## ON THE EARLY FRISIAN SETTLEMENTS IN SCOTLAND. By W. F. SKENE, Esq., F.S.A. Scot.

I ought, perhaps, to apologise to the Society for bringing before them a subject so purely historical; but I have been induced to put these notes together in consequence of some remarks which fell from Dr Simpson, the other evening, in the interesting notice he gave of the Cat-stane.

The object of this paper is first, to lay before the Society—and I shall do it as shortly as I can—the evidence which exists to show that the Frisians had formed settlements in Scotland at a period anterior to the date usually assigned for the arrival of the Saxons in England; and, secondly, to say something as to the locality of these settlements, and the remains which they have left behind them.

When Bede wrote his ecclesiastical history of the English nation in the year 731, he had no better account to give of the first settlement of the Saxons in England than this :—In the year of our Lord's incarnation 449, Martian being made emperor with Valentinian, the nation of the Angles or Saxons being invited by the aforesaid king—that is, Vortigern, king of the Britons—arrived in Britain with three long ships, and had a place assigned them to reside in by the same king, in the eastern part of the island. Those who came over were of the three most powerful nations of Germany, viz. the Saxons, the Angles, and the Tutes. The two first commanders are said to have been Hengist and Horsa. They were the sons of Victgils, son of Vitta, son of Vecta, son of Woden.

This statement of Bede is the basis of all the subsequent narratives of

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the arrival of the Saxons. It is partly founded on the statement of the first arrival of the Saxons in Gildas, who wrote a century and a-half earlier, but who neither mentions the names of Hengist and Horsa as the leaders of the Saxons, nor of Vortigern as the king of the Britons who invited them, this name being a later interpolation in Gildas. The date of 449, however, has been supplied by Bede himself, upon a construction of the passage in Gildas, and the authority of the cotemporary Life of St Germanus by Constantius, which is undoubtedly erroneous. Constantius mentions that St Germanus was twice in Britain, and that on one of these occasions the Britons were attacked by the Picts and Saxons. Bede attributes this appearance of the Saxons in Britain to the second visit of St Germanus, which was in 449, and coupling this with the fact that Gildas apparently puts the arrival of the Saxons after the letter of the Britons to Ætius ter-consule, whose third consulship was in 446, he fixes upon 449 as the date of the arrival of the Saxons. He has, however, misunderstood Constantius, who unquestionably attaches this event to the first visit of St Germanus, which took place in 429; and the appeal in 446 to Ætius for assistance against the barbarians, was certainly directed against the Saxons after they had reduced the Britons to subjection, and not against the Picts and Scots, as implied by Gildas, before their arrival. The matter is put beyond all doubt by Prosper, whose Chronicle was written 455, and who was therefore contemporary with the events he talks of, and who, under 441, says-"Britanniæ usque ad hoc tempus variis cladibus eventibusque latæ in ditionem Saxonum rediguntur."

It is clear from this authority, that so far from the Saxons having arrived for the first time in 449, they had actually completed the entire conquest of the island eight years earlier; and, stripped of its date, the statement by Bede becomes a mere legend of the early settlement of the Saxons in Britain—a tale which had been handed down, and was attached to every statement of their first settlement, but which was not history. This legend represented them at some unknown period as invited by a British king, Vortigern, and arriving under the mythic leaders Hengist and Horsa.

When we turn to Nennius,—a work which, in its original shape, is certainly not later than Bede, but which appeared in successive editions down to the tenth century, and in which a body of most ancient British

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legends are preserved,—we find the same legend, but with three different dates assigned to it.

The latest date in Nennius is 428, when he says Guortigern began to reign in Britain, in the consulship of Theodosius and Valentinian; and in the fourth year of his reign the Saxons came to Britain, Felix and Taurus being consuls. This passage occurs in the Harleian MS. only, written 954. The consulship of Theodosius and Valentinian fell in the year 425, and that of Felix and Taurus in the year 428.

The next date is 392, when he says :—" From the first year in which the Saxons came to Britain to the fourth year of King Mervin, are reckoned 429 years." This passage is as old as the edition of 821, which was the fourth of King Mervin of Wales, and places the arrival of the Saxons in 392. It corresponds remarkably with the oldest Welsh chronological tables, and that preserved in the Red Book of Hergest, a MS. of the thirteenth century, which says that from the reign of Guortigern to the battle of Badon are 128 years; and as the date of the battle of Badon is stated by the "Annales Cambriæ" to be 676, this places the commencement of the reign of Guortigern in 388, and the arrival of the Saxons four years afterwards, in 392.

The earliest date in Nennius is 374. "Guortigern reigned in Britain when there came three cyuls from Germany, in which were Hors and Hengist, who were brothers, and sons of Guictgils, son of Guitta, son of Guechta, son of Woden. Guortigern received them kindly, and gave them the island of Thanet. While Gratianus the Second and Aquantius reigned, the Saxons were received by Guortigern in the 347th year after the passion of Christ." This passage is certainly part of the original work, and though much corrupted afterwards by the Durham commentators, who tried to bring it into accordance with Bede, it unquestionably stands so in its original shape.

The 347th year after the passion of Christ is equal to the 374th year after his incarnation; and in this year Gratianus was consul a second time, in conjunction with Aquantius. The actions of the traditionary Guortigern correspond in so remarkable a manner with those of the historic Gerontius, who was a Briton, but held the position of comes, and accompanied Constantine the tyrant to Gaul in the year 407, that their identity seems beyond question. But his history belongs rather to the Kentish story; and its bearing upon the tradition, as well as the correspondence of Nennius' three dates with the three devastations of Britain recorded by Gildas, would lead to too long a digression.

In another passage of Nennius we also have the very important statement, that while one part of the Saxons under Hengist settled in Kent, another body of them under Octa and Ebissa, his son and nephew, settled in Scotland. The passage is as follows :— "Hengist said to Vortigern, I will invite my son with his cousin, for they are warlike men, that they may fight against the Scots, and give them regions which are in the north, near the wall which is called Guaul; and he ordered that they should be invited; and Octa and Ebissa were invited with forty cyuls. And they, when they had navigated round the Picts, laid waste the Orkney Islands, and came and occupied many regions beyond the Mare Frisicum, as far as the confines of the Picts."

I believe this to be a genuine old tradition; and this statement that the Saxons had arrived on the British shores as early as the latter part of the fourth century, and that they made at least two settlements in the country, one in Kent and the other in the extreme north, is remarkably corroborated by the Roman historians.

Ammianus Marcellinus, in recording the first outbreak of the barbaric tribes upon the Roman province in Britain in the year 360, says they consisted of the gentes Scottorum Pictorumque; and in 364, four years after this, describes the barbarian army as consisting of Picti, Saxonesque, et Scotti et Attacotti, so that between 360 and 364 bodies of Saxons had joined in invading the Roman province. In 368 they slew Nictaridus comes tractus Maritimi. This maritime tract was the coast of Kent, which was under the protection of an officer termed Comes; but in 409 the same officer is termed in the Notitia Imperii as Comes of the Saxon shore; and it is now thoroughly established that the Saxons had settlements on the shore, so that it is plain that one of the settlements mentioned by Nennius, viz. that on the Kentish shore, had taken place between 368 and 409, thus embracing his two earliest dates of 374 and 392.

The other settlement in the north, which Nennius says commenced with the Orkneys, and finally settled on the shore of the Mare Fresicum, must also have been as early as this period; for Claudian, in referring to the expulsion of the barbarians from the Roman province in 369, says, in describing the effect of his campaign—"Maduerunt Saxone fuso Orcades, incaluit Pictorum sanguine Thule, Scotorum cumulos flevit glacialis Ierne."

Thus, as icy Ireland wept her heaps of Scots slain, so the Orcades grew red with Saxon blood, an indication which coincides remarkably with Nennius' notice that the northern settlement had commenced with Orkney, and with the date of 374, which he attaches to the first arrival of the Saxons.

The name of Saxon was at this early period one of a very comprehensive character, and was applied to numerous people who, known formerly by distinctive appellations, now appear under the general name of Saxons. It embraced all the cities on the northern shore of Holland and Germany, from the Rhine to the Elbe,<sup>I</sup> and included among others the nation of the Frisii, who had, as far back as history reaches, been the inhabitants of the low-lying country extending from the Rhine to the Weser. That this early settlement of a people called by the general name of Saxons was in reality an offshoot from the Frisii or Frisians, appears from these facts :—

1st, Procopius says that Brittia lies between Britannia and Thule, by which he evidently means North Britain; and that it was inhabited by three nations, each under its proper king, viz., the Angli, the Frisones, and the Britons synonymous with the Isle.

The Angles, we know, were the population of Northumberland, and settled there for the first time under Ida, their leader, in 547. By the Frisones or Frisians, he evidently meant the older colony under Octa and Ebissa.

2dly, The legend in Nennius is a Frisian legend, and the genealogy of the Saxons there given a Frisian genealogy; for he deduces the ancestors of the leaders of this Saxon colony from Finn, son of Folcwald, son of Geta, who was "ut aiunt filius Dei."

Now Finn, son of Folcwald, is mentioned as a mythic hero in several

<sup>1</sup> In stating that the Saxons extended from the Rhine to the Elbe, I give a somewhat wider signification to the name than is done by Zeuss and others; but I consider that the name of Saxones was used in a looser sense than is generally supposed, and included the Low German tribes extending from the Elbe to the Rhine. of the old Anglo-Saxon poems, and in one, termed the Traveller's Song, we have "Finn Folcwalding Fresna Cynne,"—Finn, son of Folcwald, of Frisian race.

3dly, These settlements were on the shore of a sea termed the Mare Fresicum or Frisian Sea, which must have taken its name from Frisian settlements on its shores.

Assuming it then to be clear that a people known by the general name of Saxons, but who were in reality Frisians, and to whom tradition assigns as leaders Octa and Ebissa, had appeared on the coasts of North Britain, and made one or more settlements there as early as the year 374, the next question is, what part of the shores of North Britain are we to look to for these settlements? and I think we have materials for determining at least three localities.

The first and principal seat of them appears to have been the northern shore of the Firth of Forth, and extending along the shore of Forfarshire, and perhaps Kincardine, as far as Stonehaven. Nennius describes them as occupying "plurimas regiones ultra mare Fresicum," and the Durham commentators add "quod inter nos Scotorque est," which shows that the Firth of Forth is meant; and this is confirmed by Jocelyne, in his Life of Kentigern, who terms the shore of Culross "Frisicum litus," or the Frisian shore. This district includes the whole of Fife and Kinross, and the maritime part of Forfar; and the Frisian settlements did not probably extend further inland than the secondary chain of the Ochils and Sidlaw Hills, which separates the low region along the shore from the great straths of Stratherne and Strathmore. This region bears the indications of a Saxon population in the peculiar term applied to the hills which is here so frequent, viz. Laws; and the frontier range itself bears the name of the Sidlaw Hills.

We find a very peculiar word applied to parts of the district lying between the Ochils and the Sidlaw Hills and the sea, and that is the word Comgalls.

In an old notice of St Serf by Angus the Culdee, who wrote in the ninth century, Culross is said to be in the Comgalls between Sleavenochill, or the Ochill Hills, and Muirnguidan, or the Sea of Guidan; and again, in the Old Statistical Account of the parish of Inverkeiller, near Arbroath, it is said, "the ancient name of this parish was Conghoilles, as appears

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from a charter describing the lands of Boisach."<sup>1</sup> This is evidently the same word.

The name of Galls was applied by the Irish to the Danish and Norwegian pirates who infested their coasts in the ninth century; and in their traditionary history it is applied to all foreign races who attacked them from the sea. They distinguished the Norwegians from the Danes by terming the former Fingalls, and the latter Dubhgalls; and the district settled by the Norwegians in Ireland bore the name of Fingall. In the same way that the native population of Ireland called the Norwegian pirates Fingalls and their settlement Fingall, so I think did the native population here call the Frisian pirates Comgalls, and their settlement the Comgalls. In corroboration of this it will be observed that it is the same district, viz. the district between the Ochils and the sea in which Culross is situated, that is called by the Irish authority Comgalls, and by Jocelyn Fresicum litus, a Frisian shore. Though forming to a great extent the population of this district, they must eventually have become subject to the Pictish kingdom, as Bede undoubtedly includes it in the provincia Pictorum; but it accounts in some degree for the Angles of Northumbria having for thirty years maintained possession of this part of the provincia Pictorum; and when that possession terminated in 686 with the defeat and death of Egfrid, it is rather striking to observe that he appears to have advanced to the Sidlaw range without opposition; and that the great conflict with the Picts, in which the latter were victorious, took place at Dunnichen, in an attempt by the Saxons to penetrate through the Sidlaw range, which, according to this view, must have been the barrier which separated the Pictish and the Frisian population.

The extension of the Pictish boundary to the Forth, and the expulsion of the Angles, which followed this victory, must have likewise proved the ruin and end of the Frisian settlements on this side of the Firth.

The second locality in which I think we can trace them is that part of the coast of East-Lothian where it projects into the Firth, a great promontory consisting of the parishes of Dirleton and North Berwick,

<sup>1</sup> Through the kindness of Mr Howe, W.S., I have obtained an extract of this charter. It describes the lands of Ballysak and others—Jacen. in Baronia de Reidcastell Conghoillis, alias Innerkellour. and where there was anciently a ferry to the opposite coast of Fife, which is here not more than eight miles distance.

Here we have North Berwick Law and the barony of Congalton, or the town of the Comgalls. It may be objected to this etymology, that it is placing the Saxon affix ton or town to a Celtic word; but in an old charter of the barony of Congalton, in which the boundaries are given, we find one of the points of the boundary is termed Knockingallstane. Knockingall is unmistakeably Celtic, and means the hillock of the Galls, thus confirming the meaning of Comgalls; and we have the Saxon stane appended to it.

You will recollect that in the old notice of St Serf the equivalent of the Mare Fresicum was Muirn Guidan, or the Sea of Guidan. Bede, in describing the Firths of Forth and Clyde, says that the eastern, or Firth of Forth, has in the midst of it, *in medio*, the urbs or city of Guidi, and that the western has on the right hand of it the urbs or city Alcluitt. The latter is known to be Dumbarton Castle; and the contrast between the expressions *in medio* and *supra se hoc est ad dexteram sui*, shows that the urbs Guidi was on an island, and was an urbs in the sense that the fort on Dumbarton rock was an urbs.

The resemblance of the names Muirnguidan and urbs Guidi is too striking not to show that the words are the same; and the probability is that the urbs Guidi was a Frisian seat, because,—First, It was the peculiarity of these early Saxon rovers to make their first settlement on small islands near the shore, as we see in Kent, where the island of Thanet was their first possession; and secondly, the Durham copies of Nennius says the colony of Octa and Ebissa occupied "plurimas regiones et insulas," which can only refer to islands on the Firth of Forth.

The word Guidan and Guidi is from the shape of it, unquestionably a Cymric form; but we must look for it not in its Cymric shape, but rather in its Saxon or its Guidelian equivalent. The Saxon equivalent of gu is v, and the Gaelic is f. Thus Nennius' guitta is in Bede vitta—guictgils is Vectgils. Again, the Cymric gwr, a man, is in Gaelic fear, and the Cymric guydh, trees, is in its Gaelic form fiadh; and so forth. The Saxon form of guid is therefore vid with a v, and the Gaelic is fid with an f. Opposite this part of the coast of East-Lothian are a small group of islands, including the towering rock of the Bass. The name of

one of these islands is Fidra. It is thus described in the Statistical Account of the parish of Dirleton :---

"There are three islands belonging to the parish—Fidra or Fetheray, Ibris or Eybrouchey, and the Lamb.

"The first of these is situated directly opposite the village of Dirleton, about a mile from the shore. Its appearance is highly picturesque; the western part is of considerable elevation, and is united by an isthmus to the eastern part, which rises in a castellated form and is called the Castle of Tarbet. As early as the reign of William the Lion there was a chapel dedicated to St Nicholas on the island, of which the ruins still remain."

In the Chartulary of Dryburgh it is mentioned at a very early period in connection with the chapel of St Nicholas as "insula de Elboitel." Elboitel is the name of an estate in the mainland immediately opposite to it; and as there were no fewer than eight Tarbets in Scotland, all named from the narrow isthmus called a Tarbet, and as two of these were castles, this one appears to have been distinguished as Tarbet Elboitel. Under a name almost identical with this it is twice mentioned in the Irish Annals at the years 711 and 730, and the first time in connection with an important notice which throws much light on the subject. The notice is this :--

710. Devastation upon the race of the Comgalls, in which two sons of Doirgarto were slain. Angus, son of Maelan, slain upon the island; Fiachra, son of Dungaile, among the Picts, slain.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> By the expression "in medio," Bede seems to imply merely an island at all times surrounded by the sea. Thus, in his Life of St Cuthbert, he terms the island of Farne only two miles from the shore, "in medio oceane," in contradistinction to Lindisfarne, where the channel between it and the land is dry at low water. The sea flows round Fidra at all states of the tide.

<sup>2</sup> Imbiarea apud genus Comgail ubi duo filii Nechtain me Doirgarto jugulati eunt. Œngus mac Maelacn for insci jugulatus. Fiachra mac Dungaile apud Cruithne

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The family of Doirgarto were Pictish, and belonged to the opposite region, in which Lochleven was situated; for the isle of Lochleven was granted to St Serf, as appears from the Chartulary of St Andrews, by Brude, son of Doirgarto; and Congal, son of Doirgarto, is said to be the founder of the Castle of Lochleven.

In 712, two years after, there is this notice :---" The burning of Tarbet Boitter, Congal, son of Doirgarto, is slain"---the name of Doirgarto connecting this expedition with the former.

The second notice of this place is 730: the burning of Tarbert Boitter by Dungal. This was in the second year of the Pictish king Angus, son of Fergus, and this Dungal was his brother's son; as, in the same year, we have, in a subsequent battle, the death of Dungal, son of Conguil, son of Fergus; but this Angus, son of Fergus, is the Pictish king who, in the legend of the foundation of St Andrews, is said to have led a great army against the Saxons of East Lothian, and to have fought the battle with their king, Athelstane, in which St Andrew appeared to him, which is supposed to have been fought in the neighbouring parish of Athelstaneford; and the parishes of Gulane and North Berwick are both dedicated to St Andrew; from which we may infer that this second burning of Tarbet took place in that expedition.

It would lead to too great a digression to follow this part of the subject further; but I hope to do so ere long in a paper upon the true history of the veneration of St Andrew in Scotland, and the foundation of St Andrews.

jugulatus. An ult ad an. 709. One would naturally be inclined to suppose that the genus Comgall were a Dalriadic tribe, the descendants of Comgall, king of Dalriada; just as the descendants of Gabran, his brother, were termed genus Gabran; but there does not appear to have been a Dalriadic tribe so named. The tract in the Book of Ballymote on the Albanic Scots, mentions the Cineal Gabran, Cineal Ængus and Cineal Joavin only, and includes in the territories of the Cineal Gabran the district of Comgaill, or Corvall, called after this Comgal. And this is corroborated by Tighernac, who, in 574, mentions Duncan, son of Conall, son of Comgall, among the "servi filiorum Gabran." The notice of the genus Comgall in 710, places them evidently among the Picts, and apparently in Kinross-shire, as Sir J. Balfour mentions a tradition that the Castle of Lochleven was "the ancient habitation of Congal, son of Doirgart, who founded the samen ;" and the Annals of Ulster have, at "711, Congal macDoirgarto moritur."

The third locality in which we find traces of a Frisian settlement, I find in William of Malmesbury, who, in mentioning the discovery of the supposed sepulchre of Walwin, nephew of King Arthur, in the year 1087, says:—"He reigned a most renowned knight in that part of Britain which is still named Walweitha, but was driven from his kingdom by the brother and nephew of Hengist, of whom I have spoken in my first book." By the district named Walweitha is meant Galweithia, or Galloway; and in referring to his first book, we find he alludes to this same colony of Frisians, supposed to have been led by Octa and Ebissa.

This statement—from which we may infer that a part of Galloway had been occupied by these Frisians—is confirmed by a passage in Jocelyne's Life of Kentigern. He says that on Kentigern's return from Wales to Glasgow, he stopped at Holdem, or Hoddelme, in Dumfriesshire; and there, desiring to preach to the people, the ground on which he stood miraculously rose up, so that he could address them from an eminence. The substance of his discourse is given; and we are told that he demonstrated to them that Woden, whom they believed to be their principal god, and especially the Angli, from whom they deduced their origin, and to whom they dedicated the fourth day of the week, was a mortal and a man, and a king of Saxons.

It is clear the population of Dumfriesshire must have been one of the Saxon tribes. Among the cities of Britain enumerated by Nennius, there are two, Caer Breatan and Caer Pheris;<sup>1</sup> and as the first is certainly Dumbarton, and meant the city of the Britains, so, I think, the latter was Dumfries, or the city of the Frisians.

Before concluding, I wish to allude very shortly to a people mentioned in the traditionary history of Ireland, whom I believe to be the same with these early Frisian pirates. They are called in Irish tradition the Fomorians, or Fomhoraidh, and appear throughout the whole traditionary history as a race of sea-pirates, occasionally infesting the coasts, and occasionally settling on its shores and subjugating its inhabitants. They are called in these legends African pirates; but the same name of Africans is attributed by Procopius, who has preserved Frisian and Saxon traditions, to them. They are also called Lochlannaibh, which clearly

<sup>1</sup> The names of the twenty-eight cities given by Nennius still remain, with few exceptions, unidentified. The usual identifications are merely conjectural.

marks them out as being pirates from the north coast of Germany. An early king is Bhreas, or the Frisian. Their principal stronghold was on a small island called Tory Island, where they had a fort called Tur Conaing, after the name of a leader—Conaing, the Saxon for king. Their chief seat, this small island called after a leader, being nearly parallel to their chief seat in the Forth, likewise a small island called the city of Guidi, whom I believe to be no other than the Guitta, son of Guechta, of Nennius, and the Vitta, son of Vecta, of Bede, and who also appears in the Pictish Chronicle as Guidid Gadbrechach. The word Fo-mor means under the sea. The old Irish name for the low country lying east of the Rhine was Tirfothuinn, the land under the waves, from its being supposed to be lower than the sea; so was it also called Tirformor, the land under the sea, and its inhabitants Fomorians or Fomhoraigh.

They appear in intimate connection with the Cruthens or Picts. It would take too long to quote the numerous passages which show this traditionary connection between them, but it runs through the whole of their traditionary history; and I cannot help suspecting that they have left their name in the parish in the county of Aberdeenshire termed Foveran, as the Cruthens have in the neighbouring parish of Cruden.

The reason that I mention this traditionary people is that they were the great builders of Cyclopean forts in Ireland.

Two great fortresses, one called Rath Cimbaott in Dalaradia, now part of Down, and another in Meath, are said in tradition to have been the work of four celebrated builders of the Fomoraigh. Conaing, one of their leaders, is said to have built a strong tower in Tory Island, on the coast of Donegal, hence called Torinis; and Balar Beman, another famous champion of the Fomorians, erected another fort on Torinis called Dunard Balair, a great fort of Balar.

But above all, the great Cyclopean fort of Aelech, or Aelech Fririn, in Londonderry—said in old poem, of all the works of Erin the oldest is Aelech Fririn—is said to have been erected by Gaibhan and Fririn, two celebrated builders of the Fomoraigh.

> "Aelech Fririn, the level platform, The noblest Royal Fortress in the world, To which stronghold led Horse roads through fine ramparts;

Many its houses, rare its stones, And great were its tributes. Lofty castle is Aelech Fririn, The Rath of this worthy man, Pleasant stone fortress, Protecting house of heroes."

## (From the " Dinsheanchas.")

The fortress of Aelech was of a circular form, built of large stones well fitted together and of great strength, constructed in the style of Cyclopean architecture. There are still considerable remains of the stone fortress, and the wall varies from ten to fifteen feet in thickness, and is of immense strength. The circumference of this building was almost 100 yards, and it was surrounded by three great earthen ramparts.

If in these traditions of the Fomhoraigh there is preserved some recollections of these forerunners of the Saxons and Angles, those Frisians who under the generic name of Saxons first invested our coasts and made settlements on our shores, it is probable that we must attribute to them many of those stupendous hill forts which are to be found within no great distance from the eastern shore, and especially those which crown the summits of the hills termed "Laws," and probably many of the sepulchral remains; while it is not impossible that the Cat Stane, with its inscription of "In hoc tumulo jacet Vetta filius Victi," may commemorate by a Roman hand the tomb of their first leader Vitta, son of Vecta, the traditionary grandfather of Hengist and Horsa.