

ISIDORE OF SEVILLE'S
HISTORY OF THE GOTHs,
VANDALS, AND SUEVI

TRANSLATED FROM THE LATIN
WITH AN INTRODUCTION

BY

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AND

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INTRODUCTION

Isidore of Seville, the author of the *History of the Goths, Vandals, and Suevi*, was born about the year 560 A.D. He was the son of Severianus, who probably came from Cartagena. About 600 Isidore succeeded his older brother Leander as bishop of Seville and remained bishop until his death on 4 April 636. He presided over the Synod of Seville in 619 and the important Fourth Council of Toledo in 633.

Isidore's principal work was the encyclopedic *Etymologiae* or *Origines* in twenty books, which was a major source of knowledge during the Middle Ages.

Isidore's two main historical works were the *Chronica maiora*, a world chronicle from the creation of the world to the year 615 A.D., and the *Historia Gothorum Wandalarum Sueborum*, a chronologically arranged history of the Visigoths from their beginning in 256 A.D. to the year 624 with a prologue containing a eulogy of Spain, which clearly shows a strong Spanish national feeling, and two short appendices treating the history of the Vandals and Suevi. The *History of the Goths* has survived in two versions, the first probably completed in the year of Sisebut's death (619), and the second composed in the fifth year of Suinthila's reign (624). Isidore's principal sources for his *History of the Goths* were the continuation of Eusebius' *Chronica*

by Jerome to the year 378, the *Historiae* of Orosius to the year 417, the *Chronica* of Hydatius for Spanish affairs of the years 379-469, the *Chronica* of Victor of Tununa for African affairs of the years 444-566, the *Chronicon* of Prosper for the years 405-453, and the *Chronicon* of Isidore's contemporary Johannes of Biclaro for the years 565-590. All of these works are extant. In addition, Isidore used a partially lost chronicle of Bishop Maximus of Saragossa, an older contemporary. From 590 on Isidore is our most reliable and, in part, our exclusive source for the history of the Visigoths.

The dates which Isidore used were reckoned according to the so-called "Spanish era". The corresponding dates according to our modern system of dating have been given in parentheses in each case.

Theodor Mommsen's edition of the longer second version of the *History of the Goths* in the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Auctores Antiquissimi*, XI (Berlin, 1894), pp. 241-303, was used for the present translation, which is meant to be quite literal. However, we have deliberately deviated from Mommsen's text in the following places:

Hist. Goth. 3: we have translated *nisi nox proelio finem dedisset* instead of Mommsen's *nisi mox proelio finem dedisset* because we consider *mox* a misprint for *nox*.

Hist. Goth. 45: we have translated the reading of manu-

script L, *hostiumque ac iumentorum cruore*, instead of Mommsen's *hostiumque ac iumentorum horrore*.

Hist. Goth. 60: we have translated the reading of manuscripts ML, *magna ex parte*, instead of Mommsen's *ex parte*.

Hist. Goth. 63: we have translated *Ologitis* instead of Mommsen's *Ologicus*.

Hist. Sueb. 88: we have translated *Masdra* instead of Mommsen's *Maldra*.

The *History of the Goths* has never before been translated into English. The only previous translation of the work is that by D. Coste in German, *Isidors Geschichte der Goten, Vandalen, Sueven*³ (Leipzig, 1910).

We are very grateful to the following reviewers of the first edition for their helpful suggestions: Myra L. Uhlfelder in *The Classical World* LX (1966-1967), pp. 25-26; Frank Metlar Clover in *Classical Philology* LXII (1967), pp. 229-230; P. G. Walsh in *The Classical Review* XVII (1967), p. 235; Jacques Fontaine in *Latomus* XXVI (1967), pp. 205-206; J. Engels in *Mnemosyne* XX (1967), pp. 514-515; Karl Langosch in the *Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch* IV (1967), p. 277; Paschalis di Stante in *Latinitas* XV (1967), p. 308; Helmut Birkhan in *Die Sprache* XIV (1968), p. 65; F. van der Rhee in *Neophilologus* LII (1968), pp. 194-195; R. Sánchez Redondo in *Emerita* XXXVI (1968), pp. 191-192; José Ortall in *Helmantica* XIX (1968), p. 401; Raoul Verdière in the *Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire* XLVI

(1968), pp. 954-955. Jean-Jacques Hoebanx in *L'Antiquité Classique* XXXVIII (1969), p. 288; and R. G. van de Velde in *Leuvense Bijdragen* LVIII (1969), pp. 43-44.

Finally, we again wish to thank Professor Robert Dale Sweeny for reading the proofs of the first edition and making a number of useful suggestions.

Evanston, January 1970

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PROLOGUE

1. Of all lands which stretch from the West to India, you are the most beautiful, O Spain, sacred and ever-blessed mother of leaders and of nations. By right you are now queen of all the provinces, from whom not only the West but also the East obtains its light. You are the glory and ornament of the world, the most illustrious part of the earth, in which the glorious fecundity of the Getic people rejoices much and abundantly flourishes.

2. Deservedly did indulgent nature enrich you with the abundance of all growing things. You are opulent in berries, flowing with grapes, rich in the harvest. You are clothed in grain, you are shaded by olive trees, you are covered with the vine. You are flowery in your fields, leafy on your mountains, full of fishes on your shores. You are situated in the most pleasant region of the world; you are neither burned with the warm heat of the sun, nor are you consumed by icy cold, but, girded with the temperate zone of heaven, you are nourished by favorable west winds. For you produce everything fertile that fields bear, everything precious that mines bear, everything beautiful and useful that animals bear. Nor must you be considered inferior in those streams which the distinguished fame of illustrious herds ennobles.

3. Alphaeus will yield to you in horses, Clitumnus in

cattle, although Alphaeus, sacred in Olympic victories, drives swift four-horse chariots over the Pisaeon course, and Clitumnus once sacrificed huge bulls as Capitoline victims. You, rich in food, neither seek the glades of Etruria, nor, full of palm trees, admire the groves of Molorchus, nor will envy Elean triumphs on account of the running of your horses. You are fertile in abundant rivers, you are tawny-colored with streams flowing with gold. Your springs are sources of horses. Your fleece, dyed with native purple, glows to Tyrian purple. Your stone, gleaming amid the darkness of steep mountains, is inflamed with the adjacent splendor of the neighboring sun.

4. Thus rich in foster-sons and in gems and in purple cloth, likewise fertile in rulers and in the riches of empire, you are both opulent in adorning leaders and blessed in producing them. Thus rightly did golden Rome, the head of nations, once desire you, and although the same Romulaean virtue, first victorious, betrothed you to itself, at last, nevertheless, the most flourishing nation of the Goths after many victories in the world eagerly captured and loved you, and enjoys you up to the present amid royal insignia and abundant wealth, secure in the felicity of empire.

HISTORY OF THE GOTHs

1. It is certain that the Goths are a very old nation. Some conjecture from the similarity of the last syllable that the origin of their name comes from Magog, son of Japhet, and they deduce this mostly from the work of the prophet Ezekiel. Formerly, however, the learned were accustomed to call them Getae rather than Gog and Magog.

2. The interpretation of their name in our language is *tecti* ("protected"), which connotes strength; and with truth, for there has not been any nation in the world that has harassed Roman power so much. For these are the people who even Alexander declared should be avoided, whom Pyrrhus dreaded and Caesar greatly feared. Formerly they were led by chieftains for many centuries, and then by kings, whose times we must briefly set forth in succession, and, drawing our information from the chronicles, we must relate their names and deeds.

3. In the twelfth year before the foundation of our era (49 B.C.), when the consul Pompey and Gaius Julius Caesar were waging a civil war in order to seize control of the state, the Goths came to Thessaly to give aid to Pompey and fight against Caesar. And when the Ethiopians, the Indians, the Persians, the Medes, the Greeks, the Scythians, and the other nations of the East were summoned and fought against Julius, these people opposed Caesar more

bravely than the others. Troubled by their numbers and courage, Caesar is said to have thought of fleeing, had not night put an end to the battle.

4. In the era 294 (256 A.D.), the first year of Valerian and Gallienus' rule, the Goths came down from the Alps where they lived, and ravaged Greece, Macedonia, Pontus, Asia Minor, and Illyria. Of these they held Illyria and Macedonia for about fifteen years. Then, after being defeated by the Emperor Claudius, they returned to their own regions. But the Romans, honoring Claudius Augustus with outstanding glory in return for the fact that he had removed such a powerful people from the limits of the empire, placed in his honor a golden shield in the Forum and a golden statue in the Capitol.

5. In the era 369 (331), the twenty-sixth year of Constantine's rule, the Goths attacked the land of the Sarmatians and overwhelmed the Romans with very large forces, in their impetuous strength destroying everything with their slaughter and plundering. Constantine himself prepared an army against them, and after defeating them with difficulty in a great battle, drove them beyond the Danube. He was already distinguished for the fame of the bravery he had shown against various nations, but he won even more glory through his victory over the Goths. The Romans, with the Senate's enthusiastic approval, bestowed public praise on him because he had conquered such a large nation and restored the land of the commonwealth.

6. In the era 407 (369), the fifth year of Valens' rule,

Athanasius was the first to undertake the government of the nation of the Goths; he reigned for thirteen years and decided to apply the very cruel persecution that had been stirred up against the faith to those Goths in his country who were considered to be Christians, very many of whom he caused to be martyrs because they did not agree to sacrifice to the idols. He afflicted the remaining ones with many persecutions; since on account of their numbers he loathed to kill them, he gave them permission, or rather forced them, to leave his kingdom and to migrate to provinces of the Roman Empire.

7. In the era 415 (377), the thirteenth year of Valens' rule, the Goths at the Danube split into two opposing parties led by Athanasius and Frigidian, and they ravaged each other with slaughter alternately. But Athanasius prevailed over Frigidian through the favor of the Emperor Valens. On account of this he sent ambassadors with gifts to the emperor, and asked for teachers in order to receive instruction in the Christian faith. But Valens, who had strayed from the truth of the Catholic faith and held the perversity of the Arian heresy, sent them heretical priests and by wicked persuasion attached the Goths to his own erroneous doctrine, and by a destructive seed he transferred a noxious poison into such a famous nation, and thus kept and preserved for a long time the error, which credulous people had recently absorbed.

8. Then Ulfilas, the bishop of these Goths, established the Gothic script and translated into the same language

the writings of the Old and New Testaments. And as soon as the Goths began to have writing and the law, they set up for themselves churches partaking of their own doctrine, holding such precepts as Arius himself concerning the actual divine nature that they believed that the Son is inferior to the Father in majesty and later than he in eternity. They believed that the Holy Spirit neither is God nor exists from the substance of the Father, but that he has been created by the Son, is devoted to the service of both, and is placed under obedience to both. They also declared that just as the person of the Father is separate, so is his nature, that the person and nature of the Son are separate, and finally that the person and nature of the Holy Spirit are also separate; thus they did not (according to the tradition of Holy Scripture) worship one God and Lord, but, as in the superstition of idolatry, worshipped three gods. They kept the evil of this blasphemy through the passage of time and the succession of kings for 213 years. But at last, mindful of their salvation, they recounced this ingrown faithlessness and through Christ's grace attained the unity of the Catholic faith.

9. In the era 416 (378), the fourteenth year of Valens' rule, the Goths who had first driven out the Christians from their land were in turn themselves driven out, together with their king Athanaric, by the Huns; after crossing the Danube, they surrendered to the power of the Emperor Valens without laying aside their arms and re-

ceived Thrace to live in. But when they saw that they were being oppressed by the Romans contrary to their custom of freedom, they were compelled to revolt. They laid waste Thrace with fire and sword, and after destroying the Roman army burned Valens himself, who had been wounded by a javelin and had taken refuge in a cottage, in order that he, who had consigned such fine souls to eternal fire, might himself deservedly be burned alive by the Goths with a temporal fire.

10. During this battle the Goths found those Goths who had formerly confessed the true faith and whom they had earlier driven from their land on account of their faith, and wished to join with them for the purpose of getting booty. But as they did not agree to this, some were killed. The others occupied mountainous places, built themselves shelters of any kind whatever, and not only remained steadfast Catholic Christians, but also continued to live in harmony with the Romans, by whom they had been received before.

11. In the era 419 (381), the third year of the Spaniard Theodosius' rule, Athanaric, after arranging a treaty and friendship with Theodosius, directly proceeded to Constantinople, and there, on the fifteenth day after being honorably received by Theodosius, he died. But the Goths, upon the death of their king and seeing the benevolence of the Emperor Theodosius, reached an agreement and delivered themselves to Roman rule.

12. In the era 420 (382), the fourth year of Theodosius'

rule, the Goths, rejecting the protection of the Roman treaty, appointed Alaric as their king, since they considered it unbecoming for them to be subject to Roman authority and to follow those whose laws and rule they had long ago cast off and from whose partnership they had alienated themselves after triumphing in battle.

13. In the era 437 (399), the fourth year of Honorius and Arcadius' rule, the Goths split into two parties led by Alaric and Radagaisus, and after destroying each other by manifold slaughter in the two parts of the kingdom, they turned to agreement for the sake of the destruction of the Romans, decided on a common plan, and with equal purpose separated from each other for the sake of plundering some regions of Italy.

14. In the era 443 (405), the tenth year of Honorius and Arcadius' rule, Radagaisus, king of the Goths, a Scythian by birth, a man devoted to the cult of idolatry and most savage in the fierceness of his barbaric cruelty, attacked with violent devastation the regions of Italy, together with two hundred thousand soldiers, vowing, in contempt of Christ, that he would make a libation of the Romans' blood to his gods if he should win. His army, after being surrounded by the Roman general Stilicho on the mountainous ground of Tuscany, was destroyed by hunger rather than by battle. Finally the king himself was captured and killed.

15. In the era 447 (409), the fifteenth year of Honorius and Arcadius' rule, now that Radagaisus was dead, Alaric,

his colleague in kingship, who was a Christian in name but professed himself a heretic, grieving that so great a number of Goths had been slain by the Romans, waged war against Rome to avenge his countrymen's blood; after besieging the city he invaded it with an attack resulting in great slaughter; and so the city which had been the conqueror of all nations was conquered and overpowered by the triumph of the Goths, and, captive and subdued, it was subject to them. However, the Goths showed themselves so gentle here that they made a promise to the effect that if they should enter the city, none of the Romans who would be found in Christ's places would be treated according to the laws of war. So, after this vow, when they invaded the city, both death and captivity were spared all those who had sought refuge in the thresholds of the saints. But they spared, showing similar mercy, even those who were outside the places sacred to the martyrs and who called upon the name of Christ and of the saints.

16. Against the others, however, although the enemy's booty was available, the savagery of killing was curbed. For when the Goths were dashing through the city amid that devastation, and someone in authority found a holy virgin advanced in age and honorably warned her that she should produce any gold and silver in her possession, she in good conscience brought out what she had; and as he admired the shape and beauty of the vessels from those ancient riches of the Romans, the virgin said: "These vessels have been entrusted to me from the shrine of the

apostle Peter; take them if you dare. I do not dare to give sacred objects to the enemy." The Goth, terrified and in great fear at the mention of the apostle's name, reported this to the king by means of a messenger; the king with very great reverence ordered that everything be taken back immediately to the shrine of the blessed Peter, saying that he had waged war with the Romans, not with the apostles.

17. The virgin then came back attended with most reverent honor; all those who had associated with her returned too, carrying those gold and silver vessels on their heads amid hymns and songs, with armed guards posted on all sides for protection by the king's command. From their places of refuge everywhere bands of Christians flocked together on hearing the voices of those singing. Pagans too came with them and mingled with them, and as they pretended that they were servants of Christ, they themselves too escaped the ruin of destruction.

18. At this time the Goths captured in Rome Placidia, daughter of the Emperor Theodosius and sister of the Emperors Arcadius and Honorius, together with a large quantity of gold; and after obtaining many riches of the Romans, they departed two days after their arrival, having set fire to and partly destroyed the city. Then they embarked, and as they were arranging to cross over to Sicily, which is separated from Italy by a narrow strait, they incurred danger in the tempestuous sea and lost much of the army. But their pride for having gained possession of the

city of Rome was so great that in comparison with it they thought that they had suffered no harm in that storm, compensating their losses in the shipwreck with the success of victory. The death of Alaric followed immediately afterwards; he died in Italy in the twenty-eighth year of his reign.

19. In the era 448 (410), the sixteenth year of Honorius and Arcadius' rule, now that Alaric was dead after the capture of the city, Athaulf was appointed to rule over the Goths in Italy, and his reign lasted six years. In the fifth year of his reign he departed from Italy and went to Gaul and married Placidia, the daughter of the Emperor Theodosius, whom the Goths had captured in Rome. With this event Daniel's prophecy was thought by some to have been fulfilled; for he said that the daughter of the king of the South was to be united with the king of the North, but that no offspring would remain from his seed. And this is the same thing that the prophet adds in the following sentence when he says: "Nor will his seed endure." For no son issued from her womb to succeed his father's rule. But after Athaulf left Gaul and went to Spain, he was murdered at Barcelona by one of his own men during a conversation with friends.

20. In the era 454 (416), the twenty-second year of Honorius and Arcadius' rule, Sigeric was elected ruler by the Goths after the death of Athaulf. Since he was very much inclined to peace with the Romans, he was soon killed by his men.

21. In the same era and year as above, Wallia succeeded Sigeric and held the kingdom for three years; he was made ruler by the Goths for the sake of war, but was disposed to peace by divine providence. For soon after he began to reign he concluded a treaty with the Emperor Honorius. He honorably restored to him his sister Placidia, who had been captured in Rome by the Goths, promising the emperor that he would undertake any struggle for the Roman state. Then, after being summoned to Spain by the patrician Constantius, he inflicted great slaughter on the barbarians for the sake of the Roman name.

22. He destroyed by war all the Silingian Vandals in Baetica; and he killed so many of the Alani, who ruled over Vandals and Suevi, that when their king Atax was killed, the few who survived forgot the name of their kingdom and placed themselves under the rule of Gunderic, king of the Vandals who lived in Galicia. When the war in Spain was ended by Wallia and he was preparing to cross to Africa with the fleet which he had equipped, he was overwhelmed by the force of a very severe storm in the Strait of Oceanus; and still remembering the shipwreck in the reign of Alaric, he avoided the danger of sailing and went back to Gaul. On account of his service in gaining victory, Lower Aquitania together with certain towns in the neighboring provinces that stretched to the Atlantic Ocean was given to him by the Emperor.

23. In the era 457 (419), the twenty-fifth year of Honorius and Arcadius' rule, after the death of King Wallia,

Theudered succeeded to the rule and reigned for thirty-three years. Not content with the kingdom of Aquitania, he rejected the Roman peace treaty, occupied most of the Roman free towns near his territories, and attacked Arles, the most famous town in Gaul, besieging it with many troops; he abandoned this siege upon being obstructed by the threatening valor of Aetius, the leader of the Roman soldiers.

24. Aetius was then removed from military authority by order of the Emperor Valentinian, and when Theudered attacked the city of Narbonne with a long siege and with famine, he was again put to flight by Litorius, the leader of the Roman soldiers, with the help of the Huns. But Litorius, after first being successful against the Goths, inconsiderately went to war with them a second time, deceived by the signs of demons and the responses of soothsayers. The Roman army was lost and he perished after being pitiably defeated, and caused it to be realized of how much avail that multitude which died with him could have been if he had chosen to make use of faith rather than the treacherous portents of demons.

25. Then Theudered, after concluding peace with the Romans, again fought against the Huns who were laying waste the provinces of Gaul with savage pillaging and destroying very many cities; he fought against them in open battle on the plains of Châlons with the help of the Roman general Aetius, and there he died in the course of the battle while he was winning. But the Goths, under the

leadership of Thurismund, the son of King Theudered, fought so bravely that between the first battle and the last about three hundred thousand men were laid low.

26. At the same time many signs appeared in heaven and on earth, by whose portents such a cruel war might be indicated. Continuous earthquakes occurred, and in the East the moon was darkened. In the West a comet appeared and shone for some time with a huge size. In the North the sky became reddish like fire or blood, and mixed with the fiery redness there were brighter lines in the form of reddish spears. Nor was it astonishing that in the case of such a large mass of slaughtered men such a manifold demonstration of signs should be shown by God.

27. The Huns indeed, after having been slaughtered almost to the point of extermination, left Gaul with their king Attila and fled to Italy, breaking into several cities. There some died of hunger and others after being struck by heaven-sent plagues. When, moreover, an army was sent by the Emperor Marcianus, they were cut down by a violent plague, and having suffered greatly from it, returned to their own lands; and soon after their king Attila returned, he died.

28. Immediately great struggles for the possession of the kingdom began among his sons. And so the Huns, who had previously suffered losses by so many disasters, again slaughtered each other with their own weapons. With regard to them it is astonishing that whereas every

battle entails a loss for nations, this people, on the other hand, should be of service by dying: but this is so because they are used to discipline the faithful, just like the people of the Persian nation.

29. For they are the scourge of God's fury, and as often as his indignation goes forth against the faithful, the latter are scourged by them in order that, corrected by their blows, they may restrain themselves from worldly desires and from sin and possess the inheritance of the kingdom of heaven. But this nation is so savage that when they suffer hunger during war they open the veins of horses and so remove their hunger by drinking blood.

30. In the era 490 (452), the first year of Marcianus' rule, Thurismund, the son of Theudered, was raised to the kingship, which he held for a year. Since at the very beginning of his reign he was cruel and harmful and excited hostility and did many things with great arrogance, he was killed by his brothers Theuderic and Frigidaric.

31. In the era 491 (453), the second year of Marcianus' rule, Theuderic after his brother's murder succeeded to the kingship and ruled thirteen years. In return for the fact that together with the Gauls he had provided help to the Emperor Avitus in obtaining imperial dignity, he went from Aquitania into Spain with the huge host of an army and with the permission of this same Emperor Avitus. The king of the Suevi, Reccarius, met him with a large force at the twelfth milestone from the city of Astorga near a river which is called the Órbigo. Battle was soon

begun, and Reccarius was defeated; part of the troops of the Suevi were killed, some were captured, and very many were put to flight. In the end the king himself, after being wounded by a javelin, escaped. Lacking the protection of his men, he was captured at Oporto and presented alive to King Theuderic.

32. Since Reccarius was killed and many who had survived the previous battle surrendered and some nevertheless were slaughtered, the kingdom of the Suevi was almost destroyed and nearly came to an end. But the remaining Suevi who had stayed in the furthest part of Galicia set up the son of Massila, whose name was Masdra, as their king, and the kingdom of the Suevi was restored. After the killing of Reccarius, Theuderic proceeded as conqueror from Galicia to Lusitania, and as he was preparing to plunder the city of Merida, he was terrified by the portents of the holy martyr Eulalia: he immediately departed with the whole army and returned to Gaul.

33. Soon afterwards he sent one part of the army led by Ceurila to the province of Baetica and another part, led by Sumeric and Nepotianus, to Galicia; these harassed the Suevi at Lugo with violent plundering. In Gaul, Agripinus, a count and a Roman citizen and a rival of the Roman count Aegidius, gave up Narbonne to Theuderic in order to earn the help of the Goths. Afterwards some ambassadors sent by Remismund, son of Masdra and king of the Suevi, came to Theuderic seeking peace and friendship. In like manner Theuderic sent them back to Remis-

mund with arms and gifts and also sent a wife whom Remismund might have. Theuderic also sent Sallanes once more as an ambassador to Remismund: when he returned to Gaul he found that Theuderic had been killed by his brother Euric.

34. In the era 504 (466), the eighth year of Leo's rule, Euric succeeded to the kingship by a crime identical to his brother's; he reigned seventeen years. Having advanced to this dignity by means of this crime, he at once sent ambassadors to the Emperor Leo and without delay ravaged the districts of Lusitania with a great onset. He then sent another army and took Pamplona and Saragossa and brought Upper Spain under his power. He also destroyed with an invasion of his army the nobles of the province of Tarraco who had resisted him. After returning to Gaul he acquired the cities of Arles and Marseilles by fighting and added both of them to his kingdom.

35. One day when the Goths were assembled in conference he found that the iron part or the edge of the weapons which all were holding in their hands was either green, pink, saffron, or black, the natural appearance of the iron having been changed for no long time. Under this king the Goths began to have the ordinances of the laws in writing, for before this they were bound only by customs and habit. King Euric died at Arles of a natural death.

36. In the era 521 (483), the tenth year of Zeno's rule, after Euric's death Alaric, his son, was appointed ruler

of the Goths in the city of Toulouse; he reigned twenty-three years. Against him Clovis, the ruler of the Franks, who aspired to the kingdom of Gaul, waged war with the help of the Burgundians, and after routing the forces of the Goths finally defeated and killed the king himself at Poitiers. But Theoderic, the king of Italy, upon hearing of the death of his son-in-law, immediately set out from Italy, crushed the Franks, recovered the part of the kingdom which the forces of the enemy had occupied, and restored it to the authority of the Goths.

37. In the era 544 (506), the seventeenth year of Anastasius' rule, Gisaleic, the son of the previous king and of a concubine, was made ruler at Narbonne. He reigned for four years, and just as he was most base in origin he was outstanding in bad luck and cowardice. At length, when this same city was plundered by Gundebad, king of the Burgundians, this man, with much disgrace on his part and great loss of his men, went to Barcelona. There he stayed until he was even deprived of the power of kingship by Theoderic on account of the dishonor of his flight.

38. He then set out to Africa and asked for the assistance of the Vandals in restoring him to the kingship. When he did not obtain their help, he soon returned from Africa and for fear of Theoderic went to Aquitania; after hiding there for a year he returned to Spain, where, after joining battle at the twelfth milestone from Barcelona, he was put to flight by Ebba, the general of King Theoderic; he was captured on the other side of the river Durance in

Gaul and perished, and so he lost first his honor and afterwards his life.

39. In the era 549 (511), the twenty-first year of Anastasius' rule, Theoderic the Younger, who had long since been made consul and king in Rome by the Emperor Zeno, and after killing Odoacar, king of the Ostrogoths (*sic*), overcoming his brother Onoulf, and putting him to flight across the boundaries of the Danube, had reigned in Italy for eighteen years, again held the kingdom of Spain for fifteen years after the death of Gisaleic, king of the Goths; while still alive he left it to his nephew Amalaric. He then returned to Italy and reigned for some time with all good fortune; through him much of the greatness of the city of Rome was even restored; for he restored its walls and on account of this earned a gilded statue from the Senate.

40. In the era 564 (526), the first year of Justinian's rule, after Theoderic's return to Italy, his nephew Amalaric began his reign, which lasted five years. Upon being defeated in battle by Childebert, king of the Franks, at Narbonne, he fled in alarm to Barcelona. Since he had become contemptible in the eyes of all, his throat was cut by the army, and he perished.

41. In the era 569 (531), the sixth year of Justinian's rule, Theudis became king in Spain after Amalaric; his reign lasted seventeen years. Though he was a heretic, he nevertheless granted peace to the Church, so much so that he gave the Catholic bishops permission to come together in the city of Toledo and to arrange freely and according

to their pleasure those matters which were necessary for the teaching of the Church. During his reign, when the kings of the Franks had come jointly to Spain with countless troops and were ravaging with war the province of Tarraco, the Goths under the leadership of Theudisclus closed up the gates of Spain and laid low the army of the Franks amid much amazement at their victory. After entreaties were made and a huge sum of money was offered to him, the same leader allowed the remnant of the enemy a means of escape for the period of one day and night. The remaining crowd of unfortunate men, for whom the possibility of passage within the amount of time offered did not exist, fell after being destroyed by the weapons of the Goths.

42. After the good result of such a happy victory, the Goths acted inconsiderately across the Strait of Oceanus. Indeed, when they had crossed the Strait of Oceanus to attack the soldiers who had occupied the town of Ceuta after driving them away, and after they had taken the fort itself with the mighty force of their struggle, they laid down their arms when Sunday came in order that they might not disgrace a holy day by battle. And so the soldiers, as soon as they found this opportunity, attacked the army with a sudden assault and overwhelmed it so much, after shutting it off by sea and by land on all sides, that not even one man was left to escape the destruction of such a great defeat.

43. Immediately afterwards a deserved death overcame

the ruler. He was wounded in the palace by someone who for a long time had feigned the appearance of a mad man in order to deceive the king. With skill he pretended to be mad and pierced the ruler; thrown to the ground by this wound, he fell and breathed out his indignant soul. But it is said that as his blood poured out, he besought that no one kill his murderer, saying that he had received a requital agreeing with his own deserts, because he himself too as a private citizen had killed his leader while the latter was in a state of anxiety.

44. In the era 586 (548), the twenty-third year of Justinian's rule, after the murder of Theudis, Theudisclus was made ruler of the Goths and reigned for one year. Since he defiled the marriages of very many powerful men by public prostitution and on account of this caused many people to desire his death, he was overcome by a group of conspirators and killed at Seville during a banquet, and after being stabbed with a sword he perished.

45. In the era 587 (549), the twenty-fourth year of Justinian's rule, after the death of Theudisclus, Agila was appointed king and reigned for five years. He waged war against the city of Cordova, and since in contempt of the Catholic religion he did harm to the most blessed martyr Acisclus and profaned and defiled the sacred place of his sepulcher with the blood of the enemy and of their pack-animals, after fighting a battle against the citizens of Cordova, he earned a fitting punishment through the agency of the saints. For he was smitten by vengeance for the

present war and lost there his son, who was killed together with a large part of the army, and also lost the whole treasure with its renowned riches.

46. He himself, defeated and put to flight in wretched fear, withdrew to Merida. After some time had passed, Athanagild through desire for rule seized despotic power in opposition to Agila, and after he had by his military ability crushed the latter's army that had been sent against him at Seville, the Goths, seeing that they were being overthrown by mutual destruction and fearing even more that Roman soldiers might invade Spain on the pretext of giving help, killed Agila at Merida and surrendered to the rule of Athanagild.

47. In the era 592 (554), the twenty-ninth year of Justinian's rule, after Agila had been killed, Athanagild became ruler, and he held the kingdom he had seized for fourteen years. When, after seizing despotic power, he had long tried to deprive Agila of his kingship, he had asked the Emperor Justinian to help him with soldiers, whom he later was unable to remove from the territory of the kingdom despite his efforts. Fighting against them took place up to this time. Previously they had been killed in frequent battles, but now they were crushed and annihilated by many misfortunes. Athanagild, however, died at Toledo by a natural death, and after his death the kingdom lacked a ruler for five months.

48. In the era 605 (567), the second year of Justin II's rule, after Athanagild, Livva was made king of the Goths

at Narbonne, and his reign lasted three years. In the second year after obtaining kingship he appointed his brother Leovigild not only successor to but also sharer of his kingdom, and placed him over the administration of Spain, while he himself was content with the kingdom of Gaul. And so the kingdom had two rulers, although no sovereign endures a partner. But for Livva only one year is reckoned in the succession of times, and the remainder are counted under his brother Leovigild.

49. In the era 606 (568), the third year of Justin II's rule, Leovigild became the ruler of Spain and Gaul and decided to enlarge his kingdom by war and to increase his power. Indeed, with the eagerness of his army and the good fortune of his victories he acquired much with distinction. For he obtained Cantabria and took Aregia, and all of Sabaria was conquered by him. Very many rebellious cities of Spain also yielded to his arms; he also routed the Roman soldiers in various battles and recovered by fighting certain forts occupied by them. He then besieged his son Hermenegild, who was acting as a tyrant in his empire, and overcame him. Finally, he waged war against the Suevi and with amazing speed transferred their kingdom to the authority of his nation, gaining the mastery of most of Spain. For previously the nation of the Goths was limited within narrow boundaries. But the error of impiety obscured in him the glory of such virtue.

50. Indeed, filled with the madness of the Arian heresy, he stirred up persecution against Catholics and sent very

many of the bishops into exile. He removed the revenues and privileges of the churches and by his acts of terror also compelled many to accept the Arian plague and deceived many people without persecution by alluring them with gold and gifts. And among the other infections of his heresy he even dared to rebaptize Catholics, and not only of the common people but also of the rank of the priestly class, such as Vincentius of Saragossa, who from a bishop became an apostate and, as it were, was hurled from heaven into hell.

51. But he was also baneful to some of his associates: for whatever men he saw who were most noble and powerful he either beheaded or proscribed and drove into exile. He was also the first to enrich the fisc and the first to increase the treasury by robbery of the citizens and plunder of the enemy. He also founded a city in Celtiberia which he named Recopolis after his son. In the laws too he corrected those things which had been set up inadequately by Euric, adding very many laws that had been omitted and removing some superfluous ones. He reigned for eighteen years and died of a natural death at Toledo.

52. In the era 624 (586), the third year of Mauricius' rule, after the death of Leovigild, his son Reccared was crowned with kingship; he was endowed with reverence for religion and was greatly different from his father in character. For the latter was irreligious and very much disposed to war, while he was devout in his faith and renowned for his love of peace; his father by the skills of

war expanded the rule of his nation, while he with greater glory elevated the same nation by the victory of faith. For at the very beginning of his reign he embraced the Catholic faith and after removing the sin of their deep-rooted error he brought back the people of the whole Gothic nation to reverence for the true faith.

53. He then called together a synod of bishops from the various provinces of Spain and Gaul for the condemnation of the Arian heresy; this very religious ruler was present at this assembly and supported its proceedings by his presence and signature; together with all his subjects he renounced the falsehood which the nation of the Goths had up to now learned from the teaching of Arius, and proclaimed the unity of the three persons in God, saying that the Son was born from the Father consubstantially, that the Holy Spirit proceeds inseparably from the Father and the Son and is one Spirit of both, whence they are one.

54. He also waged war gloriously against hostile peoples with the aid of the faith which he had accepted. As the Franks were overrunning Gaul with about sixty thousand soldiers, he sent his general Claudius against them and triumphed with a glorious success. No greater or similar victory of the Goths in war ever took place in Spain. For many thousands of the enemy were killed and captured, and the remaining part of the army was put to flight contrary to its expectations and, with the Goths following closely behind, it was cut down up to the boundaries of its kingdom. He also frequently sent forces in opposition

to the arrogant deeds of the Romans and the incursions of the Vascones, in such a way that he seems not so much to have waged wars as rather to have trained his people, as it were, in the sport of wrestling for the sake of utility.

55. But he preserved with peace, set in order with justice, and ruled with temperance the provinces which his father had gained by battle. He was peaceful, gentle, of surpassing goodness, and had such charm in his countenance and bore such kindness in his heart that he would influence the minds of all and would draw even evil men to the disposition of love of him. He was so liberal that he restored to their proper jurisdiction the property of private citizens and the churches' estates which his father's disgrace had joined to the treasury; he was so clement that he often alleviated the people's tributes by the bestowal of leniency.

56. He also enriched many with gifts, elevated very many to public honors, set aside his property for the wretched and his treasures for the poor, knowing that kingship had been conferred on him for this purpose, that he should enjoy it beneficially and achieve a good end after good beginnings. For he increased his true and glorious faith, which he had accepted at the beginning of his reign, by a public confession of repentance at the end of his life. He passed away with a peaceful death at Toledo after reigning for fifteen years.

57. In the era 639 (601), the seventeenth year of Mauricius' rule, after King Reccared his son Livva became king,

and his reign lasted two years; he was indeed born of a low-ranked mother, but was distinguished for the native quality of his virtues. After seizing despotic power Witteric drove him away from kingship in the first flower of his youth, although he had done no harm, and after cutting off his right hand killed him in the twentieth year of his age, the second of his reign.

58. In the era 641 (603), the twentieth year of Mauricius' rule, after the death of Livva, Witteric assumed kingly power, which he had seized while his predecessor was alive, and held it for seven years; he was indeed a man vigorous in the art of war, but nevertheless without victories. For although he frequently fought battles against the Roman soldiers, he did not win any adequate glory except for capturing some soldiers at Sagunto with the help of his generals. In his life he did many unlawful things, and as for his death, he perished by the sword because he had worked with the sword. Indeed the death of an innocent man was not unavenged on him: while he was eating a meal he was killed by some conspirators. His corpse was carried out with disgrace and buried.

59. In the era 648 (610), the sixth year of Phocas' rule, Gundemar became king after Witteric, and his reign lasted two years. He ravaged the lands of the Vascones in one expedition, besieged Roman soldiers in another, and died of a natural death at Toledo.

60. In the era 650 (612), the second year of Heraclius' rule, Sisebut was brought to royal dignity after Gundemar;

he reigned for eight years and six months. At the beginning of his reign he led the Jews to the Christian faith and had indeed an ardent zeal, but not in accordance with wisdom, for he forced them by power when he should have roused them by the doctrine of faith. But, as it is written, either at a favorable opportunity or by truth Christ should be preached. At any rate he was refined in speech, learned in judgment, and imbued with the knowledge of letters to a large extent.

61. He was also distinguished for the evidence of victories in war, for he sent an army and brought the rebelling Asturians back under his authority. Through his leaders he subdued the Ruccones who were fenced round on all sides by high mountains. He also happily triumphed twice over the Romans in person and by fighting subjected to himself some of their cities. After his victory he was so merciful that he set free by paying ransom many who had been captured by his army and led into slavery, and his treasure was the ransom price for the captives. Some hold that he died of natural causes, others that he was killed by drinking excessively of a drug. He left a young son Reccared, who was ruler for a few days after his father's decease until death came upon him.

62. In the era 659 (621), the tenth year of Heraclius' rule, the most glorious Suinthila by divine favor took up the scepters of royal power. Under King Sisebut he had obtained the post of general, conquered some Roman forts, and defeated the Ruccones. But after he had ascended

to the summit of royal dignity, he joined battle and took the remaining cities which Roman troops held in Spain, and with wondrous good fortune won increased glory for his triumph in comparison with the other kings. He first acquired absolute rule over the whole of Spain north of the Strait of Oceanus, a thing accomplished by none of the previous rulers. In that battle his mastery over two patricians increased his renown for excellence. One of them he conquered by his intelligence, and the other he subdued by his strength in the battle.

63. At the beginning of his reign he also led an expedition aimed against the raids of the Vascones who were attacking the province of Tarraco; these mountain-roaming peoples were so struck by dread at his coming that, as if recognizing the rights due to him, they quickly gave up their weapons, stretched out their hands in entreaty, and as suppliants bent their necks before him; they then gave hostages and founded the city of Olite with income from the Goths and their own toil, promising to obey his rule and authority and to perform whatever would be commanded them.

64. Besides these merits of military fame there are in him many virtues of royal greatness: faith, intelligence, diligence, vigorous investigation in trials, extraordinary solicitude in ruling the kingdom, generosity to all; he is liberal to the needy and the poor and quite disposed to compassion, so that he is worthy to be called not only the ruler of peoples but also the father of the poor.

65. His son Riccimir has been accepted in partnership of rule, and rejoices in equal dominion with his father; in his childhood the brilliance of his holy nature so shines forth in him that, both in merits and countenance, the image of his father's virtues is marked beforehand. For him the ruler of heaven and of mankind must be besought that, just as by his father's consent he is his partner, so, after a long reign of his father he may also be most worthy of succession to the kingship. Thus, after reckoning the times of the kings of the Goths from the beginning of King Athanaric's reign to the fifth year of that of the most glorious ruler Suinthila, it is found that the reign of the Goths with God's favor has lasted for 256 years.

SUMMARY

66. The Goths are descended from Magog, the son of Japhet, and are shown to have sprung from the same origin as the Scythians, from whom they do not differ greatly in name. For when one letter is altered and another is removed, the Getae are almost named like the Scythians. They inhabited the icy ridges of the West and with other peoples occupied all the steep sides of the mountains. From these places they were driven by the onset of the nation of the Huns; they crossed the Danube and gave themselves up to the Romans. But as they could not endure their affronts, they angrily took up arms, invaded Thrace, ravaged Italy, laid siege to Rome and took it;

then they attacked Gaul, and after making their way across the Pyrenean mountains, reached Spain and there established their place for living and their rule.

67. They are a people quick by nature, active in character, relying on the strength of conscience, powerful in bodily strength, tall in stature, striking in gesture and deportment, ready with their hands, and insensible to wounds, just as the poet says of them: "The Getae praise the wound and death despise." Such was the greatness of their wars and so outstanding was the prowess of their renowned victory that Rome itself, the conqueror of all nations, submitted to the yoke of captivity and yielded to Getic triumphs, and the mistress of all peoples served the Getae as a handmaid.

68. All the peoples of Europe feared them. The barriers of the Alps yielded to them. Even the Vandalic barbarians themselves, often renowned, were not so much terrified by their presence as put to flight by their reputation. By the strength of the Goths the Alani were annihilated. The Suevi too, who had so far been confined within the inaccessible corners of Spain, have even now felt by the Goths' arms the danger of annihilation and have with baser loss been deprived of the kingdom which they had held with indolent sluggishness; yet it is very strange that they have kept for so long what they were able to lose without an attempt at defense.

69. But who could merely indicate the greatness of strength of the Getic people? Whereas to many nations

it is scarcely permitted to reign by means of prayers and gifts, for the Getae freedom is the result more of battle than of peace that has been sought, and when the necessity of making war has presented itself, they apply force rather than prayers. Moreover, in the skills of fighting they are quite distinguished, and they fight on horseback not only with spears but also with javelins, and in battle they attack not only on horseback but also on foot; nevertheless, they rely more on the swift running of their horses, whence the poet also says, "Where the Getan proceeds on his horse."

70. For they very much like to train themselves with weapons and to prepare themselves for battles, and they practice sporting contests daily. Once they lacked one skill of warfare alone, since they were not interested in wars with ships on the sea. But after the ruler Sisebut took up the scepters of royal power, they have advanced to such an excellence of success that they proceed with their arms not only over land but also over the seas themselves, and the Roman soldier is the servant of those whom he sees that so many peoples and Spain itself serve.

HISTORY OF THE VANDALS

71. In the era 444 (406), two years before the invasion of the city of Rome, the nations of the Alani, the Suevi, and the Vandals, having been provoked by Stilicho, crossed the Rhine, invaded Gaul, crushed the Franks, and with a direct onset reached the Pyrenees. At the barrier of these mountains they were driven back from Spain by Didymus and Veranianus, two most noble and powerful Roman brothers, and they wandered for three years through the surrounding provinces of Gaul. But after these same brothers, who had defended the gates of the Pyrenees with a private garrison, were killed by Constantius on suspicion of seeking despotic power (although they were innocent and guilty of no crime), the peoples mentioned invaded the provinces of Spain.

72. In the era 446 (408), the Vandals, the Alani, and the Suevi occupied Spain, did much killing and ravaging in their bloody raids, set cities on fire, and exhausted the property which they plundered, so that human flesh was devoured by the people in the violence of their hunger. Mothers ate their children; the animals too, who had become accustomed to the corpses of those who died by the sword, from famine, and from pestilence were led even to the destruction of living people, and so four plagues raged through all of Spain, and the prediction of divine anger

which had long ago been written by the prophets was fulfilled.

73. In the era 449 (411), after the terrible destruction of the plagues by which Spain was destroyed, finally through God's mercy the barbarians were moved to make peace and divided Spain's provinces by lot for their occupation. The Vandals and Suevi took Galicia. The Alani obtained the provinces of Lusitania and Cartagena, and the Vandals called Silingians received Baetica. But the Spaniards in the remaining cities and strongholds, having been struck down by the plagues, placed themselves in subjection to the ruling barbarians. Gunderic was the first king of the Vandals to rule in Spain, and he reigned in parts of Galicia for eighteen years. He broke the peace treaty and besieged the nation of the Suevi in the Erbasian mountains; he then abandoned the siege of the Suevi and plundered the Balearic Islands of the province of Tarraco. Then, after overthrowing Cartagena, he crossed to Baetica with all the Vandals and destroyed Seville, which he plundered after causing slaughter. Since with the authority of his royal power he irreverently stretched forth his hands against the basilica of the martyr Vincentius of this city, by the decision of God he was presently seized by a demon at the gate of the shrine and perished.

74. In the era 467 (429), Geseric, the brother of Gunderic, succeeded to the kingship, and his reign lasted forty years; from a Catholic he became an apostate and is said to have been the first to go over to the Arian falsehood.

From the coast of the province of Baetica he left Spain with all the Vandals and their families and crossed the Strait of Oceanus to Mauretania and Africa. Valentinian the Younger, the emperor of the West, was unable to oppose him and sent peace terms and gave him, as if to a peace-loving man, the part of Africa which the Vandals had occupied, after accepting from Geseric on oath the terms that the king would not invade any further territory.

75. But he, about whose friendship there was already no doubt, violated the obligation of his oath, occupied Carthage under a false pretense of peace, and brought all its property under his own jurisdiction after plaguing the citizens with various kinds of torture. He then ravaged Sicily, besieged Palermo, introduced the Arian pestilence through the whole of Africa, drove priests from their churches, caused many to be martyrs, and, as in Daniel's prophecy, after altering the mysteries of sacred worship, delivered the churches to the enemies of Christ and commanded that they no longer be places of divine worship but dwellings for his men.

76. Against him Theodosius the Younger, the emperor of the East, prepared a war, which did not come into effect. For inasmuch as the Huns were ravaging Thrace and Illyria, the army sent against the Vandals was recalled from Sicily to defend the Thracians and Illyrians. But when the Emperor Majorianus coming from Italy to Spain prepared several ships in the province of Cartagena for his crossing to attack the Vandals, the latter, after

being warned of this by traitors, seized them on the shore of Cartagena, and so Majorianus, disappointed in his plan, returned to Italy and was beset by a trick of Reccimer and killed.

77. When Geseric found this out, not satisfied with ravaging Africa alone, he set sail with his ships and entered Rome; he plundered the property of the Romans for fourteen days and took with him Valentinian's widow and his daughters and many thousands of captives. Soon afterwards he returned to Carthage and when peace was requested by the emperor through legates, he returned Valentinian's widow to Constantinople and joined one of her daughters to his son Huneric by the law of marriage; and so after the destruction of many provinces and the spoils and slaughters of Christians he died in the fortieth year of his reign.

78. In the era 506 (468), after Geseric, Huneric, the son of Geseric, became king; his reign lasted seven years and five months, and he was married to the daughter of Valentinian whom his father had led as a prisoner from Rome together with her mother. He himself too was kindled by the Arian madness and persecuted the Catholics throughout the whole of Africa more harshly than his father; he destroyed churches, sent into exile priests and clergymen of every order, also banished with more severe exile about four thousand monks and laymen, made martyrs, and cut off the tongues of confessors, who spoke fully up to the end even with their tongues removed.

79. Then Laetus, bishop of the city of Nepte, was gloriously crowned with martyrdom. As he could not by various punishments be defiled by the stain of the Arian infection, he suddenly gained heaven victoriously. But Huneric, amid the immense slaughter caused by his ungodliness which he had wrought against the Catholics, in the eighth year of his reign ended his life pitiably like his revered Arius, with all his intestines pouring out.

80. In the era 514 (476). Guntamund succeeded Huneric, and his reign lasted twelve years; he immediately restored peace to the Church and recalled the Catholics from exile.

81. In the era 526 (488), after the death of Guntamund, Trasamund became king; he reigned for twenty-seven years and four months. Filled with the Arian madness, he persecuted the Catholics, closed the churches, and sent 120 bishops from the whole African church into exile in Sardinia. He died at Carthage. In his time Fulgentius, the bishop of Ruspe, won renown in our religious doctrine.

82. In the era 553 (515), Hilderic, the son of Huneric and of the daughter of the Emperor Valentinian, became king after Trasamund, and his reign lasted seven years and three months. As he had been obliged by oath by his predecessor Trasamund not to open the churches to the Catholics or to restore their privileges during his reign, before becoming king, so as not to break the pledge of his oath, he ordered that the Catholic priests be called back from exile and the churches opened. Gilimer took up despotic power, robbed him of kingship, and delivered

him together with his sons to the confinement of a prison.

83. In the era 560 (522), Gilimer took up kingship with despotic power; he cruelly destroyed many of the nobles of the province of Africa and took away the property of many people. Against him the Emperor Justinian sent an army because of the vision of the bishop Laetus who had been made a martyr by Huneric, king of the Vandals; the force was led by Belisarius, the commander-in-chief of the army; after joining battle Belisarius killed Guntemir and Gebamund, the king's brothers, who had been defeated in the first encounter; then, after putting Gilimer himself to flight, he took Africa in the ninety-seventh year after the entry of the Vandals.

84. But during the attack of Belisarius itself, before the engagement took place, the despot Gilimer killed King Hilderic together with some relatives of his family. Belisarius, however, captured the tyrant Gilimer and brought him as well as the riches gained from the plundering of the provinces and of Africa to the Emperor Justinian at Constantinople. Thus the kingdom of the Vandals together with its people and its race was destroyed in the era 563 (525); it lasted 113 years from King Gunderic up to the death of Gilimer.

HISTORY OF THE SUEVI

85. In the era 446 (408), the Suevi under their ruler Hermeric entered Spain together with the Alani and the Vandals and occupied all of Galicia with the Vandals. But when the Vandals crossed into Africa, the Suevi alone obtained Galicia; Hermeric was their ruler in Spain for thirty-two years. The Galicians had their own kingdom in part of the province. Hermeric plundered them with continuous ravaging and finally, overcome by an illness, he made peace with them. He then gave his son Recchila royal power in place of himself. He was sent with a large part of the army and after beginning a war crushed Andevotus, the commander of the Roman soldiers, together with many troops at the river Genil in the province of Baetica after seizing great quantities of his gold and silver. Then he besieged Merida and after entering and occupying it, joined it to his kingdom. But his father Hermeric was afflicted with a long illness for seven years and died.

86. In the era 478 (440), after Hermeric's death his son Recchila became king; his reign lasted eight years. After the death of his father he occupied Seville and brought the provinces of Baetica and Cartagena into his power and then ended his life at Merida in the practice of paganism, as the story goes.

87. In the era 486 (448), Reccarius, the son of Recchila, who had become a Catholic, succeeded to the kingship, and his reign lasted nine years. He received in marriage the daughter of Theudered, king of the Goths, and at the beginning of his reign he started by plundering Vasconia. Soon afterward he went to his father-in-law Theudered and on his way back ravaged the district of Saragossa with the help of the Goths. He invaded the province of Tarraco, which was subject to Roman rule. He pillaged the territories of Cartagena which his father Recchila had given back to the Romans, and finally, when Theuderic, king of the Goths, invaded Spain, Reccarius fought a battle against him and was first put to flight and then captured and killed.

88. In the era 495 (457), after the death of Reccarius, the Suevi, who had remained in the furthest part of Galicia, set up Masdra, the son of Massila, as their king. Soon they divided into two parts, and some called Franta their king while others Masdra. But after Franta's death the Suevi who were with him immediately followed Reccimund, and after making peace with Masdra, they all plundered Lusitania together. But in the third year of his reign Masdra was murdered by his own men.

89. In the era 498 (460), after Masdra's murder a quarrel arose between Frumarius and Reccimund over the rule of the kingdom. But Frumarius with the troop of Suevi that he had destroyed the district of the city of Flavia with great ruin. Reccimund, however, ravaged the

neighboring districts of the Auregenses as well as the maritime lands of the district of Lugo.

90. In the era 502 (464), after the death of Frumarius, Remismund won back all the Suevi to his rule by royal authority, restored peace with the Galicians, and sent envoys to seek a treaty with Theuderic, king of the Goths, from whom he received, also through ambassadors, both arms and a wife whom he might have. Then he crossed into Lusitania and destroyed Coimbra after deceiving it by a semblance of peace. Lisbon too was seized by him when Lusidius, one of its citizens who was in authority there, surrendered it. At this time Alax, a Gaul by race who had become an apostate and an Arian, in order to help his king appeared among the Suevi as an enemy of the Catholic faith and of the divine Trinity; he brought this noxious poison from the Gallic district of the Goths and infected the whole nation of the Suevi with the corruption of a deadly heresy. Then after many kings of the Suevi had persevered in the Arian heresy, at last Theudemir took up the authority of kingship.

91. He at once destroyed the error of the Arian impiety and restored the Suevi to the Catholic faith with the support of Martin, bishop of the monastery of Dume, a man distinguished in faith and knowledge; through his efforts the peace of the Church was increased, and many matters pertaining to the teachings of the Church were established in the districts of Galicia. After Theudemir, Miro was made ruler of the Suevi, and he reigned for thirteen

years. In the second year of his reign he waged war against the Ruccones. He then went to the help of Leovigild, the king of the Goths, against his rebellious son and to aid him in capturing Seville, and there completed the end of his life.

92. His son Eboric succeeded him in kingship, but when he was still a young man, Audeca seized despotic power, deprived him of kingship, and after making him a monk sentenced him to a monastery. But condemnation for this deed was not long delayed. Leovigild, king of the Goths, soon made war upon the Suevi and after conquering their kingdom and dethroning Audeca, tonsured him and subjected him to the office of the priesthood after the dignity of royal power. For this was necessary in order that he might suffer with fitting requital the same thing which he had done to his king. But the kingdom of the Suevi was destroyed and transferred to the Goths; it is written that it lasted 177 years.

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