

their favour but obviously cannot be insisted on<sup>19</sup>). (No objection can be raised to this dating because of the reference in no. 97 to bishop Peter of Pavia: for although the latest account of the early medieval bishops of that city gives the dates of Peter's pontificate as '787—805' this is based on completely false arguments; and there is evidence to suggest that Peter was consecrated as early as 781.)<sup>20</sup>)

Does the other evidence for Wilchar's life and career have any bearing on the dating-limits of the letters in the Codex Carolinus in which he is named? When Wilchar appears for the first time as 'archbishop of the Gauls' — at the Roman council of 769 — his full title is *archiepiscopo provinciae Galliarum civitate Senense*<sup>21</sup>). In the Sens episcopal catalogues the name of *Unil(i)arius* comes after that of Lupus who is recorded as bishop in texts of 757 and 762<sup>22</sup>). If it were the case (as has been generally assumed) that Wilchar retained the diocese of Sens until his death (or until the end of his active life) although he is always referred to as *archiepiscopus (provinciae) Galliarum* or simply *archiepiscopus*<sup>23</sup>), a fairly precise terminus ante quem could be established for Codex Carolinus no. 95 (and 96). In an Echternach document dated in the 15th year of King Charles, i.e. 785 October 9—786 October 8<sup>24</sup>), the Anglo-Saxon Beornred, abbot since 775<sup>25</sup>), is referred to for the first time as *episcopus (sc. Senonensis) et rector* also; in a document of Charles' 16th year he is *archiepiscopus*<sup>26</sup>) and thereafter he regularly figures as *archiepiscopus* or *episcopus* until his death in 797<sup>27</sup>). Unfortunately for this line of argument, the Sens episcopal catalogues, which seem entirely reliable for this period, give no less than three names between Wilchar and Beornred. The second of these, *Gun(t)bertus*, is also named in a diploma of 826, where it is recorded that, following the disappearance of the Sens cathedral charters *domnus et genitor noster Karolus augustus ad petitionem Gunberti episcopi eandem relevasset iacturam*<sup>28</sup>). It is evident that Wilchar ceased to be bishop of Sens not very long after the one dated record of his association with that see<sup>29</sup>).

<sup>19</sup>) Charles was in Saxony during the first half of 785, then at Attigny from the late summer. The latter is obviously the more likely context for the presence of the Bishop of Pavia at the Frankish Court and his being sent by the king to Rome, referred to in no. 97. If Gundlach's sequence (95, 96, 97) is still preferred it should be noted that Charles was in Italy in the first half of 787.

<sup>20</sup>) Above, n. 8.

<sup>21</sup>) Liber Pontificalis 1, 473; cf. Concilia 2 (ed. Werminghoff), 80.

<sup>22</sup>) L. Duchesne, *Fastes épiscopaux de l'ancienne Gaule*<sup>2</sup>, 2 (1910) 396—7, 418; *Capitularia* 1 (ed. Boretius) 221.

<sup>23</sup>) So Gundlach, *Epp.* 3, 636, 643, 744 (s. v. *Wilcharius archiep. Senonensis*); Lesne, *Hiérarchie*, p. 58 et seq., 70 n. 3; Amann in Fliche and Martin, *Histoire de l'Église* 6 (1947) 80—1. For Wilchar's title see, e. g., DK. I 118; *Epp.* 3, 571, 593, etc.

<sup>24</sup>) C. Wampach, *Gesch. der Grundherrschaft Echternach* 1, 2 (1930) 159, no. 94; for the dating, cf. *ibid.*, 130—1.

<sup>25</sup>) For this date (not 777) see Wampach p. 130.

<sup>26</sup>) Wampach p. 163, no. 97. In Wampach p. 162, no. 96, also of Charles' sixteenth year, he is still *episcopus et rector*.

<sup>27</sup>) Wampach, nos. 98—111; *Epp.* 3, 632, etc.

<sup>28</sup>) T. Sickel, *Beiträge zur Diplomatik* V (SB. Wien, P. 49, 1865) p. 408; BM.<sup>2</sup> 829 (770).

<sup>29</sup>) In 769 Sens was part of Karloman's kingdom. In 771 the subjects of Karloman who transferred their allegiance to Charles (*Ann. reg. Franc.* 32) were headed by *Wilcharius archiepiscopus* — almost certainly the *archiepiscopus*