

SCANDINAVIAN MEDIEVAL DESCENDANTS OF CHARLEMAGNE: A DETAILED GENEALOGY OF THE ISSUE OF AGNES HAAKONSDOTTIR, OF THE SO-CALLED FAIRHAIR DYNASTY

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ABSTRACT

Early genealogical connections that link Scandinavian families to Charlemagne are discussed, as are the societal circumstances affecting genealogy, and the practically simultaneous spread of feudal and chivalric forms. Difficulties in Scandinavian medieval genealogies are outlined. Several examples are given of weaknesses which have, for example, influenced *Europäische Stammtafeln*.

A detailed descendants' table from Agnes, lady of Borgarsyssel, down to the 16th century is given, listing approximately 220 Charlemagne descendants identified from secondary literature. Agnes was the natural daughter of king Haakon V of Norway (reigned 1299-1319). Her progeny is represented in the nobility of all the Scandinavian countries, but predominantly in Sweden.

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Introduction

In the late Middle Ages and the beginning of the modern era, Charlemagne blood was one of the highest insignia of nobility, sealing something like membership of the chivalric family of the world. Although the demand was highest in western Europe such a heritage was also esteemed in Scandinavian countries. Even today a number of private web pages aim specifically to demonstrate Scandinavian descents from Charlemagne.

Charlemagne descent serves as a relatively good indicator of the adoption in Scandinavia of the characteristics of western European civilization. The spread of that descent can be measured geographically, temporally and through social class.

Apparently because Norway at the time was essentially part of other kingdoms, Norwegian genealogies in the late medieval and early modern period have been relatively obscure in the wider European context. For example, there is next to nothing in *Europäische Stammtafeln* (ES), which is practically devoid of Norwegian families after the last dynasts of the so-called house of Fairhair². The lack of critical study has given too much opportunity for unsubstantiated genealogies. Many Norwegians have been erroneously taught to believe (*cf* Løberg, 1998) that their indigenous nobility went extinct either because of the Black Death and/or because foreign oppression of the 15th and 16th centuries replaced them with foreigners. To counter these fabricated genealogies and the supposed extinction of so many

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² The house or dynasty of Fairhair is traditionally the agnatically coherent, indigenous medieval royal house of a united Norway, its first dynasty. In reality it was very likely an artificially conjoined bunch of genetically separate lineages.

families, I here present part of the results of many years study on the descents from native Norwegian nobility. This article focuses on the descendants of Agnes Haakonsdottir, illegitimate daughter of king Haakon V of Norway, who was himself the last male of the dynasty of king Sverre³.

Late medieval Scandinavian society in the context of genealogical research

The western system of chivalry, with knightly titles, oaths of fealty, escutcheons, tournaments, destriers and so forth, penetrated significantly into Scandinavia during the 13th century, becoming well established in the 14th. From the 14th to 16th centuries, the title of knight (*ritari*, *ridder*, *riddar*) seems to have signified the top rank in the noble class. Almost all other noblemen were known as armigers (squires) – not only those youngsters who were in training to become knights, but also all sorts of even elderly gentlemen in their rural manors were known by the title “*vaepnar*” (*asemies*, *vaebner*, *våpnare*, *vaepner*) if they were not dubbed knights. Neither of the titles (*ridder* and *vaepner*) were hereditary.

The original nobles in Scandinavian countries in the high middle ages were usually larger local landowners, and as such accepted leaders and representatives of their local communities. They bore more resemblance to farmers than professional soldiers (Samuelson, 1993). Their one traditional task was to lead the defence of their home villages.

The arrival of the feudal system and chivalric trappings coincided with (and/or led to) military duty becoming foremost in the nobleman's life. Only at this stage did local magnates, previously largely autonomous, become more tied to the king's government, being incorporated as vassals and placed under real obligations to serve in the king's wars. Only in the late 13th century was nobility established as an officially privileged class, in the sense of tax exemption granted to lords who supplied mounted soldiers to the king. However even at that stage, being a wealthy farmer was advantageous compared to purely military skills, because furnishing cavalrymen with their equipment and horses required sustainable wealth.

The genetic makeup of ancient Scandinavian nobility springs from such antecedents. Their heredity did not necessarily make them skilled tacticians and warriors, but traits of farmland-grabbing, greed, local leadership, hoarding and hogging, interests in hunting, fishing, agriculture, layman studies of law, as well as some tendencies to separatism and independence seem to have been abundantly present among them. It appears that after the Viking era ended (having exported plenty of troublesome individuals to southern countries), Scandinavian nobles in general were less violent than nobility elsewhere. Certainly Sweden, Finland and Norway did not in general subjugate peasants to full serfdom, in contrast to a number of central and eastern European societies even into the modern era. There are few cases of outright robber barons in Scandinavia.

Throughout the Middle Ages, a significant portion of Scandinavian border and high nobles married over country borders, and a small but significant number of noble military migrated between kingdoms. It was only the early modern development of two rival 'nation' states: on one hand the Swedish empire, on the other Denmark-Norway, which brought these cross-border noble family ties to an end.

³ The house of Sverre, as it is sometimes called, was, depending on interpretation, either the last or the penultimate portion of the so-called Fairhair dynasty.

From about the 14th century, an influx of German knights started to immigrate to each Scandinavian country, after the country had already adopted rudiments of chivalric organization. They generally were useful for kings seeking centralised power, serving as military commanders and governors who were less autonomous and self-sufficient than the indigenous nobility, and more dependent on royal favour. Denmark started to experience this phenomenon in the last decades of the 13th century, whereas real influx to Norway and Sweden started perhaps about half a century later. Well into the modern era, Scandinavian monarchs continued to employ additional officers from Germany.

It is probably not a coincidence that Scandinavian descent from Charlemagne is provable, and became almost common among the nobility, on a similar timescale to the arrival and adoption of chivalric forms. Proven descent from Charlemagne seems to have first come to Scandinavia through some royal families. Although Charlemagne descents may have also existed among the medieval lower classes or lesser nobility in Scandinavia, all such appear to be impossible to prove due to lack of documentation. One of the most certain Charlemagne descents in Scandinavia came through Berengaria of Portugal, last wife of king Valdemar II of Denmark. Valdemar II's grandmother Rikissa Burislevsdatter of Poland may also have been a Charlemagne descendant, but her pedigree is riddled with uncertainties and mistaken identifications, in contrast to Berengaria for whom there are descents from Charlemagne with clear contemporary attestation at each genealogical step.

Genealogies of the lower classes in medieval Scandinavia are almost entirely undocumented. Even for the nobility the records are fragmentary for most of the middle ages. Formalisation of the noble class took place only in the 17th century, for example in Sweden in 1625 when the House of Knights and Nobility (*Riddarhuset*) was founded. Systematic genealogical work and collections were initiated as part of that process. Genealogies of earlier centuries were collected usually retrospectively, based on a variety of records and oral tradition. From around 1500 we can begin to identify some sort of genealogical record for all noble families. Some records can be found for all male magnates during the 14th century, while only the most prominent lineages (such as families of jarls and equivalents, *ie* semi-princely families) are documented from the 13th century and earlier. Even ancient royal lineages do not emerge from the mists of history until around the year 1000.

In Scandinavia, provinces near country borders were generally more filled with nobility, more realistically 'military families', though most of those tended to be lower-class nobles and not magnates, their tax-exempted status and thus nobility deriving basically from being local defenders. The northern parts of Norway, Sweden and Finland seem to have been almost empty of noble families, although some magnates also held properties in such remote locations. The nobles from frontier regions often migrated to central or capital areas of their country (insofar as the concept of capital then existed).

Denmark and its capital region received waves of nobles from Holstein and Sleswick⁴, settling there because of serving the king. Practically the entire area called eastern Denmark (part of Sweden since the 1650s) comprised war-ravaged border provinces (Halland, Blekinge and Skåne), with plenty of lower nobility, although for Denmark Skåne had features of a central area because of the primate's see at Lund.

⁴ Border areas that were formerly autonomous, warring occasionally even against Denmark, but from mid-15th century forming the Danish border with Germany.

Sudermannia and Uplandia in Sweden saw a gradual increase in nobles holding manors there. These often originated from Westrogothia or Smalandia, when an upwardly mobile border noble received higher appointments such as High Councillor. This also started the elevation of status for his family.

Norway's kings resided in Denmark from the 1380s, so there was no clearly defined central area in Norway, and some Norwegian noble families actually relocated to Copenhagen. Norway's greatest concentration of nobility lived in the small Bahus province, at that time against the Swedish border. Medieval Sweden had a multitude of "lower" nobility in its borders with eastern Denmark and southern Norway (Smalandia and Westrogothia; counties of Kalmar, Varend, Finnveden, Njudung, Dalaland; and also Vermelandia).

In medieval Finland, almost none was counted among high nobility; practically all were lower, local nobles, holding their position thanks to local defence obligations. However, their number was disproportionately high: there seem to have been almost as many noblemen as in Sweden west of the Gulf of Bothnia (Samuelson, 1993). Finnish nobility were chiefly located along the southern coast of the country, and some along important river routes inland. Those who lived near Turku, seem to have been best-placed for gaining promotions in royal service.

Indications of the end of the Middle Ages in Scandinavia are: centralisation of administration and power in any kingdom, use of surnames by members of the nobility, reduction in peaceful interaction such as marriages between nobles of different Scandinavian countries, religious reformation and adoption of lutheranism, and Swedish kings started to grant hereditary noble honorifics, baron and count.

Purpose, methodology and sources of the present study

The present article aims:

- a) to provide an overview of historically known families (and gateway ancestors) in medieval Scandinavia that conveyed a proven Charlemagne descent, including an evaluation of the evidence and certainty of these descents
- b) to compile a list of medieval descendants of Agnes Haakonsdottir of Borgarsyssel, who was a reliably proven and well attested descendant of Charlemagne, supported by reliable sources, mostly secondary material, such as Scandinavian prosopographies.

The descendants' tree of Agnes is intended to be an accurate work of reference in its own right, regardless of the links to Charlemagne. It presents a review of mainly well-accepted Scandinavian genealogies, with confirmatory evidence for some of the genealogical links from fresh analytical assessment of sources such as inheritances and properties.

The main sources used are *Den Introducerade Svenska Adels Ättartavlor* [EÅ: Genealogical Tables of Swedish Nobility], a nine-volume series edited by Gustav Elgenstierna et al. (1925-36), and the more modern series *Äldre Svenska Frälseätkter* [ÅSF: Older Swedish Tax-Exempted Families], edited chiefly by Wernstedt and Gillingstam (1958-2001). The latter refers to those medieval Swedish magnate families whose male line did not survive to institutionalization and

registration of nobility in the 1620s. The remaining sources are collected biographical publications and other literature.⁵

I do not claim that the massive Elgenstierna work is necessarily always fully correct. It nevertheless represents received knowledge, and appears to be surprisingly free of grave mistakes. Being an end stage of a longer evolution, obvious errors had mostly been corrected earlier. In the 17th and 18th centuries, the Swedish *Riddarhuset* collected and analysed stem tables (family trees) of all registered noble families, and monitored their contemporary members. They even had certain privileges in having material sent from parishes and local administrations. Almost all of these pedigrees were published in the late 19th century, particularly in the book series of Gabriel Anrep (1858-64), after analysing and correcting the data, as well as axing many historically unsupported mythical ancestries. Half a century later, the working group led by Elgenstierna recompiled them, benefiting greatly from earlier works, and learning from criticisms levied against the earlier collections.

Generally, the lineages listed by Elgenstierna may be trusted as much as can any genealogy not confirmed by DNA evidence, but rather reliant on family records of births and parentages, used for example to determine inheritance. During three centuries of evolution many mistakes and misunderstandings had already been pruned away before Elgenstierna compiled the information. Among tens of thousands of individuals in Elgenstierna, I know of only two cases where the book is inconsistent, giving a different mother in the birth family compared with the married family. Even in these two cases, the uncertainty is apparent to the eyes of a careful reader. Of course this excludes minor typographical errors and mistakes in individual prosopographical details that do not affect the genealogy. Some of the medieval and early modern pedigrees of noble families published by Elgenstierna in the 1930s, appear to be unreliable. For example, recent research has revealed the mythological nature of the earliest Rålamb pedigree published in Elgenstierna, the more accurate (and shorter) pedigree is provided in the above-mentioned *Äldre Svenska Frälsesläkter*.

Ancestry of Berengaria and Valdemar II

By way of background information, there are several alternative routes from Charlemagne to Berengaria of Portugal, some of them seemingly beyond doubt. Two examples (based on *Europäische Stammtafeln, Neue Folge* [ESNF]) are as follows:

- A. *Charlemagne – Pippin (Karlman) – kinglet Bernard in Italy – Pippin (of Senlis) – count Heribert I of Vermandois – count Heribert II of Vermandois – Robert de Vermandois, count of Meaux – Adalais of Vermandois – count Fulk III 'Nerra' of Anjou – Ermengarde of Anjou – Hildegarde of Burgundy – William IX of Aquitaine – Agnes/ Mathilde of Poitou – queen Petronella of Aragon – Dulce of Barcelona – Berengaria of Portugal.*
- B. *Charlemagne – Louis I the Pious – Gisela of the Franks – Berengar I of Italy – Gisela of Frioul – Berengar II of Italy – Adalbert of Ivrea – Eudes Guillaume of Ivrea, count of Macon in Burgundy – Renaud I of Burgundy – William I of Burgundy – Gisela of Burgundy – Amadeus III of Savoy – Mathilde of Savoy – Sancho I of Portugal – Berengaria.*

Similarly (also based on ESNF), three possible Charlemagne descents to Valdemar II of Denmark are given:

⁵ Although I have supplied these and many other Scandinavian genealogies to Leo van de Pas' Genealogics.org website I have not cited that source here in order to avoid self-referencing.

- I. Charlemagne – Louis I the Pious – Charles II of France – Louis II of France – Charles III of France – Louis IV of France – Maud of France – Gerberga of Burgundy – Gisela of Swabia – Herman IV of Swabia – Richwara of Swabia – Liutgard of Zähringen (–) Adelaide of Mochental – Salome of Berg-Schelklingen (–) Rikissa Burislevsdotter of Poland - Sofia of Belarusia – Valdemar II
- II. Charlemagne – Pippin (Karlman) – kinglet Bernard in Italy – Pippin (of Senlis) – count Heribert I of Vermandois – (Cunigunda) of Vermandois – (Konrad of Ortenau) – Konrad of Swabia (–) (Adelia) of Oenningen (–) Dobronega of Kiev – Ladislav I of Poland – Boleslas III of Poland - Rikissa Burislevsdotter of Poland - Sofia of Belarusia – Valdemar II
- III. Charlemagne – emperor Louis I the Pious – emperor Lothair – emperor Louis II, king of Italy – Ermengard of Italy m Boso of Vienne, king of Burgundy (–) Guilla of Burgundy (–) king Rodolphe II of Burgundy - Adelheid of Burgundy m emperor Otto I – emperor Otto II – Mathilde of Saxony – Richeza of Lorraine – Casimir I “Carol” of Poland - Ladislaus I of Poland – Boleslas III of Poland – Rikissa Burislevsdotter of Poland - Sofia of Belarusia – Valdemar II

There are weaknesses in each of these three pedigrees, which have been elaborated elsewhere. Summarising the key issues:

- I. Identification of Adelaide of Mochental's parents in such a way that her mother would be Liutgard of Zähringen is unsure at best.
- II. It is uncertain which of Vladimir I of Kiev's concubines or consorts was Dobronega Maria's mother, and moreover, the German (Öhningen, Oenningen) consort of Vladimir as a descendant of the Vermandois family is just an unattested and spurious tradition.
- III. Queen Guilla of Upper Burgundy, possibly mother of king Rudolf II, has in older tradition been identified as the daughter of Ermengarde of the Carolingians, but this is unlikely and she was not necessarily even a daughter of king Boso of Lower Burgundy. Despite the proud boast of the descendants of the last Ottonian emperors to be of Charlemagne's race (which may even have been why Casimir I of Poland was given the onomastically Carolingian name “Karol”), the pedigree to support such a view is not at all well attested, but may rather be considered wishful thinking.

The book of *Descendants of Gorm the Old* (Brenner, 1978) contains a number of genealogical links which are not supported by most genealogists. This does not imply deliberate fabrication, but reflects the existence of a number of traditional medieval Scandinavian royal and noble lineages which are not supported by recent critical research into contemporary evidence. Some obviously false lineages, invented in the Middle Ages or in early modern genealogy, were presumably intended to embellish the roots of certain noble families. Thus Brenner (1978) can be used as a general guide, but its almost every lineage should be checked against standard genealogies and preferably by current and original research.

Regarding *Europäische Stammtafeln* (ES), the genealogical data from the Scandinavian Middle Ages are notoriously weak and problematic. To present them properly would require more space and explanatory text than is possible in a tabulated format. This has, perhaps undeservedly, given *Europäische Stammtafeln's* medieval Scandinavian genealogies a somewhat notorious reputation.

The Scandinavian medieval family trees in the first and second series of ES (Isenburg, Loringhoven) were largely based on 19th century work and accepted some mythical

pedigrees, lacking in contemporary evidence, as well as some outright fabrications⁶. I believe also the assignation of Sofie, princess-consort of Rostock, as a daughter of the Sverker dynasty, has been a misunderstanding. The Blot-Sven family, presented in the older ES series, is unattested. Descents from him to king Sverker I and king Eric IX are guesses and myths, and do not even enjoy the status of established folklore.

Despite all this, the Isenburg ES is much more reliable than early modern genealogies of nobility; having dispensed with many mythical and legendary pedigrees, particularly those stretching back far beyond the existence of any primary Scandinavian sources.

The new series of ES (Schwennicke, ESNF) is of mixed value. Concerning Scandinavia there are many improvements compared with Isenburg, but it does introduce a new, risky element through the presentation of uncertain pedigree reconstructions, without appropriate reservations.

Many Scandinavian medieval lineages before the 14th century are, unfortunately, more or less educated guesses based on genealogical reconstructions. Although the weak points are usually mentioned in the primary or secondary publications where the lineages are proposed, all too often ESNF gives the proposed lineage without qualification or warning. The recent century has produced a lot of analytical and critical research on Swedish medieval genealogy, including plausible reconstructions which are nevertheless educated guesses, fitted to existing evidence from primary sources, with limited, often weak, support. They might be true (their proponents being often competent prosopographers and medievalists), but such reconstructions cannot be claimed as proven by primary evidence. In some cases further analysis has cast doubt on these reconstructions of Scandinavian genealogies while ESNF fails to provide appropriate warnings.

ESNF provides a detailed genealogy *Nachkommen von Harald Schönhaars*, running to several pages. It is based on Norse legend, known to be partly unreliable, even in places internally inconsistent, although in all likelihood incorporating an element of genealogical truth. The so-called Fairhair dynasty can be presumed to be a later concoction of separate lineages. For example, the male-line descent of Sigurd Syr from Harald Fairhair/Schönhaar is very uncertain, redolent of a later, possibly 12th-century, creation in support of the established royal Hardraada dynasty's legitimacy claims. It is very likely that the lord Halvdan, father of kinglet Sigurd Syr, was not identical with a possible Halvdan in Hadafylke, grandson of king Harald Fairhair; and certainly there exists no even near-contemporary attestation of the existence of such persons nor their pedigree.

Although some pedigrees based on fabrications and legends from the Isenburg series have been removed from ESNF, other suspicious myths and fabrications (such as Sune Sik) are now introduced. Sune Sik, alleged son of king Sverker I and alleged father of Ingrid Ylva, is nowhere attested in near-contemporary sources.

⁶ such as the ill-reputed Tofta pedigree, starting with the alleged issue of king Eric X of Sweden. Their family escutcheon depicted 'chevron' *ie* 'Sparre'. History does not record any Märta Erikdotter as a child of Eric X. The family did not own Tofta until the 14th century, thus Märta's husband was not lord of Tofta even had she existed. Sixten from the late 13th century is known only on the basis of his children's patronymics. His ancestry cannot be traced, and he was son nor grandson of the putative Märta. The entire 'royal' Tofta lineage has been long-considered an invention produced in the *Chronicle of Charles* and in a new preamble to the *Chronicle of Eric* in the mid-15th century, seemingly to provide Charles VIII with a royal pedigree.

A rare example of how the newer ES series has in places worsened compared with the older is provided by Sigurd and Haakon, sons of king Sverre of Norway, who were not issue of Sverre's wedded wife and queen-consort, Margret Eiriksdottir of Sweden. However, ESNF actually assigns Margret as their mother, whereas the Isenburg-Loringhoven series assign them as children of Sverre's first wife (concubine?) Astrid Roesdottir from the Faroe Islands, which corresponds much better to reality than does Margret's motherhood. Sigurd was most probably Astrid's son, as possibly was Haakon. There is no contemporary evidence for Haakon's mother, but his probable time of birth fits with his mother being Astrid, otherwise it was some other concubine of Sverre. This Haakon Sverreson, king Haakon III, became the putative great-grandfather of king Haakon V of Norway, a Charlemagne descendant listed below.

An example of descent from Charlemagne spreading through Scandinavia in the late Middle Ages

The spread of Charlemagne's descent from Valdemar II and Berengaria's sons was initially very slow, and practically limited to royalty. But one clear lineage, having many non-royal descendants throughout Scandinavia at the end of the Middle Ages, passes from Berengaria to Agnes Haakonsdottir, Lady of Borgarsyssel, a natural daughter of King Haakon V of Norway [ESNF II tables 100 and 111]:

Berengaria of Portugal, married Valdemar II of Denmark

|
Eric IV of Denmark, married Jutta of Saxony, herself a descendant of Charlemagne, several times over

|
Ingeborg of Denmark, married Magnus VI ("IV") of Norway

|
Haakon V of Norway, had a concubine (whose name is not unambiguously confirmed) before his marriage with Eufemia of Rügen

|
Agnes Haakonsdottir, ⁷ illegitimate (legitimated) daughter of king Haakon V

The genealogies presented here are collected from generally credible secondary literature, particularly EÅ and ÅSF. There may be some omissions as even legitimate children were not necessarily all known to genealogists working several centuries later. Generally, these listed lineages may be trusted. In most cases children who died well before adulthood have been omitted from the chart.

The descent includes few sustained clearly Norwegian lines (*cf* Vigerust, 1992, but see also Bjonnes *et al.*, 1994), while the vast majority resided in Sweden. The most important Norwegian lineages were those of Giske, Nesoy and Austraat (the main branch of the first of which went totally extinct, at least in the legitimate line). In the 16th century, a handful of Danish families emerge as cognatic offshoots of the issue. Several Finnish families had this descent by the 16th century, reflecting the substantial marriage interactions between Sweden and Finland among the upper

⁷ Agnes Haakonsdottir of Borgarsyssel was born by someone other than queen Eufemia. Agnes was in 1302 recognized as one of the heirs to the Norwegian throne. She married lord Havtore Jonson of the family of Sudreim, with whom Agnes had two well-attested sons, Jon and Sigurd, heirs of Borgarsyssel. Houses founded by them, with numerous descendants, were unable to rise to be monarchs, despite some attempts, and remained at the level of noble class, supplying children into marriage with other nobles, not royalty. Some nine generations from Agnes are presented in the chart (Table I).

classes, as the Middle Ages turned to the early modern. Some Livonian⁸ nobles married ladies of this descent in the latter half of the same century. A lady-in-waiting of Elizabeth I of England, married in Wiltshire, England, has numerous descendants in Great Britain and New England. One Swedish family inherited a substantial fief in Rhineland (part of the county of Falkenstein), which led to their partial residence there. However, the overwhelming majority of descendants were Swedish subjects. Many of these Swedish families resided in the western provinces of Sweden, close to Norway, and some were regarded as half-Norwegians. Even so, around half of the total issue were not even close to Norway's borders.

The chart (Table I) follows the recorded descents until around mid-16th century, thereby giving links to modern families. In the 8th and 9th generations cousin marriages, between the descendants of Agnes, start to occur frequently. This is one reason not to pursue the listings further here as they would become hopelessly complex and repetitive. Surnames came into use among Swedish nobility in the late 16th century; almost all the lineages here are listed up to the development of surnamed descendants, which will facilitate linkages to modern families. The spread of this descent to commoner classes in the Middle Ages is through natural children of the listed nobles. Most remained unrecorded, however there is no question that many such illegitimate children must have existed.

In the two centuries following (17th and 18th) Scandinavian nobility was a mainly closed class in the sense that its offspring generally married only other nobles, chiefly because of legislation aimed at the preservation of privileges. Upward social mobility was possible through ennoblements of meritorious or wealthy commoners but noble daughters had little marital access to those who remained commoners. Legitimate descent linked to commoners was therefore rare before the 19th century.

Table I: Two centuries of descent from Agnes Haakonsdottir of the Fairhair dynasty

- A1** Agnes Haakonsdottir of Borgarsyssel [ESNF II table 111], married 1302 councillor, knight Havtore Jonson of Sudreim (c1275-1319) [EÄ VI p 391, NBL IV p 174..175]
- B1** Jon Havtoreson, Lord of Borregaard and Huseby (c1312-c1387) [EÄ VI p 391..393, ÅSF I:1 p 90..91, ÅSF I:2 p 166]
- C1** Cecilia Jonsdottir, Heiress of Forsvik, d 1411 [EÄ VI p 393], married knight Ulf Holmgeirson, of the Lejonbalk, dc 1396 [ÅSF I:2 p 166]
- C2** Haakon Jonson of Sudreim, of the Lejon, dc 1392, 1387 proposed king of Norway [EÄ VI p 393, ÅSF I:1 p 91]
- C3** Ulv Jonson, Lord of Ervalla, Faanoe, Vreta, Saeby, and Huseby, Norwegian councillor (d 1415) [EÄ VI p 393]
- D1** Birgitta Ulfsdotter of Ervalla, Heiress of Faanoe [EÄ VI p 393], married Jösse Eriksen, of the Lykke, bailiff of Dalecarlia etc, executed by beheading 1436
- D2** Katarina Ulfsdotter of Ervalla, buried 1415 [EÄ VI p 393, EÄ I p 514], married knight Tord Bonde, Lord of Bordsjoe, d 1412 [EÄ I p 514]
- E1** Märta Tordsdotter of Bordsjoe [EÄ I p 514], married 1418 councillor Bengt Henningson Königsmark, lord of Broby [EÄ I p 514, ÅSF I:3 p 313, ÅSF II:1 p 44, 47]
- F1** Karin Bengtsdotter Königsmark, Heiress of Faanoe [ÅSF II:1 p 47] married councillor Johan Nilsson Gädde, Lord of Faallnes, dc 1454 [ÅSF II:1 p 46..48]
- G1** Kristina Jonsdotter Gädde, Heiress of Faanoe [ÅSF II:1 p 47..48], married c1460 Arvid Birgersson ('Arvid Trolle'), Lord of Bergkvara and Bo, d 1505 [EÄ VIII p 371]

⁸ Strictly, Livonia was a region of southern Estonia and northern Latvia originally settled by the Livs, a Finnic people, but in its more general sense refers to the modern Baltic states of Latvia and Estonia.

- H1** Erik Arvidson Trolle ('Eric Trolle'), Lord of Faanoë and Lagnoe, dc 1530 [EÄ VIII p 371..372]
- I1** Gustavus Erici Trolle ('Gustav Trolle'), archbishop of Uppsala, Lord of Ekholmen (bap 1488, d 1535) [EÄ VIII p 372]
- I2** Beata Eriksdotter Trolle, Heiress of Faanoë, d 1591 [EÄ VIII p 372]; married Gabriel Kristiernsson, 1st baron of Lindoe, Morby, Steninge etc and Oxenstierna, High Constable of Sweden, d 1585 [EÄ V p 591, ESNF VIII p 155]
- J1** baroness Anna Gabrielsdotter Oxenstierna [EÄ V p 591], married firstly Hans Claesson Kyle, Lord of Erstavik, d 1583 [EÄ IV p 368], married secondly Lage Axelsson Posse, Lord of Skörtorp, see below [EÄ VI p 8]
- J2** baroness Kerstin Gabrielsdotter Oxenstierna, d 1603 [EÄ V p 591], married Axel Åkesson, Lord of Algö (1555-1601) [EÄ VII p 365..366]
- J3** baroness Birgitta Gabrielsdotter Oxenstierna, Heiress of Geddeholm and Faanoë [EÄ V p 591], married 1576 councillor Bent Svendsen Ribbing, Lord of Svanseryd, justiciar of Dalecarlia and Westmannia (1541-1594) [EÄ VI p 290]
- J4** Kristiern Gabrielsson Oxenstierna, 2nd Baron of Steninge and Oxenstierna (1545-92) [EÄ V p 592, ÅSF II: 1 pp 15..16], marriage see below
- J5** Erik Gabrielsson Oxenstierna, 3rd Baron of Björnoë, Lindoe and Oxenstierna, d 1594 [EÄ V p 594, ÅSF II: 1 p 16], marriage see below
- J6** baron Bengt Gabrielsson Oxenstierna, Heir of Morby, d 1591 [EÄ V p 592..593, ÅSF II: 1 p 98], marriage see below
- J7** baron Arvid Gabrielsson Oxenstierna, Heir of Engsoë, d 1585 [EÄ V p 591]
- J8** baroness Märta Gabrielsdotter Oxenstierna (1549-c1590) [EÄ V p 591], married Kasper Tiesenhausen
- J9** baron Gustaf Gabrielsson Oxenstierna, Heir of Fiholm (1551-1597) [EÄ V p 593], marriage see below
- J10** baroness Elisabet Gabrielsdotter Oxenstierna, d 1594 [EÄ V p 591], married Göran Knutsson Posse, Lord of Hellekis (1556-1661) [EÄ VI p 4]
- J11** baron Johan Gabrielsson Oxenstierna, Heir of Lindoe (1557-1607) [EÄ V p 591]
- I3** Ingeborg Eriksdotter Trolle, Heiress of Lagnoe, d 1590 [EÄ VIII p 372], married Niels Eriksen Ryning, Lord of Gimmersta, d 1578 [EÄ VI p 631]
- J1** Olof Nilsson Ryning, Lord of Tyresoe [EÄ VI p 631..632], marriage see below
- J2** Peder Nilsson Ryning, Lord of Lagnoe [EÄ VI p 631..632]
- J3** Axel Nilsson Ryning, Lord of Tuna, High Admiral, High Constable of Sweden (1552-1620) [EÄ VI p 631]
- J4** Erik Nilsson Ryning, Lord of Gimmersta, d 1613 [EÄ VI p 631..633]
- J5** Anna Nilsdotter Ryning, d 1574 [EÄ VI p 631]
- J6** Kerstin Nilsdotter Ryning, d 1616 [EÄ VI p 631], married Klaus Hansson, Lord of Årsta and Vendelsoë [EÄ I p 370]
- H2** Jon Arvidson Gädde [EÄ VIII p 371, ÅSF II: 1 p 48]
- G2** Karin Jonsdotter Gädde, dc 1476 [ÅSF II: 1 p 48, EÄ I p 359], married 1472 councillor Johan Stensson Bese, Lord of Herrsetra, d 1505 [ÅSF II: 1 p 48, ÅSF II: 1 p 92, EÄ I p 359]
- H1** Gunilla Juhanantytär Bese, Heiress of Benhamra and Herrsetra, 1511-13 ruling Dowager Margravine of Viipuri and Savonlinna (1473-1553) [EÄ I p 359], married Eerikki Tuurenpoika, Margrave and Castellan of Viipuri and Savonlinna, d 1511 [EÄ I p 358..359]
- I1** Anna Eerikintytär, of the Bielke, 1520-21 Commandress of Kalmar castle [EÄ I p 359], married Johan Månsson, Lord of Göksholm, d 1520 [EÄ V p 389..390]
- I2** Kaarina Eerikintytär, of the Bielke, Heiress of Benhammar [EÄ I p 359], married firstly Toni Eerikinpoika, castellan of Raasepori (executed by beheading 1522) [DAA 1900 p 423, 439..440, EÄ VIII p 342], married secondly Arvi Kustaanpoika Vestgote

- J1** Ingeborg Tonintytär Tott [DAA 1900 p 440, EÄ VIII p 342], married 1536 Juho Nuutinpöika Kurki, Lord of Laukko (1503-1577) [EÄ IV p 337..338]
- J2** Eerikki Toninpöika Tott, Lord of Benhammar and Skedeböholm [DAA 1900 p 440, EÄ VIII p 342]
- J3** Metta Tonintytär Tott, d 1616 [DAA 1900 p 441, EÄ VIII p 342], married Yrjänä Hannunpöika, Lord of Högsjögaard, d 1596
- I3** Niilo Eerikinpöika, of the Bielke [EÄ I p 359]
- I4** Tuure Eerikinpöika, of the Bielke, Lord of Benhamra and Paatorp [EÄ I p 359]
- J1** Anna Tuurentytär Bielke, d 1573 [EÄ I p 359], married admiral and justiciar, knight Maunu Sveninpöika 'Somme', Lord of Vesterby, d 1571 [ÄSF I:3 p 251]
- J2** Ingegerd Turessdotter [EÄ I p 359], married Knut Haraldsson of Bjurum, d 1566 [EÄ VII p 360]
- J3** Elin Turessdotter Bielke [EÄ I p 359], married Ivar Månsson
- I5** Barbro Eerikintytär, of the Bielke [EÄ I p 359], married Måns Johansson av Göksholm, Lord of Bro (see below), c1498-1555 [EÄ V p 390]
- I6** Akseli Eerikinpöika, of the Bielke, Lord of Heredsseter and Revelsta (c1500-1559) [EÄ I p 359, EÄ VI p 3]
- J1** Margareta Axelsdotter Bielke, d 1591 [EÄ I p 359], married Johan Åkesson, Lord of Göksholm, d 1565 [EÄ V p 402] (her issue below)
- J2** Johan Axelsson Bielke, Lord of Liljestad, Revelsta and Heredsseter (d 1576) [EÄ I p 360, EÄ VI p 3]
- J3** Ebba Axelsdotter Bielke, d 1588 [EÄ I p 359], married Nils Göransson Gyllenstierna, 1st baron of Lundholmen, High Justiciar of Sweden, d 1601 [EÄ III p 359]
- J4** Barbo Axelsdotter Bielke (1556-1624) [EÄ I p 359], married baron Gustaf Gabrielsson Oxenstierna, Heir of Fiholm (1551-1597) [EÄ V p 593, ESNF VIII table 155]
- J5** Karin Axelsdotter Bielke [EÄ I p 359], married Olof Nilsson Rynning, Lord of Tyresöe, d 1589 [EÄ VI p 631..632]
- D3** Peder Ulfsson, Lord of Ervalla and Huseby, dc 1440 (possibly killed) [EÄ VI p 393]
- E1** knight Ogmund Peterson Bolt, dc 1465 [EÄ V p 389] [*note A*]
- E2** knight Jon Peterson of Ervalla, Lord of Huseby, Norwegian councillor [EÄ VI p 393]
- E3** knight Ulf Pedersson, Lord of Ervalla, Swedish councillor, dc 1490 [EÄ VI p 393] [*note B*]
- F1** knight Jöns Ulfsson, Lord of Ervalla, d. before 1506 [EÄ VI p 393]
- G1** Brita Jönsdotter, Heiress of Ervalla [EÄ VI p 393], married secondly knight Måns Bryntesson, Lord of Oplo, Swedish councillor, d 1529 [EÄ IV p 707], married thirdly knight, magister Kristofer Andersson Röd, Lord of Hedåker, Swedish councillor, d 1548 [ÄSF II:1 p 98]
- H1** Ebba Maununtytär Lilliehöök, Heiress of Oplo, created 1st countess of Raasepori [EÄ IV p 707..708], married Sten Eriksson, 1st Baron of Grevsnes and Upplo, d 1568, who at deathbed was promised to be created count [EÄ IV p 599..600]
- I1** countess Marjatta Stenintytär of Raasepori (1549-1586) [EÄ IV p 600]
- I2** countess Edla Stenintytär of Raasepori, 'Edla Levenkopf' (1552-1586) [EÄ IV p 600], married Mauritz Birgersson Grip, 3rd baron of Vines, Lord of Taerna, (1547-1591) [ÄSF II:1 p 30..33]
- I3** Akseli Steninpöika Löwenkopff, 2nd count of Raasepori (deposed) and *jure uxoris* count of Falkenstein (1554-1619) [EÄ IV p 600]
- I4** countess Anna Stenintytär of Raasepori (1558-1599) [EÄ IV p 600], married Erik Turesson Bielke, Lord of Salsta and Geddeholm (1564-1599) [EÄ I p 362..363]
- I5** Mauri Steninpöika, 3rd count of Raasepori (1559-1607) [EÄ IV p 600, 628..629]

- I6** countess Elisabet Stenintytär of Raasepori (1561-1612) [EÄ IV p 600], married Svante Turesson Bielke, baron of Horningsholm and Salsta (1567-1609) [EÄ I p 363]
- I7** countess Pirita Stenintytär of Raasepori (1567-1611) [EÄ IV p 600], married Magnus Pederson Brahe, 4th count of Visingsborg, High Justiciar (1564-1633) [EÄ I p 556, ESNF VIII p 151]
- H2** Ingeborg Kristofersdotter of Hedåker, of the Röd-Ekeblad, [ÄSF II:1 p 98], married ambassador and justiciar, councillor Gustav Johansson, Lord of Haga, 1st count of Enköping and Bogesund, baron of Lindholmen, d 1566 [ÄSF II:1 p 97..98]
- I1** Johan Gustafsson Ros, 2nd count of Bogesund, suicided 1581 [ÄSF II:1 p 98]
- I2** countess Sigrid Gustafsdotter av Bogesund, Heiress of Lindholmen, d 1586 [ÄSF II:1 p 98], married baron Bengt Gabrielsson Oxenstierna, Heir of Morby, d 1591 [EÄ V p 592-593, ESNF VIII table 155]
- F2** Karin Ulfsdotter of Ervalla, Heiress of Svenneby [EÄ VI p 393], married knight Karl Knutson, Lord of Bjorkvik (dc 1497) [ÄSF II:1 p 10]
- G1** justiciar, councillor and knight Holger Karlsson, Lord of Bjorkvik (d 1541) [ÄSF II:1 p 10..11, p 25]
- H1** justiciar and councillor Karl Holgerson Gera, 1st baron of Bjorkvik (d 1566) [ÄSF II:1 p 14..15]
- I1** baron Holger Gera, Heir of Bjorkvik (c1556-1566) [ÄSF II:1 p 15]
- I2** baroness Benedicta Karlsdotter Gera, Heiress of Eka (dc 1592) [ÄSF II:1 p 16], married Erik Gabrielson Oxenstierna, 3rd Baron of Bjornoe, Lindoe and Oxenstierna, d 1594 [EÄ V p 594, ESNF VIII table 155]
- I3** baroness Beata Karlsdotter Gera, Heiress of Bjorkvik (dc 1612) [ÄSF II:1 p 15..16], married Kristiern Gabrielson Oxenstierna, 2nd Baron of Steninge and Oxenstierna (1545-92) [EÄ V p 592, ESNF VIII table 155]
- H2** Katarina Holgersdotter of Bjorkvik (d 1558) [ÄSF II:1 p 11..12], married Ture Pedersson Bielke, Lord of Kraakerum and Salsta (1512-77) [EÄ I p 362..363]
- I1** Peder Turesson, Heir of Kraakerum (d young) [EÄ I p 362]
- H3** baroness Ebba Gera (d 1580) [ÄSF II:1 p 12]
- H4** baroness Emerentia Holgersdotter Gera (d 1566) [ÄSF II:1 p 12..13], married councillor and knight Abraham Eriksson, Lord of Ekeberg (killed 1556) [EÄ IV p 547]
- I1** Ebba Abrahamsdotter of Ekeberg (d young) [EÄ IV p 547]
- H5** justiciar Jöran Holgersson Gera, 1st baron of Ollonoe (d 1588) [ÄSF II:1 p 13..14]
- F3** Elin Ulfsdotter (of Ervalla) [EÄ VI p 393], married councillor Henrik Erlandsson, Lord of Fyllingarum, justiciar of Ostrogothia [EÄ I p 697] [*note B*]
- G1** Swedish councillor Ulf Henriksson, Lord of Fyllingarum, dc 1583 [EÄ I p 697..698], married Agneta Knutsdotter Lillie, Heiress of Norrnæs [EÄ IV p 669], below [*note C*]
- H1** Brita Ulfsdotter Snakenborg, Heiress of Uddboö, d 1603 [EÄ I p 697], married firstly admiral Erik Nilsson, Lord of Hessleby [EÄ II p 132], married secondly Lars Åkesson Soop, Lord of Dagsnes (1559-1607) [EÄ VII p 366]
- H2** Gertrud Ulfsdotter Snakenborg (1545-1588) [EÄ I p 698], married Kristofer Andersson Grip, Lord of Stensnes (1518-1599, beheaded) [EÄ III p 265..266]
- H3** Helena Ulfsdotter Snakenborg, Marchioness of Northampton (1549-1635) [EÄ I p 698], married firstly William Parr, 1st Marquess of Northampton, d 1571, married secondly privy councillor and knight Thomas Gorges, of Langford (founder of Longford Castle in Wiltshire) (1536-1610)
- I1** Elizabeth Gorges (1578-1659), married firstly sir Hugh Smyth, of Ashton, d 1627, married secondly sir Ferdinando Gorges, of Maine in New England (c1565-1647)
- I2** Francis Gorges (predeceased father)
- I3** Frances Gorges, married sir Thomas Tyringham, of Tyringham (c 1580-c1637)

- 14** sir Edward Gorges, baronet of Langford, 1st baron Gorges of Dundalk (c1582-c1650)
- 15** sir Theobald Gorges, of Ashley (1583-1648)
- 16** Bridget Gorges, married sir Robert Phelipes, of Montacute (1586-1638)
- 17** sir Robert Gorges, of Redlynch (1588-1648)
- H4** Karin Ulfsdotter Snakenborg, d 1640 [EÄ I p 698, EÄ I p 517], married 1589 Filip Bonde (1552-1588), Lord of Bordsjoe and Seckestad [EÄ I p 517]
- 11** Kaarle Bonde, 1st baron of Laihia (1581-1652) [EÄ I p 517, p 521]
- 12** Jöns Filipsson Bonde, Lord of Storeberg (1582-1662) [EÄ I p 517]
- 13** Märta Filipsdotter Bonde (1583-1642) [EÄ I p 517], married Lindorm Pedersen Ribbing, Lord of Boxholm (1569-1627) [EÄ VI p 291]
- 14** Ulf Filipsson Bonde, Lord of Seckestad (1585-1657) [EÄ I p 517]
- H5** Jöns Ulfsson Snakenborg, Lord of Fyllingarum, d 1600 [EÄ I p 698]
- 11** Anna Jussintytär Snakenborg [EÄ I p 698], married knight Henrikki Kaarlenpoika Horn, High Constable (1578-1618) [EÄ III p 673]
- 12** Ulf Jönsson Snakenborg, Lord of Fyllingarum (1582-1609) [EÄ I p 698]
- 13** Agneta Jönsdotter Snakenborg [EÄ I p 698], married Jesper Nilsson Cruus, Lord of Froesaaker, Aggaroe and Attorp, d 1651 [EÄ II p 132]
- 14** Görvel Jönsdotter Snakenborg, d 1635 [EÄ I p 698], married baron Nils Nilsson Gyllenstierna (1585-1622) [EÄ III p 359, 361]
- 15** Elin Jönsdotter Snakenborg (1590-1660) [EÄ I p 698], married Hans Arvidsson Drake, Lord of Hagelsrum, Ekenes and Breviksnes, d 1653 [EÄ II p 304]
- 16** Brita Jönsdotter Snakenborg [EÄ I p 698], married Volmar Didrik von Scheiding, d 1639 [EÄ VI p 766]
- H6** Göran Ulfsson Snakenborg, Lord of Norrnnes, buried 1629 [EÄ I p 698]
- 11** Anna Yrjänäntytär Snakenborg, Heiress of Haaberg, Hesselby, Norrnnes etc, d 1637 [EÄ I p 698], married councillor, admiral Klaus Laurinpoika Fleming, Lord of Louhisaari (1592-1644) [EÄ II p 740..741]
- G2** Nils Henriksson of Fyllingarum, killed c1546 [EÄ I p 697]
- C4** Ivarr Jonson [EÄ VI p 393]
- D1** Sigrid Ivarrsdottir [EÄ VI p 393], married Helgi Saemundsson
- C5** Brynolv Jonson, Lord of Borregaard, Norwegian councillor [EÄ VI p 393..394] [*note D*]
- D1** Birgitta Brynolvsdottir of Borregaard [EÄ VI p 394], married councillor and knight Jesper Kortsen Görtz, Lord of Stora Benhamra, dc 1458
- D2** Ulvhild Brynolvsdottir, Heiress of Borregaard (flourished 1418-40) [EÄ VI p 394], married councillor and squire Engelbret Staffanson of Holleby (flourished 1418-58)
- E1** Karina Engelbriksdottir of Holleby (flourished 1494-1511), married squire Henrik Friis (Henrik Erlendson/Elinson/Henriksen) of Holma (Holmegaard) in Brastad (flourished 1489-94)
- F1** Engelbrikt Henriksson Friis, Lord of Holma (Holmegaard) and Borregaard, d 1543
- F2** Ulvhild Henriksdottir of Holma, married councillor and knight Olav Sveinson Galle, Lord of Tomb, d.c.1530
- F3** Anna Henriksdottir of Holma, married squire Haakon Torsteinson of Egge
- G1** Helga (Helle) Haakonsdottir of Egge, Heiress of Holmegaard and Borregaard, married Peder Peterson Rytter, Lord of Baake
- D3** Knut Brynolvson of Borregaard [EÄ VI p 394]
- E1** Knut Knutsson [EÄ VI p 394]
- F1** Gustaf Knutsson, Lord of Korpegaarden [EÄ VI p 394]
- G1** Knut Gustafsson, Lord of Krokstad [EÄ VI p 394]
- G2** Kerstin Gustafsdotter of Korpegaarden [EÄ VI p 394], married Erik Pedersson av Fårdala, Lord of Tråva [EÄ IV p 716]
- G3** child, heir of Hjelmseter (read the section about Hjelmseter)
- G4** Erik Gustafsson, Lord of Hjelmseter, d 1582 [EÄ VI p 394, 408..409]

- F2** Måns Knutsson, Lord of Ribbenes [EÄ VI p 394, 409..410]
- G1** Axel Månsson, Lord of Blomberg and Eskilsgaarde [EÄ VI p 409..410]
- G2** Ingrid Månsdotter [EÄ VI p 409], married Joen Andersson Torskenstjerna, Lord of Hallstad and Oelstad
- G3** Bengta Månsdotter [EÄ VI p 409], married Peder Nilsson Skrivare, owner of Hammar, 1st Lord Gyllenstråle [EÄ III p 376]
- G4** Brita Månsdotter, d 1614 [EÄ VI p 410], married firstly Daniel Torkilsson, owner of Fremmandeby in Dalecarlia, 1st Lord Svinhufvud (i Västergötland) [EÄ VIII p 84], married secondly Kristofer Olsson 'Depken', owner of Noret, 1st Lord Gyllenknostrer
- G5** Bryngel Månsson [EÄ VI p 410]
- F3** Ingel Knutsson [EÄ VI p 394, 410]
- G1** Knut Ingelsson, Lord of Näs [EÄ VI p 410]
- G2** Barbro Ingelsdotter [EÄ VI p 410], married Olof Larsson of Ramstad
- F4** Brynte Knutsson, Lord of Berg [EÄ VI p 394, 410]
- E2** Brynolv Knutsson, Lord of Finnestad [EÄ VI p 394]
- B2** Sigurd Havtoreson, Lord of Sudreim (c1315-c1392) [ESNF II table 109]
- C1** Haakon Sigurdson of Sudreim, of the Rose, Lord of Giske, d 1407 [ESNF II table 109]
- D1** Ingeborg Haakonsdottir, Heiress of Giske, d before 1407
- C2** Agnes Sigurdsdottir, Heiress of Sudreim, dc 1424 [ESNF II table 109], married knight Jon Marteinson, of the Stjerna, dc 1405 [DAA 1921 p 558..559]
- D1** Sigurd Jonson, Lord of Giske, Regent of Norway, (c1390-1453) [DAA 1921 p 559, ESNF II table 109, ESNF XVII table 84]
- E1** Hans Sigurdson, Lord of Giske (c 1435-c1466)
- D2** Karine Jonsdottir of Sudreim, Heiress of Manvik [ÄSF II:1 p 88, DAA 1921 p 559], married firstly Norwegian councillor, knight Alv Haraldsonn of Sigerstad, (of the Bolt), Lord of Thom, d 1412 [ÄSF II:1 p 88], married secondly Jons Hjerne
- E1** Agnes Alvsdottir of Sigerstad, Heiress of Manvik [EÄ I p 515, ÄSF II:1 p 88..89], married Swedish councillor Knut Jonson, Lord of Detterstorp, justiciar of Westrogothia [ÄSF I:2, p 175, II:1 p 88..89]
- F1** Alv Knutson av Detterstorp, Lord of Soleyar, Manvik and Giske [ÄSF II:1 p 89..90]
- G1** Karine Alvsdottir, Heiress of Giske, Lady of Grefsum (Grefsheim), dc 1537 [ÄSF II:1 p 90]
- G2** Knut Alvson, Lord of Giske, Norway's claimant, killed 1502 [ÄSF II:1 p 90..91]
- H1** Karl Knutson, Lord of Giske, killed 1520 [ÄSF II:1 p 91]
- H2** Erik Knutson of Giske, Lord of Bosgaard, executed 1520 [ÄSF II:1 p 91, ESNF III/1 table 165]
- H3** Botilde Knutsdottir of Giske [ÄSF II:1 p 91], married Fader Nilsson of Engsoe, Lord of Hjulsta [ÄSF I:2 p 194..195]
- I1** Gyrvhild Faddersdottir, Heiress of Giske, Sudrheim, Grefsheim, Finnen, Bjarkoy and Hjulsta (c.1517-1605) [ÄSF I:2 p 195, ÄSF II:1 p 25, NBL III p 452..453]
- J1** Niels Truedsen Ulfstand, Lord of Torup, Heir of Giske (1535-48)
- G3** Odd Alvson, Castellan of Akershus [ÄSF II:1 p 90]
- F2** Ramfrid Knutsdottir of Detterstorp [ÄSF II:1 p 89]
- F3** Karine Knutsdottir of Detterstorp [ÄSF II:1 p 89], married knight and councillor Tord Bonde Filipsson, Lord of Saemsholm, d 1484 [EÄ I p 515]
- F4** Jöns Knutson av Detterstorp, Lord of Falun, dc 1497 [ÄSF II:1 p 91..93]
- G1** Estrid Jönsdotter of Falun [ÄSF II:1 p 93]
- G2** Eirik Jonson of Falun, Lord of Säm, dc 1507 [ÄSF II:1 p 93]
- G3** Ture Jönsson, Lord of Falun and Lindholmen, killed 1532 [ÄSF II:1 p 93..94, ESNF III/1 table 165]
- H1** dominus Georgius Turi, dean of Uppsala cathedral, Lord of Björnö, d 1543 [ÄSF II:1 p 95]
- H2** Johan Tursson of Falun, Lord of Lindholmen (c1512-1556) [ÄSF II:1 p 95..96]

- I1** Gustav Johansson, Lord of Haga, 1st count of Bogesund and Enköping, baron of Lindholmen, d 1566 [ÄSF II:1 p 97..98]
- J1** Johan Gustafsson Ros, 2nd count of Bogesund, suicided 1581 [ÄSF II:1 p 98]
- J2** countess Sigrid Gustafsdotter av Bogesund, Heiress of Lindholmen, d 1586 [ÄSF II:1 p 98], married baron Bengt Gabrielsson Oxenstierna, Heir of Morby, d 1591 [EÄ V p 592-593, ESNF VIII table 155]
- J3** Sten Gustavsson, 3rd count of Bogesund, dc 1589 [ÄSF II:1 p 99]
- H3** Laurens Tursson of Falun, Lord of Penningby, d 1560 [ÄSF II:1 p 99..100]
- I1** Pirta Laurintytär, Heiress of Penningby [ÄSF II:1 p 100], married governor and admiral, knight Lauri Iivari-poika Fleming, 1st baron of Arvasalo, d 1562 [EÄ II p 735, ÄSF II:1 p 100..101]
- J1** Iivari Laurinpoika Fleming, 2nd baron of Arvasalo (1553-69) [EÄ II p 735]
- J2** baroness Elina Laurintytär Fleming, Heiress of Penningby, Nynäs etc, d 1586 [EÄ II p 735], married councillor Klaus Niilonpoika Bielke, 1st baron of Vik (1544-1623) [EÄ I p 361]
- G4** Arfrid Jönsdotter of Falun, Heiress of Åkerö [ÄSF II:1 p 93], married Johan Månsson, Lord of Göksholm and Bro, d 1520 [EÄ V p 389..390]
- H1** Måns Johansson of Göksholm, Lord of Bro, c1498-1555 [EÄ V p 390] (married Barbro Eerikintytär, of the Bielke, see above [EÄ I p 359])
- I1** Erik Månsson, Lord of Bro, dc 1563 [EÄ V p 390]
- I2** Arfrid Månsdotter of Bro, Heiress of Lundby and Lunda, d 1588 [EÄ V p 390], married Sigvard Algotsson Kruse, Lord of Elghammar and Vestergaarden, d 1571 [EÄ IV p 281..282]
- I3** Nils Månsson av Bro, Lord of Saeby [EÄ V p 390]
- I4** Karin Månsdotter of Bro [EÄ V p 390], married 1557 Nils Eriksson, Lord of Slattefors, d 1577 [EÄ VII p 334]
- I5** Anna Månsdotter of Bro, d 1555 [EÄ V p 390], married knight Erik Göransson av Fogelvik, d 1555 [EÄ III p 359]
- H2** Åke Johansson, Lord of Göksholm (c1501-1534) [EÄ V p 390, 402]
- I1** Johan Åkesson, Lord of Göksholm, d 1565 [EÄ V p 402] (married Margareta Axelsdotter Bielke, see above)
- J1** Ingeborg Johansdotter of Göksholm, Heiress of Sjoegeraas [EÄ V p 402], married Göran Nilsson Posse, Lord of Gammalstorp [EÄ VI p 6]
- J2** Axel Johansson, Lord of Göksholm, d 1604 [EÄ V p 402..403]
- K1** Aake Akselinpoika, Lord of Göksholm, 1st baron of Iijoki, High Constable (1594-1655) [EÄ V p 403, 406]
- K2** Ture Axelsson of Göksholm, Lord of Traneberg, d 1626 [EÄ V p 403]
- K3** Margareta Axelsdotter of Göksholm (1597-1623) [EÄ V p 403], married (baron) Carl Eriksson Sparre, Lord of Sundby (1595-1632) [EÄ VII p 411]
- K4** Clara Axelsdotter of Göksholm, Heiress of Finstad [EÄ V p 403]
- K5** Ebba Axelsdotter of Göksholm [EÄ V p 403], married Peder Gudmundsson
- K6** Maria Axelsdotter of Göksholm (1604-1649) [EÄ V p 403], married baron Ture Eriksson Sparre, Lord of Eriksstad [EÄ VII p 375]
- E2** Gro Alvsdottir of Sigerstad [EÄ VI p 2], married knight and councillor Mads Jakobson [EÄ VI p 2] [note E]
- F1** Jacobus Mathiae Reymare, priest
- F2** Gjertrud Mattisdottir Reymare (Rømer) [EÄ VI p 2], married Nils Posse, Lord of Saatenes and Tun [EÄ VI p 2; Sjögren, 1950]
- G1** Gertrud Nilsdotter of Tun [EÄ VI p 2], married Göran Hansson, Lord of Norrnnes, d 1517 [EÄ VII p 668]
- H1** Märta Göransdotter of Norrnnes [EÄ VII p 668], married firstly Erik Persson of Granhammar [EÄ IX p 219], married secondly justiciar and councillor Knut Andersson, Lord of Ökna, d 1546 [EÄ IV p 669, Sjögren p 251] [note F]

- I1** Agneta Knutsdotter Lillie, Heiress of Norrnes [EÄ IV p 669], married firstly Ulf Henriksson, Lord of Fyllingarum, dc 1583 [EÄ I p 697..698], above (with her issue), married secondly, sea captain Cedric ('Sigfrid') Preston, from England
- I2** Knut Knutson Lillie, Lord of Ökna and Hengeloë, d 1596 [EÄ IV p 669]
- G2** Axel Nilsson Posse, Lord of Saatenes and Tun, d 1551 [EÄ VI p 2..3]
- H1** Elsa Axelsdotter Posse, d 1579 [EÄ VI p 3], married Akseli Eerikinpoika, of the Bielke, Lord of Heredsseter and Revelsta (c1500-1559) [EÄ I p 359]
- H2** Knut Axelsson Posse, Lord of Hellekis and Saatenes, d 1595 [EÄ VI p 3..4]
- H3** Nils Axelsson Posse, Lord of Säby and Gammalstorp, d 1603 [EÄ VI p 3, 5..6]
- H4** Lage Axelsson Posse, Lord of Skörtorp [EÄ VI p 3, 8]
- H5** Brita Axelsdotter Posse, d 1579 [EÄ VI p 3], married Åke Haraldsson, of the Soop, Lord of Bjurum [EÄ VII p 360]
- H6** Märta Axelsdotter Posse [EÄ VI p 3], married Jöns Tordsson, of the Bonde, Lord of Traneberg [EÄ I p 515]
- H7** Anna Axelsdotter Posse, d 1569 [EÄ VI p 3], married Erik Andersson av Stola, d 1585 [EÄ II p 505]
- H8** Margareta Axelsdotter Posse (1548-75) [EÄ VI p 3], married Johan Axelsson Bielke, Lord of Liljestad, Revelsta and Heredsseter (d 1576) [EÄ I p 360]
- F3** Otte Mattison Reymare (Rømer), Lord of Austraat (c1430-1512) [NBL VII p 479]
- G1** Olav Otteson Reymare
- G2** Inger Ottesdottir (Reymare), Lady of Austraat, Fiefholder of Herjedalen and Stoerdalen, d 1555 [NBL V p 29..30, 'fru Inger til Ostrat'], married knight Nils Henriksonn, Governor of Trondelag, High Steward of Norway, d 1523 [DAA 1895 p 196]
- H1** Margret Nilsdottir Gyldenlove [EÄ I p 377, DAA 1895 p 196], married firstly knight and councillor, Dr Vincents Vincentson Lunge, High Chancellor of Norway and Castellan of Bergenshus, killed 1536, married secondly Jens Pallesen Splid
- I1** Blanceflor Vincentsdottir Lunge, Heiress of Lungegaard and Morlanda, d 1571 [EÄ I p 377], married Daniel Knutson Bildt, Lord of Abildgaard [EÄ I p 377]. They are direct male-line ancestors of Nils Daniel Carl Bildt (b.1949), current Foreign Minister and former Prime Minister of Sweden
- I2** Adelone Vincentsdottir Lunge, married Tønne Galle, lord of Tomb and Nygaard
- H2** Anne Nilsdottir Gyldenlove, d 1557 [DAA 1895 p 196], married councillor Erik Eriksen Uggerup, Lord of Vognoe, Jarlsberg and Allerup, castellan of Tunsberg, d 1571
- H3** Eline Nilsdottir Gyldenlove, d 1532 [DAA 1895 p 196], married councillor Niels Joakimsen Lykke, Lord of Gavnoe, killed 1535
- H4** Lucie Nilsdottir Gyldenlove, Heiress of Austraat (d 1555) [DAA 1895 p 196], married Jens Ditlefsen Bjelke, d 1559
- I1** Ove Bjelke, Lord of Austraat (1552-1603)
- I2** Otte Bjelke, Lord of Toendal
- H5** Ingeborg Nilsdottir Gyldenlove, d 1597 [DAA 1895 p 196], married Peder Hansen Litle, Lord of Seim, castellan of Akershus, d 1551
- D2** Ingebjorg Jonsdottir of Sudreim, married councillor, knight Olav Haakonson of Nesoy
- E1** Gudrun Olavsdottir, Heiress of Nesoy, married firstly knight Erlend Eindridson of Losna, Castellan of Tunsberg, dc 1452 [NBL II p 498..499], married secondly knight Jon Svaleson Smoer, Regent of Norway, d 1483
- F1** Ingerd Erlendsdottir of Losna (c1440-1526) [NBL V p 29], married firstly councillor, knight Olav Gutormson, Lord of Hananger (d 1485), married secondly councillor Arild Gauteson Kane, Lord of Straum, Fiefholder of South Møre, killed 1497
- F2** Sigrid Erlendsdottir of Losna, Heiress of Nesoy (d 1528), married councillor, knight Bo (Hermanson/ Iversen) Flemming, Castellan of Tunsberg, High Chancellor of Norway, d.c.1492 [DAA 1892 p 147]
- G1** Anna Bosdottir Flemming, married nobleman Tor Trondson Benkestok of Haraldseid

- G2** Margret Bosdottir Flemming, married councillor Holger Erikson of Bjoernholm, Lord of Boller, d 1496 [DAA 1985-87 p 686, 692]
- H1** Otte Holgerson, Lord of Boller, Naesbyholm and Nesoy, Castellan of Akershus, d 1525 [DAA 1985-87 p 692, 695]
- I1** Holger Otteson Rosenkrantz, Lord of Boller, Governor of North Jutland, High Constable of Denmark (1517-1575) [DAA 1985-87 p 695, 699..700]
- I2** Margret Ottesdottir Rosenkrantz (1518-after 1592) [DAA 1985-87 p 695], married Dietrich von Qvitzow zu Kletsche
- I3** Erik Otteson Rosenkrantz, Lord of Nesoy and Fossnes, jure uxoris lord of Arreskov, Castellan of Bergenshus (1519-1575) [DAA 1985-87 p 695, 705..706, NBL VII p.415]
- I4** Anne Ottesdottir Rosenkrantz (1522-1589) [DAA 1985-87 p.695], married Albrecht Mogensen Goye, Lord of Krenkerup, d.1558
- I5** Jørgen Otteson Rosenkrantz, Lord of Rosenholm, Castellan of Koldingshus and Kaloe (1523-1596) [DAA 1985-87 pp.695, 709]
- I6** Otte Otteson Rosenkrantz, Lord of Naesbyholm, d 1557 [DAA 1985-87 p 695]

Notes to Table I

- [A] Ogmund Peterson Bolt got his name from the escutcheon of his maternal grandfather (apparently the Norwegian councillor Ogmund Bergtorson), his mother being Gjertrud Ogmundsdottir. This shows once again the strength of the ancient Scandinavian tradition of cognatic lineage and succession, particularly that one of the sons was often named after the maternal family.
- [B] Jöns Ulfsson, Lord of Ervalla, evidently held some properties of his parents on behalf of his sister(s)⁹. Jöns' daughter Brita Jönsdotter of Ervalla (the attested universal heir of properties owned by him in his own right) did not succeed in landed properties which Jöns *held and controlled*, located in the Västra Eneby district of Ostrogothia. Instead Ulf Henriksson of Fyllingarum, son of Elin Ulfsdotter, became their next owner. This has been regarded as proof positive that Elin Ulfsdotter was sister of Jöns Ulfsson of Ervalla. Despite earlier doubts, Lady Elin Ulfsdotter is now generally accepted as the daughter of Ulf Pedersson of Ervalla and his wife Birgitta Jönsdotter of Svenneby, and one of the heirs of the said couple.
- [C] The children of Ulf Henriksson, Lord of Fyllingarum, and his wife Agneta Knutsdotter Lillie, Heiress of Norrnes, have this Agnes Haakonsdottir descent from both parents: Ulf's mother Elin Ulfsdotter, as explained above [note B], seems to have been daughter of lord Ulf Pedersson of Ervalla, whose descent from Jon Havtoreson has been regarded as ascertained. Agneta's mother's (Märta Göransdotter's) mother's identity is detailed below [note F], and her descent from Sigurd Havtoreson depends upon that rather small uncertainty.
- [D] Judging from his family's landed properties held in both Norway and Sweden, Brynolv Jonson of Borregaard must have descended in some way from the marriage of the Norwegian Jon Havtoreson of Huseby and Borregaard, and his wife Birgitta Knutsdotter of Faanoe from Sweden. Brynolv is most usually identified as the youngest son of Jon Havtoreson and Birgitta Knutsdotter, but some genealogists have suggested that he was a son of one of their daughters. The cadet branch founded by Brynolv belonged to the high nobility¹⁰ for about three generations, but after about 1500 they were regarded mostly as lower nobility in Sweden, where they then resided (Gillingstam, 1999). Seemingly no agnatic ancestor of this line held High Councillorship in Sweden in the Middle Ages or the 16th century. This drop within the social ladder has led some to hypothesise that a later generation of the family may have been illegitimate. However, I suggest an explanation could be their relatively modest

⁹ An old Scandinavian customary law provided that a husband did not receive ownership nor full control of his wife's landed property. A brother may have as well been the 'guardian' and representative.

¹⁰ Brynolv himself was High Councillor of Norway. Persons who descended in legitimate male line from a High Councillor of a Scandinavian country, were regarded as high nobility of that country.

marriages, generation after generation. They apparently did not keep up relationships with the leading circles of any of the kingdoms, and their individuals did not even reach knighthood, rather they regularly married local gentry in the western borders of the then Sweden. In more than one generation of this branch, fathers sired children relatively late in life (often not in their first marriage), leading to long generational intervals. This lineage, curiously, is the only one that produces an agnatic, documented line¹¹ from either Agnes or at least from one of her grandchildren, up to modern times – their usual surname being ‘Roos’ since the 17th century (Gillingstam, 1999).

[E] ESNF II table 109 refers to Gjertrud, wife of knight Otte Reymare. The couple became maternal grandparents of Mattis Jepson (referred to as Mads Jakobson in Table 1) whose issue established the second Reymare (Rømer) family, of Charlemagne blood, and held the Austraaat property. Although that Gjertrud is reported as the daughter of regent Erling Vidkunson, Lord of Bjarkoy and Giske, apparently following an old traditional genealogy, this is possibly erroneous, as there are no contemporary sources that identify Gjertrud's parentage. She may alternatively have been a daughter or other heiress of the earlier line of lords of Austraaat. Erling Vidkunson and his wife Elin Toresdottir had only two historically well-attested children: Bjarne and Ingebjorg, their ultimate heiress. Others appear to be apocryphal.

[F] Elgenstierna is inconsistent as to who was mother of Märta Göransdotter of Norrnes¹², with two distinct entries within the work giving different accounts. EÅ VII p 668 lists all the children of Göran Hansson, lord of Norrnes, d.1517, as born of his second wife Ingeborg Siggesdotter, Heiress of Bysta – including Göran's eldest daughter Märta. On the other hand, EÅ IV p 669, reporting the marriage of high councillor Knut Anderson, Lord of Ökna, d.1546, mentions his wife Märta Göransdotter, Heiress of Norrnes, as daughter of the lord Göran by his first wife Gertrud Nilsdotter Posse [EÅ VI p 2]. Sjögren (1950) gives detailed prosopographies of the earliest heads of the House of Posse, and writes about a big dispute over possession of a townhouse called “Lady Elin's House” in first half of the 16th century (from 1526 up to 1540s). Lord Knut represented the interests of his wife Märta to this inheritance, while Lord Axel Posse (brother of Gertrud) was another heir within that branch, and they were in conflict against the said lady Elin's sister's descendants. In the 1530s the same lord Knut Andersson, on behalf of his wife, was allowed to get certain properties restored from the church on the basis of so-called udal rights¹³ of his wife, those properties having belonged to the late Knut Posse, Gertrud Posse's childless uncle. The name Gertrud repeats in the issue of Agneta Knutsdotter, Märta's daughter. These onomastical and property heritages speak in clear support of Märta Göransdotter being daughter of Gertrud Posse and not of Ingeborg of Bysta, in which case Märta was the granddaughter of Gjertrud Mattisdottir Reymar from Norway, the apparent source of their share of the Norwegian inheritance.

Hjelmseter

The inheritance of the manors of Hjelmseter in Westrogothia, from the family of Gunhild Torkildsdotter of the Barun by the family of the Roos¹⁴ indicates that Gustav Knutson, Lord of Korpegaarden, had at least one child by his second wife, lady Elin Axelsdotter of Hellekis, from the Liljebalk. Elgenstierna implies that this marriage was childless, stating that Erik Gustavsson, presumably his youngest son, was born of his wife, lady Ingeborg; and that his other children were born of another of his wives, lady Brita Knutsdotter Ribbing.

¹¹ Elgenstierna, VI p.391, under the name “Roos af Hjelmstätter”

¹² Maternal grandmother of Elin Ulfsdotter Snakenborg from Sweden, the renowned Marchioness of Northampton, Lady of Longford Castle and confidante of Queen Elizabeth I of England.

¹³ Udal right means basically that closest relatives hold some birthrights to inherited lands over and above any transactions such as sale, gift or will made by the land's one-time owner, their relative. Thus, udal land resembles a *fidei* commission of the family rather than a property fully free to be transacted.

¹⁴ Elgenstierna, VI p 391 pp, under the name “Roos af Hjelmstätter”

Hjelmseter in the late 14th century appears to have belonged to Gunhild Torkilsdotter, heiress of Hellekis and Bosgaarden, the only surviving child and heir of castellan Torkil Barun, erstwhile lord of Skofteby. She was the wife of Tyke Eskilson of Vålinge, justiciar of Vermelandia. At least four of their children (Torkil Tykason Barun, Jöns Tykason, Nils Tykason and Kristina Tykadotter) started lineages that survived at least a century, most of them through to the present day. Hjelmseter was evidently inherited by Torkil's branch, as it was held in the late 15th century by his son squire Niels Barun. On 7th September 1489 (DS 32299) Niels sold his two manors in Hjelmseter within the extended family: the buyer's representative was Johan Kyle, and the true recipient seems to have been Johan's wife, lady Brita Eriksdotter [Liljesparre], who was daughter of Niels' first cousin, being maternal granddaughter of Jöns Tykason.

Elin Axelsdotter of Hellekis, heiress of Hjelmseter, was a daughter of Brita's second marriage with Axel Matson of the [Liljebalk]. In Swedish law, husbands did not automatically inherit from their wives: a wife's heirs were from her own issue, or, if childless, her own closest blood relatives. Had Elin been childless, her properties would have been inherited by her surviving sister Anna Axelsdotter, heiress of Hellekis, who left plenty of children, further heirs, from her marriage to Axel Nilsson Posse, Lord of Saatenes and Tun (EÅ VI pp.2-3). The fact that Hjelmseter was not inherited by those Posse, but by the Roos, requires a genealogical explanation to convey the inheritance from the wife to her husband. The simplest would be a child of Elin's who survived her mother and inherited Hjelmseter as maternal inheritance. In order for the father and/or a half-brother to inherit, that child must have died without its own heirs, *ie* usually when young. If a child survived the mother but predeceased the father, the father could in that way inherit the mother's property. Then, in turn, the property could be inherited by his surviving children from other marriages.

The existence of a child of lady Elin is nowhere explicitly attested, it is based on the indicative evidence shown above. In all likelihood all Elin's children died young, and they evidently did not leave heirs.

Mother of Karin Jonsdotter Gädde

As another digression, let us consider the evidence as to who was the mother of Karin Jonsdotter of Faallnes, herself mother of the renowned chatelaine Gunilla Bese of Viipuri fortress. There were two pairs of either half-sisters or full sisters, in two successive generations, and in both there were a Karin and a Kristina. The earlier generation had the half-sisters Karin Bengtsdotter Königsmark and Kristina Bengtsdotter Königsmark (they were confirmed as half-siblings, born of different mothers). The next generation had sisters Kristina Jonsdotter and Karin Jonsdotter (Gädde). The question is whether this latter pair were half or full sisters. Both were declared as daughters of Jon Nilsson, husband of the above Karin Bengtsdotter Königsmark (Gallén 1957, Gillingstam 2001).

A few genealogists have questioned the linkage that connects Karin Bengtsdotter Königsmark (who was still living in April 1454) as mother of Karin Jonsdotter Gädde (d.c.1476). Jon Nilsson Gädde, Lord of Faallnes (who died about the end of 1454 and was clearly older than his third wife) was married three times, but no contemporary source explicitly states which of them was his daughter Karin's mother. Karin Bengtsdotter Königsmark was lord Jon's third (and, as far as is known, last) wife. She may well have survived him and lived as a widow, but that detail is neither confirmed nor disproved. Kristina Jonsdotter Gädde is known to be her daughter (Gillingstam 2001). We also know that Kristina Jonsdotter married about 1460, compared with

Karin Jonsdotter in about 1472¹⁵, and her eldest child Gunilla was born in 1473. This strongly indicates that Kristina Jonsdotter was in all likelihood the elder, and Karin Jonsdotter the younger. Because Karin Bengtsdotter was the third wife of the girls' father (and he is not known to have married again subsequently, if he even survived his third wife), the younger sister was necessarily born by the last wife.

In another piece of evidence, the inheritance of Benhamra manor supports this reconstruction almost fully, as there is no other imaginable genealogical relationship that could determine this succession. Benhamra manor belonged in 1474 to the minor, Birgitta Gregersdotter (ESNF III/2 table 396), having inherited it from her late father, knight Gregers Bengtsson of the House of Arnoe (ESNF III/2 table 396; Gallén, 1957), she being his sole surviving child. When this young lady herself died (the precise year is not known), the manor was in turn inherited by her surviving mother, lady Kristina Bengtsdotter Königsmark (ESNF III/2 table 396; Gallén, 1957), who died c.1485 without any surviving issue. Kristina Bengtsdotter's closest heirs were the descendants of her late half-sister Karin Bengtsdotter Königsmark. Gunilla Bese is well-attested as the legitimate heir of Benhamra after Kristina Bengtsdotter Königsmark¹⁶, which practically certifies that she was Karin Bengtsdotter's biological granddaughter¹⁷. Had Karin Jonsdotter not been Karin Bengtsdotter's daughter, there would have been much much closer heirs to Kristina Bengtsdotter, rather than to Gunilla, to inherit Benhamra (at least Eric Trolle, who was co-heir with Gunilla, clearly because their mothers were sisters, and nieces of the lady of Benhamra). Thus Gunilla's mother Karin Jonsdotter must have been Karin Bengtsdotter's daughter.

There is no reason to think that Gunilla's inheritance could be explained by her being a great-niece of lady Kristina Bengtsdotter, who had an attested great-nephew living, Eric Trolle. The Swedish medieval and early modern inheritance system generally ignored remoter relatives, treated agnatic and cognatic relations equally, and generally divided the inheritance between those relatives who descended from the nearest parental of the deceased, *ie* were the deceased's closest blood relatives. A relative remoter than the closest inherited only if there was a will in her/his favour, and even the effects of wills were quashed fairly often in regard to landed properties, because in Sweden up to the 19th century the closest kin held some *udal*¹⁸ rights to 'family lands'.

Charlemagne blood among Scandinavian royalty

In the 14th–16th centuries, kings, and usually also queens, in Scandinavian countries were, almost without any exception, descendants of Charlemagne. Danish kings (ESNF II table 100, I table 84) were descendants of Charlemagne through Valdemar II (if he was really so descended), or at least from his sons by Berengaria. As almost each subsequent generation was born of a mother of "Frankish" origin, the

¹⁵ Her dower, *morganaticum*, is set by a document dated 17 August 1472.

¹⁶ A division of Kristina's inheritance took place in 1486, being divided between a great-niece, Gunilla, and a great-nephew, Eric Trolle.

¹⁷ There is also however at least one other, remoter, relationship between Gunilla Bese and Kristina Bengtsdotter Königsmark, but which would not have made Gunilla Bese the heir of Kristina, because of the existence of Eric Trolle. Kristina Bengtsdotter's own mother, Ingrid Karlsdotter, born a Gädä, was in any case a fraternal niece of Gunilla's mother's father Jon Nilsson Gädä, being the daughter of his elder brother Karl Nilsson, Lord of Geddeholm (Gillingstam, 2001).

¹⁸ See note 13 above.

Charlemagne pedigrees accumulated. Norwegian kings (ESNF II table 111, table 116, I table 84) had Charlemagne descent starting from Eric II of Norway, great-grandson of Berengaria.

In the case of Sweden (ESNF III/1 table 162, II table 116, I table 84, II table 117), John I of Sweden was a descendant of Charlemagne (assuming this was also the case for the Bjellbo dynasty), but then there was a hiatus of about two monarchs, until again another Bjellbo descendant, Valdemar Birgersson ascended. Magnus Ladulas' issue seem to have been more certainly descendants of Charlemagne through their mother (and his wife), Helvig Gerhardsdotter of Holstein. Almost all the following generations were born of a "Frankish"-origin mother, thus the Charlemagne pedigrees increased. However the possible Charlemagne blood of Charles VIII (an intervening 'native' king) was dependent on his almost certain Bjellbo descent. Charlemagne blood in Gustav I and his two younger sons John III and Charles IX were dependent alternatively either on their Bjellbo descent, or a descent from Valdemar II of Denmark via Canute, Duke of Reval, a royal bastard.

This pattern of descent indicates that Scandinavian royals were more "Europeanized" than was their average nobility. The marriage pattern of legitimate Scandinavian royalty militated against the diffusion of their Charlemagne blood among the lower classes, as legitimate royalty married either into other royalty, or with princely houses outside Scandinavia. This is evident in Sweden from the time of duchess Ingeborg Eriksdotter the royal mother, the first wife of Birger jarl, in Norway from queen Margret Skulesdotter, and in Denmark from the children of Valdemar I.¹⁹

Practically every one of their descendants was a king, queen or royal children in Scandinavia, or alternatively did not live in Scandinavia at all but were princelings in northern Germany. Additionally, the inability of royal cadets to sire a surviving line of descendants, and to remain as sideline for enough generations to marry (for example) their children into the local nobility as opposed to north Germany, can explain the scarcity of non-Scandinavian royal blood among medieval Scandinavian nobility. Of those rare royal cadets who managed to found a surviving non-royal line, all descendants married generally to Germans. It seems that in the Middle Ages, none of the legitimate-line descendants living in Scandinavia was outside some royal connection, and no legitimate-line descendant ever married into a "regular" noble family to found a surviving line. It must be concluded therefore that almost all the confirmed Charlemagne lineages in Scandinavia, outside royalty, passed through bastards.

The Bjellbo dynasty

The Bjellbo dynasty of Sweden's riksjarls [ESNF vol III/1 table 162, and vol II table 116] is often cited as a route from Charlemagne to Scandinavian nobility. This interest reflects the many currently living Scandinavians who descend from them. The descent is however fraught with grave problems.

Ingegerd Knudsdatter who married Sweden's earl Folke the Fat, was Canute IV of Denmark's daughter (Gallén, 1985), supposedly by his wife Edel Robertsatter of Flanders, a scion of the Flanders dynasty. But contemporary evidence for the mother of Ingegerd is lacking, and there is a possibility that she was born by some concubine

¹⁹ From family tables in ESNF II table 100; I table 84, table 111, table 116; III/1 table 162; II table 117.

of Canute. If Edel Robertsdatter (Adela of Flanders) was the mother, then she had several descents from Charlemagne, for example (from ESNF):

Charlemagne – Louis I the Pious – Charles II of France – Judith of France – Baldwin II of Flanders – Arnulf I of Flanders – Baldwin III of Flanders – Arnulf II of Flanders – Baldwin IV of Flanders – Baldwin V of Flanders – Robert I of Flanders – Edel Robertsdatter of Flanders – ?Cecilie Knudsdatter of Denmark and her sister Ingegerd Knudsdatter of Denmark (they probably were queen Edel's daughters, but that is not confirmed from contemporary sources).

Even if we accept Ingegerd's descent from Charlemagne, there are all manner of uncertainties in later generations of the Bjellbo dynasty. Her issue have only one well-attested and reasonably unmistakable lineage through the 13th century to well-documented modern centuries (that through Birger jarl); all other of her descendant lineages suffering from some speculative genealogical links, in some cases pure guesswork. Of course they all may be Charlemagne descendants but without proof this cannot be accepted, even though many modern genealogies are based on such material. A full treatment of the Bjellbo dynasty needs to be the subject of a separate study.

Other Scandinavian descents from Charlemagne

Apart from the Scandinavian royal descents through Berengaria of Portugal, wife of Valdemar II, there were only a handful of royal bastards with Charlemagne blood, who managed to sire a surviving line of nobles who lived in Scandinavia.

Lovenbalk and Sappi

Two such royal bastards were the so-called Lovenbalk siblings, Regitze and Eric, natural children of king Christopher II of Denmark [ESNF III/2 table 392b]. Their births started the Danish family who used Loevenbalk as their escutcheon. They have a provable descent from Charlemagne, however lineages from them to Danish nobility have some inconsistencies particularly as to their cognatic descendants.

The Sappi [ESNF III/2 t 392a] also descended from a bastard of a legitimate descendant of Berengaria. I believe that relatively provable Charlemagne lineages will be found for Lovenbalk and Sappi descendants, chiefly among Danish nobility, up until modern times.

Rikissa of Poland

Other possibilities through illegitimate lines: Rikissa of Poland, grandmother of king Valdemar II of Denmark and his sisters, was probably, though not fully ascertainable, a Charlemagne descendant (see above). If so, then Valdemar's natural children²⁰ carried Charlemagne blood to many Scandinavian noble families of the late Middle Ages.

²⁰ Of whom at least his son Canute, Duke of Tallinn (Skarsholm, [ESNF III/2 t 391b]), has a large number of proven descendants around Scandinavia

Daughters of Canute IV of Denmark

If Ingegerd and Cecilie were daughters of Canute's only known wedded wife, Adela of Flanders (Gallén 1985), then their issue would carry Charlemagne blood around Scandinavia.

Cecilie Knudsdatter has presumed descendants through the family of the earl of Falster, their presumed daughter having been Ingerd Eriksdatter who is chronicled to have married lord Asser the Rich of the Hvide clan of Danish Sjaelland, and through whose famed son lord Esbern Snare, founder of Kalundborg castle, several lineages existed. However, there are weaknesses in all those lineages, starting from doubts about the very existence of Ingerd Eriksdatter. Furthermore all the lineages putatively descending from her contain at least one doubtful point of descent.

As described above (p.273), the Bjellbo dynasty (ESNF III/1 table 162, II table 116) legendarily descends from Ingegerd Knudsdatter.

Genealogies of descents from both of these daughters of Canute IV are somewhat burdened, possibly fatally, with uncertainties typical in 12th and 13th century Scandinavian high nobility's lineages: identification of some decisive genealogical links may be misguided, some genealogical links may be outcomes of later family legend inventions, and some families seem to be reconstructions by recent researchers, reconstructions which may well be true and are supported by some evidence, but are lacking in evidence from primary contemporary sources.

Concluding remarks

While many Scandinavian noble lineages in the later centuries of the Middle Ages may have had Charlemagne blood, one of the best-attested is that emanating from Agnes Haakonsdottir of Borgarsyssel, whose progeny up to the 16th century is listed in the Table I above.

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