A MATTER OF FAITH AND WORKS: BYZANTINE LEADERS AND CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP IN THE *HISTORIA LANGOBARDORUM*

A THESIS IN
History

Presented to the Faculty of the University
of Missouri-Kansas City in partial fulfillment of
the requirements for the degree

MASTER OF ARTS

by
ETHAN JAMES WILLIAMSON

B.A., University of Missouri-Kansas City, 2013

Kansas City, Missouri
2016

©2016

ETHAN JAMES WILLIAMSON

ALL RIGHTS RESERVED

A MATTER OF FAITH AND WORKS: BYZANTINE LEADERS AND CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP IN THE *HISTORIA LANGOBARDORUM*

Ethan James Williamson, Candidate for the Master of Arts Degree

University of Missouri—Kansas City, 2016

ABSTRACT

The late eighth-century *Historia Langobardorum* by Paul the Deacon is a narrative history of the Lombard people from their mythic origins up to the reign of King Liutprand in Italy in 744. As the only history of its kind, scholars are forced to rely on it for much of what they know about the Lombards and Italy from the sixth to eighth centuries. While historians have had much to say about what the *Historia* tells us about the Lombards and other groups, very little has been said about the presence and portrayal of Byzantine figures within the text. Furthermore, it is often assumed that Paul, who was a Lombard himself, was simply writing to glorify and preserve the memory of his people. My thesis reveals a deeper objective behind the text while providing an in-depth investigation of Byzantines within its pages. I argue that the *Historia Langobardorum* was written to promote an ideal of Christian leadership based upon orthodox faith and good works, in which the careers of Byzantine leaders, especially emperors, played a critical role. Among Byzantine authority figures, correct belief and righteousness are rewarded and heresy and wickedness are punished. These themes are tied to Lombard leaders as well, but Byzantines served an especially important role in their construction. Paul's narrative was intentionally designed to encourage an understanding of Christian governance idealized during the Carolingian Renaissance.

APPROVAL PAGE

The faculty listed below, appointed by the Dean of the College of Arts and Sciences, have examined a thesis titled, "A Matter of Faith and Works: Byzantine Leaders and Christian Leadership in the *Historia Langobardorum*," presented by Ethan J. Williamson, candidate for the Master of Arts degree, and certify that in their opinion it is worthy of acceptance.

Supervisory Committee

Massimiliano Vitiello, Ph.D., Committee Chair
Department of History

Linda Mitchell, Ph.D.
Department of History

Jeffrey Rydberg-Cox, Ph.D.
Department of English, Director Classical and Ancient Studies

CONTENTS

ABSTRACT iii

APPROVAL PAGE iv

Chapter

1. INTRODUCTION 1

2. JUSTINIAN AND NARSES 9

3. JUSTIN II AND TIBERIUS II 12

4. CONSTANS II, LOMBARD RULERS, AND THE MANTLE OF CHRISTIAN KINGSHIP 15

5. CONCLUSION 20

BIBLIOGRAPHY 24

VITA 27

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Late in the eighth century—perhaps in its final year—an elderly Lombard monk in the monastery of Monte Cassino was putting the finishing touches on the history for which he is best remembered. The *Historia Langobardorum* by Paul the Deacon covers the history of the Lombard people from their mythic origins through the reign of King Liutprand in 744. It is also a distinctly Italian history that focuses on the events in the peninsula after the arrival of the Lombards in 568 and is one of the most utilized sources for historians seeking to reconstruct events from this era. The sixth, seventh, and eight centuries in Italy were a contentious period, often fraught with violence and chaos as the Lombards, Byzantines, and an ascendant Papacy each vied for power.[1] At the behest of Pope Hadrian I, the armies of Charlemagne invaded the Lombard kingdom in northern Italy, and in 774, its capital of Pavia was captured. Carolingian authority extended into central Italy, while the Duchy of Benevento in the south was allowed to remain independent in exchange for its fealty to the Frankish king. Monte Cassino, some 140 kilometers to the south-east of Rome, was located near the border of this arrangement. Meanwhile, the Byzantines still held many ports in Apulia, Calabria, and Sicily, harboring hopes of reclaiming territory. *Italia* was a stage where the fortunes of leaders rose and fell in rapid succession, and Paul's history would have advice for those stepping into roles as leaders.

[1] See Ottorino Bertolini, *Roma di fronte a Bizanzio e ai Longobardi*. (Rome: "Storia di Roma" IX, 1941). For more on the Byzantine presence in Italy, see T.S. Brown, *Gentlemen and Officers: Imperial Administration and Aristocratic Power in Byzantine Italy, A.D. 554-800* (London: British School at Rome, 1984). For the ascendancy of the Papacy during this period, see Thomas F. X. Noble, *The Republic of St. Peter: the Birth of the Papal State, 680-825* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1986).

Like the abbey he inhabited, Paul occupied the liminal space between Lombard and Carolingian society for a significant portion of his career. A skilled poet and scholar, he served in the Lombard court in Pavia until its conquest. Paul fled south to Benevento, where he counselled the duke until he was compelled to serve in Charlemagne's court in Aachen. The Frankish king sought the finest scholars to lead his campaign of cultural and social renewal that came to be known as the Carolingian Renaissance. Along with such renowned figures as Einhard and Alcuin of York, Paul worked at the center of the movement to restore elements of classical and patristic learning and to reorder European society along "properly Christian" standards.[1] He ultimately retired to Monte Cassino in 786 and dedicated his time to scholarly pursuits. His *History of the Lombards* could easily be seen as an attempt to glorify and preserve the story of his subjugated people. Chris Wickham claims that Paul had "a fairly simplistic sense of the past" in which he emphasized "pride in Lombard prowess" and sought to gloss over anything that could be damaging to the reputation of the Lombards.[2] Such a perspective, though not unreasonable, neglects the other possible objectives that Paul sought to accomplish with this work.

Walter Goffart posited another partial, though more compelling, explanation by placing Paul within his own historical context. His thorough analysis of Paul's works in *The Narrators of Barbarian History* (1988), provides an excellent starting point for any examination of the *Historia Langobardorum.* In it, the author recounts the story of Grimoald III, Duke of Benevento who was taken by Charlemagne as a hostage to ensure the good behavior of his father Arichis. After the death of all of Arichis's other heirs in 788, upon the recommendation of Pope Hadrian,

[1] See Walter Goffart, "Paul the Deacon's 'Gesta Episcoporum Mettensium' and the Early Design of Charlemagne's Succession," *Traditio* 42 (1986): 59-93. Paul was not simply another scholar employed by the Carolingians. His work for the Bishop of Metz demonstrates a keen awareness of Frankish political intentions and the current events surrounding Charlemagne's court.

[2] Chris Wickham, *Early Medieval Italy: Central Power and Local Society, 400-1000* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1989), 29.

the emperor allowed Grimoald to return home with hopes of continued Beneventan loyalty in the future.[3] Goffart suggests that Paul intended the *Historia* for Grimoald as a means of "conveying lessons in Christian rulership,"[4] but left the idea undeveloped. He continued, "Grimoald III, taking command of the threatened but surviving bastion of Lombard autonomy, could hardly afford to forget that the most learned Italian of the age, an old family friend, lived nearby."[5]

In this study I expand upon Goffart's ideas while exploring territory that has not been effectively addressed by scholars, that is, the image and portrayal of Byzantines within Paul's history. I argue that the *Historia Langobardorum* was written to promote an ideal of Christian leadership based upon an understanding of orthodox faith and good works that was a prominent feature of the Carolingian Renaissance.[6] The Christian orthodoxy to which Paul adhered was defined by the catholic (universal) faith of the dominant Church that adhered to the Christology of the Council of Chalcedon (451). In the *Liber Pontificalis* (the *Book of the Popes*)—a source that Paul heavily relied upon[7]—Pope Agapitus, while visiting Constantinople, stood before Justinian and the Patriarch and "steadfastly proclaimed" this belief in "the Lord Jesus Christ, God and man, that is of two natures (*duas naturas*) in one Christ."[8] Other Christian communities, such as those labeled Arians, that did not participate in this understanding of the nature of Christ were seen as heretics and viewed with hostility.[9]

---

[3] Walter A. Goffart, *The Narrators of Barbarian History (AD 550-800): Jordanes, Gregory of Tours, Bede, and Paul the Deacon* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1988), 345-346.
[4] Goffart, *The Narrators of Barbarian History*, 347.
[5] Ibid. 347.
[6] The words "faith" and "works" should not be confused with the soteriological terms in the Augustinian debate on salvation which was a perennial issue in the Christian West. Here I explore these traits as criterion for meritorious rulership. "Faith" in this study can perhaps be better understood as "*religione*" rather than strictly "*fides*."
[7] For Paul's sources see Theodore Mommsen, "Die Quellen der Langobardengeschichte des Paulus Diaconus," *Neues Archiv* V (1880): 53-103.
[8] *Le Liber Pontificalis: Texte, Introduction Et Commentaire,* L'Abbé Duchesne, trans., (Paris: Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, 1886), 287. This was only the second time a Pope visited Constantinople.
[9] For a fascinating exploration of the nature of the "Arianism" of the Germanic tribes see

Although Paul clearly ties the themes of correct faith and good works to Lombard leaders, he also juxtaposed his narrative of Lombard leadership with the careers of Byzantine leaders whom he chose as specific exempla of political and social rectitude or vice. Among the Byzantine figures of authority Paul highlighted, correct belief and righteousness are rewarded, while heresy and wickedness are punished. Paul thus designed his narrative intentionally to encourage proper Christian governance. At the same time his work provides us with insights into how rulers were remembered, especially during the period of gradual disintegration of Byzantine imperial control over the Italian territories. Perhaps the aging monk envisioned Grimoald and his court heeding his message and thereby gaining divine favor for their imperiled principality.

Neither the use of history as a vehicle for moral instruction nor Paul's ideal of meritorious rulership would have been foreign to his early medieval audience. There were many well-known works that fall under the genre of *specula principum* (mirrors for princes) in which specific *virtutes* and *vitia* are emphasized in order to describe what constitutes a *bonus princeps* versus a *tyrannus*. This tradition of using history as a means of encouraging virtue stretches back to antiquity, and it was one that was eagerly embraced by Christian authors.[10] Julian of Toledo, a seventh-century historian of Visigothic Spain, noted,

> Any account that is given of glorious deeds in the past generally tends to defend the triumphs of virtue and to carry the minds of the young in the direction of virtue. For in the present the human character shows a certain disposition towards sloth in its inner nature and hence it seems to be more inclined towards the vices than attracted by the virtues. Thus unless it perseveres continually in being instructed by the challenge of valuable examples, it remains cold and becomes torpid.[11]

Marilyn Dunn, "Intuiting Gods: Creed and Cognition in the Fourth Century," *Historical Reflections* 38, no. 3 (December 2012): 1-23. However, regardless of how familiar the Germanic peoples were with the actual teachings of Arius, "Arian" is still a useful appellation as it is the term used by the sources, even if in hostility.

[10] For more on *specula* in Ancient Rome, see Lester Born, "The Perfect Prince According to the Latin Panegyrists," *The American Journal of Philology* 55, no. 1 (1934): 20-35.

[11] Roger Collins, "Julian of Toledo and the Royal Succession in Late Seventh-Century Spain," in *Early Medieval Kingship*, ed. P.H. Sawyer and I.N. Wood, (Leeds, 1977), 39.

Likewise, the Venerable Bede, who served as one of Paul's significant sources[12], introduced his *Ecclesiastical History of the English People* by stating that good men in history should be imitated, and deeds of the wicked eschewed. The reader, he claimed, "should pursue those things which are good and pleasing in the sight of God."[13] Paul wrote within a common tradition of providing the "challenge of valuable examples" necessary for the cultivation of virtue, but was advocating a particular set of behaviors that he saw as necessary for successful, God-pleasing leadership.

Significantly, he also wrote during an era when *specula* where becoming increasingly prevalent. The Carolingian world (in general but with greater urgency after Charlemagne's death) was deeply concerned with producing capable, godly politicians. Einhard, Charlemagne's biographer, followed Suetonius as a model and depicted the Frankish Emperor in the same manner as great Caesars from the Roman past.[14] He also emphasized his renovation of churches and generous almsgiving—two righteous works that figure prominently in the *Historia*—as deeds befitting a legitimate Christian king.[15] Likewise, Alcuin wrote prolifically to encourage proper ethics among his audience.[16] Authors such as Dhuoda, Smaragdus of St. Mihiel, Jonas of Orleans, and Hincmar of Reims all wrote specific *specula* for their own immediate contexts.[17] These texts took many forms, but they shared the common traits of appealing to Biblical

[12] Mommsen, 79-81.
[13] Bede, *The Ecclesiastical History of the English People ; the Greater Chronicle ; Bede's Letter to Egbert* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 3.
[14] Matthew Innes, "The Classical Tradition and the Carolingian Renaissance: Ninth Century Encounters with Suetonius," *International Journal of the Classical Traditon* 3, no. 3 (Winter 1997): 265-282.
[15] Einhard, "The Life of Charlemagne," in *Two Lives of Charlemagne*, trans. David Ganz, Penguin Books, (London, 2008), 36-37.
[16] Luitpold Wallach, "Alcuin on Virtues and Vices: A Manual for a Carolingian Soldier," *The Harvard Theological Review* 48, no. 3 (July 1955): 175-195.
[17] M.A. Claussen, "Fathers of Power and Mothers of Authoity: Dhuoda and the Liber manualis," *French Historical Studies* 19, no. 3 (Spring 1996): 786.

archetypes or the Roman past for exempla of ideal rulers. Paul wrote the *History of the Lombards* earlier than any of these ninth-century works, but with a similar goal.

The Roman past is critical to remember when exploring Byzantine memory. The Byzantines defined themselves, more than anything else, as imperial Romans: the citizens and participants in the actual political structure of the Roman state centered in Constantinople. The idea of the Roman Empire still held immense sway in the Mediterranean throughout this period. Michael McCormick, in his excellent study of late antique and early medieval triumphal ceremonies and rituals, argues that the late Roman state perpetuated the powerful myth of "eternal victory" and imperial invincibility, which was subsequently adopted and adapted by the successor kingdoms in the West. The "ruler whose essence it was to be victor" was a part of the Roman inheritance.[18] For the ideal ruler, most people still looked to Rome, which at this time meant looking to the Eastern Empire. The Lombards were peripheral to, though thoroughly engaged with, this empire prior to the invasion of Italy in 568. Paul explained that during the entire time the Lombards held Pannonia, "they were allies of the Roman state against their enemies."[19]

Goffart claims that Paul was "determinedly anti-Byzantine."[20] However, it is necessary to distinguish between traditional Western biases toward the Greeks and genuine animosity towards the Eastern Roman Empire. It can be easily argued that Paul possessed the former. After the ascension of the Emperor Maurice in 582, whom he describes as "the first of the race of the Greeks"[21] to hold imperial power, Byzantine leaders tend to receive a less positive treatment in

[18] Michael McCormick, *Eternal Victory: Triumphal Rulership in Late Antiquity, Byzantium, and the Early Medieval West* (Cambridge University Press, 1986), 9.
[19] H.L. 2.1. *Romanae rei publicae adversus aemulos adiutores fuerunt.*
[20] Goffart, *The Narrators of Barbarian History*, 347.
[21] H.L. 3.15, trans. 113.

the narrative. Later in the text they are portrayed as a "faithless race,"[22] greedy and irreverent. Authors from the Latin West had since antiquity written about the Greeks with particular negative stereotypes in mind, and Latin Church Fathers viewed the Greek tendency towards philosophizing as the root of all sorts of heresy.[23] Luigi Berto has effectively demonstrated that later Lombard and Norman historians from southern Italy were largely hostile to the Byzantines, highlighting their deceitfulness and martial ineptitude.[24] Paul's attitude toward Byzantium is more complex, though hints of this perception are evident later in his text and indeed may have influenced subsequent authors.

His ultimate concern was neither Byzantine nor Lombard, but Christian identity. Byzantines held such a dominant part in the manufacture of this identity for Paul because for a great portion of their history the majority of Lombards were not Christian at all. The modern scholarly misconception that the Lombards were predominantly Arian Christians[25] was convincingly refuted by Steven Fanning in his 1981 article, "Lombard Arianism Reconsidered." He wrote, "The Lombard traditions and sources used by Paul the Deacon … portray that people as pagan, not Arian … At no time did he ever state that the Lombards were Arians, and in the entire history he named only two Lombards who were Arians."[26] Their paganism was also tied by Paul to their dangerous and destructive behavior. After having cited a letter from Gregory the Great to the emperor Maurice in which the pontiff expressed his wish not to be involved in the

[22] Ibid. 5.8, trans. 221.
[23] For more on Greek cultural reception and presence in the West, see Andrew J. Ekonomou, *Byzantine Rome and the Greek Popes: Eastern Influences On Rome and the Papacy from Gregory the Great to Zacharias, A.d. 590-752*, paperback ed. (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2009); And in response, Thomas F.X. Noble, "Greek Popes: Yes or No, and Did it Matter?" in *Western Perspectives on the Mediterranean: Cultural Transfer in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages, 400-800 A.D.*, eds. Andreas Fisher and Ian Wood (New York, 2015). 77-86.
[24] Luigi Berto, "The Image of the Byzantines in Early Medieval South Italy: The Viewpoint of the Chroniclers of the Lombards (9th-10th Centuries) and Normans (11th Century)," *Mediterranean Studies* 22, no. 1 (2014): 1-37.
[25] See, for example Thomas Hodgkin, *Italy and Her Invaders* (New York: Russell & Russell, 1967), vol. 5.
[26] Stephen Fanning, "Lombard Arianism Reconsidered," *Speculum* 56, no. 2 (April 1981): 241-258.

killing of any Lombards, Paul exclaimed "How great was his innocence, when he was unwilling to take part in the death of Langobards who indeed were unbelievers (*infideles*) and were plundering everything!"[27] Goffart noted that the first book of the *Historia* served as a "contrast epic," in which the successes of the Lombards are shown to be the result of merely human skill and fortune, while the superior achievements of St. Benedict and Justinian were due to righteousness and divine favor.[28] In his words, "Paul's heathen ancestors had got somewhere, but had far to go, [and] in a different direction."[29] External figures, such as Byzantine emperors, were necessary to Paul in the beginning of his Lombard history in order to provide the contrast required for highlighting Christian leadership. As time passed, however, the Lombards became increasingly Christianized, which provided Paul with local leaders whom he could present as model Christian princes.

[27] H.L. 4.29, trans. 173.
[28] Goffart, *The Narrators of Barbarian History*, 387.
[29] Ibid. 387.

CHAPTER 2

JUSTINIAN AND NARSES

The Emperor Justinian (527-565) is the first Byzantine to hold a prominent place in Paul's history. The twenty-fifth chapter of the first book is a praise-filled description of his reign that digresses from the narrative of Lombard kings and their conflicts. Introduced as "prosperous in waging wars and admirable in civil matters,"[1] Paul then includes all of Justinian's most renowned accomplishments, including his victories over the Persians, Vandals, and Goths, the codification of Roman law, and the construction of the basilica of Hagia Sophia. Paul concludes by stating that "This emperor was indeed catholic in faith (*fide catholicus*), upright in works (*in operibus rectus*), just in judgments (*in iudiciis iustus*) and therefore, to him all things came together for good."[2] This is a critical sentence that succinctly lays out Paul's formula for assessing leadership throughout the entirety of the text. Correct faith and righteous deeds are given as the direct cause of success and prosperity. This account, especially when considered in concert with Paul's description of St. Benedict, which follows his assessment of Justinian, plainly demonstrates the supremacy of Christian virtues Paul wanted to convey.

Justinian's particularly Christian character is also emphasized in other sources, especially in one that Paul utilized frequently, the *Liber Pontificalis*. Here Justinian is hailed as "a devout man and ardent lover of the Christian religion,"[3] as "the most pious (*piissimus*) Augustus"[4] and "the most Christian Emperor (*imperatorem Christianissimum*)."[5] This language of piety, though

[1] H.L. 1.25, trans. 47. *Qui et bella prospere gessit et in causis civilibus mirificus extitit.*
[2] Ibid. *Erat enim hic princeps fide catholicus, in operibus rectus, in iudiciis iustus; ideoque ei omnia concurrebant in bonum.*
[3] L.P. Iohannes II. trans. 285.
[4] Ibid. Agapitus. trans. 287-288.
[5] Ibid., Agapitus. trans. 287.

perhaps conventional, is recurrently stressed in the *Historia*, especially as devotion is tied to righteous works.

Paul's discussion of the Byzantine general and governor Narses, a high-ranking court eunuch and trusted official in Justinian's regime, further reinforces this central theme.[6] Paul specifies that he was formerly a *chartularius* (court archivist) before receiving military command and eventually earning the title of patrician in Italy.[7] Narses was responsible for subduing the Goths after a two decades-long conflict in the peninsula. After recounting some of his exploits, Paul concludes, "… he was a most pious man, catholic in religion (*vir piissimus, in religione catholicus*), generous to the poor (*in pauperes munificus*), devoted to the restoring of churches, and so much devoted to vigils and prayers that he obtained victory more by his profuse supplications to God than by arms of war."[8] Other sources conflict with Paul's explication of Narses's virtue, however. The ninth-century *Book of the Pontiffs of the Church of Ravenna* by Andreas Agnellus depicts Narses as a greedy warlord who plundered the property of the Romans, revealing the presence of a competing tradition for the memory of the eunuch's rule.[9] Paul intentionally avoided these hostile descriptions to portray Narses as an exemplary Christian leader. He wanted to make it perfectly clear that Narses' zealous orthodox faith and its implementation in good works were the reason for his many triumphs. The message to those in authority could hardly be made more evident. However, the conclusion of Narses' long career served to teach another lesson, namely that sinfulness has consequences. Having accumulated

---

[6] See Lawrence Fauber, *Narses: Hammer of the Goths: the Life and Times of Narses the Eunuch* (New York: St Martin's Press, 1991).
[7] H.L. 2.3. On Narses cf. PLRE III 912-928.
[8] Ibid. *Erat autem vir piissimus, in religione catholicus, in pauper munificus, in recuperandis basilicis satis studiosus, vigiliis et orationibus in tantum studens, ut plus supplicationibus ad Deum profusis quam armis bellicis victoriam obtineret.*
[9] Agnellus, *The Book of Pontiffs of the Church of Ravenna*, trans. Deborah Mauskopf Deliyannis (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 2004), 207.

great personal wealth, he "incurred the great envy of the Romans although he had labored much for them against their enemies."[10] As a result, they complained to the new emperor and his wife, Justin II and Sophia, who sought to have Narses replaced. According to the anecdote Paul records, Narses, insulted and frightened for his life, invited the Lombards to invade Italy.[11] Despite Narses' personal virtues, the sins of his subjects and his sovereign, as well as his own fear, would prove to have disastrous results for the Empire.

It is worth noting that Paul described a catastrophic plague in chapter four that "happened to the Romans only and within Italy alone, up to the boundaries of the nations of the Alamanni and the Bavarians."[12] He likely intended to make a statement by locating the plague solely within the boundaries of imperial control. Shortly thereafter he noted that Justinian had died and Justin the younger ascended to power in Constantinople.[13] The natural world reacting violently at the passing of a righteous leader was a common theme, and it appeared in Paul's narrative again in his retelling of the catastrophes following the death of Gregory the Great in 604.[14] Paul also could have intended for the plague to serve as an omen regarding the ascension of Justin, whom he depicts as one of the worst rulers in the entire narrative. Thus even nature itself responds to the character of the powerful.

[10] H.L. 2.5, trans. 58-59.
[11] In this legend, the Empress Sophia, because Narses was a eunuch, sent to him a message saying that she would make him in charge of the girls tasked with weaving wool. Narses is said to have responded "that he would begin to weave her such a web as she could not lay down as long as she lived." H.L., 2.5, trans. 59.
[12] Ibid. 2.4, trans. 58. *Et haec quidem mala intra Italiam tantum usque ad fines gentium Alamannorum et Baioariorum solis Romanis acciderunt.*
[13] Ibid. 2.5.
[14] H.L. 4.29.

CHAPTER 3

JUSTIN II AND TIBERIUS II

Justin II represented the antithesis of Paul's ideal of Christian leadership, with greed, as his significant vice.

> During these times, as was stated above, Justin the younger reigned at Constantinople, a man given to every avarice (*vir in omnia avaritia deditus*), a despiser of the poor (*contemptor pauperum*), and a despoiler of senators (*senatorum spoliator*). So great was the madness of his cupidity (*cupiditatis rabies*) that he ordered iron chests made, in which to collect the talents of gold which he seized. They also say that he fell into the Pelagian heresy. When he averted the ear of his heart from the divine commands, he lost the faculty of reason by the just judgment of God.[1]

Although Paul presents the elements of faith and works as vitally important, as they were for Justinian and Narses, Justin's deeds are selfish and his power is exercised for his own gain instead of that of his subjects. Paul even included hearsay that the emperor was a Pelagian heretic to complete the formula. Shortly after his ascension in 565, Justin did implement a number of policies that sought to cut costs and increase revenue, including the cessation of tribute and subsidies to foreign powers. The Lombards stopped receiving payments as allies of the Roman state, while Constantinople shifted its favor towards their foes, the Gepids.[2] This shift in priorities is what ultimately led to the Lombard invasion of Italy. It is therefore no surprise that the Lombard traditions from which Paul drew would remember Justin as an avaricious tyrant. In light of Paul's historical approach concerning the effects of the actions and faith of leaders, it is doubtful that the devastation of Italy during Justin's reign was meant to be taken as a coincidence.

---

[1] H.L. 3.11.
[2] Christie, 59.

The next Byzantine to whom Paul devoted significant attention in the *History of The Lombards* is the remarkable figure of Tiberius II, who first served as Caesar under Justin and later succeeded him as emperor. Paul first mentions him in the same chapter as Justin to create a stark contrast between the emperor's vices and Tiberius' virtues. He wrote that, "He [Justin] took Tiberius as Caesar to govern his palace and different provinces, a man [who was] just (*hominem iustum*), useful, energetic, wise, open-handed (*elemosinarium*), equitable in judgments (*in iudiciis aequum*), brilliant in victories, and what was more important than all these things, a most true Christian (*verissimum christianum*)."[3] Where Justin was tight-fisted, Tiberius was liberal and benevolent, and like Justinian before him he exemplified justice. When Empress Sophia criticized him for his abundant charity towards the poor and his ransoming of captives, the Caesar proclaimed his trust in God's provision and quoted scripture about the greatness of laying up treasures in heaven.[4] Meeting the needs of the poor and helpless formed a critical portion of Paul's definition of a Christian leader. Goffart notes that for this section of the third book, "the prominent part is played by the emperor Tiberius II, for no other apparent reason than to exemplify rulership of a distinctly Christian kind."[5] It would indeed be odd that a character such as Tiberius, who had apparently so little to do with Lombard or even Italian history, would have become such a significant topic in the *Historia*, unless of course Christian rulership was in fact one of its animating purposes.[6]

Paul expanded on Tiberius' Christian character with the inclusion of two tales regarding the discovery of great treasure. In the first story, Tiberius noticed a marble slab on the ground

---

[3] H.L. 3.11. *Hic Tiberium Caesarem adscivit, qui eius palatium vel singulas provincias gubernaret, hominem iustum, utilem, strenuum, sapientem, elemosinarium, in iudiciis aequum, in victoriis clarum et, quod his omnibus supereminet, verissimum christianum.*
[4] Ibid. trans. 107.
[5] Goffart, 396.
[6] This is not to say that his administration was uninvolved in the West. See Walter Goffart, "Byzantine Policy in the West under Tiberius II and Maurice: The Pretenders Hermenegild and Gundovald," *Traditio* 13 (1957): 73-118.

upon which was carved a cross. Compelled to remove it because he felt the cross should be worn by the faithful and not trampled underfoot, he found two more such slabs, beneath the last of which was uncovered "more than a thousand centenaria of gold."[7] He then "distributed it among the poor yet more abundantly than had been customary."[8] In the second story, Tiberius was tipped off to the location of a massive treasure hidden by Narses (presumably in Italy), which, once discovered, was likewise "bestowed upon the needy in bountiful distribution according to his custom."[9] Tiberius' faith was presented as the fount from which his good deeds flowed, solidifying Paul's conviction of the interlocking benefits of both unassailable faith and selfless works. His virtues thus lead to a final reward, the acquisition of the throne despite the schemes of Empress Sophia. Since Paul's formula for leadership maintained that righteousness was rewarded with temporal benefits, he concluded his chapter with a crushing military victory over the Persians, where the triumphant army returned with "so great a quantity of booty as would be thought enough to satisfy human cupidity (*humanae crederetur posse sufficere cupiditati*)."[10] While Justin's greed is shown as mad and insatiable, it is ultimately unfulfilled. Tiberius, however, gives selflessly and thus acquires great wealth. Paul constructs him in the *Historia* as the perfect Christian leader; as such, both his personal fortunes and those of his Empire benefit.

[7] H.L. 3.12, trans. 108-109. A centenarium was a weight measurement of about a hundred pounds.
[8] Ibid.
[9] Ibid.
[10] Ibid. 3.13, trans. 111.

CHAPTER 4
CONSTANS II, LOMBARD RULERS, AND THE MANTLE OF CHRISTIAN KINGSHIP

The fourth book of the text marks a noticeable break in the narrative with regard to the treatment of Byzantine rulers. Maurice is not convincingly portrayed in either a positive or a negative light, while his successors are either neutrally presented in like manner or are unambiguously terrible rulers. The style even changes to one with fewer digressions and it comes to more closely resemble a standard chronicle.[1] While the role of Byzantine characters becomes more subdued, Paul's vision of Christian leadership is as emphatic as ever in his descriptions of Lombard rulers. The powerful and influential Queen Theudelinda was the first catholic leader of the Lombard kingdom. Paul took it for granted that she and her husband Agilulf's reign marked the official conversion of the nation and did not walk his readers through a conversion process.[2] Regardless of the depth or veracity of this national conversion, because Paul identified them as catholic Christians, he now assessed all future Lombard rulers on their own Christian merits without needing a Byzantine archetype. It is not coincidental that the Lombard court began to become visibly Christianized when the monarchy also aggressively adopted elements of Roman culture.[3] Catholic Christianity and the legitimacy of Roman governance went hand-in-hand: he described Theudelinda in by now familiar terms as "undoubtedly devoted to the faith of Christ and conspicuous in good works."[4]

Book IV also gives a glimpse into how Paul's formula shaped his depiction of a "heretical" king who was otherwise known as a good ruler. King Rothari, the codifier of

[1] Goffart, *The Narrators of Barbarian History*, 399.
[2] Ibid. 399.
[3] McCormick, 287.
[4] H.L. 4.5, trans. 153.

Lombard law,[5] was "brave and strong, and followed the path of justice; he did not, however, hold the right line of Christian belief, but was tainted by the Arian heresy."[6] Paul allowed Rothari's actions to compensate for his faith, but not without explaining the error of Arianism and even affording the king the protection of St. John the Baptist.[7] The transition provided by the fourth book of the *Historia* enabled Lombard kings to step into their own as Christian princes set against a backdrop of more or less progressively cruel and heterodox Byzantine emperors.

Constans II was arguably the most detested of these sovereigns in Paul's history. He moved his court from Constantinople to Syracuse and sought to re-establish Byzantine hegemony over the Italian peninsula. In 662, the same year as the ascension of Grimoald I—described as "most Christian and pious (*Christianissimum et pium)"*—as king of the Lombards, Constans invaded the Duchy of Benevento.[8] After some initial success, the emperor besieged Duke Romuald (Grimoald's son) in Benevento itself. According to Paul, Constans made peace, but strangely continued his siege of Benevento. The emperor proceeded to send Romuald's tutor Sesuald up to the walls to convince him that Grimoald would not come to his aid. Instead, he was beheaded for encouraging his pupil to keep up the defense.[9] The passage is highly inconsistent. If peace had indeed been made, the episode of Sesuald's decapitation would have been unnecessary. Paul, drawing from different sources, probably deliberately included a story that elevated the wickedness of Constans. Ultimately, the Byzantine army retreated back to Naples and was thoroughly defeated by Romuald in a separate engagement. This victory resulted from Romuald's own faith when he took only a portion of his father's army, in Gideon-like fashion,

[5] See *The Lombard Laws*, ed. and trans. Katherine Fisher Drew (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1973).
[6] H.L. 4.42, trans. 193-194.
[7] Ibid. trans. 194, 201.
[8] See Pasquale Corsi, *La spedizione italiana di Costante II*, (Bologna: Pàtron, 1983).
[9] H.L. 5.8, trans. 222.

and was assured of success with God's favor. This is reminiscent of Narses' victories, which were achieved by prayer rather than by "arms of war." Furthermore, the Lombard king is described as "most Christian and pious" like the earlier Byzantine rulers. The failure of Constans' expedition to subjugate Benevento, the result of both his own sins and the heroic young Romuald's virtues, would certainly have found a receptive audience in the court of Grimoald III in Paul's day.

Constans' chief iniquity, like that of Justin II, was greed. After failing to dislodge the Lombards from Southern Italy, he "directed all his threats of cruelty against his own followers, that is, the Romans."[10] He decided to visit Rome, and became the first emperor to do so in nearly two centuries. According to the *Liber Pontificalis*, Constans was received with the highest honor in the Eternal City by Pope Vitalian. The emperor bestowed gifts on the pontiff and made donations to several significant churches and shrines, including giving a pallium woven with gold to St. Peter's.[11] Paul only briefly mentions the last of these gifts before proceeding to explain how Constans stripped Rome of its metal ornaments, including the bronze roof of "the church of the blessed Mary which at one time was called the Pantheon."[12] Once again, it is evident that the author was selectively including information about the emperor in order to emphasize his negative attributes. Afterwards, according to Paul, the emperor returned to Syracuse where he

> … imposed such afflictions upon the people—the inhabitants and landowners of Calabria, Sicily, Africa, and Sardinia—so that even wives were separated from their husbands and children from their parents. The people of these regions endured many other unheard of things so that the hope of life did not remain to anyone. For even the sacred vessels and the treasures of the holy churches of God were carried away by the imperial command and by the avarice of the Greeks.[13]

[10] H.L. 5.11, trans. 223.
[11] L.P. Vitalianus. trans. 343.
[12] H.L. 5.11. trans. 224.
[13] Ibid.

It is easy to imagine the discontent of a populace that was suddenly required to support the costs of an imperial court. No matter the extent of his depravities, Constans evidently sought to profit from the Empire's long neglected western territories and was subsequently remembered in the sources for the suffering his policies created. Unlike Narses and Justinian, who built and restored churches, Constans despoiled them. Whereas Tiberius gave abundantly of his wealth to the poor, Constans accumulated wealth at the people's expense. His reign illustrates the possibilities when power is leveraged for personal gain instead of assisting the needy.

Additionally, Constans, like his grandfather Heraclius, was an adherent of Monothelitism, the doctrine that Christ had a single will, which was fiercely resisted by the Western Church. According to the Byzantine chronicler Theophanes, in response to a synod that was called and that anathematized Monothelete clergy and affirmed the doctrine of Christ's two wills and two energies, a furious Constans had two of its most prominent leaders, Pope Martin and Maximus the Confessor, arrested, tortured, and exiled.[14] He also "took vengeance on many western bishops" and it was experienced as a time in which "the Church was being harassed by the emperors and their impious priests."[15] While Paul himself does not explicitly discuss Constans' heresy, it is certain he was aware of it because he discusses in detail the Sixth Ecumenical Council in 680 under Constans's son, Constantine IV, which officially condemned Monothelitism.[16] Perhaps Paul assumed his audience was familiar with Constans's heresy in much the same way as they would have been familiar with the conversion of the Lombards to catholic Christianity. Constans was eventually assassinated in the baths by his own servants. Paul

[14] Theophanes, *The Chronicle of Theophanes: An English Translation of Anni Mundi 6095-6305 (AD 602-813)*, ed. and trans. Harry Turtledove (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1982), 33.
[15] Ibid. 33-34. For more on the on the Byzantine pressure and influence on the Western Church, see P. Llewellyn, "Constans II and the Roman Church," *Byzantion* 46 (1976): 120-26
[16] H.L. 6.4.

understood this as "punishment" for his "great iniquities."[17] The tenure of Constans II demonstrated within Paul's schema of Christian governance that a selfish and irreverent leader not only risked having his endeavors fail, he also threatened his own life.

Finally, many of the implications of Paul's ideal of leadership can be revealed through the examination of a single critical event in Book VI, chapter 49: the fall of Ravenna's port of Classis to King Liutprand around 725. On the surface, Liutprand's virtues alone are of the sort to warrant a successful conquest. He is depicted as brave, resolute, and devout. He both gave to the church and also ransomed the holy relics of St. Augustine, which had been pillaged by the Saracens.[18] Paul shows the Byzantine leadership, in contrast, to be in such a morally ambiguous position that they have no good reason to expect divine assistance. Paul the exarch, according to Paul the Deacon, "sent his men out of Ravenna to kill the Pope," but the Lombards fought in the Pope's defense.[19] The tables have turned here at the end of the narrative: the invaders who had threatened the Church now are her defenders. Furthermore, the Empire was ruled at this time by Leo III, who had initiated his campaign of iconoclasm, which was seen as a thoroughly heretical practice in the West. Lastly, an element of continuity can be observed with an earlier episode. In Book III, a virtuous Lombard duke of Suebe descent named Droctulft defected to the Ravennans and led them to victory over his former comrades who were holding Classis. In the end, the Lombards, having matured spiritually, were thus able to achieve its reconquest from the murderous and heterodox imperial authorities. The fall of Ravenna's port—the connection of the Byzantine exarchate to the outside world—foreshadowed the end of Eastern Roman authority in Italy.

[17] H.L. 5.11, trans. 225.
[18] Ibid. 6.48, trans. 288.
[19] Ibid. 6.49

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

We do not know if Paul was content with where he ended his narrative, as he died shortly after the last entry in 799. What can be known, through a careful reading of the text, are Paul's moral motivations behind his history. This study demonstrates that the *History of the Lombards* acts, in many ways, as an early medieval *specula principum*. It exhibits a strong moral coherence centered on what it meant to be a Christian leader. The ideal ruler was orthodox in faith and prolific in good works that poured out from devotion to that faith. Paul was fervently committed to the idea that power and wealth must be wielded to relieve the needs of the less fortunate. Thus he presented generosity and liberality as chief virtues, and greed and avarice as the most egregious sins. In lieu of Christian rulers in the early history of the Lombards, Paul cleverly employed Byzantine rulers as both good and bad exemplars in order to construct this identity, which he continued to use throughout the entire work. Faith and works were not merely a way to assess the quality of a leader, they were a way to explain the outcome of events. Paul wanted to convey the message that orthodoxy and righteous deeds directly resulted in tangible benefits, while their opposite led to ruinous loss.

Furthermore, as time progressed the Empire's fortunes waned and emperors increasingly neglected Italy as they became entangled in more pressing concerns in the Balkans and the East. Resources, whether financial or military, were simply not as available for the Italian territories as they were under Justinian and Narses. This undoubtedly led to a decline of esteem for Byzantine authorities in the memory of Italian authors whom Paul utilized in conjunction with his elevation of the Lombards through Christianization. Thus, the degeneration of the portrayal of Byzantine leaders roughly corresponds to the disintegration of the Empire's hold on its western territories.

In his eyes, the Romans had fallen from grace. Their emperors had become greedy, impious, unjust, enemies of the Church, and abusers of the poor. In effect, they had laid aside the mantle of true Christian kingship and suffered the consequences. This mantle would be assumed in the West not by a Lombard or an Eastern Roman, but by a Frank. Paul just barely missed the Christmas coronation of Charlemagne in 800, when the conqueror of the Lombards and so many others took the title "Emperor and Augustus."[1] The West once again had a Roman emperor upon whom the ideals of Christian leadership would be projected for centuries to come.

If the *History of the Lombards* is to be understood as having similar motivations to a Carolingian *speculum*, it becomes necessary to inquire about how it compares with other works within the genre. At first glance, the differences are the most apparent. While most *specula* of the period are united by characteristics such as a visible appeal to patristic sources, classical models, and biblical archetypes, this is not the case for Paul's history. He did not do what Einhard would later do and depict rulers like the Caesars of old; neither did he make open comparisons to Old Testament figures like Dhuoda in the *Liber manualis* addressed to her son.[2] However, he did appeal to Roman legitimacy and depicted Christian leaders in ways that would be instantly recognizable to those familiar with the scriptures. Similarities between figures such as Justinian and Solomon or Romuald and Gideon would likely not have been lost on his audience.[3] Nevertheless, the factors that the *History of the Lombards* have in common with a *speculum* are not instantly recognizable. As Goffart noted, Paul expected effort from his readers to "gather more from his narrative than miscellaneous entertainment and facts."[4] He was no less demanding

[1] Einhard, 38.
[2] Claussen, 785-809.
[3] For more on the fascinating relationship between the Old Testament and Carolingian political thought, see Sumi Shimihara, "Daniel et les Visions Politiques à l'Èpoque Carolingienne," in "Usages de la Bible: Intrprétations et lectures sociales," special issue, *Médévales* 55 (Automne 2008): 19-31.
[4] Goffart, *Paul the Deacon's Gesta Episcoporum Mettensium*, 65.

with the last work of his life. To the committed and careful reader, an intentional lesson in Christian kingship emerges from its pages. Paul's colleague Alcuin lamented the temptations and pitfalls of holding influence at a worldly court, and longed for the relief of retirement in a monastery.[5] Paul achieved this wish in his tenure at Monte Cassino, but still could not resist attempting to exert influence over the politicians in Benevento.

The ideals found in Paul's Lombard history are in fact thoroughly a product of the Carolingian Renaissance. The Carolingians sought rebirth and *renovatio* of society based upon Christian principles. In the Frankish kingdom, the people, coming from different tribes, backgrounds and ethnicities, were reimagined as a *populus Dei*, a homogenous and united *Christianitas*.[6] While much of the intellectual effort went towards justifying the divine authority of the king over the people of God, there were also strong assertions about the monarch's responsibility toward his subjects. The king received his authority solely from the grace of God and was entrusted with the health and stability (*salubritas et stabilitas*) of the people.[7] If the king failed to ensure this general welfare, or departed from the faith that legitimized his position, he would forfeit his divine right as a ruler. The ruling elites and the ecclesiastical intelligentsia were mutually dependent during the Carolingian era. The former protected and sponsored the latter, while the latter provided the intellectual and theological support for the former's position and policies for reform. While the ruler's actions were seen as Christian doctrine in action, it was the ecclesiastics who defined the doctrine that was the basis for policy.[8] Christian faith and political authority were inextricably linked.

---

[5] Mary Albieri, "'The Better Paths of Wisdom': Alcuin's Monastic 'True Philosophy and the Worldly Court,"*Speculum* 76, no. 4 (Oct. 2001): 896-910.
[6] Walter Ullmann, *The Carolingian Renaissance and the Idea of Kingship* (London: Methuen & Co Ltd, 1969), 21, 43.
[7] Ibid. 61.
[8] Ibid. 52-57.

The *History of the Lombards* is the work of a key scholar of the Carolingian Renaissance who was participating in his role as a respected ecclesiastic in providing advice for Christian governance. Paul sought to tell the story of how the Lombards became a part of the *populus Dei* in Italy, and how the Roman emperors in Constantinople gradually forfeited their divine right to rule in the region. The Duchy of Benevento, threatened by foreign armies, could hope to avoid the same fate only by emulating the piety, generosity, justice, and virtue of the finest Christian rulers from the Byzantine and Lombard past.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Agnellus. The Book of Pontiffs of the Church of Ravenna. Translated by Deborah Mauskopf Deliyannis. Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 2004.

Albieri, Mary. "'The Better Paths of Wisdom': Alcuin's Monastic 'True Philosophy and the Worldly Court." *Speculum* 76, no. 4 (Oct. 2001): 896-910.

Bede. *The Ecclesiastical History of the English People; the Greater Chronicle; Bede's Letter to Egbert*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008.

Berto, Luigi. "The Image of the Byzantines in Early Medieval South Italy: The Viewpoint of the Chroniclers of the Lombards (9th-10th Centuries) and Normans (11th Century)." *Mediterranean Studies* 22, no. 1 (2014): 1-37.

Bertolini, Ottorino. *Roma di fronte a Bizanzio e ai Longobardi*. Rome: "Storia di Roma" IX, 1941.

Book of the Popes. Duchesne, L'Abbé, trans. *Le Liber Pontificalis: Texte, Introduction Et Commentaire*. Paris: Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, 1886.

Born, Lester. "The Perfect Prince According to the Latin Panegyrists." *The American Journal of Philology* 55, no. 1 (1934): 20-35.

Brown, T.S. *Gentlemen and Officers: Imperial Administration and Aristocratic Power in Byzantine Italy, A.D. 554-800*. London: British School at Rome, 1984.

Christie, Neil. *The Lombards: The Ancient Longobards*. The Peoples of Europe. Oxford, UK: Blackwell, 1998.

Claussen, M.A. "Fathers of Power and Mothers of Authoity: Dhuoda and the Liber manualis." *French Historical Studies* 19, no. 3 (Spring 1996): 785-809.

Corsi, Pasquale. *La spedizione Italiana di Constante II*. Bologna : Pàtron, 1983.

Dunn, Marilyn. "Intuiting Gods: Creed and Cognition in the Fourth Century." *Historical Reflections* 38, no. 3 (December 2012): 1-23.

Einhard, and Notker. *Two Lives of Charlemagne*. Penguin Classics. London: Penguin, 2008.

Ekonomou, Andrew J. *Byzantine Rome and the Greek Popes: Eastern Influences On Rome and the Papacy from Gregory the Great to Zacharias, A.D. 590-752*. paperback ed. Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2009.

Fanning, Stephen. "Lombard Arianism Reconsidered." *Speculum* 56, no. 2 (April 1981): 241-258.

Fauber, Lawrence. *Narses: Hammer of the Goths: the Life and Times of Narses the Eunuch*. New York: St Martin's Press, 1991.

Fischer, Andreas, and Ian Wood, eds. *Western Perspectives On the Mediterranean: Cultural Transfer in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages*. New York: Bloomsbury, 2015.

Goffart, Walter A. *The Narrators of Barbarian History (AD 550-800): Jordanes, Gregory of Tours, Bede, and Paul the Deacon*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1988.

Goffart, Walter A. "Byzantine Policy in the West under Tiberius II and Maurice: The Pretenders Hermenegild and Gundovald." *Traditio* 13 (1957): 73-118.

Goffart, Walter. "Paul the Deacon's 'Gesta Episcoporum Mettensium' and the Early Design of Charlemagne's Succession." *Traditio* 42 (1986): 59-93.

Hodgkin, Thomas. *Italy and Her Invaders*. Vol. 5. New York: Russell & Russell, 1967.

Innes, Matthew. "The Classical Tradition and the Carolingian Renaissance: Ninth Century Encounters with Suetonius." *International Journal of the Classical Traditon* 3, no. 3 (Winter 1997): 265-282.

Llewellyn, P. "Constans II and the Roman Church." *Byzantion* 46 (1976): 120-126.

Martindale, J.R. 1992. *The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire*. Vol. 3. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

McCormick, Michael. *Eternal Victory: Triumphal Rulership in Late Antiquity, Byzantium and the Early Medieval West (Past and Present Publications)*. New York NY: Cambridge University Press, 1986.

Mommsen, Theodore. "Die Quellen der Langobardengeschichte des Paulus Diaconus." *Neues Archiv* V (1880): 53-103.

Noble, Thomas F. X. *The Republic of St. Peter: the Birth of the Papal State, 680-825 (The Middle Ages Series)*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1986.

Noble, Thomas F.X. "Greek Popes: Yes or No, and Did it Matter?" in *Western Perspectives On the Mediterranean: Cultural Transfer in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages*. New York: Bloomsbury, 2015.

Paul the Deacon. *History of the Lombards*. Edited by Edward Peters. Translated by William Foulke. [sources of Medieval History]. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1974.

Paolo Diacono. *"Storia dei Longobardi." A cura di Lidia Capo*. Fondazione Lorenzo Valla. Arnoldo Mondadori Editore 1992.

Sawyer, P H., and I N. Wood, eds. *Early Medieval Kingship*. Leeds: 1977.

Shimihara, Sumi. "Daniel et les Visions Politiques à l'Èpoque Carolingienne," in "Usages de la Bible: Intrprétations et lectures sociales." Special issue, *Médévales* 55 (Automne 2008): 19-31.

The Lombard Laws. Drew, Katherine Fischer, trans. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1973.

Theophanes. *The Chronicle of Theophanes: An English Translation of Anni Mundi 6095-6305 (AD 602-813)*. Edited and translated by Harry Turtledove. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1982.

Ullmann, Walter. *The Carolingian Renaissance and the Idea of Kingship*. London: Methuen & Co Ltd, 1969.

Wallach, Luitpold. "Alcuin on Virtues and Vices: A Manual for a Carolingian Soldier." *The Harvard Theological Review* 48, no. 3 (July 1955): 175-195.

Wickham, Chris. *Early Medieval Italy: Central Power and Local Society, 400-1000*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1989.

VITA

Ethan Williamson first attended the University of Missouri – Kansas City in the fall of 2011 after receiving his Associate in Arts degree within one year at Metropolitan Community College – Longview. He graduated in the summer of 2013 with his Bachelor of Arts in history with a concentration in ancient and medieval studies with a minor in classical and ancient studies. During his time as an undergraduate, Ethan worked diligently as an assistant clerk at the Kansas City branch of The State Historical Society of Missouri where he had a wide range of responsibilities that included processing a variety of regional historical documents and archival materials into collections, assisting researchers, manuscript repair and preservation, in addition to routine clerical duties. He also gained experience in the classroom as a Supplemental Instruction leader where he planned and provided multiple sessions a week that were designed to help students engage course material outside of their weekly lectures. Ethan earned multiple scholarships during these years that helped him achieve his undergraduate degree.

Eager to continue his education, Ethan began graduate coursework at the University of Missouri – Kansas City in the fall of 2013. He received a graduate teaching assistantship every semester from fall 2014 to spring 2016. As a GTA he developed a love of teaching and gained experience presenting material from a variety of historical periods outside of antiquity and the middle ages. Meanwhile, he continued his studies under the guidance of Dr. Massimiliano Vitiello and presented his research at the Missouri Conference on History in Columbia, MO in March of 2016. Ethan is graduating with his Master of Arts in history in May of 2016.

Ethan has been accepted into the history doctoral program at the University of Florida where he will continue studying Byzantine and early medieval history. Beginning in the fall of 2016, he will be working with Dr. Florin Curta to explore issues of identity, the veneration of

saints, and cultural relations between the Latin west and the Greek east in the early medieval Mediterranean.