

it is clear that he had to accept (however unwillingly) whatever Charles did in this direction. It is possibly significant for the changing relations of Pope and king in this period that, whereas in 781 Hadrian declared that 'full of good will we have carried out your orders as we are accustomed to' in consecrating a man put forward by Charles for the bishopric (as I believe) of Pavia³⁷), a decade or so later when Charles again put forward a candidate for that see, namely abbot Waldo, the Pope declined to consecrate him³⁸).

One last point may be made about the man who for more than a decade-and-a-half was the titular head of the church in Francia and who for at least part of that period was high in the counsels of the king. Since Duchesne's edition of the *Liber Pontificalis* it has been generally accepted that archbishop Wilchar is identical with the bishop of Mentana of that name who is recorded from 753 until some time in the 760s³⁹). The evidence of Codex Carolinus no. 25, in which the Pope asks Pippin to order Wilchar to consecrate as bishop, *nostra vice*, a Roman priest resident at the Frankish court⁴⁰), surely strengthens this identification, whether Wilchar is regarded as still bishop of Mentana at this time or already bishop of Sens⁴¹). The appearance among the bishops of

³⁷) Epp. 8, 600, with my comments in the article forthcoming in Riv. stor. della chiesa in Italia.

³⁸) D. A. Bullough, *Baiuli* in the Carolingian *regnum Langobardorum* and the career of Abbot Waldo († 813), EHR. 77 (1962) (in the press).

³⁹) Lib. Pont. 1, 446, 457 n. 25; Codex Carolinus (ed. Gundlach) nos. 7, 11, 14, 22, 25, 30.

⁴⁰) Fourth-century councils had laid down that at least three bishops were to perform the consecration of a new bishop; at an early date, however, the bishop of Rome was recognised as having the right of consecrating without the participation of other bishops: M. Andrieu, *Les Ordines Romani du haut moyen age 3* (*Spicilegium sacrum Lovaniense, Ét. et docs.*, 24, 1951), p. 584—6 and, for the insistence on the participation of three or more bishops in episcopal consecrations in the sixth and seventh centuries, the so-called *Responsio ad Augustinum*, supposedly sent by Gregory I, c. 6 (*Bede, Historia ecclesiastica*, I, 26; Epp. 2, 336) and bishop Wini of Wessex's summoning of two British bishops to help him consecrate Ceadda c. 664, *Hist. Eccl.* III, 28. The wording of some of the Gallic councils of the same period suggests, however, that in some regions metropolitans were coming to have the same privilege in this respect as the bishops of Rome: see the passages collected in Lesne, *Hiérarchie épiscopale* p. 14—5. (For the powers of metropolitans later, see Lesne p. 117—20). It is hardly surprising that particularly in missionary regions Popes allowed or empowered other bishops to act alone: so in the *Responsio*, loc. cit., archbishop Wilchar's consecration of Egila, etc. Why Paul found it necessary to give this power to Wilchar in the case of the *presbyter* Marinus is not clear: was it because he had previously been ordained to one of the Roman *tituli* (C. C. no. 24)? or because for some reason Frankish bishops would have refused to consecrate him?

⁴¹) Lesne's reason (*Hiérarchie épiscopale* p. 58 n. 1) for denying that Wilchar was bishop of Sens at the time this letter was written is quite unconvincing and there is slight evidence in favour of the contrary view. In the (later) eighth century the papal writing office seems normally to have used the word *coepiscopus* only of bishops who collectively constituted the Roman metropolitan synod and who in later sources are distinguished by the title of *cardinalis*. Thus, in the letters in the Codex Carolinus it is applied to George of Ostia in nos. 8, 9, 11, 16, 17, 18 (in nos. 37 and 99 the same man is referred to as *episcopus*: but the first of these empowers Pippin to keep him in Francia and the second demands his return), to Wilchar of Mentana in nos. 7, 11, 14, 22, 30, and to Andrew of Palestrina in no. 51 (but he is *episcopus* in nos. 53,