

Part I, Chapter V: Of the Kingdoms represented by the feet of the Image composed of iron and clay

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CHAP. V.

Of the Kingdoms represented by the feet of the Image composed of iron and clay.

Dacia was a large country bounded on the south by the *Danube*, on the east by the *Euxine* sea, on the north by the river *Neister* and the mountain *Crapac*, and on the west by the river *Tibesis*, or *Teys*, which runs southward into the *Danube* a little above *Belgrade*. It comprehended the countries now called *Transylvania*, *Moldavia*, and *Wallachia*, and the eastern part of the upper *Hungary*. Its antient inhabitants were called *Getae* by the *Greeks*, *Daci* by the *Latins*, and *Goths* by themselves. *Alexander* the great attacked them, and *Trajan* conquered them, and reduced their country into a Province of the *Roman* Empire: and thereby the propagation of the Gospel among them was much promoted. They were composed of several *Gothic* nations, called *Ostrogoths*, *Visigoths*, *Vandals*, *Gepides*, *Lombards*, *Burgundians*, *Alans*, &c. who all agreed in their manners, and spake the same language, <34> as *Procopius* represents. While they lived under the *Romans*, the *Goths* or *Ostrogoths* were seated in the eastern parts of *Dacia*, the *Vandals* in the western part upon the river *Teys*, where the rivers *Maresh* and *Keresh* run into it. The *Visigoths* were between them. The *Gepides*, according to *Jornandes*, were upon the *Vistula*. The *Burgundians*, a *Vandalic* nation, were between the *Vistula* and the southern fountain of the *Boristhenes*, at some distance from the mountain *Crapac* northwards, where *Ptolemy* places them, by the names of *Phrugundiones* and *Burgiones*.^[1] The *Alans*, another *Gothic* nation, were between the northern fountain of the *Boristhenes* and the mouth of the river *Tanais*, where *Ptolemy* placeth the mountain *Alanus*, and western side of the *Palus Mæotis*.

These nations continued under the dominion of the *Romans* till the second year of the Emperor *Philip*, and then for want of their military pay began to revolt; the *Ostrogoths* setting up a kingdom, which, under their Kings *Ostrogotha*, *Cniva*, *Araric*, *Geperic*, and *Hermanaric*, increased till the year of Christ 376; and then by an incursion of the *Huns* from beyond the *Tanais*, and the death of *Hermanaric*, brake into several smaller kingdoms. *Hunnimund*, the son of *Hermanaric*, became King over the *Ostrogoths*; *Fridigern* over the *Visigoths*; *Winithar*, <35> or *Vinithar*, over a part of the *Goths* called *Gruthungi* by *Ammian*, *Gothunni* by *Claudian*, and *Sarmatæ* and *Scythians* by others: *Athanaric* reign'd over another part of the *Goths* in *Dacia*, called *Thervingi*; *Box* over the *Antes* in *Sarmatia*; and the *Gepides* had also their King. The *Vandals* fled over the *Danube* from *Geberic* in the latter end of the reign of *Constantine* the great, and had seats granted them in *Pannonia* by that Emperor, where they lived quietly forty years, viz. till the year 377, when several *Gothic* nations flying from the *Huns* came over the *Danube*, and had seats granted them in *Mæsia* and *Thrace* by

the Greek Emperor *Valens*. But the next year they revolted, called in some *Goths*, *Alans* and *Hunns*, from beyond the *Danube*, and routed the *Roman* army, slew the Emperor *Valens*, and spread themselves into *Greece* and *Pannonia* as far as the *Alps*. In the years 379 and 380 they were checked by the arms of the Emperors *Gratian* and *Theodosius*, and made a submissive peace; the *Visigoths* and *Thervingi* returned to their seats in *Mæsia* and *Thrace*, the *Hunns* retired over the *Danube*, and the *Alans* and *Gruthingi* obtained seats in *Pannonia*.

About the year 373, or 374, the *Burgundians* rose from their seats upon the *Vistula*, with an army of eighty thousand men to invade *Gallia*; <36> and being opposed, seated themselves upon the northern side of the *Rhine* over against *Mentz*. In the year 358, a body of the *Salian Franks*, with their King, coming from the river *Sala*, were received into the Empire by the Emperor *Julian*, and seated in *Gallia* between *Brabant* and the *Rhine*: and their King *Mellobaudes* was made *Comes domesticorum*, by the Emperor *Gratian*. *Richomer*, another noble *Salian Frank*, was made *Comes domesticorum*, and *Magister utriusque Militiæ*, by *Theodosius*; and A.C. 384, was Consul with *Clearchus*. He was a great favourite of *Theodosius*, and accompanied him in his wars against *Eugenius*, but died in the expedition, and left a son called *Theudomir*, who afterwards became King of the *Salian Franks* in *Brabant*. In the time of this war some *Franks* from beyond the *Rhine* invaded *Gallia* under the conduct of *Genobald*, *Marcomir* and *Suno*, but were repulsed by *Stilico*; and *Marcomir* being slain, was succeeded in *Germany* by his son *Pharamond*.

While these nations remained quiet within the Empire, subject to the *Romans*, many others continued so beyond the *Danube* till the death of the Emperor *Theodosius*, and then rose up in arms. For *Paulus Diaconus* in his *Historia Miscell. lib. xiv.* speaking of the times next after the death of this Emperor, tells us: *Eodem tempore erant Gothi & aliæ gentes maximæ trans Danubium habitantes: ex quibus rationabiliores quatuor sunt, Gothi scilicet, Huisogothi, Gepides & Vandali; & nomen tantum & nihil aliud mutantes. Isti sub Arcadio & Honorio Danubium transeuntes, locati sunt in terra Romanorum: & Gepides quidem, ex quibus postea divisi sunt Longobardi & Avars, villas, quæ sunt circa Singidonum & Sirmium, habitavere:* and *Procopius* in the beginning of his *Historia Vandalica* writes to the same purpose. Hitherto the *Western Empire* continued entire, but now broke into many kingdoms.

Theodosius died A.C. 395; and then the *Visigoths*, under the conduct of *Alaric* the successor of *Fridigern*, rose from their seats in *Thrace*, and wasted *Macedon*, *Thessaly*, *Achaia*, *Peloponnesus*, and *Epirus*, with fire and sword for five years together; when turning westward, they invaded *Dalmatia*, *Illyricum* and *Pannonia*; and from thence went into *Italy* A.C. 402; and the next year were so beaten at *Pollentia* and *Verona*, by *Stilico* the commander of the forces of the *Western Empire*, that *Claudian* calls the remainder of the forces of *Alaric*, *tanta ex gente reliquias breves, and Prudentius, Gentem deletam*. Thereupon *Alaric* made peace with the Emperor, being so far humbled, that *Orosius* saith, he did, *pro pace optima & quibuscunque sedibus* <38> *suppliciter & simpliciter orare*. This peace was ratified by mutual hostages; *Ætius* was sent hostage to *Alaric*; and *Alaric* continued a free Prince in the seats now granted to him.

When *Alaric* took up arms, the nations beyond the *Danube* began to be in motion; and the next winter, between A.C. 395 and 396, a great body of *Hunns*, *Alans*, *Ostrogoths*, *Gepides*, and other northern nations, came over the frozen *Danube*, being invited by *Rufinus*: when their brethren, who had obtained seats within the Empire, took up arms also. *Jerome* calls this great multitude, *Hunns*, *Alans*, *Vandals*, *Goths*, *Sarmatians*, *Quades*, and *Marcomans*; and saith, that they invaded all places between *Constantinople* and the *Julian Alps*, wasting *Scythia*, *Thrace*, *Macedon*, *Dardania*, *Dacia*, *Thessaly*, *Achaia*, *Epirus*, *Dalmatia*, and all *Pannonia*. The *Suevians* also invaded *Rhætia*: for when *Alaric* ravaged *Pannonia*, the *Romans* were defending *Rhætia*; which gave *Alaric* an opportunity of invading *Italy*, as *Claudian* thus mentions.

*Non nisi perfidiâ nacti penetrabile tempus,
Irrupere Getæ, nostras dum Rhætia vires
Occupat, atque alio desudant Marte cohortes.*

<39>

And when *Alaric* went from those parts into *Italy*, some other barbarous nations invaded *Noricum* and *Vindelicia*, as the same Poet *Claudian* thus writes:

——*Jam fœdera gentes*

*Exuerant, Latiiue auditâ clade feroces
Vendelicos saltus & Norica rura tenebant.*

This was in the years 402 and 403. And among these nations I reckon the *Suevians*, *Quades*, and *Marcomans*; for they were all in arms at this time. The *Quades* and *Marcomans* were *Suevian* nations; and they and the *Suevians* came originally from *Bohemia*, and the river *Suevus* or *Sprake* in *Lusatia*; and were now united under one common King called *Ermeric*, who soon after led them into *Gallia*. The *Vandals* and *Alans* might also about this time extend themselves into *Noricum*. *Uldin* also with a great body of *Hunns* passed the *Danube* about the time of *Chrysostom's* banishment, that is, A.C. 404, and wasted *Thrace* and *Mæsia*. *Radagaisus*, King of the *Gruthunni* and successor of *Winithar*, inviting over more barbarians from beyond the *Danube*, invaded *Italy* with an army of above two hundred thousand *Goths*; and within a year or two, A.C. 405 or 406., was overcome by *Stilico*, <40> and perished with his army. In this war *Stilico* was assisted with a great body of *Hunns* and *Ostrogoths*, under the conduct of *Uldin* and *Sarus*, who were hired by the Emperor *Honorius*. In all this confusion it was necessary for the *Lombards* in *Pannonia* to arm themselves in their own defence, and assert their liberty, the *Romans* being no longer able to protect them.

And now *Stilico* purposing to make himself Emperor, procured a military prefecture for *Alaric*, and sent him into the *East* in the service of *Honorius* the *Western* Emperor, committing some *Roman* troops to his conduct to strengthen his army of *Goths*, and promising to follow soon after with his own army. His pretence was to recover some regions of *Illyricum*, which the *Eastern* Emperor was accused to detain injuriously from the *Western*; but his secret design was to make himself Emperor, by the assistance of the *Vandals* and their allies: for he himself was a *Vandal*. For facilitating this design, he invited a great body of the barbarous nations to invade the *Western Empire*, while he and *Alaric* invaded the *Eastern*. And these nations under their several Kings, the *Vandals* under *Godegisilus*, the *Alans* in two bodies, the one under *Goar*, the other under *Resplendial*, and the *Suevians*, *Quades*, and *Marcomans*, under *Ermeric*, marched thro' *Rhætia* to the side of the *Rhine*, <41> leaving their seats in *Pannonia* to the *Hunns* and *Ostrogoths*, and joined the *Burgundians* under *Gundicar*, and ruffled the *Franks* in their further march. On the last of *December* A.C. 406, they passed the *Rhine* at *Ments*, and spread themselves into *Germania prima* and the adjacent regions; and amongst other actions the *Vandals* took *Triers*. Then they advanced into *Belgium*, and began to waste that country. Whereupon the *Salian Franks* in *Brabant* took up arms, and under the conduct of *Theudomir*, the son of *Ricimer*, or *Richomer*, abovementioned, made so stout a resistance, that they slew almost twenty thousand of the *Vandals*, with their King *Godegesilus*, in battel; the rest escaping only by a party of *Resplendial's* *Alans* which came timely to their assistance.

Then the *British* soldiers, alarm'd by the rumour of these things, revolted, and set up Tyrants there; first *Marcus*, whom they slew presently; then *Gratian*, whom they slew within four months; and lastly *Constantine*, under whom they invaded *Gallia* A.C. 408, being favoured by *Goar* and *Gundicar*. And *Constantine* having possessed a good part of *Gallia*, created his son *Constans Cæsar*, and sent him into *Spain* to order his affairs there, A.C. 409.

In the mean time *Resplendial*, seeing the aforesaid disaster of the *Vandals*, and that *Goar* <42> was gone over to the *Romans*, led his army from the *Rhine*; and, together with the *Suevians* and residue of the *Vandals*, went towards *Spain*; the *Franks* in the mean time prosecuting their victory so far as to retake *Triers*, which after they had plundered they left to the *Romans*. The *Barbarians* were at first stopt by the *Pyrenean* mountains, which made them spread themselves into *Aquitain*: but the next year they had the passage betrayed by some soldiers of *Constans*; and entring *Spain* 4 Kal. *Octob.* A.C. 409, they conquered every one what he could; and at length, A.C. 411, divided their conquests by lot; the *Vandals* obtained *Bætica*, and part of *Gallæcia*; the *Suevians* the rest of *Gallæcia*; and the *Alans* *Lusitania* and the *Carthaginian* Province: the Emperor for the sake of peace confirming them in those seats by grant A.C. 413.

The *Roman Franks* abovementioned, having made *Theudomir* their King, began strait after their conquest of the *Vandals* to invade their neighbours also. The first they set upon were the *Gauls* of *Brabant*:^[2] but meeting with notable resistance, they desired their alliance: and so those *Gauls* fell off from the *Romans*, and made an intimate league with the *Franks* to be as one people, marrying with one <43> another, and conforming to one another's manners, till they became one without distinction. Thus by the access of these *Gauls*, and of the foreign *Franks* also, who afterwards came over the *Rhine*, the *Salian* kingdom soon grew very great and powerful.

Stilico's expedition against the Greek Emperor was stopt by the order of Honorius; and then Alaric came out of Epirus into Noricum, and requested a sum of money for his service. The Senate were inclined to deny him, but by Stilico's mediation granted it. But after some time Stilico being accused of a traitorous conspiracy with Alaric, and slain 10 Kal. Sept. A.C. 408; Alaric was thereby disappointed of his money, and reputed an enemy to the Empire; he then broke strait into Italy with the army he brought out of Epirus, and sent to his brother Adolphus to follow him with what forces he had in Pannonia, which were not great, but yet not to be despised. Thereupon Honorius fearing to be shut up in Rome, retired to Ravenna in October A.C. 408. And from that time Ravenna continued to be the seat of the Western Emperors. In those days the Hunns also invaded Pannonia; and seizing the deserted seats of the Vandals, Alans, and Goths, founded a new kingdom there. Alaric advancing to Rome besieged it, <44> and 9 Kal. Sept. A.C. 410 took it: and afterwards attempting to pass into Africa, was shipwrackt. After which Honorius made peace with him, and got up an army to send against the Tyrant Constantine.

At the same time *Gerontius*, one of *Constantine's* captains, revolted from him, and set up *Maximus* Emperor in *Spain*. Whereupon *Constantine* sent *Edobec*, another of his captains, to draw to his assistance, the *Barbarians* under *Goar* and *Gundicar* in *Gallia*, and supplies of *Franks* and *Alemans* from beyond the *Rhine*; and committed the custody of *Vienne* in *Gallia Narbonensis* to his son *Constans*. *Gerontius* advancing, first slew *Constans* at *Vienne*, and then began to besiege *Constantine* at *Arles*. But *Honorius* at the same time sending *Constantius* with an army on the same errand, *Gerontius* fled, and *Constantius* continued the siege, strengthened by the access of the greatest part of the soldiers of *Gerontius*. After four months siege, *Edobec* having procured succours, the *Barbarian* Kings at *Ments*, *Goar* and *Gundicar*, constitute *Jovinus* Emperor, and together with him set forward to relieve *Arles*. At their approach *Constantius* retired. They pursued, and he beat them by surprize; but not prosecuting his victory, the *Barbarians* soon recovered themselves; yet not so as to hinder the fall of the tyrants *Constantine*, *Jovinus* <45> and *Maximus*. *Britain* could not be recovered to the Empire, but remained ever after a distinct kingdom.

The next year, A.C. 412, the *Visigoths* being beaten in *Italy*, had *Aquitain* granted them to retire into: and they invaded it with much violence, causing the *Alans* and *Burgundians* to retreat, who were then depopulating of it. At the same time the *Burgundians* were brought to peace; and the Emperor granted them for inheritance a region upon the *Rhine* which they had invaded: and the same, I presume, he did with the *Alans*. But the *Franks* not long after retaking and burning *Triers*, *Castinus*, A.C. 415, was sent against them with an army, who routed them and slew *Theudomir* their King This was the second taking of *Triers* by the *Franks*. It was therefore taken four times, once by the *Vandals* and thrice by the *Franks*. *Theudomir* was succeeded by *Pharamond*, the Prince or King of the *Salian Franks* in *Germany*. From thence he brought new forces, reigned over the whole, and had seats granted to his people within the Empire near the *Rhine*.

And now the *Barbarians* were all quieted, and settled in several kingdoms within the Empire, not only by conquest, but also by the grants of the Emperor *Honorius*. For *Rutilius* in his *Itinerary*, written in Autumn, Anno <46> *Urbis* 1169, that is, according to *Varro's* computation then in use, A.C. 416, thus laments the wasted fields:

Illa quidem longis nimium deformia bellis;

And then adds,

*Jam tempus laceris post longa incendia fundis
Vel pastorales ædificare casas.*

And a little after,

Æternum tibi Rhenus aret.

And *Orosius* in the end of his history, which was finished A.C. 417, represents now a general pacification of the barbarous nations by the words *comprimere*, *coangustare*, *addicere gentes immanissimas*; terming them *imperio addictas*, because they had obtained seats in the Empire by league and compact; and *coangustatas*, because they did no longer invade all regions at pleasure, but by the same compact remained quiet in the seats then granted them. And these are the kingdoms, of which the feet of the Image were henceforward composed,

and which are represented by iron and clay intermixed, which did not stick one to another, and were of different strength.

[1] Procop. l. 1. de Bello Vandalico.

[2] Galli Arborici: *whence the region was named Arboricbant, and by contraction Brabant.*
