

Part I, Chapter VI: Of the ten Kingdoms represented by the ten horns of the fourth Beast

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CHAP. VI.

Of the ten Kingdoms represented by the ten horns of the fourth Beast.

Now by the wars above described the *Western Empire* of the *Romans*, about the time that *Rome* was besieged and taken by the *Goths*, became broken into the following ten kingdoms.

1. The kingdom of the *Vandals* and *Alans* in *Spain* and *Africa*.
2. The kingdom of the *Suevians* in *Spain*.
3. The kingdom of the *Visigoths*.
4. The kingdom of the *Alans* in *Gallia*.
5. The kingdom of the *Burgundians*.
6. The kingdom of the *Franks*.
7. The kingdom of the *Britains*.
8. The kingdom of the *Hunns*.
9. The kingdom of the *Lombards*.
10. The kingdom of *Ravenna*.

Seven of these kingdoms are thus mentioned by *Sigonius*. ¹*Honorio regnante, in Pannoniam* ²*Hunni, in Hispaniam* ³*Vandali*, ⁴*Alani*, ⁵*Suevi* & <48> ⁶*Gothi, in Galliam* ⁴*Alani* ⁷*Burgundiones* & ⁶*Gothi, certis sedibus permissis, accepti*. Add the *Franks*, *Britains*, and *Lombards*, and you have the ten: for these arose about the same time with the seven. But let us view them severally.

1. The Kings of the *Vandals* were, A.C. 407 *Godegesilus*, 407 *Gunderic*, 426 *Geiseric*, 477 *Hunneric*, 484 *Gundemund*, 496 *Thrasamund*, 523 *Geiseric*, 530 *Gelimer*. *Godegesilus* led them into *Gallia* A.C. 406, *Gunderic* into *Spain* A.C. 409, *Geiseric* into *Africa* A.C. 427; and *Gelimer* was conquered by *Belisarius* A.C. 533. Their kingdom lasted in *Gallia*, *Spain* and *Africa* together 126 years; and in *Africa* they were very

potent. The *Alans* had only two Kings of their own in *Spain*, *Resplendial*, and *Ataces*, *Utacus* or *Othacar*. Under *Resplendial* they went into *France* A.C. 407, and into *Spain* A.C. 409. *Ataces* was slain with almost all his army by *Vallia* King of the *Visigoths* A.C. 419. And then the remainder of these *Alans* subjected themselves to *Gunderic* King of the *Vandals* in *Bætica*, and went afterwards with them into *Africa*, as I learn out of *Procopius*. Whence the Kings of the *Vandals* styled themselves Kings of the *Vandals* and *Alans*; as may be seen in the Edict of *Hunneric* recited by *Victor* in his *Vandalic* persecution. In conjunction with the <49> *Chatti*, these *Alans* gave the name of *Cathalaunia*, or *Cath-Alania*, to the Province which is still so called. These *Alans* had also *Gepides* among them; and therefore the *Gepides* came into *Pannonia* before the *Alans* left it. There they became subject to the *Hunns* till the death of *Attila* A.C. 454, and at length were conquered by the *Ostrogoths*.

2. The Kings of the *Suevians* were, A.C. 407 *Ermeric*, 438 *Rechila*, 448 *Recharius*, 458 *Maldra*, 460 *Frumarius*, 463 *Regismund*. And after some other Kings who are unknown, reigned A.C. 558 *Theudomir*, 568 *Miro*, 582 *Euboricus*, and 583 *Andeca*. This kingdom, after it had been once seated in *Spain*, remained always in *Gallæcia* and *Lusitania*. *Ermeric* after the fall of the *Alan* kingdom, enlarged it into all *Gallæcia*, forcing the *Vandals* to retire into *Bætica* and the *Carthaginian* Province. This kingdom lasted 177 years according to *Isidorus*, and then was subdued by *Leovigildus* King of the *Visigoths*, and made a Province of his kingdom A.C. 585.

3. The Kings of the *Visigoths* were, A.C. 400 *Alaric*, 410 *Athaulphus*, 415 *Sergeric* and *Vallia*, 419 *Theoderic*, 451 *Thorismund*, 452 *Theoderic*, 465 *Euric*, 482 *Alaric*, 505 *Gensalaric*, 526 *Amalaric*, 531 *Theudius*, 548 *Theudisclus*, &c. I date this kingdom from the time <50> that *Alaric* left *Thrace* and *Greece* to invade the *Western Empire*. In the end of the reign of *Athaulphus* the *Goths* were humbled by the *Romans*, and attempted to pass out of *France* into *Spain*. *Sergeric* reigned but a few days. In the beginning of *Vallia*'s reign they assaulted the *Romans* afresh, but were again repulsed, and then made peace on this condition, that they should on the behalf of the Empire invade the *Barbarian* kingdoms in *Spain*: and this they did, together with the *Romans*, in the years 417 and 418, overthrowing the *Alans* and part of the *Vandals*. Then they received *Aquitain* of the Emperor by a full donation, leaving their conquests in *Spain* to the Emperor: and thereby the seats of the conquered *Alans* came into the hands of the *Romans*. In the year 455, *Theoderic*, assisted by the *Burgundians*, invaded *Spain*, which was then almost all subject to the *Suevians*, and took a part of it from them. A.C. 506, the *Goths* were driven out of *Gallia* by the *Franks*. A.C. 585, they conquered the *Suevian* kingdom, and became Lords of all *Spain*. A.C. 713, the *Saracens* invaded them, but in time they recovered their dominions, and have reigned in *Spain* ever since.

4. The Kings of the *Alans* in *Gallia* were *Goar*, *Sambida*, *Eocharic*, *Sangibanus*, *Beurgus*, &c. Under *Goar* they invaded *Gallia* A.C. 407, <51> and had seats given them near the *Rhine*, A.C. 412. Under *Sambida*, whom *Bucher* makes the successor, if not the son of *Goar*, they had the territories of *Valence* given them by *Ætius* the Emperor's General, A.C. 440. Under *Eocharic* they conquered a region of the rebelling *Galli Arborici*, given them also by *Ætius*. This region was from them named *Alenconium*, quasi *Alanorum conventus*. Under *Sangibanus* they were invaded, and their regal city *Orleans* was besieged by *Attila* King of the *Hunns*, with a vast army of 500000 men. *Ætius* and the *Barbarian* Kings of *Gallia* came to raise the siege, and beat the *Hunns* in a very memorable battle, A.C. 451, in *campis Catalaunicis*, so called from these *Alans* mixt with the *Chatti*. The region is now called *Campania* or *Champagne*. In that battle were slain on both sides 162000 men. A year or two after, *Attila* returned with an immense army to conquer this kingdom, but was again beaten by them and the *Visigoths* together in a battle of three days continuance, with a slaughter almost as great as the former. Under *Beurgus*, or *Biorgor*, they infested *Gallia* round about, till the reign of *Maximus* the Emperor; and then they passed the *Alps* in winter, and came into *Liguria*, but were there beaten, and *Beurgus* slain, by *Ricimer* commander of the Emperor's forces, A.C. 464. Afterwards they <52> were again beaten, by the joint force of *Odoacer* King of *Italy* and *Childeric* King of the *Franks*, about the year 480, and again by *Theudobert* King of the *Austrian Franks* about the year 511.

5. The Kings of the *Burgundians* were, A.C. 407 *Gundicar*, 436 *Gundioc*, 467 *Bilimer*, 473 *Gundobaldus* with his brothers, 510 *Sigismund*, 517 *Godomarus*. Under *Gundicar* they invaded *Gallia* A.C. 407, and had seats given them by the Emperor near the *Rhine* in *Gallia Belgica*, A.C. 412. They had *Saxons* among them, and were now so potent, that *Orosius* A.C. 417 wrote of them: '*Burgundionum esse prævalidam manum, Galliæ hodieque testes sunt, in quibus præsumpta possessione consistunt*'. About the year 435 they received great overthrows by *Ætius*, and soon after by the *Hunns*: but five years after had *Savoy* granted them to be

shared with the inhabitants; and from that time became again a potent kingdom, being bounded by the river *Rhodanus*, but afterwards extending much further into the heart of *Gallia*. *Gundobald* conquered the regions about the rivers *Araris* and *Rhodanus*, with the territories of *Marseilles*; and invading *Italy* in the time of the Emperor *Glycerius*, conquered all his brethren. *Godomarus* made *Orleans* his royal seat: whence the kingdom was called *Regnum Aurelianorum*. He was conquered by *Clotharius* and *Childebert*, Kings of the <53> *Franks*, A.C. 526. From thenceforward this kingdom was sometimes united to the kingdom of the *Franks*, and sometimes divided from it, till the reign of *Charles the great*, who made his son *Carolottus* King of *Burgundy*. From that time, for about 300 years together, it enjoyed its proper Kings; and was then broken into the Dukedom of *Burgundy*, County of *Burgundy*, and County of *Savoy*; and afterwards those were broken into other lesser Counties.

6. The Kings of the *Franks* were, A.C. 407 *Theudomir*, 417 *Pharamond*, 428 *Clodio*, 448 *Merovæus*, 456 *Childeric*, 482 *Clodovæus*, &c. *Windeline* and *Bucher*, two of the most diligent searchers into the originals of this kingdom, make it begin the same year with the *Barbarian* invasions of *Gallia*, that is, A.C. 407. Of the first Kings there is in *Labbe's Bibliotheca M.S.* this record.

Historica quædam excerpta ex veteri stemmate genealogico Regum Franciæ.

Genobaldus, Marcomerus, Suno, Theodemeris. Isti duces vel reguli extiterunt à principio gentis Francorum diversis temporibus. Sed incertum relinquantur historici quali sibi procreations lineâ successerunt.

Pharamundus: sub hoc rege suo primo Franci legibus se subdunt, quas primores eorum tulerunt Wisogastus, Atrogastus, Salegastus. <54> Chlochilo. Iste, transito Rheno, Romanos in Carbonaria sylva devicit, Camaracum cepit & obtinuit, annis 20 regnavit. Sub hoc rege Franci usque Summam progressi sunt.

Merovechus. Sub hoc rege Franci Trevirim destruunt, Metim succendunt, usque Aurelianum perveniunt.

Now for *Genobaldus*, *Marcomer* and *Suno*, they were captains of the *Transrhenane Franks* in the reign of *Theodosius*, and concern us not. We are to begin with *Theudomir* the first King of the rebelling *Salii*, called *Didio* by *Ivo Carnotensis*, and *Thiedo* and *Theudemerus* by *Rhenanus*. His face is extant in a coin of gold found with this inscription, *THEUDEMIR REX*, published by *Petavius*, and still or lately extant, as *Windeline* testifies: which shews that he was a King, and that in *Gallia*; seeing that rude *Germany* understood not then the coining of money, nor used either *Latin* words or letters. He was the son of *Ricimer*, or *Richomer*, the favourite of the Emperor *Theodosius*; and so being a *Roman Frank*, and of the *Salian* royal blood, they therefore upon the rebellion made him King. The whole time of his reign you have stated in *Excerptis Gregorii Turonensis è Fredigario*, cap. 5, 6, 7, 8. where the making him King, the tyranny of *Jovinus*, the slaughter of the associates of *Jovinus*, the second taking of *Triers* by the *Franks*, and their war with *Castinus*, in which <55> this King was slain, are as a series of successive things thus set down in order. *Extinctis Ducibus in Francis, denuo Reges creantur ex eadem stirpe qua prius fuerant. Eodem tempore Jovinus ornatus regios assumpsit. Constantinus fugam versus Italiam dirigit; missis a Jovino Principe percussoribus super Mentio flumine, capite truncatur. Multi nobilium jussu Jovini apud Avernis capti, & a ducibus Honorii crudeliter interempti sunt. Trevirorum civitas, factione unius ex senatoribus nomine Lucii, à Francis captâ & incensa est. — Castinus Domesticorum Comes expeditionem accipit contra Francos, &c.* Then returning to speak of *Theudomir*, he adds: *Franci electum à se regem, sicut prius fuerat, crinitum inquirentes diligenter ex genere Priami, Frigi & Francionis, super se crearunt nomine Theudemereum filium Richemeris, qui in hoc prælio quod supra memini, à Romanis interfectus est*; that is, in the battle with *Castinus's* army. Of his death *Gregory Turonensis* makes this further mention: *In consularibus legimus Theodemereum regem Francorum filium Ricimeris quondam, & Ascilam matrem ejus, gladio interfectos.*

Upon this victory of the *Romans*, the *Franks* and rebelling *Gauls*, who in the time of *Theudomir* were at war with one another, united to strengthen themselves, as *Ordericus* <56> *Vitalis*^[1] thus mentions. *Cum Galli prius contra Romanos rebellâssent, Franci iis sociati sunt, & pariter juncti, Ferramundum Sunonis ducis filium, sibi regem præfecerunt.* *Prosper* sets down the time; *Anno 25 Honorii, Pharamundus regnat in Francia*. This, *Bucher* well observes, refers to the end of the year 416, or the beginning of the next year, dating the years of *Honorius* from the death of *Valentinian*; and argues well, that at this time *Pharamond* was not only King by the constitution of the *Franks*, but crowned also by the consent of *Honorius*, and had a part of *Gallia* assigned him by covenant. And this might be the cause that *Roman* writers reckoned him the first

King: which some not understanding, have reputed him the founder of this kingdom by an army of the *Transrhenane Franks*. He might come with such an army, but he succeeded *Theudomir* by right of blood and consent of the people. For the above cited passage of *Fredigarius*, *Extinctis Ducibus, in Francis denuo Reges creantur ex eadem stirpe quâ prius fuerant*, implies that the kingdom continued to this new elected family during the reign of more Kings than one. If you date the years of *Honorius* from the death of his father, the reign of *Pharamond* might begin two years later than is assigned by *Bucher*. The *Salique* laws made in his <57> reign, which are yet extant, shew by their name that it was the kingdom of the *Salii* over which he reigned; and, by the pecuniary mulcts in them, that the place where he reigned abounded much with money, and consequently was within the Empire; rude *Germany* knowing not the use of money, till they mixed with the *Romans*. In the Preface also to the *Salique* laws, written and prefixed to them soon after the conversion of the *Franks* to the Christian religion, that is, in the end of the reign of *Merovæus*, or soon after, the original of this kingdom is thus described: *Hæc enim gens, quæ fortis dum esset & robore valida, Romanorum jugum durissimum de suis cervicibus excussit pugnando, &c.* This kingdom therefore was erected, not by invasion but by rebellion, as was described above. *Prosper* in registering their Kings in order, tells us: *Pharamundus regnat in Francia; Clodio regnat in Francia; Merovæus regnat in Francia*: and who can imagine but that in all these places he meant one and the same *Francia*? And yet 'tis certain that the *Francia* of *Merovæus* was in *Gallia*.

Yet the father of *Pharamond*, being king of a body of *Franks* in *Germany* in the reign of the Emperor *Theodosius*, as above, *Pharamond* might reign over the same *Franks* in *Germany* before he succeeded *Theudomir* in the kingdom <58> of the *Salians* within the Empire, and even before *Theudomir* began his reign; suppose in the first year of *Honorius*, or when those *Franks* being repulsed by *Stilico*, lost their Kings *Marcomir* and *Suno*, one of which was the father of *Pharamond*: and the *Roman Franks*, after the death of *Theudomir*, might invite *Pharamond* with his people from beyond the *Rhine*. But we are not to regard the reign of *Pharamond* in *Germany*: we are to date this kingdom from its rise within the Empire, and to look upon it as strengthened by the access of other *Franks* coming from beyond the *Rhine*, whether in the reign of this King or in that of his successor *Clodio*. For in the last year of *Pharamond*'s reign, *Ætius* took from him a part of his possession in *Gallia*: but his successor *Clodio*, whom *Fredigarius* represents as the son of *Theudomir*, and some call *Clogio*, *Cloio*, and *Claudius*, inviting from beyond the *Rhine* a great body of *Franks*, recovered all, and carried on their conquests as far as the river *Soame*. Then those *Franks* dividing conquests with him, erected certain new kingdoms at *Cologne* and *Cambray*, and some other cities: all which were afterwards conquered by *Clodovæus*, who also drove the *Goths* out of *Gallia*, and fix'd his seat at *Paris*, where it has continued ever since. And this was the original of the present kingdom of *France*.

<59>

7. The Kings of *Britain* were, A.C. 407 or 408, *Marcus*, *Gratian*, and *Constantine* successively; A.C. 425 *Vortigern*, 466 *Aurelius Ambrosius*, 498 *Uther Pendraco*, 508 *Arthur*, 542 *Constantinus*, 545 *Aurelius Cunanus*, 578 *Vortiporeus*, 581 *Malgo*, 586 *Careticus*, 613 *Cadwan*, 635 *Cadwalin*, 676 *Cadwallader*. The three first were *Roman* Tyrants, who revolted from the Empire. *Orosius*, *Prosper* and *Zosimus* connect their revolt with the irruptions of the *Barbarians* into *Gallia*, as consequent thereunto. *Prosper*, with whom *Zosimus* agrees, puts it in the year which began the day after that irruption. The just time I thus collect: *Marcus* reigned not many days, *Gratian* four months, and *Constantine* three years. He was slain the year after the taking of *Rome*, that is A.C. 411, 14 Kal. *Octob.* Whence the revolt was in Spring A.C. 408. *Sozomen* joins *Constantine*'s expedition into *Gallia* with *Arcadius*'s death, or the times a little after; and *Arcadius* died A.C. 408 *May* the 1st. Now tho the reign of these Tyrants was but short, yet they gave a beginning to the kingdom of *Britain*, and so may be reckoned the three first Kings, especially since the posterity of *Constantine*, viz. his sons *Aurelius Ambrosius*, and *Uther Pendraco*, and his grandson *Arthur*, reigned afterwards. For from the time of the revolt of these Tyrants *Britain* <60> continued a distinct kingdom absolved from subjection to the Empire, the Emperor not being able to spare soldiers to be sent thither to receive and keep the Island, and therefore neglecting it; as we learn by unquestionable records. For *Prosper* tells us; A.C. 410, *Variane Cos.* *Hac tempestate præ valetudine Romanorum, vires funditus attenuatæ Britanniae.* And *Sigebert*, conjoining this with the siege of *Rome*, saith: *Britannorum vires attenuatæ, & substrahunt se à Romanorum dominatione.* And *Zosimus lib. 6.* *The Transrhenane Barbarians invading all places, reduced the inhabitants of the island of Britain, and also certain Celtic nations to that pass, that they fell off from the Roman Empire; and being no longer obedient to the Roman laws, κατ' ἐαυτὸν βιατεύειν, they lived in separate bodies after their own pleasure. The Britons therefore taking up arms, and hazarding*

themselves for their own safety, freed their cities from the imminent Barbarians. In like manner all Brabant and some other Provinces of the Gauls imitating the Britons, freed themselves also, ejecting the Roman Presidents, and forming themselves into a sort of commonwealth according to their own pleasure. This rebellion of Britain and the Celtic nations happened when Constantine usurped the kingdom. So also Procopius, lib. 1. Vandal. speaking of the same Constantine, <61> saith: Constantine being overcome in battle, was slain with his children: Βρεταννίαν μὲν τοι Ρωμαῖοι ἀνασώσασθαι οὐκετι ἔχον ἀλλ' οὐσα ὑπὸ τυράννους ἅπ' αὐτοῦ ἔμενε. Yet the Romans could not recover Britain any more, but from that time it remained under Tyrants. And Beda, l. 1. c. 11. *Fracta est Roma à Gothis anno 1164 suæ conditionis; ex quo tempore Romani in Britannia regnare cessaverunt.* And Ethelwaldus: *A tempore Romæ à Gothis expugnata, cessavit imperium Romanorum à Britannia insula, & ab aliis; quas sub iugo servitutis tenebant, multis terris.* And Theodoret, serm. 9. de curand. Græc. affect. about the year 424, reckons the Britons among the nations which were not then in subjection to the Roman Empire. Thus Sigonius: *ad annum 411, Imperium Romanorum post excessum Constantini in Britannia nullum fuit.*

Between the death of Constantine and the reign of Vortigern was an interregnum of about 14 years, in which the Britons had wars with the Picts and Scots, and twice obtained the assistance of a Roman Legion, who drove out the enemy, but told them positively at their departure that they would come no more. Of Vortigern's beginning to reign there is this record in an old Chronicle in Nennius, quoted by Camden and others: *Guortigernus tenuit imperium in Britannia, Theodosio & Valentiniano Coss. [viz. <62> A.C. 425.] & in quarto anno regni sui Saxones ad Britanniam venerunt, Felice & Tauro Coss. [viz. A.C. 428.]* This coming of the Saxons, Sigebert refers to the 4th year of Valentinian, which falls in with the year 428 assigned by this Chronicle: and two years after, the Saxons together with the Picts were beaten by the Britons. Afterwards in the reign of Martian the Emperor, that is, between the years 450 and 456, the Saxons under Hengist were called in by the Britons, but six years after revolted from them, made war upon them with various success, and by degrees succeeded them. Yet the Britons continued a flourishing kingdom till the reign of Careticus; and the war between the two nations continued till the pontificate of Sergius A.C. 688.^[2]

8. The Kings of the Hunns were, A.C. 406 Octar and Rugila, 433 Bleda and Attila. Octar and Rugila were the brothers of Munzuc King of the Hunns in Gothia beyond the Danube; and Bleda and Attila were his sons, and Munzuc was the son of Balamir. The two first, as Jornandes tells us, were Kings of the Hunns, but not of them all; and had the two last for their successors. I date the reign of the Hunns in Pannonia from the time that the Vandals and Alans relinquished Pannonia to them, A.C. 407. Sigonius from the time that the <63> Visigoths relinquished Pannonia A. C. 408. Constat, saith he, *quod Gothis ex Illyrico profectis, Hunni successerunt, atque imprimis Pannoniam tenuerunt. Neque enim Honorius viribus ad resistendum in tantis difficultatibus destitutus, prorsus eos prohibere potuit, sed meliore consilio, animo ad pacem converso, fædus cum eis, datis acceptisque obsidibus fecit; ex quibus qui dati sunt, Ætius, qui etiam Alarico tributus fuerat, præcipue memoratur.* How Ætius was hostage to the Goths and Hunns is related by Frigeridus, who when he had mentioned that Theodosius Emperor of the East had sent grievous commands to John, who after the death of Honorius had usurped the crown of the Western Empire, he subjoins: *Iis permotus Johannes, Ætium id tempus curam palatii gerentem cum ingenti auri pondere ad Chunnos transmisit, notos sibi obsidiatûs sui tempore & familiari amicitia devinctos* — And a little after: *Ætius tribus annis Alarici obses, dehinc Chunnorum, postea Carpilionis gener ex Comite domesticorum & Joannis curopalatae.* Now Bucher shews that Ætius was hostage to Alaric till the year 410, when Alaric died, and to the Hunns between the years 411 and 415, and son-in-law to Carpilio about the year 417 or 418, and Curopalates to John about the end of the year 423. Whence 'tis probable that he became hostage to <64> the Hunns about the year 412 or 413, when Honorius made leagues with almost all the barbarous nations, and granted them seats: but I had rather say with Sigonius, that Ætius became hostage to Alaric A.C. 403. It is further manifest out of Prosper, that the Hunns were in quiet possession of Pannonia in the year 432. For in the first book of Eusebius's Chronicle Prosper writes: *Anno decimo post obitum Honorii, cum ad Chunnorum gentem cui tunc Rugila præerat, post prælium cum Bonifacio se Ætius contulisset, impetrato auxilio ad Romanorum solum regreditur.* And in the second book: *Ætio & Valerio Coss. Ætius depositâ potestate profugus ad Hunnos in Pannonia pervenit, quorum amicitia auxilioque usus, pacem principum interpellata potestatis obtinuit.* Hereby it appears that at this time Rugila, or as Maximus calls him, Rechilla, reigned over the Hunns in Pannonia; and that Pannonia was not now so much as accounted within the soil of the Empire, being formerly granted away to the Hunns; and that these were the very same body of Hunns with which Ætius had, in the time of his being an hostage, contracted friendship: by virtue of which, as he solicited them before to the aid of John the Tyrant A.C. 424, so now he procured their intercession for himself with the Emperor. Octar died A.C. 430; for Socrates tells

us, that <65> about that time the *Burgundians* having been newly vexed by the *Hunns*, upon intelligence of *Octar's* death, seeing them without a leader, set upon them suddenly with so much vigour, that 3000 *Burgundians* slew 10000 *Hunns*. Of *Rugila's* being now King in *Pannonia* you have heard already. He died A.C. 433, and was succeeded by *Bleda*, as *Prosper* and *Maximus* inform us. This *Bleda* with his brother *Attila* were before this time Kings of the *Hunns* beyond the *Danube*, their father *Munzuc's* kingdom being divided between them; and now they united the kingdom of *Pannonia* to their own. Whence *Paulus Diaconus* saith, they did *regnum intra Pannoniam Daciamque gerere*. In the year 441, they began to invade the Empire afresh, adding to the *Pannonian* forces new and great armies from *Scythia*. But this war was presently composed, and then *Attila*, seeing *Bleda* inclined to peace, slew him, A.C. 444, inherited his dominions, and invaded the Empire again. At length, after various great wars with the *Romans*, *Attila* perished A.C. 454; and his sons quarrelling about his dominions, gave occasion to the *Gepides*, *Ostrogoths* and other nations who were their subjects, to rebel and make war upon them. The same year the *Ostrogoths* had seats granted them in *Pannonia* by the Emperors *Marcian* and *Valentinian*; and with the *Romans* <66> ejected the *Hunns* out of *Pannonia*, soon after the death of *Attila*, as all historians agree. This ejection was in the reign of *Avitus*, as is mentioned in the *Chronicum Boiorum*, and in *Sidonius*, *Carm. 7 in Avitum*, which speaks thus of that Emperor.

—Cujus solum amissas post sæcula multa
Pannonias revocavit iter, jam credere promptum est
Quid faciet bellis.

The Poet means, that by the coming of *Avitus* the *Hunns* yielded more easily to the *Goths*. This was written by *Sidonius* in the beginning of the reign of *Avitus*: and his reign began in the end of the year 455, and lasted not one full year.

Jornandes tells us: *Duodecimo anno regni Valiæ, quando & Hunni post pene quinquaginta annos invasa Pannonia, à Romanis & Gothis expulsi sunt*. And *Marcellinus: Hierio & Ardaburio Coss. Pannoniæ, quæ per quinquaginta annos ab Hunnis retinebantur, à Romanis receptæ sunt*: whence it should seem that the *Hunns* invaded and held *Pannonia* from the year 378 or 379 to the year 427, and then were driven out of it. But this is a plain mistake: for it is certain that the Emperor *Theodosius* left the Empire entire; and we have shewed out of *Prosper*, that <67> the *Hunns* were in quiet possession of *Pannonia* in the year 432. The *Visigoths* in those days had nothing to do with *Pannonia*, and the *Ostrogoths* continued subject to the *Hunns* till the death of *Attila*, A.C. 454; and *Valia* King of the *Visigoths* did not reign twelve years. He began his reign in the end of the year 415, reigned three years, and was slain A.C. 419, as *Idacius*, *Isidorus*, and the *Spanish* manuscript *Chronicles* seen by *Grotius* testify. And *Olympiodorus*, who carries his history only to the year 425, sets down therein the death of *Valia* King of the *Visigoths*, and conjoins it with that of *Constantius* which happened A.C. 420. Wherefore the *Valia* of *Jornandes*, who reigned at the least twelve years, is some other King. And I suspect that this name hath been put by mistake for *Valamir* King of the *Ostrogoths*: for the action recorded was of the *Romans* and *Ostrogoths* driving the *Hunns* out of *Pannonia* after the death of *Attila*; and it is not likely that the historian would refer the history of the *Ostrogoths* to the years of the *Visigothic* Kings. This action happened in the end of the year 455, which I take to be the twelfth year of *Valamir* in *Pannonia*, and which was almost fifty years after the year 406, in which the *Hunns* succeeded the *Vandals* and *Alans* in *Pannonia*. Upon the ceasing of the line of *Hunni* <68> *mund* the son of *Hermaneric*, the *Ostrogoths* lived without Kings of their own nation about forty years together, being subject to the *Hunns*. And when *Alaric* began to make war upon the *Romans*, which was in the year 444, he made *Valamir*, with his brothers *Theodomir* and *Videmir* the grandsons of *Vinethar*, captains or kings of these *Ostrogoths* under him. In the twelfth year of *Valamir's* reign dated from thence, the *Hunns* were driven out of *Pannonia*.

Yet the *Hunns* were not so ejected, but that they had further contests with the *Romans*, till the head of *Denfix* the son of *Attila*, was carried to *Constantinople*, A.C. 469, in the Consulship of *Zeno* and *Marcian*, as *Marcellinus* relates. Nor were they yet totally ejected the Empire: for besides their reliques in *Pannonia*, *Sigonius* tells us, that when the Emperors *Marcian* and *Valentinian* granted *Pannonia* to the *Goths*, which was in the year 454, they granted part of *Illyricum* to some of the *Hunns* and *Sarmatians*. And in the year 526, when the *Lombards* removing into *Pannonia* made war there with the *Gepides*, the *Avars*, a part of the *Hunns*, who had taken the name of *Avars* from one of their Kings, assisted the *Lombards* in that war; and the *Lombards* afterwards, when they went into *Italy*, left their seats in *Pannonia* to the *Avars* in recompence of their friendship. <69> From that time the *Hunns* grew again very powerful; their Kings, whom they called

Chagan, troubling the Empire much in the reigns of the Emperors *Mauritius*, *Phocas*, and *Heraclius*: and this is the original of the present kingdom of *Hungary*, which from these *Avars* and other *Hunns* mixed together, took the name of *Hun-Avaria*, and by contraction *Hungary*.

9. The *Lombards*, before they came over the *Danube*, were commanded by two captains, *Ibor* and *Ayon*: after whose death they had Kings, *Agilmund*, *Lamisso*, *Lechu*, *Hildehoc*, *Gudehoc*, *Classo*, *Tato*, *Wacho*, *Walter*, *Audoin*, *Alboin*, *Cleophis*, &c. *Agilmund* was the son of *Ayon*, who became their King, according to *Prosper*, in the Consulship of *Honorius* and *Theodosius* A.C. 389, reigned thirty three years, according to *Paulus Warnefridus*, and was slain in battle by the *Bulgarians*. *Prosper* places his death in the Consulship of *Marinianus* and *Asclepiodorus*, A.C. 423. *Lamisso* routed the *Bulgarians*, and reigned three years, and *Lechu* almost forty. *Gudehoc* was contemporary to *Odoacer* King of the *Heruli* in *Italy*, and led his people from *Pannonia* into *Rugia*, a country on the north side of *Noricum* next beyond the *Danube*; from whence *Odoacer* then carried his people into *Italy*. *Tato* overthrew the kingdom of the *Heruli* beyond the *Danube*. <70> *Wacho* conquered the *Suevians*, a kingdom then bounded on the east by *Bavaria*, on the west by *France*, and on the south by the *Burgundians*. *Audoin* returned into *Pannonia* A.C. 526, and there overcame the *Gepides*. *Alboin* A.C. 551 overthrew the kingdom of the *Gepides*, and slew their King *Chunnimund*: A.C. 563 he assisted the Greek Emperor against *Totila* King of the *Ostrogoths* in *Italy*; and A.C. 568 led his people out of *Pannonia* into *Lombardy*, where they reigned till the year 774.

According to *Paulus Diaconus*, the *Lombards* with many other *Gothic* nations came into the Empire from beyond the *Danube* in the reign of *Arcadius* and *Honorius*, that is, between the years 395 and 408. But they might come in a little earlier: for we are told that the *Lombards*, under their captains *Ibor* and *Ayon*, beat the *Vandals* in battle; and *Prosper* placeth this victory in the Consulship of *Ausonius* and *Olybrius*, that is, A.C. 379. Before this war the *Vandals* had remained quiet forty <71> years in the seats granted them in *Pannonia* by *Constantine* the great. And therefore if these were the same *Vandals*, this war must have been in *Pannonia*; and might be occasioned by the coming of the *Lombards* over the *Danube* into *Pannonia*, a year or two before the battle; and so have put an end to that quiet which had lasted forty years. After *Gratian* and *Theodosius* had quieted the *Barbarians*, they might either retire over the *Danube*, or continue quiet under the *Romans* till the death of *Theodosius*; and then either invade the Empire anew, or throw off all subjection to it. By their wars, first with the *Vandals*, and then with the *Bulgarians*, a *Scythian* nation so called from the river *Volga* whence they came; it appears that even in those days they were a kingdom not contemptible.

10. These nine kingdoms being rent away, we are next to consider the residue of the *Western Empire*. While this Empire continued entire, it was the Beast itself: but the residue thereof is only a part of it. Now if this part be considered as a horn, the reign of this horn may be dated from the translation of the imperial seat from *Rome* to *Ravenna*, which was in *October* A.C. 408. For then the Emperor *Honorius*, fearing that *Alaric* would besiege him in *Rome*, if he staid there, retired to *Millain*, and thence to *Ravenna*: and the ensuing siege and sacking of *Rome* confirmed his residence there, so that he and his successors ever after made it their home. Accordingly *Macchiavel* in his *Florentine* history writes, that *Valentinian* having left *Rome*, translated the seat of the Empire to *Ravenna*.

<72>

Rhætia belonged to the *Western* Emperors, so long as that Empire stood; and then it descended, with *Italy* and the *Roman* Senate, to *Odoacer* King of the *Heruli* in *Italy*, and after him to *Theoderic* King of the *Ostrogoths* and his successors, by the grant of the Greek Emperors. Upon the death of *Valentinian* the second, the *Alemans* and *Suevians* invaded *Rhætia* A.C. 455. But I do not find they erected any settled kingdom there: for in the year 457, while they were yet depopulating *Rhætia*, they were attacked and beaten by *Burto* Master of the horse to the Emperor *Majoranus*; and I hear nothing more of their invading *Rhætia*. *Clodovæus* King of *France*, in or about the year 496, conquered a kingdom of the *Alemans*, and slew their last King *Ermeric*. But this kingdom was seated in *Germany*, and only bordered upon *Rhætia*: for its people fled from *Clodovæus* into the neighbouring kingdom of the *Ostrogoths* under *Theoderic*, who received them as friends, and wrote a friendly letter to *Clodovæus* in their behalf: and by this means they became inhabitants of *Rhætia*, as subjects under the dominion of the *Ostrogoths*.

When the Greek Emperor conquered the *Ostrogoths*, he succeeded them in the kingdom of *Ravenna*, not only by right of conquest but also by right of inheritance, the *Roman* Senate <73> still going along with this

kingdom. Therefore we may reckon that this kingdom continued in the Exarchate of *Ravenna* and Senate of *Rome*: for the remainder of the *Western Empire* went along with the Senate of *Rome*, by reason of the right which this Senate still retained, and at length exerted, of chusing a new *Western* Emperor.

I have now enumerated the ten kingdoms, into which the *Western Empire* became divided at its first breaking, that is, at the time of *Rome's* being besieged and taken by the *Goths*. Some of these kingdoms at length fell, and new ones arose: but whatever was their number afterwards, they are still called the *Ten Kings* from their first number.

[1] Apud Bucherum, l. 14. c. 9. n. 8.

[2] Rolevinc's Antiqua Saxon. l. 1. c. 6.
