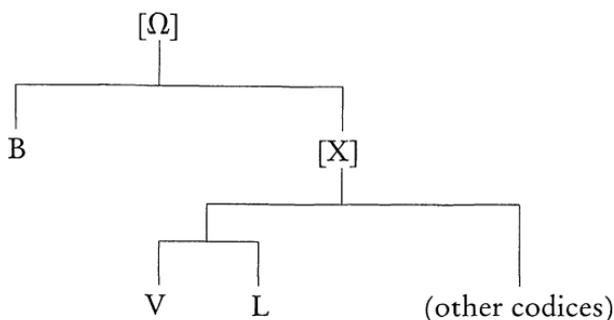
appears to arrange them in chronological order. The earliest datable work in the collection, from 495, is an outlier. Everything else falls between 502, the year of the Synodus Palmaris; and 513, when Ennodius became bishop of Pavia[21].

Critical study of the manuscript tradition behind this collection began at the end of the nineteenth century when Wilhelm Hartel and Friedrich Vogel undertook separate critical editions under the auspices of the Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum in Vienna and the Monumenta Germaniae Historica in Berlin[22]. For his editio minor of 1882, Hartel collated Pseudo-Isidore's appropriations from Ennodius, but only to illuminate the textual manipulations of the forgers. Hartel recognized immediately the dominant feature of the manuscript tradition, namely the clear distinction between the valuable independent tradition on hand in B; and the inferior, emended text that all other medieval manuscripts appear to provide. Hartel believed that all codices beyond B, including V and London, Lambeth Palace Library, ms. 325 (L: the only other complete ninth-century witness), descend variously from the hyparchetype X^{23}:

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21) On Ennodius's works and their internal chronology, see Johannes SUNDWALL, Abhandlungen zur Geschichte des ausgehenden Römertums (1919) p. 1–83, which refines Benedikt HASENSTAB, Studien zu Ennodius: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Völkerwanderung (1890) p. 1–26. Also Friedrich VOGEL, Chronologische Untersuchungen zu Ennodius, in: NA 23 (1898) p. 51–74, and IDEM, Enodii Opera (as n. 7) p. xxix–xxxi. GIOANNI, Lettres: Tome I (as n. 7) p. cxli–cxlvi, argues that the collection dates not from Ennodius's own period but rather to the Carolingian era.

22) HARTEL, Opera Omnia (as n. 15); VOGEL, Enodii Opera (as n. 7). The dual efforts of Hartel and Vogel replaced the seventeenth-century editions of SIRMOND (as n. 6) and Andreas SCHOTT, Beati Ennodii Ticinensis Episcopi Opera (1611). Whereas Vogel edited Ennodius's works in the order that the manuscripts provide them, Hartel followed Sirmond's arrangement, reordering the works along generic lines. For an overview of the editorial history, see Stefanie A.H. KENNELL, Ennodius and his Editors, Classica et Mediaevalia 51 (2000) p. 251–70. Recent years have witnessed new editorial efforts. All of Ennodius's letters are now available in the critical edition and French translation of GIOANNI, Lettres: Tome I (as n. 7), and Tome II: Lettres, Livres III et IV (2010). Finally, Frank M. AUSBÜTTEL has just edited and translated (into German) Ennodius's lives of Epiphanius of Pavia and Antonius of Lérins: Magnus Felix Ennodius: Die beiden Heiligenviten (Texte zur Forschung 109, 2016).

23) HARTEL, Opera Omnia (as n. 15) p. xxiii–xxiiii, on the Pseudo-Isidorian tradition, and i–iiii, xxviii–xxviii on related aspects of the textual tradition.
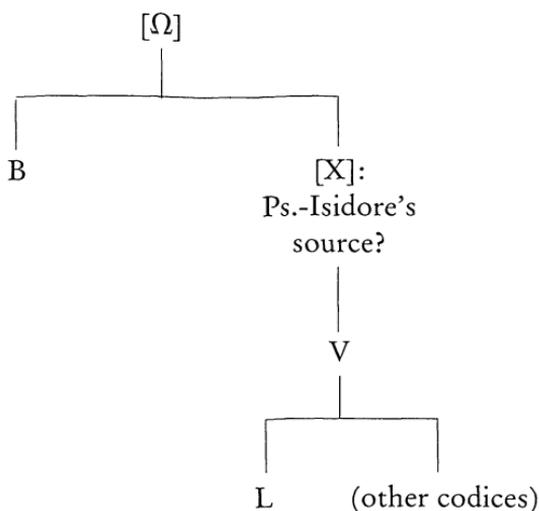
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                        [Ω]
            ┌────────────┴────────────┐
            B                        [X]
                          ┌───────────┼───────────┐
                          V     L            (other codices)
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No sooner had Hartel's edition appeared than the stock of V began to rise[24]. When Friedrich Vogel published his edition three years later in 1885, he realized that all known medieval codices beyond B owe their text, ultimately, to V. As Vogel addressed himself to the nature of Pseudo-Isidore's Ennodius, however, he found reason to retain the hypothetical X from Hartel's stemma codicum, arguing that Pseudo-Isidore knew not V but its antecedent[25]. Ennodius's most recent editors, Christian Rohr and Stéphane Gioanni, have not questioned Vogel's basic vision, and his analysis describes the state of the question to this day[26]:

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24) See KRUSCH, review (as n. 15) p. 100–104.

25) VOGEL, Enodii Opera (as n. 7) p. xxxi–xlviii.

26) AUSBÜTTEL, Heiligenviten (as n. 22), revises Vogel's text at points but does not critically re-edit Ennodius's hagiographical works. ROHR, Theoderich-Panegyricus (as n. 7), reconsiders the transmission of Ennodius's work in producing his critical edition of n. 263/Opusc. 1, the Panegyricus Theoderico. His conclusions (p. 179–87) represent a refinement of Vogel's analysis but the stemma retains its basic shape. GIOANNI, Lettres: Tome I (as n. 7) p. cliv–clxxvii, brings still further refinements, including the discovery of a new early medieval witness to Ennodius's work (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, ms. lat. 2833A, from the tenth century). Yet he hardly deviates from Vogel's view of the early medieval manuscript tradition, merely supplying X from Hartel and Vogel with the new siglum α (p. cxliv–cxlv, clxxiv). The excerpts from Paris 2833A appear to derive, like the rest of the tradition besides B, from V; thus Gioanni's statements at Lettres: Tome I p. clvi, are in tension with his stemma on clxxiv (which portrays Paris 2833A as a sibling, rather than a derivative, of the Vatican Ennodius).

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              [Ω]
               |
      ┌────────┴────────────┐
      |                     |
      B                   [X]:
                       Ps.-Isidore's
                        source?
                          |
                          V
                          |
                   ┌──────┴──────┐
                   |             |
                   L        (other codices)
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Hartel, Vogel and Gioanni have all agreed in dating V to the later ninth or early tenth century, at least fifty years after Pseudo-Isidore flourished[27]. It has therefore seemed to these scholars that the earliest False Decretals manuscripts predate the entire manuscript tradition of Ennodius aside from B. This has forced their conclusion that Pseudo-Isidore knew Ennodius through some antecedent of V, and yet philological evidence for the priority of the False Decretals over the Vatican Ennodius is not forthcoming. Vogel could cite only two instances in which Pseudo-Isidore appears to provide earlier readings than V or its descendants, both of them the Libellus. In the first, the False Decretals and B share the corruption *colacitate*, as against the more readily comprehensible *loquacitate* in V and its descendants. Conversely, V and its progeny insert into a later passage an extraneous *in*, betraying a minor misunderstanding of the verb; Pseudo-Isidore and B exclude the superfluous preposition. As proof of Pseudo-Isidore's priority, both of these variants are meaningless: When it was first copied, V also read *colacitate*, which is still legible beneath the correction to *loquacitate*; and omitted *in*, which appears in this codex only as an interlinear addition.

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27) On the date of V, see HARTEL, Opera Omnia (as n. 15) p. iiii; and VOGEL, Enodii Opera (as n. 7) p. xlv: V "exeunte demum nono saeculo scriptus est." Likewise GIOANNI, Lettres: Tome I (as n. 7) p. clxxix. Only ROHR, Theoderich-Panegyricus (as n. 7) p. 73, follows Bischoff in offering a mid-ninth-century date for V.

The supposedly prior forms are therefore clearly legible in V, and the posterior forms originated only as corrections to this codex[28].

In fact, it is V that has priority over Pseudo-Isidore. Hartel, Vogel and Gioanni have dated the Vatican Ennodius a half century too late. Paleographically, V is roughly contemporaneous with our earliest Pseudo-Isidorian codices, and, as it happens, Pseudo-Isidore's source for Ennodius's work.

The First Proof: Pseudo-Isidore and the Libellus

The first proof that Pseudo-Isidore knew Ennodius from V emerges from the text of the Libellus. No other item in V has received such close correction and such dense marginal attention as this treatise. That this activity should surround the single item in the entire collection of greatest interest to Pseudo-Isidore is no coincidence; and of course the volume of glosses and corrections must increase the likelihood that a later copyist, perhaps even Pseudo-Isidore, would overlook a few changes, such as the substitution of *loquacitate* or the addition of *in*. For our purposes, the most important of these additions are a series of marginal glosses that several different hands have contributed to the initial folios of the Libellus in V. Each of these reflects an effort to clarify the sense or vocabulary of Ennodius's opaque prose. The Pseudo-Isidorian tradition misunderstands these glosses and takes them into the text, resulting in a series of characteristic errors.

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28) VOGEL, Enodii Opera (as n. 7) p. xlv; text p. 56 l. 1–2 and 57 l. 2–4. In the former passage, V after correction and its issue have Ennodius asking his adversaries why they have attacked Symmachus *canina loquacitate*, likely a *correctio ex ingenio* of the solecism of the archetypal *canina colacitate* (in V before correction). In the latter case, Ennodius asks: *Nonne directa verba sunt canonum, quicumque clericorum ab episcopo suo ante sententiae tempus pro dubia suspicione discesserit, manifestam eum manere censuram?* The clear meaning is that a cleric who has fled can expect „manifest censure," but a scribe in V misunderstands *manere* (here used in the sense of „to expect") and emends superfluously to ... *in eum manere* ... GIOANNI, Lettres: Tome I (as n. 7) p. clv with n. 731, cites an even less probative variant from n. 48/ Ep. 2.13), ed. VOGEL, Enodii Opera p. 48 l. 22. As noted above, the A1 recension of Pseudo-Isidore erroneously appends this item to Pseudo-Liberius, JK †224. All A1 manuscripts (as ed. HINSCHIUS, Decretales [as n. 1] p. 498 – and also Rennes, Bibliothèque municipale, ms. 134, at p. 281) agree with B in reading ... *diligentiam pectoris* ... , while V (fol. 24rb, l. 5) reads *diligentiam peccatoris* before correction (the erroneous -ca- has been expunged). Once again, V provides both readings, and Pseudo-Isidore quite plainly has *pectoris* from V after correction.

To establish the Pseudo-Isidorian text of the Libellus, which was last edited by Jacques Merlin in 1524, this paper compares glossed passages in V to five representative False Decretals codices. These are

R134 = Rennes, Bibliothèque municipale, ms. 134, a mid-ninth-century codex that has not been classified but in its textual arrangement has some characteristics of A1;

N442 = New Haven, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, ms. 442, another A1 manuscript and archetype of the so-called Cluny Version of the False Decretals, copied sometime during the pontificate of Nicholas I;

P9629 = Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, ms. lat. 9629, an early A1 manuscript with contamination from the A/B recension, copied in the third quarter of the ninth century, perhaps at Laon;

V630 = Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 630, the preeminent representative the A/B recension which, like V itself, was copied just after the middle of the ninth century at Corbie; and

MH3 = Montpellier, Bibliothèque de la Faculté de Médecine, ms. H 3|II, a late twelfth-century copy of the C recension[29].

R134, N442, P9629 and V630 represent our earliest and most important copies of Pseudo-Isidore's Symmachian dossier in the A1 and A/B recensions of the False Decretals, while MH3 stands in for the C recension, on hand only in later codices[30]. The interrelationships that

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29) See, respectively Schafer WILLIAMS, Codices Pseudo-Isidoriani: A Palaeographico-Historical Study (Monumenta Iuris Caonici, Series C: Subsidia 3, 1971) p. 149–50 (nos. 36A and 55A), 45–46 (no. 46), 63–65 (no. 67), and 36–7 (no. 35). R134 has been misbound and is missing Part 2 of the False Decretals, which survive only in seventeenth-century copy as Rennes, Bibliothèque municipale, ms. 135.

30) On the A1 and A/B recensions, the fundamental analysis is HINSCHIUS, Decretales (as n. 1) p. xviii–xli and lx–lxvii. Hinschius misses the importance of the A/B recension and writes it off as a late phenomenon, a consequence of his misdating V630 to the eleventh century (p. lxi). On the C recension see now Steffen PATZOLD, Gefälschtes Recht aus dem Frühmittelalter: Untersuchungen zur Herstellung und Überlieferung der pseudoisidorischen Dekretalen (Schriften der philosophisch-historischen Klasse der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften 55, 2015).

prevail among these codices, as revealed by the textual variants of the Libellus that they carry, will guide us in the analysis that follows.

All five of these codices share a series of minor variants and corruptions that, taken together, are decisive in placing them secondary to the Vatican Ennodius. Otherwise, the most significant feature of the Pseudo-Isidorian tradition is the independence of R134, which follows V far more closely than its fellows. A longer series of variants and other common errors divides V630, MH3, P9629 and N442 further from the tradition on hand in V, as well as from the earlier text of R134. Finally, a study of the Libellus in Pseudo-Isidore confirms what has long been known of the C recension represented by MH3, namely that it derives from A/B[31].

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31) A variety of interesting variants divide Pseudo-Isidore's text of the Libellus from V and the rest of the tradition. Thus VOGEL, Enodii Opera (as n. 7) p. 50 l. 10: *evangelio* R134 N442 P9629 V630 MH3 against *evangeliis* V (and cett.); 51 l. 10: *vocari* R134 N442 P9629 V630 MH3 against *vocitari* V (and cett., save T = Troyes, Bibliothèque municipale, ms. 658, which shares *vocari* with Pseudo-Isidore); 51 l. 12: *quaestionem* R134 N442 P9629 V630 MH3 against *quaestione* V (and cett.); 52 l. 33: *Postes aumentationem* R134, *Postes augmentationem* N442 V630, *Postes aucmentationem* P9629, *Post hanc augmentationem* MH3, against *Post Esau mentionem* V (and cett.); 53 l. 9, *Nam quid* R134 N442 P9629, *Numquid* V639 MH3 against *Nunc quid* in V (and cett.); 54 l. 3: *qui* omitted in R134 N442 P9629 V630 MH3, which must represent Pseudo-Isidore's correction ex ingenio against *qui* V (and cett.); 59 l. 20: *est* omitted in R134 N442 P9629 V630 MH3, against *est* V (and cett.); 59 l. 25: *congruenter* R134 N442 P9629 V630 MH3 against *congruentes* V (and cett.); 60 l. 33: *faciem* R134 N442 P9629 V630 MH3 against *facem* V (and cett.); 62 l. 10: *ait* R134 N442 P9629 V630 MH3 against *agit* V (and cett.); 62 l. 31–2: *in ... ut* R134 N442 P9629 V630 MH3 against *ut ... aut* V (and cett.). The variant at 52 l. 33 is particularly significant, as though it is not present in V it clearly originates with this codex. The scribe of V copies the words *Post* and *Esau* with no intervening space, prompting Pseudo-Isidore to read *Postes* (erroneously) and emend the rest to *augmentationem*. A further set of variants pit N442, P9629, V630 and MH3 against R134 and V: p. 49 l. 28: *auctoritate* N442 P9629 V630 MH3 against *auctore* R134 V (and cett.); 51 l. 3: *scabro cavo vomere* N442 (where *cavo* has been expunged), *scabro quo vomere* P9629, *scabroso vomere* V630 MH3, all against *scabro vomere* R134 V (and cett.); *indignas* N442 P9629 V630, *indignos* MH3, all against *indignus* R134 V (and cett.); 60 ll. 2–3: *habitationibus aut* N442, *habitaciones aut* P9629, *ob auditio nos aut* V630 MH3, all against *habitatio nos aut* R134 V (and cett.); 63 l. 10: *captionem* N442 P9629 V630 MH3 against *captione* R134 V (and cett.); 63 l. 15: *angelum* N442 (abbreviates *anglm*) P9629 V630 MH3 (abbreviates *anglm*), against *angulum* R134 V (and cett.). Common errors like *scabroso vomere* and *ob auditio nos aut* tie V630 to MH3 and confirm the close relationship between the C and A/B recensions of the False Decretals. For a further note on R134 and its unusual textual features, see Semih HEINEN, Pseudoisidor auf dem Konzil von Aachen im Jahr 836,

These considerations demand a stemma codicum along these lines:
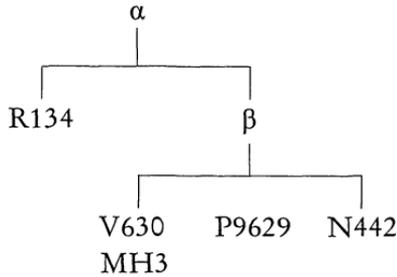
Though this analysis probably oversimplifies the descent of P9629 and N442, together with their relationship to the A/B branch (V630), it is useful in two respects. Firstly, it clarifies the significance of R134 for understanding the textual development of Pseudo-Isidore's Ennodius. Secondly, it draws our attention to the lost, hypothetical archetypes α and β. These archetypes are necessary to account for the textual variation that divides Pseudo-Isidore's Ennodius from V, and they are the ancestors of the Libellus both in the A/B recension (V630) and in the A1 recension (P9629 and N442) of the False Decretals. As I have argued in past work, A/B and A1 represent two independent efforts to compile the False Decretals from constituent components. Because no common archetype seems to unite A1 and A/B, it becomes hard to see how α and β could have been early drafts of the False Decretals as a whole. Rather, in what follows, it will become increasingly clear that these hyparchetypes represent successive working copies of the Libellus maintained within the atelier of the Pseudo-Isidorian enterprise[32].

The opening folios of the Libellus in V have received five separate glosses, clustered in two passages. These resonate throughout our representative Pseudo-Isidorian codices as follows (asterisks indicate erasure):

> V, fol. 24rb (ed. Vogel, Enodii Opera [as n. 7] p. 49 l. 5-6): ... *ut dum intentioni famulatur, diligentiam decoris <u>abiuret</u>* [marginal gloss: *perdat*], *quia dicendi ornamenta not sunt <u>negotii</u>* [interlinear gloss: *intentionis*] *sed quietis, nec militiae sunt picta verba sed otii.*

Note: In V, an interlinear colon ties the marginal gloss *perdat* to *abiuret.*

>   R134: *ab*****iuret* (*perdat* added in margin) ... *negotii intentionis*
>   N442: *abiuret perdat ... intentionis negotii*
>   P9629: *abperdat iuret ... intentionis negotii* (*t* of *abperdat* over erasure)
>   V630: *aburet* [sic] *... intentionis negotii*
>   MH3: *abiuret ... intentionis negotii*

>   V, 25ra (ed. Vogel p. 50 l. 16-18): *Cognoscimus errata quae dicitis: Inimicum vocet aliquis accusantem et tragico nomine* <u>*appellit*</u> [interlinear gloss: *repellit*] *contumeliam non merentem? Dehinc subiunctam quaestionem* <u>*rhetorica fibula*</u> [marginal gloss: *argumentatione*] *momordistis* <u>*allegando*</u> [interlinear gloss: *addendo*] ...

>   R134: *appellit ... rethorica fibola* (in margin: *fibola/argumentatione*) ... *allegando*
>   (in margin: *addendo/allegando*)
>   N442: *repellit appellet...rethorica argumentatione fibola ... allegando addendo*
>   (*fibola* corrected to *fibula*, *addendo* expunged)
>   P9629: *repelliti adpellit ... rethorica argumentatione fi*bula ... addendo alegando*
>   V630: *repellit adpellit ... rethorica argumentatione fibula ... addendo allegando*
>   MH3: *reppelit appellat ... rethorica argumentatione fibula ... addendo allegando*

Vogel's critical apparatus reveals that the broader Ennodian manuscript tradition beyond Pseudo-Isidore has also been confused by these glosses[33]. They are one indication, among many, that V gave rise to the entire tradition beyond B. That our Pseudo-Isidorian codices share these variants shows that they, too, have the Libellus from V. Otherwise, the textual confusion confirms the independence of R134, which for the most part retains these glosses as marginal additions. Even this

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33) At VOGEL, Enodii Opera (as n. 7) p. 49 l. 6, L with León, Biblioteca de la Catedral, ms. 33 (C) and Berlin, Deutsche Staatsbibliothek, Phillipps 1715 (P) have *intentionis negotii*, while Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Ottob. lat. 485 (O) and Troyes, Bibliothèque municipale, ms. 658 (T) have only *negotii*. At p. 50 l. 17, C and P have *repellit*, and T reads *fibula id est argumentatione*.

codex, however, has scrambled *abiuret* and *perdat*, an error encouraged by the presence in V of a confusing tie sign directly above the *i* of *abiuret*[34].

Beyond fol. 25r, glosses from V continue to confuse the Pseudo-Isidorian tradition, but their influence becomes less pervasive:

V, 26rb (ed. Vogel p. 52 l. 31–32): *... ut vos videlicet per pontificale examen sententia divina <u>percelleret</u>* [marginal gloss: *feriret*], *quos a capitis sui conpage in salutis detrimento insanus <u>fervor</u>* [marginal gloss: *furor*] *absciderat.*

> R134: no related corruption
> N442: *percelleret feriret ... fervor furor* (*feriret* expunged)
> P9629: no related corruption
> V630: *percellit et ... furor*
> MH3: *percelleret ... furor*

V, 26rb (ed. Vogel p. 53 l. 6–7): *Nonne conlatione tenebrarum vestrarum <u>nox putatur per sudum</u>* [marginal gloss: *purum vel serenum*] *rutilans iubar ostendere et omnis obscuritas actibus vestris collata decorem solis assumit?*

> R134: no related corruption
> N442: *... vestrarum purum vel serenum nox putatur per sudum ...*
> P9629: *... vel serenum nox putat per sudum ...*
> V630: no related corruption
> MH3: no related corruption

V, 26va (ed. Vogel p. 53 l. 13–14): *Tullianae enim profunditatis pelagus ingressi <u>conbulam</u>* [marginal gloss (?): *sterilitatem*] *<u>nostram</u> quaestionum flatibus per littorum incerta transmittunt.*

> R134: no related corruption
> N442: *conbula nostrarum sterilitatem*
> P9629: *conbula nostram sterilitatem*
> V630: *umbulam nostrae sterilitatis*
> MH3: *bullam*** nostrae sterilitatis*

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34) The solecism *aburet* in V630 appears to reflect the removal *perdat* from its position mid-word.

These later glosses resonate only with V630, MH3, P9629 and N442; R134 has none of them. The reason for this shift must lie with the nature of α, Pseudo-Isidore's initial draft of the *Libellus*. After the confusion with *abperdat* and *iuret*, it would seem that α ceased taking glosses into its text, sparing the copyist of R134 much confusion. If we posit that α nevertheless retained these glosses as marginal or interlinear clarifications, we have an explanation for their inconsistent reappearance among the descendants of β.

Pseudo-Isidorian glossators were not only active in the folios of V. They continued their work through both α and β, as the textual variation surrounding two further passages reveals:

V, 24rb (ed. Vogel p. 49 l. 6-7): *Campus fortem postulat, pax profunda redimitum.*

> R134: *redimit ornatum*: before correction; *redimitum* (in margin: *ornatum*): after correction
> N442: *redimitum ornatum* (*ornatum* expunged)
> P9629: *redemit ornatum*
> V630: *redimit ornatum*
> MH3: *redimit ornatum*

V, 25rb (ed. Vogel p. 51 l. 8-9): *Hic non incesso* [marginal gloss: *increpo*] *ignorantiam, rimosam memoriam non accuso.*

> R134: *incesso* (in margin: *increpo incesso*) ... *rimosam* (above line: *tenuem*)
> N442: *incessi increpo* ... *tenuem rimosam* (*tenuem* expunged)
> P9629: *incesso increpo* ... *rimotenuosam*
> V630: no related corruption
> MH3: no related corruption

In the first case, *redimitum* has been marked in V with a dark interlinear stroke, perhaps to indicate that it required explanation. While no gloss for this word is on hand in V, the evidence of our Pseudo-Isidore codices, including R134, suggests that it was accordingly glossed *ornatum* in the archetype α. In the second case, the gloss *increpo*, barely legible in the margin of V, prompts familiar confusion in Pseudo-Isidore. N442, P9629 and an interlinear addition to R134, meanwhile, attest to further confusion surrounding *rimosam*, which at some stage has been

glossed *tenuem*. This, too, would seem to have happened at the level of α, for *rimosam* has received no gloss in V.

Appendix 1 assembles evidence of twenty-six further glosses that can be ascribed to the hyparchetype β or later stages of the tradition. R134 is free of these glosses, while V630 and MH3 carry a substantial subset, and P9629 and N442 have the most. Towards the end of the Libellus, the scribes of P9629 and N442 cease treating these glosses as textual insertions, adding them instead to the margins or between the lines of their text, much as R134 handles the first few glosses surveyed above. The dense activity of glossators through successive stages of the Pseudo-Isidorian tradition suggests that the disappearance of glosses in V after fol. 26v marks the moment at which Pseudo-Isidore moved his study of the Libellus from V to his own working drafts.

Glosses and related corruption are far from Pseudo-Isidore's only contribution to the Libellus. Our forger also supplied the treatise with false rubrics and interpolated its text at two points. None of these enhancements occur in V, and yet they are present across the entire Pseudo-Isidorian tradition, including R134. These must therefore have originated with α, and so they merit comment here. In the first of them, Pseudo-Isidore presents the Libellus to his readers as a synodal decree:

V (ed. Vogel p. 48 l. 23–26):	Pseudo-Isidore:
IN NOMINE PATRIS ET FILII ET SPIRITU SANCTI.	*IN NOMINE PATRIS ET FILII ET SPIRITU SANCTI*[a]. *INCIPIT VTA SYNODUS A CCTIS XXXTA EPISCOPIS IN CONSISTORIO LATERANENSI*[b] *XVMO KALENDARUM NOVEMBRIUM DIE AUCTORITATE ET PRAESENTIA SYMMACHI PAPAE ROMAE HABITA ET AB ENNODIO*[c] *DIACONO PRAECEPTO ET AB AUCTORITATE MEMORATI*[d] *PAPAE ATQUE OMNIUM EPISCOPORUM, QUI IN EANDEM SYNODUM CONVENERUNT, SCRIPTA ET POSTMODUM IN CONSPECTU EORUM OMNIUM RECITATA ATQUE APPROBATA*[e] *DIGNAQUE AB OMNIBUS LAUDE ROBORATA*[f],
LIBELLUS ADVERSUS EOS QUI CONTRA SYNODUM SCRIBERE PRAESUMPSERUNT.	*ADVERSUS EOS QUI CONTRA SYNODUM SCRIBERE PRAESUMPSERUNT, UT NEC DE APOSTOLICAE SEDIS PRAESULE NEC DE ULLO UMQUAM TEMPORE POST*[g] *TALIA PRESUMANT*[h], *QUALIA DE IAM DICTO DOMNO SYMMACHO PAPA*[i] *PRAESUMPTA SUNT.*
PRAEFATIO.	*INCIPIT PRAEFATIO SYNODI*[k].

a *IN NOMINE – SANCTI*] V630 omits, b *LATERANENSIS* P9629, c *ENNO* P9629, d *AUCTORITATE MEMORATI*] *AUCTORITATEM EMERATI* P9629 before correction, e *PROBATA* V630, f *ROBORATA*] *–RATA* added over erasure P9629, g *POST*] *EPISCOPO* N442, h *PRAESUMANTUR* N442, i *PAPAE* P9629, k *IN NOMINE – PRAEFATIO SYNODI*] *Incipit prefatio enodii in libro sequenti* MH3

V does not have Pseudo-Isidore's rubric, but it abounds with suspicious activity at precisely this point. In the right margin near the authentic rubric, someone has inscribed, in large module, a long-s. A large marginal *s,* distinct from the rest of the marginalia in V, likewise accompanies the incipit of each of the two other works that Pseudo-Isidore appropriates from Ennodius[35]. Perhaps these letters represent "Symmachus," and were inscribed to indicate Pseudo-Isidore's selection of items for the Symmachian dossier in the False Decretals. The rubric in V has also been tagged with a line and a dot (/.), maybe to indicate that it was slated for interpolation.

Pseudo-Isidore had a fondness for embedding framing fictions in his rubrication[36], and the story he supplies for the Libellus rewards closer analysis. In the False Decretals, the Libellus is preceded by the authentic decrees of the Synodus Palmaris, which Pseudo-Isidore has lifted without modification from the Collectio Dionysio-Hadriana. The authentic rubric heading the Synodus Palmaris specifies that it was the fourth synod to address the disputes surrounding Symmachus. Pseudo-Isidore's invented rubric therefore casts the Libellus as a subsequent fifth synod, attended by 230 bishops in the Lateran consistory on 18 October, perhaps in 503[37]. Very curiously, the False Decretals feature another "fifth synod" directly after the Libellus. This secondary Quinta Synodus, which Pseudo-Isidore has forged outright, opens with a rubric proclaiming that it was attended by 218 bishops, followed by a false protocol in which bishops convening under Symmachus request that Ennodius's Libellus be brought into their presence and read aloud for their confirmation. These bishops then order that the Libellus be included between the records of the fourth Synodus Palmaris and their own decrees, for posterity[38].

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35) See items 19 and 20 in the table below (p. 30).

36) The entire framing narrative for the Capitula Angilramni is established by a rubric. See Capitula Angilramni: Eine prozessrechtliche Fälschung Pseudoisidors, ed. Karl-Georg SCHON (MGH Studien und Texte 39, 2006) p. 93. A further example is the rubric heading the so-called Additio 4 to the False Capitularies of Benedictus Levita, ed. PERTZ, Capitularia (as n. 20) p. 133.

37) Synodus Palmaris, ed. MOMMSEN (as n. 16) p. 426: *Quarta synodus habita Romae Palmaris*, a rubric carried over into the False Decretals, ed. Hinschius, Decretales (as n. 1) p. 662. See also the manuscript collations by Karl-Georg SCHON at http://www.pseudoisidor.mgh.de/html/273.htm.

38) Ed. HINSCHIUS, Decretales (as n. 1) p. 675: *Post consulatum Avieni cum in unum annuente domino ante confessionem beati Petri apostolorum principis resedissemus, sancta sinodus dixit: Libellus qui synodali auctoritate contra eos qui adversus*

Pseudo-Isidore, then, pursued two incongruent strategies for establishing the legal authority of Ennodius's polemical treatise. He forged a fifth synod to ratify the Libellus, and via a false rubric in α he cast the Libellus as a fifth synod in its own right. The resulting inconsistency explains the textual variation surrounding Pseudo-Isidore's second intervention in the rubrication of the Libellus, which follows the preface:

V:	R134 and V630:	P9629 and N442:
FINIT PRAEFATIO.	*EXPLICIT PRAEFATIO.*	
	HOC IN <u>LIBELLO</u>,	*HAC IN <u>SYNODO</u>,*
	OPTIME LECTOR, REGU-	*OPTIME LECTOR, REGU-*
	LAREM	*LAREM*
	SYNODI INTELLEGE	*SYNODI INTELLEGE*
	RATIONEM EIUSQUE	*RATIONEM EIUSQUE*
	OBIECTORUM DISCER-	*OBIECTORUM DISCERNE*
	NE LATRATUM, LICET	*LATRATUM[b], LICET*
	ENNODIUS IN PERSONA	*ENNODIUS IN PERSO-*
	DOCTOR <u>SACERTODUM</u>	*NA DOCTOR <u>EPISCOPO-</u>*
		<u>RUM OMNIUM AD</u>
		<u>HOC CONCILIUM CON-</u>
		<u>VENIENTIUM</u>
	SCRIPSERIT ROGITUS[a].	*SCRIPSERIT ROGITUS[c].*

The rubric in R134 and V630, which must have originated with α, stands nearer the framing narrative of Pseudo-Isidore's forged synodal protocol insofar as it characterizes Ennodius's treatise as a Libellus.

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a *HOC – ROGITUS*] *Incipit liber ennodii sanctae romanae eccleiae diaconi contra obtrectatones quartae synodi habitae romae palmaria symmacho papa sub theoderico rege* MH3 **b** *LATRARUM* N442, **c** *ROGATUS* N442

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quartam nostram synodum quae habita est Romae palmari mutire praesumpserunt ab Ennodio consriptus est coram omnibus deferatur et in praesentia omnium legatur atque roboretur. Quo recitato et ab omnibus consona voce roborato sancta synodus dixit: Haec futuris temporibus conserventur atque ab omnibus teneantur et in omnibus serventur. Hic libellus integerrime synodaliter ab omnibus teneatur atque inter IVor et quinti sinodorum nostrarum hactiones interpolatur et ita sicut harum sinodorum decreta habeatur, quia sinodarum auctoritate conscriptus est et roboratus. Ad quae beatissimus papa respondit iuxta vestram omnium fiat voluntatem, et ut iudicatis apostolica habeatur auctoritate et iner apostolica quo dicitis interpolatur decreta et sicut cetera spotolicsa ab omnibus teneatur deceta. Ad quae omnes ter una voce responderunt dicentes: Ut fiat rogamus, ut fiat rogamus, ut fiat rogamus.

N442 and P9629, meanwhile, provide what would seem to be a later and slightly improved version of these lines, which may have originated as a direct revision of the rubrication in α or β, if not with a later derivative. According to this enhancement, the text before us is suddenly a *synodus* and Ennodius appears as the *doctor episcoporum omnium ad hoc concilium convenientium*, both changes in stricter agreement with the fiction of the first rubric that Pseudo-Isidore supplied for the Libellus.

Pseudo-Isidore's interpolations to the body of the Libellus are essentially identical across all of the codices surveyed for this article. In their tract against the Synodus Palmaris, the faction supporting Laurentius had denied that they were Symmachus's enemies. Ennodius called their characterization disingenuous, and Pseudo-Isidore inserted into this discussion one of his beloved procedural provisions, namely that a bishop cannot be formally accused by his enemy. Interpolations are underlined[39]:

> *Post haec adseritis, adversarios papae Romani dici non debuisse, qui praedictum prolatis petitionibus accusabant – dolose videlicet hoc agentes*[a], *eo quod adversarios suspectosque canonica*[b] *synodalibus clamante in decretis auctoritate*[c] *in suam recipi accusationem*[d] *episcopos minime oportuisse vos non latuisset – ad adsertionis fidem iungentes quod eos isto nomine praecepta regia non vocassent.*

Further on, Ennodius attacks the standing of the servile witnesses Symmachus's opponents had produced against him. His weapon is the 419 Council of Carthage, according to which those persons prohibited by secular laws from raising accusations are also excluded from ecclesiastical courts. To this Pseudo-Isidore adds the clarification that ecclesiastical judges cannot hear accusations prohibited by secular law[40]:

> *Clamat in alio loco Carthaginense concilium: Quascumque ad accusationem personas leges publicae non admittunt, his inpugnandi alterum et nos licentiam submovemus. Et nullae accusationes*[a] *a iudicibus audiantur*[b] *ecclesiasticis, quae legibus saeculi*[c] *prohibentur.*

a *agente* N442, b *canonica*] *cana canonica* V630 P9629, *quae canonica* R134, c *auctoritatem* V630, d *actiones* R134

a *actiones* R134 b *audiatur* N442 and P9629 before correction c *saeculi*] R134 omits

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39) Ed. VOGEL, *Enodii Opera* (as n. 7) p. 50 l. 11–13.
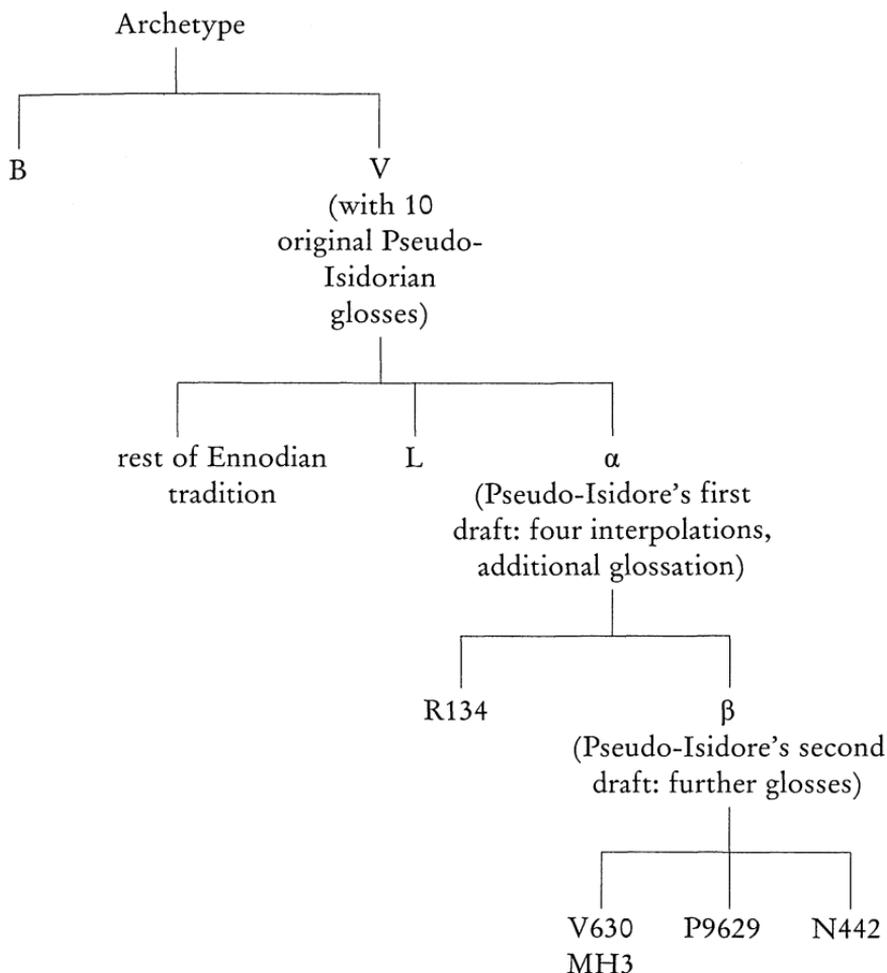
40) Ed. VOGEL, *Enodii Opera* (as n. 7) p. 54 l. 22–24.

Whereas Pseudo-Isidore's first three interpolations are freely invented, this last is based upon the titulus to Lex Visigothorum 2.1.13 (11): *Ut nulla causa a iudicibus audiatur, que in legibus non continetur*[41]. This same sentence with identical modifications occurs elsewhere in the decretal forgeries, not always in connection with Ennodius's *Libellus*. The False Capitularies of Benedictus Levita also include an identical statement at BL 3.459a. Emil Seckel concluded that Pseudo-Isidore interpolated Ennodius at this point via Benedictus Levita[42].

As was the case with Pseudo-Isidore's modifications to the first rubric, suspicious marginal activity accompanies the locus of this second interpolation in V. A Tironian note for *hic* ("here") stands in the margin. As we will see below, this likely stems from Pseudo-Isidore's use of this passage in several decretal forgeries. Accompanying this nota is a separate sign, a vertical line joined at the base to something like a tilde (| _), crudely resembling a majuscule L. This nota occurs nowhere else among Pseudo-Isidore's repertoire of marginalia insofar as it is known; like the dotted line accompanying the rubric of the Libellus, it seems to mark the insertion point for Pseudo-Isidore's interpolation from the Lex Visigothorum.

Pseudo-Isidore glossed and interpolated only the Libellus. His other appropriations from Ennodius show no signs of textual manipulation. In the absence of distinctive variants resulting from Pseudo-Isidore's interference, it becomes impossible to say whether Pseudo-Isidore's working drafts at the level of α or its descendants included only the Libellus, or whether they comprehended his other appropriations from the Ennodian corpus as well. Strictly speaking, then, the following stemma, which illustrates the position of Pseudo-Isidore within the Ennodian tradition, can be applied only to the Libellus:

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41) Leges Visigothorum, ed. Karl ZEUMER (MGH LL nat. Germ. 1, 1902) p. 60.

42) Emil SECKEL, Studien zu Benedictus Levita VII/3, in: NA 35 (1910) p. 433–539 at 530–31.

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                    Archetype
          ┌─────────────┴──────────────┐
          │                            │
          B                            V
                                  (with 10
                                original Pseudo-
                                   Isidorian
                                   glosses)
                                      │
                    ┌─────────────────┼─────────────────┐
                    │                 │                 │
            rest of Ennodian          L                 α
               tradition                         (Pseudo-Isidore's first
                                                draft: four interpolations,
                                                 additional glossation)
                                                         │
                                          ┌──────────────┴──────────────┐
                                          │                             │
                                        R134                            β
                                                               (Pseudo-Isidore's second
                                                                draft: further glosses)
                                                                         │
                                                         ┌───────────────┼───────────────┐
                                                         │               │               │
                                                       V630            P9629           N442
                                                       MH3
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Everything suggests that α derives directly from V. Pseudo-Isidore worked at Corbie where V was copied, so a direct relationship would be the obvious assumption. Two of the four inauthentic interpolations that α has received are anticipated by marginal annotations in V, and the only gloss that can be traced securely to α, *ornatum* for *redimitum*, has likewise left a graphical trace in V. More broadly, it is worth noting that the glosses distributed throughout the tradition, from the margins of V to β and its Pseudo-Isidorian descendants, are all of the same style, namely the substitution of simple synonyms by way of clarification, and that they therefore associate V, α and β with the same general scholarly activity.

The Second Proof: Marginal Notae in V

Pseudo-Isidore's source for Ennodius was therefore twofold. Via the library at Corbie he had access to Ennodius's works in V, and via his own industry he had working drafts of the Libellus at least. These latter came to include his glosses, revised rubrication, and interpolations. This state of affairs is complex, but it is in keeping with what we know of Pseudo-Isidore's approach to other sources[43]. The forgery enterprise emphasized compilation alongside invention, and it commanded substantial scribal resources.

Above, we noted that Pseudo-Isidore's three wholesale appropriations from Ennodius's work have each received a large, distinctive marginal *s* that should probably be resolved "Symmachus"; and that two of his four interpolations to the Libellus also coincide with marginal signs in V. In fact, as Vogel first noted in 1885, the margins of V carry a great many marks[44]. An important subset of these interact with Pseudo-Isidore's Ennodius citations, and they constitute a second proof that Pseudo-Isidore knew Ennodius through V.

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43) Zechiel-Eckes, for example, has shown that Pseudo-Isidore compiled from Rusticus's version of the decrees of the Council of Chalcedon in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, ms. lat. 11611, a series of procedural extracts that comes down to us as an appendix to the False Decretals. These so-called Excerptiones de gestis concilii Chalcedonensis, ed. Johannes Baptista PITRA (Spicilegium Solesmense 4, 1858) p. 166–85 went on to inform Pseudo-Isidore's use of Chalcedon in his forgeries. Thus ZECHIEL-ECKES, Verecundus oder Pseudoisidor (as n. 3) p. 427 with n. 50. Yet after compiling the Excerptiones, Pseudo-Isidore plainly continued to exploit the unexcerpted decrees of Chalcedon directly from Paris 11611. Compare the appendix in Verecundus oder Pseudoisidor p. 431–46 to the table in IDEM, Pseudoisidors Werkstatt (as n. 3) p. 50. The latter table lists ten passages from Paris 11611 that occur in the False Decretals, the False Capitularies, or the Capitula Angilramni. Of these passages, only five (the first, second, third, eighth and ninth) stand in Pseudo-Isidore's Excerptiones.

44) VOGEL, Enodii Opera (as n. 7) p. xxxvii: „… atque quondam in eo legendo studium consumptum esse testantur variae notae puncta unci litterulae, quae passim in marginibus reperiuntur. …" Bizarrely, recent scholarship has not only overlooked this feature of V, but actively denied it. See GIOANNI, Lettres: Tome I (as n. 7) p. cxlv, who writes that Pseudo-Isidore's source cannot have been V „… dans le mesure où le *codex vaticanus* ne porte aucune des annotations … que l'on retrouve dans les autres manuscrits utilisés par ‚le laboratoire pseudo-isidorien'". Also ROHR, Theoderich-Panegyricus (as n. 7) p. 73: „Der … Schreiber korrigierte den Text an vielen Stellen selbst, hinzu kommen einige wenige Randnotizen aus dem Spätmittelalter und der frühen Neuzeit".

V	Vogel, Enodii Opera (as n. 7)	Notae	Reception
1. 6ra, l. 24-5	n.6/Ep. 1.3 (p. 10 l. 5-6): *idoneus – testis*	*t* at *evangelicis tali* (6ra, l. 18; p. 10 l. 2); ├ („hic') at *debeo vobis"* (l. 27, p. 10 l. 7)	Pseudo-Julius, JK †196, c. 12 (ed. Hinschius, Decretales [as n. 1] p. 468 l. 19)[45]
2. 6vb, l. 20-21	n.7/Ep. 1.4 (p. 11 l. 11): *nemo – alienum*	*st .ii.* at text incipit (6vb, l. 1-2; p. 11 l. 1-2), and two further signs, a *t* preceding the borrowing at *quis rogo* ... (6vb, l. 17; p. 11 l. 9); *q* afterwards at *quid iuvat* (7ra, l. 15; p. 11 l. 24)	Pseudo-Dionysius I, JK †139 (p. 196, l. 26-27); Pseudo-Julius, JK †196, c. 12 (p. 469 l. 22). See also Pseudo-Stephen, JK †131, c. 11 (p. 186 l. 5) and Pseduo-Eusebius, JK †163, c. 3 (p. 231 l. 10-11).
3. 7vb, l. 8–9	n. 8/Opusc. 7 (p. 12 l. 28-29): *ne summorum – dispereat*	*st .i.* at rubric and *s* (long) at incipit (74b, l. 13-14, 17; p. 12 l. 1 and 3); possibly ├ („hic') at ... *vitali traditurus incendio* ... (7rb, l. 22; p. 12 l. 5); *s* (uncial) at ... *exercentur quidem* ... (7va, l. 21; p. 12 l. 20)	Pseudo-Felix I, JK †142, c. 2 (p. 198 l. 7-8)
4. 14va, l. 14-16	n. 23/Ep. 1.18 (p. 25 l. 28-29): *numquid – sententia*	*s* (long) at text incipit (14rb l. 16); *s* (long) and *q* just before borrowing (14va l. 10, 12); *v* at *numquid* (l. 14)	Pseudo-Julius, JK †196, c. 12 (p. 468 l. 4-5)
5. 15rb, l. 6	n. 25/Ep. 1.20 (p. 27 l. 8): *verum – divinitas*	∴ (trigonus) at *verum me* (start of borrowing: 15rb l. 6; p. 27 l. 8); : (colon) at *talia*	Pseudo-Julius, JK †196, c. 13 (p. 471 l. 6-7)

45) This Ennodian borrowing was first recognized by Zechiel-Eckes, Pseudoisidors Werkstatt (as n. 3) p. 78. The rest were uncovered by HINSCHIUS, Decretales (as n. 1) p. cxxix–cxxx.

		sunt … (before borrowing: 15rb, ll. 2-3; p. 27 l. 5), and either ∴ (another trigonus) or . . at *salve mi domine* (well after borrowing: 15rb, l. 10; p. 27 l. 10).	
6. 24r-33v	n. 40/Opusc. 2 (p. 48-67): entire text	Various suspicious activity, including a dotted line (/.) at the inside margin of the rubric (24rb, l. 7) and a long-*s* in the margin.	Ennodius's Libellus is incorporated in the dossier of Symmachus as a synodal decree.
7. 26vb, l. 12-13	n. 40/Opusc. 2 (p. 53 l. 32-33): *accusatoribus – credendum*	⊦ ('hic', erased) at *accusatoribus* (26vb, l. 12; p. 53 l. 32)	Pseudo-Sixtus I, JK †31, c. 3 (p. 107 l. 29-30); Pseudo-Marcellus, JK †161, c. 11 (p. 228 l. 14-15); Pseudo-Julius, JK †196, c. 12 (p. 468 l. 28-29); Sym. Syn. V (p. 676 l. 39-40); Pseudo-John I, JK †872 (p. 695 l. 9-10); BL Add. 3.15
8. 27rb, l. 4-6	n. 40/Opusc. 2 (p. 54 l. 23–24): *quascumque – sub-movemus*	|⌣ and ⊦ ('hic') at *quascumque* (27rb, l. 4; p. 54 l. 23)	Pseudo-Euticianus, JK †146, c. 9 (p. 212 l. 6-7). Pseudo-Eusebius, JK †163, c. 3 (p. 231 l. 4-7); BL 3.108. Pseudo-Eusebius is noteworthy for adducing *quascumque – sub-movemus* in the Pseudo-Isidorian recension of the Libellus pro synodo, interpolated with the help of Lex Visig. 2.1.13 (11) tit

			(perhaps from BL 3.459a).[46]
9. 27rb, l. 10 – 27va l. 9	n. 40/Opusc. 2 (p. 54 l. 25 – p. 55 l. 9): *replicabitis – contradicunt vobis*	┝ („hic', erased) at *ad haec saeculi* (27rb l. 27; p. 55 l. 2); *t* at *Uni|versas ecclesias* (27va, l. 1; p. 55 l. 4); – at *quia postquam* (27va, l. 3; p. 55 l. 5); illegible mark (possibly *c, t* or *e*) at *ponamus circulum* (27va l. 5; p. 55 l. 7)	Pseudo-Eusebius, JK †163, c. 3-4 (p. 231 l. 7-28).
10. 29ra, l. 2-4	n. 40/Opusc. 2 (p. 58 l. 8-9): *Nunc – auctoribus*	horizontal interlinear mark (–) erased at 29ra, l. 2-3	Pseudo-Eusebius, JK †163, c. 5 (p. 232 l. 2-3)
11. 29rb, l. 11-12	n. 40/Opusc. 2 (p. 58 l. 30-31): *non fuit – nudatus*	┝ („hic') near *non fuit* (29rb, ll. 10-11; p. 58 l. 29-30)	Pseudo-Sixtus I, JK †32, c. 6 (p. 109 l. 3); Pseudo-Sixtus II, JK †134, c. 6 (p. 192 l. 21-22); Pseudo-Eusebius I, JK †164, c. 12 (p. 237 l. 24-25); Pseudo-Julius, JK †196, c. 12 (p. 468 l. 16-17); Sym. Syn. V (p. 676 l. 21-22); Pseudo-John I, JK †872 (p. 694 l. 38-39); BL Add 3.8
12. 31rb, l. 8-18	n. 40/Opusc. 2 (p. 62 l. 15-21): *inauditum – impugnator est*	*q* over *t*, followed by dotted *n* at *dehonestat venerandi* (31rb, ll. 9-10; p. 62 l. 16); ┝ („hic') at *tu quis es* (31rb, l. 13; p. 62 l. 18)	Pseudo-John I, JK †872 (p. 695 l. 25-32)

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46) Seckel, Studien zu Benedictus Levita VII/3 (as n. 42) p. 530.

13. 34va, l. 12-22	n. 51/Ep. 2.14 (p. 68 l. 6-11): *datam satane –* *cognoscitur*	∴ (trigonus) at text incipit (34va, l. 5; p. 68 l. 2); *h* with superscript *i* („hic'?) near *cognoscitur* (34va, l. 22-23; p. 68 l. 11)	Pseudo-Anacletus, JK †2, c. 7 (p. 69 l. 12-18)
14. 36rb, l. 14-15	n. 56/Ep. 2.19 (p. 71 l. 28-29): *locum – non* *haberent*	. . at borrowing	Pseudo-Anacletus, JK †2, c. 6 (p. 69 l. 5); Pseudo- Alexander I, JK †24 c. 7 (p. 98 l. 25-26)
15. 37rb, l. 9-10	n. 59/Ep. 2.22 (p. 73 l. 14): *Supervacuis –* *adiuvare*	. . at borrowing (pos- sibly erased)	Pseudo-Anacletus, JK †2, c. 6 (p. 69 l. 6-7).
16. 60vb, l. 28 – 61ra, l. 3	n. 85/Dict. 9 (p. 114, l. 10-12): *erigit –* *meritis*	. . (erased) at *tempo-* *rum flatibus* (61ra, l. 1; p. 114 l. 11)	Pseudo-Anacletus, JK †2, c. 6 (p. 69 l. 10-12).
17. 69rb, l. 8-13	n. 120/Ep. 4.4 (p. 130 l. 21-24): *plus* *creditur –voca-* *tur*	*c* (erased) at *et non* *quaeritur* (69rb, ll. 9-10; p. 130 l. 22)	Pseudo-Anacletus, JK †2, c. 8 (p. 70 l. 6-9).
18. 75va, l. 26-29	n. 157/Ep. 4.24 (p. 146 l. 4-6): *ego – amovere*	⊢ („hic') or possibly + erased just after borrowing (inside margin) at *amovere* (75va, l. 29; p. 146 l. 6)	Pseudo-Anacletus, JK †2, c. 8 (p. 69 l. 28-31); Amator to Silverius (p. 708 l. 32-33)
19. 78rb – 78vb	n. 174/Ep. 5.1 (p. 153-4): entire text	*s* (uncial; "Symmachus"?) at rubric (78rb, l. 17), and an uncertain mark between columns (possibly ∴ or *b*) at *iungo – consensum* (78va, l. 19; p. 154 l. 4-5)	ascribed to Symmachus in Symmachian dossier
20. 83vb – 84va	n. 214/Dict. 3 (p. 171 l. 1-2): entire text	*s* (uncial; "Symmachus"?) at rubric (83vb, l. 5; p. 171 l. 1)	incorporated in Symmachus dossier

This table depicts the relationship between Pseudo-Isidore and V only partially. For a fuller view, Appendix 2 lists a further 32 instances in which Pseudo-Isidore uses Ennodius but leaves no visible mark in V; and Appendix 3 documents 46 instances of marginal annotation in V that are graphically similar to the annotations described in this table, but that surround items with no apparent reception in the Pseudo-Isidorian forgeries.

Together, table and appendices show that Pseudo-Isidore's use of Ennodius corresponds only loosely to notae in the Vatican Ennodius. Some of the slippage must reflect Pseudo-Isidore's creation and use of his own working drafts of the Libellus, reconstructed above as α and β. At least one decretal forgery, at no. 8 in the table above, draws upon the Libellus in its interpolated form, which is to say its author would seem to have used α or a later draft rather than V itself. Thirteen of the 32 unannotated appropriations in Appendix 2 likewise involve the Libellus, and it is probable that working drafts served as Pseudo-Isidore's source for at least some of these borrowings as well.

Otherwise, the slippage between notae in V and Pseudo-Isidore's use of Ennodius is subject to distinct patterns that suggest the working methods of the forgers. The decretals were composed as units, such that the same secretarial practices apply throughout each document. Within a given decretal, therefore, every borrowing tends to tie to annotations in V, or no borrowing does. Of twenty forgeries that cite Ennodius's work, only three mix annotated and unannotated borrowings. In these cases, the very first appropriation corresponds to an annotation in V, and the ensuing, unmarked appropriations fall in the general vicinity. For the space of these decretals, it is clear that Pseudo-Isidore began with a notated passage and worked outwards[47].

Ten forgeries within the False Decretals are remarkable for citing Ennodius only once, in an isolated passage[48]. All ten of these isolated citations correspond to marginal annotations in V. Such isolated citations are moreover almost never unique and tend to involve favorite

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47) Pseudo-Anacletus, JK †2 (at no. 13 in the table above); Pseudo-Eusebius, JK †163 (no. 9 in the table above); Pseudo-John I, JK †872 (no. 7 in the above table). Note also the tendency of Ennodius borrowings in Pseudo-Anacletus to correspond to horizontal colons (. .) in V.

48) Pseudo-Alexander, JK †24; Pseudo-Sixtus I, JK †31 and JK †32; Pseudo-Stephen, JK †131; Pseudo-Sixtus II, JK †134; Pseudo-Dionysius I, JK †139; Pseudo-Euticianus, JK †146; Peudo-Marcellus, JK †161; Pseudo-Eusebius I, JK †164; and Amator to Silverius (at HINSCHIUS, Decretales [as n. 1] p. 708).

passages that the decretal forger has used more than once[49]. Either these isolated citations proceed from an intermediary compilation of Ennodius excerpts that was developed with the help of notae in V, or Pseudo-Isidore used his notae for guidance when occasionally opening V in a superficial search for helpful passages. Conversely, Appendix 2 reveals that those decretal forgeries drawing on Ennodius without corresponding notae in V tend to appropriate multiple passages, often in sequence. In these cases, the decretal forger appears to have perused V more closely, in search of adjacent items that he might stitch together. Here the clear parallel is Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, ms. lat. 12217, an eighth-century Corbie copy of the rare anti-Arian treatise Contra Varimadum. This manuscript has surely also been exploited by Pseudo-Isidore, and it has also yielded multiple, sequential passages to the False Decretals without notae[50].

In the St. Petersburg and Paris codices uncovered by Zechiel-Eckes, Pseudo-Isidorian appropriations correspond with marginal notae rather more closely. The marginalia present in Zechiel-Eckes's codices are also far more likely to occur in combinations of two, three or four characters. The most common sign by far is a dotted n, presumably for „nota"[51]. In the list above only no. 12 is directly comparable in combining a dotted n with other signs, a q and a t. Otherwise, the notae in the margins of the Vatican Ennodius occur only singly. At the same time, the graphical forms assumed by the notae themselves are an unmistakable point of similarity with the excerpted codices discovered by Zechiel-Eckes, such that despite the different secretarial practices suggested by V, there can be no doubt that all of the excerpted manuscripts were studied in the same atelier. In V as elsewhere, we find a preponderance of three- and two-dot clusters (trigonii and colons),

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49) The exceptions are Pseudo-Felix I, JK †142 (an annotated borrowing that occurs nowhere else) and the editorial mistake underlying the unannotated, unique appropriation of Pseudo-Liberius, JK †224 (for which see above p. 18 with n. 19).

50) The Liber contra Varimadum has been edited by Benedictus SCHWANK (CC 90, 1961); passages received by Pseudo-Isidore are enumerated at p. xiv. See also Horst FUHRMANN, The Pseudo-Isidorian Forgeries, in: Papal Letters in the Early Middle Ages, ed. Wilfried HARTMANN / Kenneth PENNINGTON (History of Medieval Canon Law, 2001) p. 135–95, at 159 with n. 91.

51) Though Zechiel-Eckes never argued as much, the graphical arrangement of these notes strongly suggests that Pseudo-Isidore went over his source manuscripts twice, the first time providing nota marks at passages of interest, the second time adding additional signs that were perhaps intended as more explicit markers for his secretaries.

a general avoidance of Tironian notes beyond the sign for ‚hic' that probably indicates the limits of Pseudo-Isidore's education, and the recurrence of letters like *q, t* and *b*.

Vogel believed that Ennodius appealed to Pseudo-Isidore because he took an expansive view of papal authority[52]. Yet the False Decretals do not, as a rule, use Ennodius to talk up the papacy. Indeed, Pseudo-Isidore manifests a surprising disregard for Ennodius's broader themes and arguments. He uses words and statements primarily in isolation from their broader context. On two occasions, Pseudo-Isidore lifts judicial metaphors from Ennodius's literary discussions, which he deploys in a literal sense to the disadvantage of accusers. Thus, a passage in which Ennodius admits to enjoying his correspondent's writing and speaks of this admission, playfully, as a confession (no. 2 above), becomes in Pseudo-Isidore the principle that accusations from those who have willingly confessed to crimes should be excluded. Elsewhere, Ennodius's passing reference to „proof", in the course of an involved literary metaphor (no. 4 above), is repurposed in the False Decretals in a literal, legal sense[53]. In a third case (no. 11 above), Ennodius writes of Symmachus having been stripped or spoliated, a general statement by which he means that Symmachus has been excluded from the proper exercise of his office. Pseudo-Isidore, however, uses the phrase to rehearse his celebrated exceptio spolii, according to which a bishop who has been driven from his see or denied the resources of his office – stripped or spoliated in a narrower sense – must be restored before any trial can proceed.

The generally tight focus of Pseudo-Isidore's attention sometimes verges on misunderstanding. One is reminded of the glossator studied in the first half of this paper, whose grasp of the Libellus seems to have been won only at the cost of serious effort. The passage indicated at no. 9 in the table above, which has received multiple annotations, is especially remarkable. At this point in the Libellus Ennodius speaks for Symmachus's opponents, placing in their mouths the facile assurance that the servile witnesses they have produced against Symmachus have surely been prompted by torture to tell the truth. In Pseudo-Isidore, these sarcastic remarks become the apparently earnest suggestion that

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53) Relatedly, in no. 3, a generic statement on pastoral care is revised and repurposed to prohibit lessers from accusing greaters.

false or otherwise excluded accusers should be tortured to elicit the truth underlying their accusations[54].

Of the many Ennodian borrowings in Pseudo-Isidore, only a few have been deployed to further Pseudo-Isidore's procedural program, though nearly all of these have received marginal notae in V. In most other cases, Pseudo-Isidore uses Ennodius as a font of pastoral rhetoric, stout statements advising steadfastness in the face of injustice and persecution, and a wide variety of general moral admonitions[55]. In Ennodius, it is clear, Pseudo-Isidore found a trove of difficult Latin, redolent of Antiquity, that he could be confident was unknown to most of his contemporaries. Thus he felt free to appropriate entire documents from Ennodius with only superficial adjustments.

Many of the notae demarcating passages without known reception in the False Decretals are hard to explain. Some stand near aphoristic bons mots or other easily repurposeable rhetoric, the likes of which interest the decretals forger on other occasions. A sequence of Ennodius's prose works, all of them marked with a marginal *o* at their incipit, are by and large neither annotated nor used by Pseudo-Isidore; the meaning is perhaps that these were to be excluded or omitted from consideration[56]. In select cases, the notae listed in Appendix 3 cast curious light on Pseudo-Isidore's reasoning and interests. Thus, when Ennodius remarks facetiously that his correspondent's rhetorical ferocity makes him *clericorum certe exercitatissimus maledictor*, we find a telltale trigonus in the margin[57]. Elsewhere, in the Libellus, notae highlight passages in which Ennodius discusses the struggles of bishops and competing royal and papal authority to convene synods, as well

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54) Ps. Eusebius, JK †163, ed. HINSCHIUS, Decretales (as n. 1) p. 231: *Nec illi credendi sunt aut admittendi, qui aliorum sponte crimina confitentur, et ideo replicanda est sollicite veritas, quam sponte prolata in illis vox habere non potest; hanc diversis cruciatibus e latebris suis religiosus tortor exigere debet, ut dum paenis corpora solvuntur, quae gesta sunt fideliter et veraciter exquirantur.* Ennodian borrowings (for which see VOGEL, Enodii Opera [as n. 7] p. 54 l. 29–31) underlined.

55) For examples, see the Ennodian appropriations adduced in Appendix 2 for Pseudo-Anacletus, JK †2; Pseudo-Vigilius, JK †35; Pseudo-John I, JK †872; and especially Pseudo-Pelagius, JK †1050.

56) The following works are marked with an *o*: nn. 15/Ep. 1.10 (fol. 12ra in V, l. 7; ed. VOGEL, Enodii Opera [as n. 7] p. 20), 16/Ep. 1.11 (12rb, l. 24; p. 21), 17/Ep. 1.12 (12va, l. 16; p. 21), 18/Ep. 1.13 (12vb, l. 29; p. 22), 19/Ep. 1.14 (13rb, l. 7; p. 23), 20/Ep. 1.15 (13va, l. 18; p. 23), 22/Ep. 1.17 (14rb, l. 1; p. 25), 118/Ep. 4.2 (68va, l. 24; p. 129), 121/Ep. 4.5 (69rb, l. 29; p. 131), 157/Ep. 4.24 (75va, l. 14; p. 145), 289/Ep. 6.22 (112va, ll. 7–8; p. 225), 458/Ep. 9.30 (152vb, l. 19; p. 318).

57) See Appendix 3 (fol. 5vb, ll. 10–11).

as a reference to Christ as key-bearer. Also annotated is Ennodius's suggestion that Symmachus should not be subject to the sentence of those beneath him in rank, and a further passage in which Ennodius writes that Symmachus has been *de incorrupta iudicum inquisitione pulsatus*. Further on we find notae near references to Peter the Apostle and the pope[58].

A final annotation worthy of mention occurs in one of Ennodius's letters to Pope Symmachus. Near the end of this brief missive, Ennodius writes of a legation that has been assigned *ad Marcellianum episcopum*, and adds that this Marcellianus is writing separately with the results of his venture. The statement has been set off with trigonii before and afterwards. While such remarks might be expected to interest a forger of papal correspondence, the relationship of these annotations to Pseudo-Isidore's project seems more specific. The False Decretals appropriate, in its entirety, Ennodius's letter to the patrician Liberius, which discusses the election of Marcellinus to the diocese of Aquileia. That the forgers might have taken a deeper interest in a bishop named Marcellianus receiving instructions from the pope therefore aligns neatly with the contents of Pseudo-Isidore's Symmachus dossier as constructed from V[59].

Implications

By the later twentieth century, most scholars had come to agree that Pseudo-Isidore worked between 847 and 852 in the Reims province, and that his purpose was to oppose secular interference in diocesan affairs and resist the authority of Hincmar, who became archbishop of Reims in 845. With his discovery, Zechiel-Eckes confirmed the venerable theory of Pseudo-Isidore's Reims origins, and yet in other respects he opposed the approach of his predecessors. He believed that the forgeries required wholesale reassessment in light of their Corbie association, which in his eyes revealed Pseudo-Isidore to be a monastic rather than an episcopal agitator. The False Decretals were not a self-

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58) Appendix 3 (respecitvely: fols. 24va, l. 16; 25va, l. 27, 26va, l. 10; 27ra, l. 12; 31ra, l. 26; 42ra, l. 20).

59) Appendix 3 (fol. 68va, l. 15–17). In all likelihood the Marcellianus at issue was also bishop of Aquileia, and Marcellinus's direct predecessor. Not only Pseudo-Isidore, but also modern scholars, have confused the two bishops: VOGEL, Enodii Opera (as n. 7) p. xv.

interested episcopal manifesto produced under Hincmar. Rather, they took shape a full decade earlier. At their core they opposed the policies of Louis the Pious, with an eye towards shielding political dissidents from imperial retribution following the Council of Thionville in 835. Paschasius Radbertus, or Radbert, a leading Frankish theologian and later abbot of Corbie, became Zechiel-Eckes's preferred candidate for Pseudo-Isidore[60].

The evidence of the Vatican Ennodius speaks to the chronological plausibility of this thesis. Bernhard Bischoff dates V to 850 or shortly thereafter, a judgment that rests on our unusually complete knowledge of the Corbie scriptorium and its products. The first phase of Carolingian-era book production at the abbey occurred under the abbots Maurdramnus and Adalhard, in the fifty years between 780 and 830. This period, which saw a wealth of codices copied in characteristic Maurdramnus and a-b minuscules, ended with the first exile of Abbot Wala of Corbie in 830. The scriptorium did not resume operations until after Radbert's election as abbot in 844. Codices produced during this second, mid-century effort to expand the library represent an aesthetic and a technical departure from earlier volumes. They are easily recognized for their distinctive, mid-century Caroline minuscule. A chain of assumptions has associated this second phase of book production with Hadoard, a librarian whose name is known from the colophon of a classical florilegium from Corbie. From the subset of so-called Hadoard-era manuscripts that can be firmly dated, it is possible to place this second phase of production between the later 840s and 870[61].

An unmistakable product of the Hadoard era, V reveals that Pseudo-Isidore worked late enough to benefit from at least one of the mid-century acquisitions of the Corbie library. Hadoard-era scribes at Corbie copied not only V, but also some of our earliest and most important Pseudo-Isidore codices. These include V630, surveyed as a representative of the A/B recension for this paper; Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek, II.7, another copy of the A/B recension that survives only as a frag-

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60) ZECHIEL-ECKES, Pseudoisidors Werkstatt (as n. 3) p. 54–60 especially. On the historiography, see Eric KNIBBS, Ebo, Pseudo-Isidore, and the Date of the False Decretals, in: Speculum 92 (2017) p. 144–83, here 147–54.

61) Fundamental on the Hadoard era is BISCHOFF, Hadoardus (as n. 9). Also GANZ, Corbie in the Carolingian Renaissance (as n. 2) p. 56–57. There is room to doubt the specific connection of this development with Hadoard – thus Clara AUVRAY-ASSAYAS, Qui est Hadoard? Une réévaluation du manuscript Reg. Lat. 1762 de la Bibliothèque Vaticane, Revue d'histoire des textes: nouvelle série 8 (2013) p. 307–38 – but the stylistic shift and its mid-century date are secure.

ment; and Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica, Vat. lat. 1341, the only complete manuscript of the interpolated Hispana[62]. Everyone agrees that these codices, together with the rest of the early Pseudo-Isidorian manuscript tradition, postdate 850. Zechiel-Eckes's hypothesis of an earlier Pseudo-Isidore requires that the sources underpinning the False Decretals predate the earliest Pseudo-Isidorian codices by two decades at least. The Vatican Ennodius shows that no such temporal interlude exists. Pseudo-Isidore's latest source is roughly contemporary with the earliest copies of the False Decretals[63].

As evidence for a later Pseudo-Isidore, V does not stand alone. The decretal forgeries strive to dismantle ancient prohibitions on episcopal translation in terms calculated to establish the legality of Ebo's move to Hildesheim after 845[64]. The preface to the False Capitularies of Benedictus Levita is aware that Otgar is no longer bishop of Mainz, and must therefore have been composed well after 21 April 847[65]. All of these clues agree in placing the composition of the forgeries immediately before the indirect tradition, which begins probably in 852 and certainly in 857; and immediately before the earliest extant manuscripts[66].

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62) On Leipzig II.70, BISCHOFF, Katalog der festländischen Handschriften des neunten Jahrhunderts 2: Laon – Paderborn, ed. Birgit EBERSPERGER (2004) p. 70; for Vat. lat. 1341, Hubert MORDEK, Kirchenrecht und Reform im Frankenreich: Die Collectio Vetus Gallica (Beiträge zur Geschichte und Quellenkunde des Mittelalters 1, 1975) p. 252.

63) Compare PATZOLD, Gefälschtes Recht (as n. 30) p. 67–9, who assumes an early date for the False Decretals in line with Zechiel-Eckes's theories, and proposes that the delay between the early date of the forgeries and their circulation in the 850s reflects the strategy of the forgers; and Clara HARDER, review of Patzold, in DA 72 (2016) p. 667–8, who declares that Patzold's thesis of the delay „wird die Forschung ernsthaft erwägen müssen" (p. 668). This is a false problem. Pseudo-Isidore circulated his forgeries as soon as he finished them. Multiple recensions reflect not the careful strategy of the forgers but precisely their haste to assemble and circulate a massive corpus of forged, falsified and redacted materials from disparate fair copies and internal drafts of separate components.

64) KNIBBS, Date of the False Decretals (as n. 60) p. 168–73.

65) Capitularia, ed. PERTZ (as n. 20) p. 39 l. 22; and HINSCHIUS, Decretales (as n. 1) p. clxxxiii–clxxxiv.

66) KNIBBS, Date of the False Decretals (as n. 60) p. 177–8. For the first references in 852, see Hincmar's first capitulary, ed. Rudolf POKORNY and Martina STRATMANN (MGH Capit. episc. 2, 1995), p. 40 and 68–9, with discussion in Fuhrmann, Einfluß und Verbreitung (as n. 20) p. 200–210. For the first verbatim citations, see the 857 Council of Quierzy, ed. Wilfried HARTMANN (MGH Conc. 3, 1984) p. 383–98 at 392–96. Also Victor KRAUSE, Hincmar von Reims, der Verfasser der sog. Collectio de raptoribus im Capitular von Quierzy 857, in: NA 18 (1893) p. 303–8; and FUHRMANN, Einfluß und Verbreitung (as n. 20) p. 211–15.

Zechiel-Eckes was careful to reserve early dates for only a subset of the decretal forgeries, namely those included in the shorter A2 recension; and even here he allowed for the possibility of later redaction, given that the manuscript tradition undeniably postdates 850[67]. Fifteen of twenty-one items in the False Decretals that cite Ennodius from V, however, are encompassed by the A2 recension. Three of the four telltale forgeries that address episcopal translation are also in A2. This supposed core of the Pseudo-Isidorian forgeries does not merely have the odd late feature. This supposed core is late through and through[68].

Zechiel-Eckes weaves his arguments for an earlier date with a related thesis about the relative chronology of the False Decretals within the Pseudo-Isidorian corpus. Whereas traditional scholarship saw the decretal forgeries as the culmination of the forger's vision, Zechiel-Eckes argues that Pseudo-Isidore produced them first of all[69]. Here too, the evidence of V is instructive. The Pseudo-Isidorian forgeries constitute a dense intertextual tangle, and annotated passages from the excerpted codices that Zechiel-Eckes discovered occur across the Pseudo-Isidorian forgeries. They are on hand in the False Decretals as well as in the False Capitularies of Benedictus Levita, in the procedural compendium known as the Capitula Angilramni, and elsewhere[70]. Clearly, these ex-

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67) See ZECHIEL-ECKES, Der 'unbeugsame' Exterminator (as n. 3) passim but esp. p. 189–90 on the early date of A2. The fundamental discussion of the form and manuscript basis of the A2 recension is still HINSCHIUS, Decretales (as n. 1) p. xli–lvii.

68) Decretals in A2 that cite Ennodius include Pseudo-Anacletus, JK †2; Pseudo-Vigilius, JK †35; Pseudo-Alexander I, JK †24; Pseudo-Sixtus I, JK †31 and †32; Pseudo-Anterus, JK †90; Pseudo-Stephen, JK †131; Pseudo-Sixtus II, JK †134; Pseudo-Dionysius I, JK †139; Pseudo-Felix I, JK †142; Pseudo-Euticianus, JK †146; Pseudo-Marcellus, JK †161; Pseudo-Eusebius, JK †163 and JK †164; Pseudo-Julius, JK †196; Pseudo-Liberius, JK †224. On episcopal translations, meanwhile, Pseudo-Evaristus, JK †21; Pseudo-Calixtus I, JK †86; and Pseudo-Anterus, JK †90 (KNIBBS, Date of the False Decretals [as n. 60] p. 160 with n. 82). Altogether, 17 of 60 decretal forgeries in A2 cannot antedate the later 840s.

69) An argument made at greatest length in ZECHIEL-ECKES, Der 'unbeugsame' Exterminator (as n. 3) p. 186–90. Also IDEM, Fälschung als Mittel politischer Auseinandersetzung (as n. 3), p. 13–14; and IDEM, Auf Pseudoisidors Spur (as n. 3) p. 25–26. For the traditional view, Emil SECKEL, Pseudoisidor, in: Realencyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche 16 (1905) p. 265–307 at 304–5 especially; HINSCHIUS, Decretales (as n. 1) p. clxi–clxii, on the relationship between the False Capitularies and the False Decretals specifically.

70) See the tables in ZECHIEL-ECKES, Pseudoisidors Werkstatt (as n. 3) p. 41–43, 50; and the appendix in IDEM, Verecundus oder Pseudoisidor (as n. 3) p. 431–46.

cerpted codices were available to Pseudo-Isidore from the beginning of his project, for they informed everything he did.

The same cannot be said of the Vatican Ennodius, which is much younger than the other excerpted codices discovered by Zechiel-Eckes, and which must have come to Pseudo-Isidore's notice only after work on the forgeries was well underway. Ennodius makes almost no appearances beyond the False Decretals. He has no presence in the interpolated Hispana of Vat. lat. 1341 or the Capitula Angilramni, for example. In the main body of the False Capitularies we find that he has contributed nothing beyond a three-word phrase at BL 3.108[71]. There are exceptions, but these serve only to prove the rule. An apparently late set of manipulations to the interpolated Hispana, attested by the A1 manuscript Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Ottob. lat. 93, involves two passages from Ennodius's Libellus, deployed to enhance the decrees of the Fifth Council of Carthage[72]. And while Ennodius is mostly absent from the main body of the False Capitularies, he does appear in an appendix to the collection, the so-called Additio 3, at 3.8 and 3.15[73].

Everything suggests that Ennodius's near-total confinement to the False Decretals is a symptom of his late arrival – a late arrival that coincided with the production of the decretal forgeries, but that happened after other items in the forgery complex, especially the False Capitularies, had already taken shape. The forger could therefore introduce Ennodius to these prior collections only in appendices or in isolated copies. Even in the False Decretals, where Ennodius has a leading part to play, his work is mired in textual anomalies and other strange errors. These include the erroneously incorporated glosses to the Libellus

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71) Ed. PERTZ (as n. 20) p. 109; SECKEL, Studien zu Benedictus Levita VIII/1, in: NA 39 (1914) p. 327–431, at 350. The False Capitularies have … *et nos submovemus* … from Ennodius, Libellus (ed. VOGEL, Enodii Opera [as n. 7] p. 54 l. 24). See also SECKEL, Studien VIII/1 p. 401 n. 4, on a possible (faint) relationship between Ennodius (Libellus, ed. VOGEL [as n. 7] p. 53 l. 32–33) and BL 3.187a (ed. PERTZ [as n. 20] p. 114).

72) FUHRMANN, Einfluß und Verbreitung (as n. 20) p. 149–50. The interpolations are rooted in the Libellus, as ed. VOGEL (as n. 7) p. 53 l. 31–33 and 54 l. 23–24, both instances in which Ennodius cites the 419 Council of Carthage. Yet what the Hispana bills as the Fifth Council of Carthage is in fact an agglomeration of canons from two Carthaginian councils held under Aurelius in 401 (on 16 June and 13 September: thus Friedrich MAASSEN, Geschichte der Quellen und der Literatur des canonischen Rechts im Abendlande [1870] p. 773.)

73) Ed. PERTZ (as n. 20) p. 139–40; nos. 7 and 11 in the table above.

and the competing fifth Symmachian synods studied above, as well as the Ennodian epistolary fragment senselessly appended to the second decretal of Pseudo-Liberius in the A1 recension. Even the forger of the False Decretals, it seems, had to scramble to fold Ennodius into the world of the pseudopopes.

Radbert, whom Zechiel-Eckes sees behind the Pseudo-Isidorian facade, also knew Ennodius. He borrows four words from the first lines of Ennodius's work – presumably from V itself – in the preface to the ninth book of his Expositio in Matheo, written after he retired his abbacy around 850[74]. This unacknowledged quotation places Radbert in rare company, for the only other authors able to quote Ennodius in the ninth century are Paul the Deacon, Pseudo-Isidore and two popes, Nicholas I and John VIII[75]. Zechiel-Eckes has suggested that this shared knowledge of a rare author strengthens the case for Radbert-as-Pseudo-Isidore[76]. This is another argument we would do well to reconsider. Elsewhere among the later, retirement-era additions to his Matthew commentary, Radbert's prose echoes the opening passage of another text recently arrived at Corbie, namely the False Decretals themselves. His occasion is a discussion of parallel verses in the Gospels:

> *Quae nimirum <u>varietas</u> <u>sententiarum</u>, <u>licet unus sit sensus</u>, tamen amplius et perfectius apperitur intellectus, dum <u>sententia</u> ex <u>alia</u> predicatur et ornatior loquendi commendatur modus.*

In the preface to the decretal forgeries, Isidorus Mercator, in a much different connection, claims to be bothered by differing translations of the Greek councils:

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74) Radbert, Expositio in Matheo Libri XII, 9.praef., ed. Beda Paulus (CC Cont. Med. 56B, 1984) p. 931 l. 28–29. From Ennodius, n. 1/Dict. 1 (ed. Vogel [as n. 7] p. 1 l. 13–14) – on the very first folio of V. The citation corresponds to no visible annotations in the manuscript.

75) On the papal reception, Rouse / Rouse, Ennodius in the Middle Ages (as n. 7) p. 98–9. Their argument that both papal citations derive from Pseudo-Isidore is contentious and probably unjustified. See also Schröder, Petrus, Paulus, and Roma (as n. 16) p. 11–12. The citations themselves are in JE 2796, ed. Ernst Perels (MGH Epp. 6, 1925) p. 469 l. 4–5 and JE 2954, ed. Erich Caspar (MGH Epp. 7, 1928) p. 274 l. 16–17.

76) Zechiel-Eckes, Fälschung als Mittel politischer Auseinandersetzung (as n. 3) p. 18 and 22 with n. 53.

Sed hoc me oppido conturbat, quod diversae interpretationes <u>varias</u>
<u>sententias</u> faciunt, et <u>licet unus sit sensus,</u> diversae tamen sunt <u>sen-</u>
<u>tentiae,</u> et <u>aliae</u> longiores, aliae breviores[77].

Horst Fuhrmann, who discovered this fleeting verbal resonance, sug-
gests that the parallel represents Pseudo-Isidore's use of Radbert. In
fact the relationship could go either way[78].

For Richard and Mary Rouse, Radbert's „isolated borrowing" from
Ennodius, „a turn of phrase taken from the first paragraph of the first
work", implies „only a superficial acquaintance" with his work[79]. It is
tempting to read the faint verbal echo between the prefaces of Radbert
and Isidorus Mercator in the same way. Perhaps, in both cases, we have
before us the retired abbot of Corbie perusing the latest acquisitions
of his library. Only according to the early dating of Zechiel-Eckes do
the False Decretals align neatly with the caesura in Radbert's literary
production that begins in the 830s, a time that Radbert lamented as a
withdrawal from his scholarship and entanglement in worldly affairs.
„Dazwischen blieb Zeit für anderes", Zechiel-Eckes writes, that is to
say the management of a forgery operation extending from Louis the
Pious's final years until sometime after 847[80]. The Vatican Ennodius
shows that the years around 850 found the False Decretals still in
production and Radbert hard at work on his Matthew commentary.
Zechiel-Eckes has shown that Radbert and Pseudo-Isidore used the
same library, and in doing so he changed study of the forgeries forever.
He has not shown that Radbert and Pseudo-Isidore were the same
person, and in fact nothing suggests that they were.

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77) Radbert, Expositio in Matheo, ed. Beda PAULUS (CCCM 56A, 1984) p. 820–
1 l. 770–73; Isidorus Mercator, ed. HINSCHIUS, Decretales (as n. 1) p. 17.
78) Horst FUHRMANN, Pseudoisidor und die Bibel, in: DA 55 (1999) p. 183–91.
79) ROUSE / ROUSE, Ennodius in the Middle Ages (as n. 7) p. 97–98.
80) ZECHIEL-ECKES, Auf Pseudoisidors Spur (as n. 3) p. 25.

Appendix 1: Pseudo-Isidorian Glosses to the Libellus pro synodo beyond the Vatican Ennodius (V)

Page and line references are to Vogel, Enodii Opera (as n. 7). In every case, the textual variation – very often, the textual corruption – in the codices surveyed (N442, P9629, V630 and MH3) has no analogue in the Vatican Ennodius or R134. Only later stages of the Pseudo-Isidorian forgeries attest to these anomalies.

p. 49 l. 28–29: … *cum in praenotatione ipsa* significantia *operis innotescat inmundi dicentum ‚adversus synodum absolutionis incongruae'.*
  N442: *significatio significantia*
  P9629: *significatio significantia*

p. 50 l. 3–5: *Mancipia tartari et liquido satanae ministri, quoscumque non evocavit scriptum principis, novis nexibus et actuum vestrorum* spiris *causa pertraxit.*
  N442: *involutionibus serpentis spiris*
  P9629: *involutionibus serpentis spiris*
  V630: *involutionibus serpentis spiris*
  MH3: *involutionibus serpentis spiris*

p. 50 l. 8: *His ne liceret infelicibus in malorum actuum consolatione secreto* delitiscere …
  N442: *delitiscere abscondere* (*abscondere* expunged)
  P9629: *delitiscere abscondere*

p. 51 l. 2–4: … *si tamen cultus est in loquela vestra, quam scabro vomere velut agentes per devium aratra* proscinditis, marcenti solo lolia *commendantes recepturi pro tali inpendio paleas …*
  N442: *proscinditis marcentis zizania ololia* (*ololia* corrected to *lolia*)
  P9629: *persindiotis marcentis zezania ololia*
  V630: *persindiotis macentis zezania lolia*
  MH3: *proscinditis* (or *perscinditis?*) *marcenti terrae zizania et lolia*

p. 51 l. 38 – 52 l. 2: … *huic dicto conserentes quasi ad sacerdotes* apostrofam: „*Quia beati Petri apostoli vicarius aestimatur, prohibetis* archiatrum *eius corpori adferre medicinam? …"*
  N442: *conversio in se ipsum apostrofam … archimedicum atrii*
  P9629: *apostrofam conversio in se ipsum … archimedicum atrum*

MH3: *apostropham … archimedicum*

p. 52 l. 12–13: *Facessat a nobis, qui in vobis est pruritus iste linguarum, quos vere idem profeta arguit …*
    N442: *Facessat a nobis procul sit a nobis*
    P9629: *Facessat procul a nobis a nobis*
    V630: *Procul sit a nobis facessat a nobis*
    MH3: *Procul sit a nobis facessat a nobis*

p. 52 l. 25–26: *Sed in illa parte quis argumentis vestris audeat respondere, nisi quia sine arte dicitur verum et fides mendacio sermonum tegnis adsuitur?*
    N442: *mendacio sermonum tegnis assuitur per fraus vel calliditas*
    P9629: *sermonum tegnis fraus vel calitas*
    V630: omits *mendacio*

p. 53 l. 14: *In qua tamen Christo clavum tenente portum ingrediar …*
    P9629: *gubernaculum portum*

p. 53 l. 25–28: *Quisquamne causarum ex praecognitione sancit eventum et rabidis terminum positura conflictibus sic metitur, ut pernix decisio, dum inquisitione esse senior innotescit, favorem cessentis accuset?*
    N442: *senior anticipat innotescit favorem famam*
    P9629: *seniori anticipat innotescit famam*

p. 54 l. 5-6: *Quid adhibetis mira latrocinandi arte praestigia simplicitatem fronte monstrando?*
    N442: *falsitatem vel dolositatem prestigia*
    P9629: *falsitatem vel dolositatem praestigia*
    V630: *falsitatem vel dolositatem prestigia*
    MH3: *falsitatem vel dolositatem prestigia*

p. 54 l. 11-14: *Vos praefato et dedistis et invidistis examen, cum uno eodemque itinere a vobis disceptationum dubia subire et prohibetur et cogitur et per singularem callem ad causam arcendus evocatur, ne manifestam salutem aut non lacessitus obtineret aut subriperet absolutus.*
    N442: *lacessitus provocat* (*provocat* expunged)
    P9629: *aut non – laccessitus] aut \non/ provocat situs*

p. 55 l. 36 – p. 56 l. 1: *Quis in hac allegationis ipsius fronte nesciret, fultum ad coepiscopos puritatis testimoniis convenisse, qui hoc, quod districtionem eorum minus licebat, exhorruit, aestimans illud magis quolibet modo labefactandum, quod statuisset* censor invalidus?

    N442: *censor* glossed *iudex* in margin

    P9629: *iudex invalidus*

p. 56 l. 12–13: *Hic tota ingenii vela suspenditis, hic resupinae cervicis ex secessu pectoris quicquid habuit* flaminis ructus *evomuit.*

    P9629: *spritus flaminis ructus*

    V630: *spiritus flaminis ructus*

    MH3: *spiritus flaminis ructus*

p. 56 l. 28–29: Superforaneum *quidem est absurdis respondere propositionibus ....*

    N442: *-foraneum* of *Superforaneum* glossed *vacuum* in margin

    P9629: *Supervacuum*

    V630: *Supervacuum*

    MH3: *Supervacuum*

p. 57 l. 9–11: *Videamus tamen, si placet, et illas* didascalici *libelli vestri relegamus argutias: habentibus etiam nobis ante oculos patrum sanctiones quibus excessuum vestrorum sentina ponderetur.*

    N442: *didascalici* glossed *disputatoris* in margin

    V630: *disputatoris didascalici*

    MH3: *disputatoris didascalici*

p. 57 l. 19–21: *Potesne, mens indocilis, criminum iam ditata successibus, a detestabili proposito velut* effeta feriari? *Ille vos his locupletos malis efficit, cui elationum copiae opes angelicas sustulerunt et divinum censum nocendi quo* exuberat *thesaurus invidit.*

    N442: *effeta* glossed *lassata*; *feriari* glossed *cessari*; *exuberat* glossed *abundat*, all in margin

    P9629: *lassata effeta feriari … exhuberat* (*lassata* canceled; *habundat* above *exhuberat* as interlinear gloss)

p. 58 l. 29–30: *Qualis habuit effici ex* censura convictus, *in quo causam adiudicatio praecedebat?*

    P9629: *censura convinctus* (*iudicatio* above *convinctus* as interlinear gloss)

V630: *censura vindictus iudicatio*
MH3: *censura convictus \in/iudicatio*

p. 59 l. 18–20: *Puppis, cuius magister ad <u>clavi</u> regimen intellectus dote praeparatur, ubique stationem ubique portum habet in fluctibus.*
  N442: *clavi* glossed *gubernaculi* in margin
  P9629: *clavi gubernaculi*

p. 59 l. 23–24: *Cessent impii <u>commenticia</u> apud illum simplicitatem fraude mentiri.*
  N442: *commentitia* glossed *excogitata* in margin
  P9629: *et cogitata commentiti*a*

p. 59 l. 26–27: *Quae gravis est plerumque principibus impugnatio minus fidelium blanditiis <u>non legatur</u>?*
  N442: *non utitur legat non eligat*
  P9629: *non utuntur legatione non legatur*

p. 59 l. 28–29: *Ad vos me reducit propositi operis non amica condicio, qui melioribus hactenus operam volui <u>navare</u> sermonibus, dum captivam orationem exigit imperiosa necessitas.*
  N442: *navare* glossed *strenue peragere* in margin
  P9629: *pernavare*
  V630: *pernavari*
  MH3: *pernavari* corrected to *pernavare*

p. 63 l. 29–30: *Non interest quibus itineribus ad mundi principem currat qui a sancta unitate <u>disciscit</u>.*
  N442: disciscit *glossed* discordat *in margin*
  P9629: discordat
  V630: discordat
  MH3: discordat

p. 64 l. 5–7: *Illa enim caeli <u>curia</u> variarum dotibus aucta <u>curulium</u> et multo redemptoris nostri auro <u>ostroque</u> decorata nihil in illa discissione auctore se protulit, sed per humanae linguae ministerium divino militavit imperio.*
  N442:   *curia variarum* glossed *concilium* [?]; *curulium* glossed *senatorum* [?]; *ostroque* glossed *purpure*, all in margin

P9629:   *concilium episcoporum* (?) *vel senatorum* above *curia … cu-rulium* as interlinear gloss; *purpura* above *auro hostroque* as interlinear gloss

p. 64 l. 12: *Nam dum profanis memoratos verbis caeditis, et <u>inscitiam</u> proditis et livorem.*

    N442:   *inscientiam* corrected to *inscitiam*, glossed *ignorantiam* in margin

    V630:   *insaniam*

p. 66 l. 27–28: *Per totam vellem stilum ducere, si orbatae pectus <u>pateretur</u>, infantiam.*

    N442:   *pateretur* glossed *sustineret* in margin

    P9629: *sustineret pateretur*

    V630:   *sustinere pateretur*

    MH3:   *sustinere pateretur*

p. 66 l. 36–37: *Multos <u>trabearum</u> et <u>curulium</u> possessores supremus regnator sine dispendio cultus aut dignitatis amplectitur.*

    N442:   *trabearum glossed togarum, curulium* glossed *senatorum* above the line

    P9629: *togaron … senatorum* above *trabearum* and *curulium* as inter-linera glosses

Appendix 2: Ennodius Reception in Pseudo-Isidore Unaccompanied by Notae in V

Vat. lat. 3803	Vogel, Enodii Opera (as n. 7)	Pseudo-Isidore, ed. Hinschius, Decretales (as n. 1)
8ra, l. 2–6	n. 8/Opusc. 7 (p. 13 l. 2-4)	Ps. Viginus, JK †35, c. 4 (p. 114 l. 24-26): *Nos – praecipitio*
8ra, l. 20–22	n.8/Opusc. 7 (p. 13 l. 12–13)	Ps. Viginus, JK †35, c. 4 (p. 114 l. 27–28): *Certe – periculi*
8ra, l. 23–26	n.8/Opusc. 7 (p. 13 l. 14–15)	Ps. Viginus, JK †35, c. 5 (p. 114 l. 28-30): *Qui – eradiceris*
23vb, l. 12 – 24rb, l. 5	n. 48/Ep. 2.13 (p. 47 l. 26 – p. 48 l. 22)	Ps. Liberius, JK †224, c. 3 (p. 497 l. 19 – p. 498 l. 9). On this apparent corruption compare Hinchius, Decretales p. xcvi.
29vb, l. 1–2	n. 40/Opusc. 2 (p. 59 l. 23–24)	Ps. Eusebius, JK †163, c. 5 (p. 232 l. 9): *cessent – metiri*
29vb, 8–12	n. 40/Opusc. 2 (p. 59 l. 28–29)	Ps. John I, JK †872 (p. 695 l. 21–23): *ad vos – necessitas*
30ra, l. 7–10	n. 40/Opusc. 2 (p. 60 l. 2-4)	Ps. John I, JK †872 (p. 695 l. 23–24): *mandati – retinent*
32ra, l. 14–18	n. 40/Opusc. 2 (p. 63 l. 28-30)	Ps. Pelagius II, JK †1049 (p. 727 l. 40-43): *Quare – disciscit*
32ra, l. 19–24	n. 40/Opusc. 2 (p. 63 l. 30-34)	Ps. Pelagius II, JK †1049 (p. 728 l. 18–24): *Pinguas – oppositio*
32rb, l. 1–3	n. 40/Opusc. 2 (p. 63 l. 37-38)	Ps. Anterus, JK †90, c. 4 (p. 153 l. 17–18): *si – factorum*
32rb, l. 11–23	n. 40/Opusc. 2 (p. 64 l. 2-8)	Ps. Pelagius II, JK †1049 (p. 728 l. 26–34) *Cur his – gratuletur*

32rb, l. 28 – 32va l. 1	n. 40/Opusc. 2 (p. 64 l. 12)	Ps. Pelagius II, JK †1049 (p. 728 l. 34-35): *nam – livorem*
32va, l. 10–15	n. 40/Opusc. 2 (p. 64 l. 18–21)	Ps. Pelagius II, JK †1049 (p. 728 l. 35–38): *quis hic – auctores*
32vb, l. 7–10	n. 40/Opusc. 2 (p. 64 l. 33–35)	Ps. Pelagius II, JK †1049 (p. 728 l. 43 - p. 729 l. 1): *nobilitatem – devita*
33va, l. 2–7	n. 40/Opusc. 2 (p. 66 l. 5-8)	Ps. Anterus, JK †90, c. 3 (p. 152 l. 33–35): *Quod – deum*
33vb, l. 12–13	n. 40/Opusc. 2 (p. 66 l. 29)	Ps. Viginus, JK †35, c. 5 (p. 114 l. 31–32): *nemo – laeditur*
34ra l. 26 – 34rb l. 2	n. 40/Opusc. 2 (p. 67 l. 12–15)	Ps. Anterus, JK †90, c. 4 (p. 153 l. 8–12): *in tali – peccantibus*
37rb, 1.1-12	n. 59/Ep. 2.22 (p. 73 l. 15)	Ps. Anacletus, JK †2, c. 6 (p. 69 l. 9–10): *gratiae – aucmenta*
69vb, l. 21–22	n. 123/Opusc. 8 (p. 131 l. 30-p. 132 l. 1)	Ps. Anacletus, JK †2, c. 8 (p. 69 l. 24-5): *perdit – carceribus*
70rb, l. 23–6	n.124/Dict. 11 (p. 132 l. 35–36)	Ps. Anacletus, JK †2, c. 8 (p. 69 l. 25–26): *sicut – negligentia*
71vb, l. 23–26	n.135/Ep. 4.8 (p. 137 l. 4–5)	Ps. Anacletus, JK †2, c. 8 (p. 70 l. 4–5): *Praesumptio – impendo*
72rb, l. 27–28	n.137/Ep. 4.9 (p. 138 l. 13–14)	Ps. Anacletus, JK †2, c. 8 (p. 69 l. 28): *nemo – agnoscat*
74vb, l. 8–10	n.151/Ep. 4.19 (p. 144 l. 1–2)	Ps. Anacletus, JK †2, c. 8 (p. 70 l. 9–10): *ego – convincar*
89va, l. 29–30	n. 235/Ep. 5.13 (p. 183 l. 6-7)	Ps. Pelagius II, JK †1050 (p. 732 l. 5-6): *saeculi – retinetur*
90ra, l. 5–16	n. 236/Ep. 5.14 (p. 183 l. 25–184:5)	Ps. Pelagius II, JK †1050 (p. 732 l. 7–13): *deus – pollicitentur*

92vb, l. 19–23	n. 240/Opusc. 4 (p. 188 l. 38–40)	Ps. Pelagius II, JK †1050 (p. 731 l. 38 – p. 732 l. 3): *misericordia – violetur*
93rb, l. 29-93va, l. 4	n. 240/Opusc. 4 (p. 189 l. 32-34)	Ps. Pelagius II, JK †1050 (p. 731 l. 36–38): *periculis – manifestat*
94rb, l. 13–14	n. 242/Ep. 5.16 (p. 191 l. 5-6)	Ps. Pelagius II, JK †1050 (p. 732 l. 13–14): *semper – exordium*
94va, l. 15–20	n. 243/Dict. 18 (p. 191 l. 23–26)	Ps. Pelagius II, JK †1050 (p. 731 l. 30-33): *Statua – largientem*
122vb, l. 18–22	n. 336/Dict. 5 (p. 247 l. 16-18)	Ps. Pelagius II, JK †1050 (p. 731 l. 20–22): *Tunc – sectatur*
123rb, l. 27 – 123va l. 1	n. 337/Ep. 7–22 (p. 248 l. 15–17)	Ps. Pelagius II, JK †1050 (p. 731 l. 24-26): *Praebent – beneficium*
124ra, l. 15–23	n. 363/Dict. 21 (p. 261 l. 3-7)	Ps. Pelagius II, JK †1050 (p. 731 l. 26–29): *De fidutia – iustitia*

Appendix 3: Apparently Pseudo-Isidorian Annotations in V without Corresponding Reception in Pseudo-Isidore

Vat. lat. 3803	Vogel, Enodii Opera (as n. 7)	Nota and Approximate Textual Location
1rb, l. 12	n. 1/Dict. 1 (p. 1 l. 23)	. . at *facessat ergo*
1va, l. 10–11	n. 1/Dict. 1 (p. 2 l. 9)	: at *nunc in cano*
1vb, l. 5	n. 1/Dict. 1 (p. 2 l. 21)	*u* at *taceo universitatis*
4rb, l. 4	n. 3/Dict. 7 (p. 6 l. 3)	∴ at *incipit*
5ra, l. 23	n. 4/Ep. 1.1 (p. 8 l. 8)	∴ at "*Deus bone*
5rb, l. 3-5	n. 4/Ep. 1.1 (p. 8 l. 13–14)	∴ at *Ago atque* (5rb, l. 3; 8:13); . . at *consecrasti* (5rb, l. 5; p. 8 l. 14)
5va, l. 24	n. 5/Ep. 1.2 (p. 9 l. 6)	∴ at *incipit*
5vb, l. 10–11	n. 5/Ep. 1.2 (p. 9 l. 14)	∴ at *clericorum – exhibuit*
6rb, l. 15–16	n. 6/Ep. 1.3 (p. 10 l. 17)	*t* at *voluissem tamen*
8vb, l. 11	n. 9/Ep. 1.5 (p. 14 l. 17)	δ at *ago gratias*
9rb, l. 8	n. 10/Ep. 1.6 (p. 15 l. 33)	*s* (long) at *nihil tibi*
11ra, l. 13	n. 13/Ep. 1.9 (p. 18 l. 15)	*s* (long) at *status innocens*
13vb, l. 24	n. 21/Ep. 1.16 (p. 24 l. 15)	*s* (long) at *nam postquam*
14ra, l. 14	n. 21/Ep. 1.16 (p. 24 l. 26)	*s* (long) at *delenifica ergo*
14ra, l. 17	n. 21/Ep. 1.16 (p. 24 l. 28)	*s* (long) at *si vera sunt*
14ra, l. 22	n. 21/Ep. 1.16 (p. 24 l. 30-31)	*o* at *ecce epistolae*
14rb, l. 6	n. 22/Ep. 1.17 (p. 25 l. 5)	*s* (long) at *nam si spiritus*
14vb, l. 1	n. 24/Ep. 1.19 (p. 26 l. 2)	*s* (long) at *incipit*
14vb, l. 7	n. 24/Ep. 1.19 (p. 26 l 5)	*u* (?) at *non sunt adversa*
17ra, l. 26	n. 28/Ep. 1.21 (p. 32 l. 6-7)	*e* at *de luminum nostrorum*
18vb, l. 28	n. 35/Ep. 2.2 (p. 36 l. 2)	∴ at *incipit*

24rb, l. 7	n. 40/Opusc. 2 (p. 48 l. 23)	/. at rubric
24rb, l. 13–14	n. 40/Opusc. 2 (p. 48 l. 27)	s (long) at incipit
24va, l. 10–11	n. 40/Opusc. 2 (p. 49 l. 13)	b at *licet scuto*
24va, l. 16	n. 40/Opusc. 2 (p. 49 l. 17)	⊢ at *in qua deo*
25va, l. 27	n. 40/Opusc. 2 (p. 51 l. 25)	N (erased) at *opponendo*
26va, l. 10	n. 40/Opusc. 2 (p. 53 l. 14)	~ at *in qua tamen*
26va, l. 14	n. 40/Opusc. 2 (p. 53 l. 16)	⊢ at *aiunt enim*
26vb, l. 29	n. 40/Opusc. 2 (p. 54 l. 3)	~ at *et iterum dicit*
27ra, l. 1	n. 40/Opusc. 2 (p. 54 l. 4)	^ (erased) at *obviat mors*
27ra, l. 12	n. 40/Opusc. 2 (p. 54 l. 10)	b at *providentes ut*
27ra, l. 22	n. 40/Opusc. 2 (p. 54 l. 16)	t at *iti sunt viri*
31ra, l. 26	n. 40/Opusc. 2 (p. 62 l. 8–10)	~ near *concessum est*
35va, l. 14	n. 54/Ep. 2.17 (p. 70 l 8)	∴ at *ego tamen in*
36rb, l. 4	n. 56/Ep. 2.19 (p. 71 l. 23–24)	∴ at *inventus est homo*
38vb, l. 10	n. 66/Ep. 3.1 (p. 76 l. 21)	. . at incipit
39va, l. 25	n. 69/Dict. 8 (p. 78 l. 15)	. . at *feritatis maculum*
42ra, l. 20	n. 77/Ep. 3.10 (p. 83 l. 25)	∴ at *unde salutationis*
68va, l. 15–17	n. 117/Ep. 4.1 (p. 129 l. 9–10)	∴ *ad Marcellianum – ipse rescripsit* ∴ (that is, in-text trigonii before and after clause)

69ra, l. 12	n. 119/Ep. 4.3 (p. 130 l. 7)	∴ at *ut labantibus*
75vb, l. 5	n. 158/Ep. 4.25 (p. 146 l. 10)	∴ at incipit
94ra, l. 13	n. 241/Ep. 5.15 (p. 190 l. 26)	O ⊐ at incipit
107vb, l. 30	n. 269/Ep. 6.4 (p. 217 l. 5)	∴ at incipit
113vb, l. 22	n. 297/Ep. 6.30 (p. 228 l. 9–10)	*o* at *me tamen – reppulistis*
145vb, l. 6	n. 441/Ep. 9.17 (p. 305 l. 3)	*c* (far in the gutter) near *manent familiarum*
145vb, l. 21	n. 441/Ep. 9.17 (p. 305 l. 10)	*i* and *r* (far in the gutter) at *laenam et racanas*