

# WHO WAS AGATHA, THE ANCESTRESS OF SCOTTISH AND ENGLISH KINGS?<sup>1</sup>

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translated from German by Patrick Evans

In memoriam Szabolcs de Vajay († 2010)

## ABSTRACT

It is disputed whether Agatha was a daughter of Yaroslav of Kiev († 1054) or of Liudolf of Brunswick († 1038). Her Brunswick origins, first shown by Szabolcs de Vajay (1962), will be further supported and strengthened with new arguments in this paper. No sources exist which name Yaroslav as Agatha's father. William of Malmesbury calls her sister to a Hungarian queen, yet does not mention to which. Still there is concrete testimony to her being a daughter of a brother of Emperor Heinrich III. Heinrich III did not have a full brother, but his half-brother Liudolf of Brunswick died when Agatha was still a young girl. Thereafter Agatha apparently grew up among her closest relatives in the imperial court, and was sent from there to Kiev, where she married, not a Rus but instead the Anglo-Saxon Prince Edward, who was living there in exile. The couple then spent around 10 years in Hungary before coming to England with three children in 1057. As daughter of Liudolf of Brunswick Agatha descended on the female side through her grandmother, the Empress Gisela, from the Emperors Otto the Great and Charlemagne, as well as from the old Anglo-Saxon kings.

*Foundations* (2011) **3** (6): 503-523

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Agatha, the wife of Edward the Exile († 1057), is ancestor to all Scottish Kings from Duncan II in 1093, and all English Kings from Henry II Plantagenet in 1154. Her origins have therefore long aroused interest among British researchers. She was the mother of St Margaret and great-grandmother of Matilda of England, the wife of Emperor Heinrich V and Geoffrey Plantagenet. It is disputed whether Agatha was a daughter of the Grand Duke Yaroslav the Wise of Kiev († 1054)<sup>3</sup> or of the half-brother of Emperor Heinrich III, named Liudolf of Brunswick, Margrave of Frisia († 1038).<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Translation of a thoroughly revised and enlarged version of the chapter on Agatha (pp.159-169 & table p.101) from: Armin Wolf "Ahnen deutscher Könige und Königinnen: Alternativen zu dem Werk von Eduard Hlawitschka," *Herold-Jahrbuch NF* 15 (2010): 77-198, dealing with the forefathers of German kings and queens. A copy of the full 120-page work with numerous genealogical tables has been lodged in the library of the FMG. See also the author's note at the end of this article (p.521)

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<sup>3</sup> Bernard J Burke, in *Miscellanea Genealogica et Heraldica* 2 (1877): 58; René Jetté, "Is The Mystery of The Origin of Agatha, Wife of Edward The Exile, Finally Solved?" *New England Historical and Genealogical Register* 150 (1996): 417-32 (the editors of the same journal commented that Jetté's view was rejected by de Vajay in a letter dated 10 June 1996); Norman W Ingham, "Has a missing daughter of Iaroslav Mudryl been found?" *Russian History*

## 1. Arguments in favour of her liudolfingian (Brunswick) origins:

(1) According to Version D of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, written shortly after 1100, the parents of the subsequently beatified Queen Margaret of Scotland († 1093) were the English Prince Edward and a relative of the Emperor by the female line (Anglo-Saxon *caseres maga, imperatoris cognata* in the Latin translation) called Agatha.<sup>5</sup> This news was declared for the year 1057, during which Edward returned from his Hungarian exile to England. It is recorded therein in 1067 that on her father's side Margaret came from five generations of the English royal family, and that on her mother's side (*hire modorcynn*) was related to Emperor Heinrich, who was in power in Rome (*materna stirps ascendit ad Henricum imperatorem, qui habuit potestatem Romae*).<sup>6</sup>

(2) One version of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (which no longer survives, but was similar to Version D), which itself was based on lost old English annals, was taken by

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23 (1998): 231-70; William Humphreys, "Agatha, Mother of St. Margaret: The Slavic Versus Salian Solutions – A critical overview," *Foundations* 1 (2003): 31-43; William Humphreys, "Agatha, 'The Greek' – Exploring the Slavic Solution," *Foundations* 1 (2004): 275-90; Eduard Hlawitschka, "Der Lebensweg des englischen Prinzen Eduard des Exilierten und der Ahnen der Hl. Margarete von Schottland," in *Von Sachsen nach Jerusalem. Festschrift für Wolfgang Giese*, (2004), 185-206; Eduard Hlawitschka, *Die Ahnen der hochmittelalterlichen deutschen Könige, Kaiser und ihrer Gemahlinnen. Ein kommentiertes Tafelwerk* 1,2 (2006): 621-630 (who does not cite Burke, Jetté, Ingham, Faris & Richardson or Humphreys).

<sup>4</sup> Szabolcs de Vajay, "Agatha, Mother of Saint Margaret Queen of Scotland," *Duquesne Review* VII,2 (1962): 72-87; Szabolcs de Vajay, "Mathilde, reine de France inconnue," *Journal des Savants* (1971), 241-260; Gabriel Ronay, *The Lost King of England. The East European Adventures of Edward The Exile* (1989); David Faris & Douglas Richardson, "The Parents of Agatha, Wife of Edward The Exile," *New England Historical and Genealogical Register* 152 (1998): 224-35 (with strong arguments against Jetté); Donald C Jackman, "A Greco-Roman Onomastic Fund," in *Onomastique et Parenté dans l'Occident médiévale*, eds. Katharine S B Keats-Rohan & Christian Settiani, (2000), 14-56; Wolf, *op.cit.* (2010). Although Stewart Baldwin, *Agatha, Wife of Eadward the Exile* (online publication, 2010) concludes "Agatha's parentage remains unknown", he evaluates the Brunswick (he names it German) hypothesis as "slightly more likely than its 'strongest' competitor (the Russian Hypothesis)." As regards the Bruno and the Hungarian hypotheses see note 31 below. The Polish hypothesis, according to which Agatha was a daughter of Mieszko of Poland and Richenza, daughter of the count palatine Ezzo and Mathilde, daughter of emperor Otto II, would make Agatha's relation to an emperor Heinrich too distant (to Heinrich II 5:3, to Heinrich III 5:4). The Bulgarian, Byzantine and Cristinus hypotheses are hardly convincing (see Baldwin, *op.cit.*). I shall not deal with the hypothesis based on Gerd Wunder, "Die letzten Prinzen des angelsächsischen Königshauses," *Genealogisches Jahrbuch* 15 (1975): 81-89, according to which Agatha married firstly Vladimir of Novgorod († 1052), a son of Yaroslav, and secondly, as a widow, Edward the Exile. The theory is chronologically impossible and has been convincingly refuted by Ingham, *op.cit.* (1998), 261-265.

<sup>5</sup> AD 1057: Edward Aetheling took a *caseres maga to wife ... seo wæs Agathes gehaten*. AD 1067: their children were called: *Eadgar, ... Margareta and Cristina* (G P Cubbin, ed., *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, A collaborative Edition*, vol 6, MS 6, (1996), 75 & 82). The Latin Text (*Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptorum [MGH SS]* 13, 115f): *1057 Hic venit Eadwardus clito in Anglorum terram, qui erat filius fratris Eadwardi regis. Eadmundus rex Ferreum-latus fuerat nominatus propter valorem. Illum clitonem Canutus rex amoverat et eum Hungarorum terram ad perdendum. Verum ibi adolevit in bonum virum, sicut ei Deus annuebat et eum bene decebat, ita ut obtineret imperatoris cognatam in uxorem (et ex ea pulchram prolem procreavit), cui nomen Agatha erat.*

<sup>6</sup> *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* AD 1067, 83. *MGH SS*, 13, 116.

John<sup>7</sup> of Worcester (c.1124-40) as a basis for his *Chronicon ex Chronicis*. His information on 1017 is somewhat more detailed: thereafter both brothers of the old English royal family, Edmund and Edward were driven from England by the Danish King Cnut and sent to the King of Sweden, who was meant to have had them killed, but who entrusted them to the King of Hungary to bring them up. Edmund died there young. Prince Edward however married Agatha, daughter of a brother to the Emperor Heinrich (*Eadwardus vero Agatham, filiam germani imperatoris Henrici, in matrimonium accepit*), and together they had three children: Margaret Queen of Scotland, the nun Christina and Prince Edgar.<sup>8</sup>

(3) In another section, the *Chronicon ex Chronicis* (within the *regalis prosapia Anglorum*) points more clearly to Agatha, mother of Margaret, as the daughter of a brother of Heinrich III (*Agatham, filiam germani imperatoris Henrici III*).<sup>9</sup> The same information can be found with slight variations in the *Annales de ecclesiis et regnis Anglorum*, which originated in 1125/40: Edward took as his wife Agatha, the daughter of a brother of Emperor Heinrich III (*Edwardus vero Agatham filiam germani imperatoris Henrici tercii in conjugem accepit*).<sup>10</sup> Heinrich III had no full brothers, yet had a half-brother Liudolf of Brunswick<sup>11</sup> from the first marriage of his mother, Empress Gisela. It was from this that Szabolcs de Vajay<sup>12</sup> concluded that Agatha was Liudolf's daughter. We may well ask why it is that Agatha was not directly named as his daughter. Yet Liudolf died in 1038 and had already been dead 19 years when Agatha came to England in 1057, while the Emperor Heinrich had only just died the previous year. Besides which it was naturally more prestigious to be the niece of an Emperor than the daughter of a Count who was unknown in England.

(4) According to John of Worcester's *Chronicon ex Chronicis*, in 1054 the childless English king, Edward the Confessor, sent a delegation under Bishop Aldred of Worcester to Cologne to emperor Heinrich III with a petition to send envoys to Hungary to encourage his nephew Prince Edward to return to England. The delegation was received with great honour by the Emperor and the Archbishop of Cologne, and stayed there for a year (*ie* until 1055).<sup>13</sup> According to the somewhat

<sup>7</sup> According to current research, the author of the first half of the *Chronicon* is no longer considered to be Florence, but John of Worcester, Ingham, *op.cit.*, 247.

<sup>8</sup> *Chronicon ex Chronicis* AD 1017 (MGH SS 13, 125f.)

<sup>9</sup> *Eadmundus [Ironsides] successit, qui duos filios, Eadmundum et Edwardum ex quadam nobilis prosapiae foemina habuit; sed eodem anno dolis Edrici Streonae perimitur. Cujus post mortem Canutus, Suani regis Danorum filius, ... regimen regni suscepit et praedictus filios regis Eadmundi in exilium misit; quorum unus, scilicet Eadmundus, in adolescentia mortuus est in Ungaria; Eadwardus vero Agatham, filiam germani imperatoris Henrici III., in matrimonium accepit, ex qua Margaretam reginam Scotorum, et Christianam virginem, et clitonem Eadgarum, suscepit.* Florentius of Worcester, *Chronicon ex chronicis*, ed. Benjamin Thorpe, Vol.I, London 1848, 275 (quoted from Ronay, *op.cit.* (1989), 196 n.1 and Hlawitschka, *op.cit.* (2006), 624.)

<sup>10</sup> *Cnutus ... filios Edmundi in exilium misit, quorum unus, scilicet Edmundus in adolescentia mortuus est in Hungaria; Edwardus vero Agatham filiam germani imperatoris Henrici tercii in conjugem accepit, ex qua Margaretam reginam Scotie et Cristinam virginem et clitorem Eadgarum habuit,* Felix Liebermann, ed., *Ungedruckte Anglo-Normannische Geschichtsquellen*, (1879), 24.

<sup>11</sup> In 1028 *Liudulfus comes* was named stepson of Emperor Konrad II (*privignus inperatoris*, MGH D K II 124) and in 1057 uncle to King (later Emperor) Heinrich IV (*noster patruus*, MGH D H IV 22). Konrad II was the father of Emperor Heinrich III, who was the father of Emperor Heinrich IV.

<sup>12</sup> de Vajay, *op.cit.* (1961 & 1971).

<sup>13</sup> *Eodem anno (1054) in festivitate sancti Kenelmi martyris (Juli 14) Aldredus Wigornensis episcopus ... magnis cum xeniis regis fungitur legatione ad imperatorem; a quo simul et ab Herimanno Coloniensi*

more scant text of the older *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, Aldred found that support was forthcoming from both the Emperor and the Archbishop.<sup>14</sup> King Edward had called his nephew Edward the Exile back to his kingdom as an heir. In 1057 Edward came back to England from Hungary, but died shortly after arriving in London.<sup>15</sup> It is agreed that kinship was considered at that time to constitute an obligation to help.<sup>16</sup> If Agatha was a niece of Heinrich III, then such a kinship existed between the Emperor and Agatha, as well as kinship by marriage to Edward the Exile and the old English royal family.

(5) In his *Vita sancti Edwardi regis* Aelred of Rievaulx (Yorkshire) writes: "*The Roman Emperor, whose kinswoman (cognata) [Agatha] was married to a nephew [Edward the Exile] of the king [Edward the Confessor], a son of Edmund Ironside and one of two condemned to exile by Canute...*"<sup>17</sup> A *cognata* is a relative on the female (distaff) side. Such a kinship would exist if Agatha was a daughter of Liudolf of Brunswick, whose mother, the subsequent Empress Gisela, was also the mother of Emperor Heinrich III.

(6) Aelred's *Genealogia regum Anglorum*, written in 1153 or 1154, also mentions similarly the Emperor's name. Here it says: *to Edmund the Hungarian King gave away one of his own daughters as a bride, and to Edward he gave the daughter of a brother of Emperor Heinrich.*<sup>18</sup> According to Aelred the marriage did not however take place in Russia, but in Hungary. Since Edward the Confessor wanted to make his nephew Edward the Exile his heir, he sent envoys to the Roman Emperor. According to Aelred, the Emperor received the envoys for a long time and in great honour (at his court) before finally fitting out ships and sending Edward with his wife Agatha, the daughter of the

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*archipraesule magno susceptus honore, ibidem per integrum annum mansit; et regis ex parte imperatoris suggestit, ut legatis Ungariam missis, inde fratrualem suum Eadwardum, regis videlicet Eadmundi, Ferrei Lateris filium, reduceret Angliamque venire faceret* (Ernst Steindorff, *Jahrbücher des Deutschen Reiches unter Heinrich III*, Vol.2 (1881, reprinted Darmstadt, 1963), 495f.

<sup>14</sup> 1054. *Eodem anno Aldredus episcopus transiit mare Coloniā regis nuntius, ibique susceptus est cum magna dignitate ab imperatore, ibique commorabatur prope unum annum. Et sustentabat eum uterque et episcopus Coloniensis et imperator* (MGH SS 13, 114, Version D).

<sup>15</sup> AD 1057: *Clito Eadwardus, regis Eadmundi Ferrei Lateris filius, ut ei mandarat suus patruus rex Eadwardus, de Ungaria, quo multo ante, ut praediximus, in exilium missus fuerat, Angliam venit. Deceverat enim rex illum post se regni haeredem constituere; sed ex quo venit parvo post tempore vita decessit Landoniae* (MGH SS 13, 129; Thorpe (note 8) 215 cited by Hlawitschka, *op.cit.* (2006), 623).

<sup>16</sup> Hlawitschka, *op.cit.* (2004), 199, 204.

<sup>17</sup> J-P Migne, *Patrologia latina* 195 (Paris 1855), 745B: *Imperator Romanus, cujus cognatam regis nepos filius Eadmundi fere lateris, unus a duobus quos exsilio Cnuto damnaverat, uxorem duxit.* English translation by Ingham, *op.cit.* (1998), 251.

<sup>18</sup> Migne, *op.cit.* (1855), 733D: *Porro Edmundo filiam suam dedit uxorem; Edwardo filiam germani sui Henrici imperatoris in matrimonium junxit.* Admittedly Aelred contradicts this elsewhere (Migne, 715B), saying that the Scottish Queen Margaret came from royal English and Hungarian seed (*de semine regio Anglorum et Hungariorum exstitit oriunda*). The statement of Hungarian ancestry fits neither Kiev nor Brunswick origins for Margaret's mother Agatha and seems to be a misunderstanding. Cf. Ingham, *op.cit.* (1998), 250, 252: "*Neither could Agatha be a Hungarian princess.*" Possibly the confusion stems from the fact that Edmund who, according to Aelred, as a brother to Edward had married a daughter of the Hungarian King. Ordericus Vitalis reinforced this confusion, even naming this King as Salomon (quoted from Hlawitschka *op.cit.* (2004), 194). Yet Salomon, born in 1052, can not possibly have had a daughter who, prior to 1057, had already born Edward three children.

Emperor's brother, together with their three children, Edgar Aetheling, Margaret and Christina to England.<sup>19</sup>

(7) Following the conquest of England in 1066 by William the Conqueror, Edward's and Agatha's son Edgar the Aetheling was not able to realise his inherited claim to the English throne, and he wandered for decades through various European countries. While he was sojourning at Emperor Heinrich IV's court in 1099/1100, the Emperor showered him with rich gifts.<sup>20</sup> If Agatha were a daughter of Liudolf of Brunswick, this would make Edgar a great-grandson of the Empress Gisela, Heinrich IV's grandmother, and consequently cousin once-removed to the Emperor. Until now it has not been noted of this kinship that the approximately 50 year-old Edgar – not counting the sons of Heinrich IV, of whom Konrad was deposed after an uprising in 1099 and the later Heinrich V who was then only 13 years old – was in fact the Emperor's nearest living adult male relative (degree 3:2).<sup>21</sup> This particular kinship makes his support of the landless refugee comprehensible.

## 2. Arguments against Agatha's liudolfingian origins:

(1) Hlawitschka reproaches the author of the *Chronicon ex Chronicis* for "mistakes". In adding Salomon to the names of the Kings of Hungary with whom Edward was in exile, he committed a "coarse blunder."<sup>22</sup> In actual fact Edward must have come from Russia to Hungary during the time of Salomon's father Andrew I (1046-60), since he was there already long before (*multo ante*) his return to England in 1057.<sup>23</sup> On account of this blunder, Hlawitschka holds the Emperor's numbering as Heinrich *the Third* in the *Chronicon ex Chronicis* to be doubtful. Yet is the naming of Salomon really such a "coarse blunder" as Hlawitschka thinks? Probably not, since Salomon was already crowned as a 5-year old in 1057 during his father's lifetime, therefore in the year of Edward's return to England.<sup>24</sup> The hypothesis that Edward may have been in exile with Salomon is therefore chronologically not wholly wrong.

We may add more to this: when Bishop Aldred of Worcester was making his pilgrimage to Jerusalem through Hungary in 1058, Salomon was already a crowned boy-King in those parts. As a result his name became known in Worcester, and may quite naturally therefore have been written in by John of Worcester. The confusion is further understandable because from 1057/8 Salomon was married to a daughter of

[continues on p.511]

<sup>19</sup> Migne, *op.cit.* (1855), 734B: *dirigit nuntios ad Romanum imperatorem, rogans, ut nepotem suum, scilicet filium fratris sui Edmundi Ferrei Lateris, debiti sibi regni futurum haeredem mittere dignaretur. Imperator autem regis nuntios gratanter excipiens, non parvo tempore summo cum honore detinuit. Tandem paratis navibus et omnibus quae navigaturis necessaria videbantur allatis. Edwardum cum uxore sua Agatha germani sui filia liberisque ejus, Edgardo Edeling, Margareta atque Christina, cum magna gloria ac divitiis sicut rex petierat ad Angliam mittit.*

<sup>20</sup> Humphreys, *op.cit.* (2003) 37 n.29.

<sup>21</sup> The relationship 3:2 could alternatively be calculated 4:3 (see below, paragraph 5a). Emperor Heinrich IV's great-nephews Bertold III (\* c.1085/95) and Konrad I von Zähringen (\* c.1100) were in fact more closely related to the emperor (3:1) through their grandmother Matilda, Heinrich IV's sister who married the later king Rudolf von Rheinfelden, yet they were still minors or not yet born.<sup>22</sup> Hlawitschka, *op.cit.* (2004) 199, referring to 193 (MGH SS 13, 125f.).

<sup>22</sup> Hlawitschka, *op.cit.* (2004) 199, referring to 193 (MGH SS 13, 125f.).

<sup>23</sup> See n. 15.

<sup>24</sup> György Györffy, "Béla I," *LexMA I* (1980) col.1931.

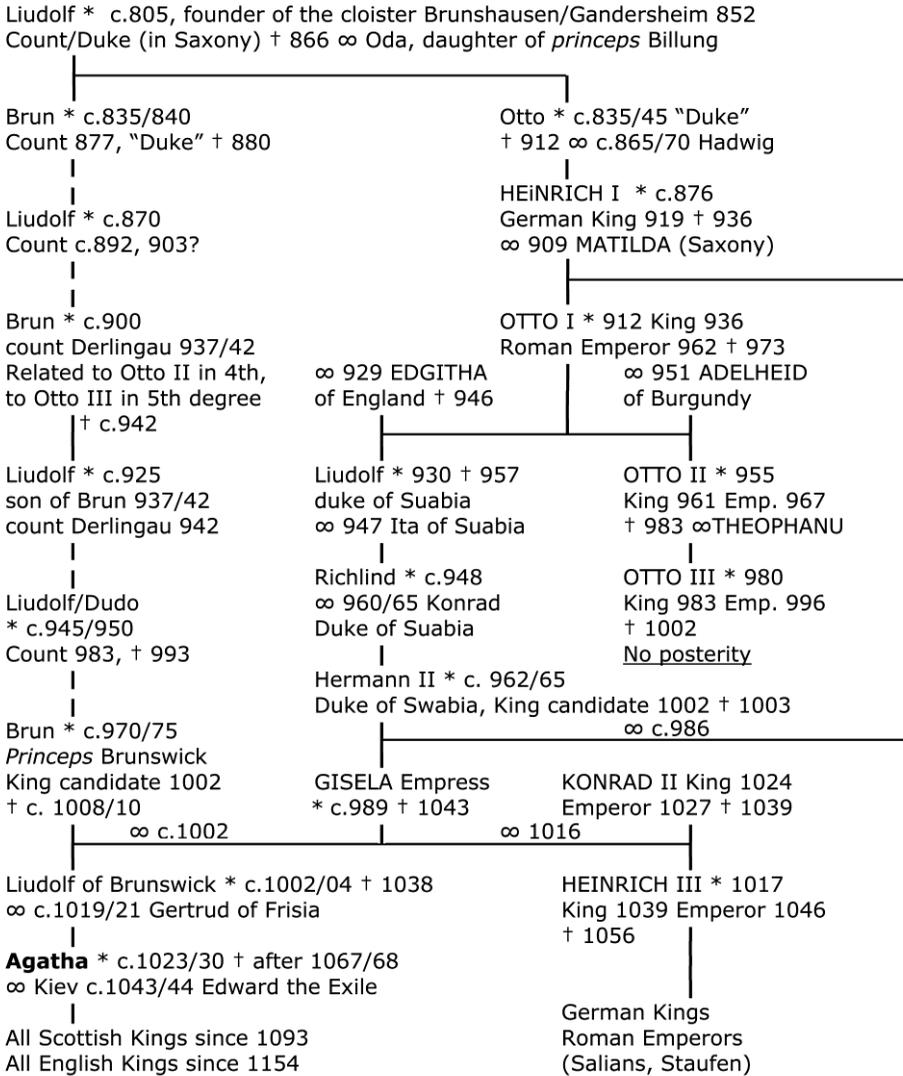
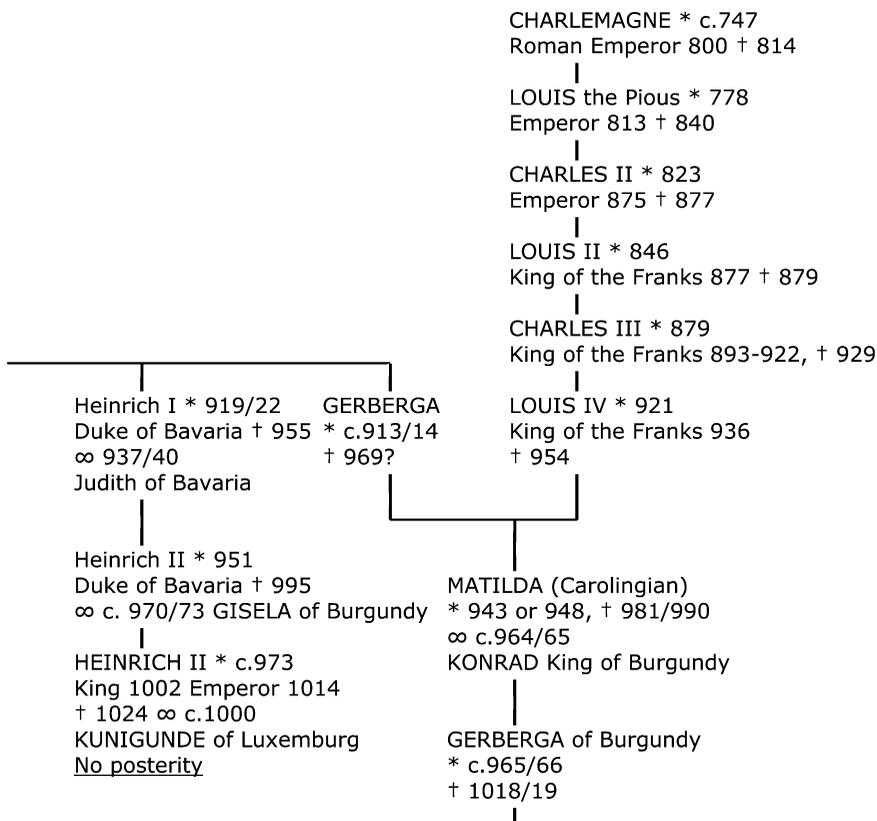


Fig 1. *Agatha's Liudolfingian-Ottonian and Carolingian ancestry*  
 (chart continues on the facing page)



*Legend*

- \* = born
- ∞ = married
- † = died
- c. = circa, around
- 835/45 = between 835 and 845

KINGS, QUEENS, ROYAL DAUGHTERS shown in upper case

For a more complete ancestry of Empress Gisela see WOLF (2010) 88-89, 121-145.  
 For the liudolfingian ancestry see WOLF, Genealogisches Jahrbuch 42 (2002) 26-36, 76-77.

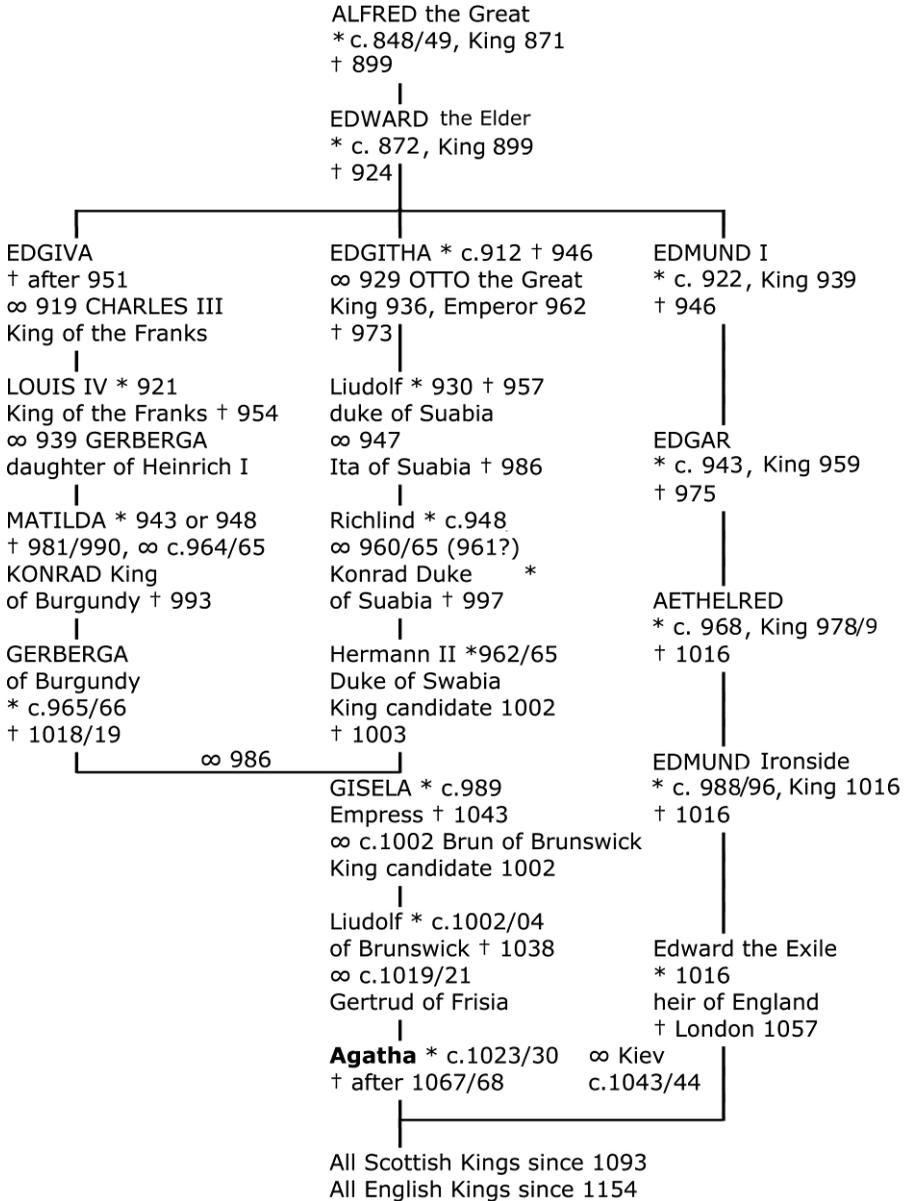


Fig 2. Agatha of Brunswick's Anglo-Saxon ancestry

Emperor Heinrich III (Judith, also still a child).<sup>25</sup> As a daughter of Liudolf and granddaughter of Empress Gisela, Agatha was related by blood (degree 2:2) to Salomon's betrothed, making Salomon of Hungary a relative by marriage of Agatha and her children.

Since, according to the *Chronicon ex Chronicis*, Edward and Agatha already had three (small) children by 1057, they must have married some years previously. The *Chronicon ex Chronicis* reinforced further the statement given in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* that Emperor Heinrich was Agatha's relative with the addition that Heinrich was the *Third*, which indeed gave a statement of fact, since at the time of Agatha's marriage (c.1043/44<sup>26</sup>) and of the visit of the English delegation from Worcester to Cologne (1054-55) Heinrich the *Third* reigned in Germany (1039-56). The former Emperor Heinrich II (1002-24) had been dead for a long time and does not come into question.

(2) According to Hlawitschka, the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* is also supposed to be not "beyond doubt"<sup>27</sup>, since:

(a) firstly, the name of Margaret's ancestor *Eadmund* gets mixed up with *Eadred*. This instance concerns Margaret's great-great-great-grandfather, whose English ancestors had been correctly named in all four other generations: *Pater eius* (Margaret) *erat Eadwardus clito, Eadmundi filius regis, Eadmundus Aethelredi, Aethelredus Eadgari, Eadgarus Eadredi [recte Eadmundi]*<sup>28</sup>. This kind of mistake over the half-part of the name of an ancestor, who lived over 150 years before the *Chronicle* was written, nevertheless does not as a result justify the casting of doubts over other chronologically much more contemporaneous statements.

(b) several times, yearly reports (1045-51 and 1070-77) "are dated respectively a year early"<sup>29</sup>. Taking into account different usages for the start of the year, this mistake seems forgivable.

(c) the Emperor who died in 1056 is not named as Heinrich III, but in versions C and D erroneously his father Emperor Konrad (*Cona imperator*) (while version E names the death correctly as that of Heinrich III). For Hlawitschka, this mistake is so "sloppy" that such "messy work" makes the "search for Agatha's origins a dangerous game full of risks both within the scope of Emperor Heinrich II and in that of Emperor Heinrich III."<sup>30</sup> Here Hlawitschka is mixing up the valid rejection of the earlier mistakenly accepted relationship to Emperor Heinrich II<sup>31</sup> with the relationship to Heinrich III established by Szabolcs de Vajay, which should henceforth be earnestly championed. Incidentally, a mistake in a particular

<sup>25</sup> Janos Bak, "Salomon," *LexMA* VII (1995) col.1315. This dismisses Jetté's argument (1996) 423, which dates the marriage wrongly to 1063.

<sup>26</sup> Ingham, *op.cit.* (1998), 264 "in the mid-1040s"; Jetté *op.cit.* (1996), 420 dates the marriage to 1045; Hlawitschka *op.cit.* (2006), Table XXX 14/15: "maybe 1043/44."

<sup>27</sup> Hlawitschka, *op.cit.* (2004), 200.

<sup>28</sup> *MGH SS* 13, 116 AD 1067.

<sup>29</sup> Hlawitschka, *op.cit.* (2004) 200.

<sup>30</sup> Hlawitschka, *op.cit.* (2004) 200f.

<sup>31</sup> Several authors mistakenly held Agatha to be a daughter to Gisela, who as sister of Emperor Heinrich II was married to St Stephen I of Hungary, or to be a daughter of Bruno, the brother of Heinrich II and later Bishop of Augsburg. See Hlawitschka, *op.cit.* (2004), 189 n.9, who refers, 201 with note 52, to the correctness of "striking, even irrefutable counter-arguments" put forward by de Vajay (1962).

instance should be proved by an anachronism in that instance, and not by mistakes lying elsewhere.

(3) Hlawitschka feels the absence of a “repercussion” from the union of a daughter of Liudolf of Brunswick with an English prince “in the Brunswick sources.”<sup>32</sup> Yet he does not name any Brunswick sources in which one ought to expect such a reference. In the first half of the 11th century, these are seriously rare. Where should such a reference stand to Agatha, who became orphaned as a young girl in 1038 and was soon thereafter sent to Kiev? Besides which, the Russian sources are comparatively just as quiet about Agatha, the supposed daughter of Yaroslav, and her marriage to an English prince. De Baumgarten, the specialist on the Rurik genealogy recognises precisely ten children of Yaroslav, yet Agatha is not among them. From these children, marriages are known to partners from Germany, Poland, Hungary, Norway, Denmark and France, but not from England.<sup>33</sup>

(4) If Agatha was a granddaughter to Empress Gisela, this would make “*the English kings cognate relatives [ie on the female side] of the reigning German kings and Emperors.*” So what? In actual fact the kings of France were female line descendants of King Heinrich I, while the kings of Hungary and Poland descended from Emperor Otto II, and were all thus cognate relatives of the German rulers. The English kings’ relatedness to the German kings would not be anything out of the ordinary either. Hlawitschka would have us think that “*hints to such a relationship in the sources are completely absent.*”<sup>34</sup> Even Jetté speaks of the “*inexplicable silence of the continental chroniclers.*”<sup>35</sup> Yet we should consider that the first of Agatha’s descendants to become an English king was her great-great-grandson Henry II (1152-89)! If Agatha was granddaughter of the Empress Gisela, there were six generations from Gisela to Henry II. His relationship to his contemporary Emperor Friedrich Barbarossa was in the 6th degree (6:5), quite likely not to be mentioned. Incidentally, Henry I (1100-35) was already the first English king descending from the Liudolfingians. Through his mother he was a 6th generation descendant of king Heinrich I, whose name he bore.

In fact even in the first half of the 13th century it was still assumed that the entire nobility (*tota nobilitas*) not only of Saxony, Germany (*ie* meaning the Franks), Bavaria and Swabia, but also of France, Normandy, Hungary, Russia and Poland descended from Liudolf, Duke of Saxony († 866), the father of Dukes Brun(o) and Otto, and grandfather of King Heinrich I.<sup>36</sup> An equivalent explanatory text can be found alongside the table showing the descent of the Hohenstaufens from the Salians, as well as the latter from the Ottonians, which is borne out in several copies of the Cologne *Königschronik* (Chronicle of Kings).<sup>37</sup> True, the kings of England and Scotland are not mentioned in this list of descendants of the Liudolfingians, but England seems to have been included with Normandy. Scotland evidently was not

<sup>32</sup> Hlawitschka (2004) 202 n.53.

<sup>33</sup> Nicholas P S de Baumgarten, “Généalogies et mariages occidentaux des Rurikides russes du Xe au XIIIe siècle” *Orientalia Christiana* IX,1 num.35 (1927) table I, 21-30, and Manfred Hellmann, “Die Heiratspolitik Jaroslavs des Weisen,” *Forschungen zur osteuropäischen Geschichte* 8 (1962), 14, know no daughter of Yaroslav married to an Englishman.

<sup>34</sup> Hlawitschka (2004) 202 n.53.

<sup>35</sup> Jetté (1996) 422.

<sup>36</sup> *Hoc tempore* (859) *Leutholphus dux Saxonum, pater Brunonis et Ottonis ducum, avus Henrici regis primi Romanorum, corpus Innocentii primi pape a Roma in Saxoniam transtulit. Ab isto Leutholfo descendit tota nobilitas Saxonie, Germanie, Gallie, Normannie, Bawarie, Suevie, Ungarie, Ruscie et Polonie.* Alberich of Troisfontaine (*MGH SS* 23, 737).

<sup>37</sup> Reproduced in Wolf, *op.cit.* (2000), 18f.

mentioned because Duncan II was too far away from Heinrich I and Otto I (8 generations), while France, Poland, Hungary, and Russia were mentioned since Hugh Capet of France was 2nd generation from Heinrich I, Kasimir of Poland third generation, while Geisa of Hungary and Yaropolk of Russia were fourth generation from Otto II.

In previous literature, a reference from the English court historiographer Matthew Paris († 1259) was also overlooked. This names as one of the reasons for the election of Richard of Cornwall as King of the Romans his two commonalities of descent with the German kings (*propter ... originis communionem*), one old and one new (*et antiquam et novam*). The new one called on the fact that the mother of Emperor Otto IV was a daughter of King Henry II of England, while the old is to be found *in cronicis*.<sup>38</sup> Matthew Paris evidently had no doubts about the nomination in the *Chronicon ex chronicis* of Agatha as a daughter of Emperor Heinrich III's brother; for his reference must relate to Agatha, since in the English chronicles under the forbears of the English rulers no other relationship to the German kings or Roman emperors is to be found right back until the Anglo-Saxon kings. By drawing parallels to Otto IV, who was a Brunswick, Matthew may even perhaps have known that Agatha was a Brunswick, too.

(5) During the betrothal (1110) or marriage (1114) of Emperor Heinrich V to Matilda of England no mention is made of *consanguinitas*. According to Hlawitschka, if Agatha were a niece of Emperor Heinrich III, this would be expected. The marriage would therefore have been a "very close union by canonical degrees 5:3."<sup>39</sup> That such a distant relationship did not necessarily need to be declared, follows from the following objections:

(a) Because Liudolf of Brunswick and Emperor Heinrich III came from two different marriages of the Empress Gisela, one degree more can be added to the relationship between Matilda of England and Emperor Heinrich V.<sup>40</sup> Their first common pair of ancestors were 6:4 generations (degrees) distant. Besides the fact that consanguinity was only pointed out in a minority of cases, the mention of such a relationship, distant by 5 or even 6 degrees, would be extremely unusual. (In canon law, the longer of unequal branches counts).

(b) If Agatha had nonetheless been a daughter of the Grand Duke Yaroslav the Wise of Kiev, the marriage of her great-grandson Henry Earl of Huntingdon with Ada of Warenne would have been a marriage in a much closer canonical degree (4:4).

<sup>38</sup> Henry Richards Luards, ed., *Matthaei Parisiensis Chronica Majora*, Vol. V (1880), 603; on which see Armin Wolf, "Wahlrecht und Erbfolge in den Reichen Alfons des Weisen," in *Zur Geschichte des Familien- und Erbrecht: Politische Implikationen und Perspektiven* (1987), 20f.

<sup>39</sup> Hlawitschka, *op.cit.* (2004), 202 n.53:

Brun of Brunswick	∞	Empress Gisela	∞	Emperor Konrad II
Liudolf				Emperor Heinrich III
Agatha				
Margaret				Emperor Heinrich IV
Matilda				
Empress Matilda	∞ [degree 5:3 resp. 6:4]			Emperor Heinrich V

<sup>40</sup> Cf. the German law book *Sachsenspiegel Landrecht* I 3,3 and II 20,1.

But no *consanguinitas* is noted between the married couple here either.<sup>41</sup> If we are to demand that the relationship of Emperor Heinrich V and Matilda should have been taken into account in the 5th (or even 6th) degree, the Huntingdon/Warenne relationship in the 4th degree should have been referenced first. That it was not recorded speaks against Agatha's Kievan origins and rather for her Brunswick ones. For, since the Huntingdon/Warenne relationship was not mentioned, applying Hlawitschka's principles it also did not exist, which means that Agatha (the great-grandmother of the Earl of Huntingdon), could not for that very reason have been the daughter of Yaroslav (the great-great-grandfather of Ada de Warenne), but must have had someone else as father.

(6) For Jetté, Agatha's liudolfingian (Brunswick) ancestry imposes an "*exceptionally tight chronology*". Since Agatha had three children in 1057, the eldest of them must have been born at the latest "*between 1045 and 1050*" and Agatha herself "*cannot be born after 1030 and ... more likely around 1020.*"<sup>42</sup> This would not in fact work, if Agatha's grandmother Gisela, the later Empress was born "*in 993*", married Count Bruno of Brunswick, "*about 1010*", and their son Liudolf then would have been "*born about 1010.*"<sup>43</sup> In that case he certainly could not have been the father of Agatha around 1020. Jetté was however making presumptions on the basis of incorrect dates. Gisela, for example, was born in 989<sup>44</sup> and evidently married Brun of Brunswick in 1002.<sup>45</sup> Their son Liudolf may have been born in 1002/04 - whatever the case he had in 1021 reached the age of majority,<sup>46</sup> implying that Agatha could have been born between 1023 and 1030.<sup>47</sup> This chronology is not unrealistic.

(7) Onomastic reasons in favour of Agatha's Kievan and against her Brunswick origins have also been proposed.<sup>48</sup> We should, however, also refute this argument of naming practice. Agatha had daughters Margaret and Cristina and grandsons David and Alexander. It is true, Yaroslav of Kiev had a grandson David and two great-granddaughters named Marina and Agafia.<sup>49</sup> However they were born long after Agatha.<sup>50</sup> Although Hlawitschka maintains that these names were current in Russian nobility from the 10th to the 12th century,<sup>51</sup> he does not indicate to which people they relate,

<sup>41</sup> Faris & Richardson, *op.cit.* (1998), 234f; Humphreys, *op.cit.* (2003), 36:

Yaroslav Grand Prince of Kiev † 1054

?Agatha ∞ Edward the Exile	Anne of Kiev ∞ King Henri I. of France
St. Margaret ∞ King Malcolm III of Scotland	Hugh of France
King David of Scotland	Isabel de Vermandois
Earl Henry of Huntingdon ∞ 1139 (?4:4)	Ada de Warenne

<sup>42</sup> Jetté (1996), 420.

<sup>43</sup> Jetté (1996), 422.

<sup>44</sup> Eduard Hlawitschka, "Zur Bleitafelinschrift aus dem Grab der Kaiserin Gisela," *Historisches Jahrbuch* 97/98 (1978): 439-445; Hlawitschka, *op.cit.* (2006), 262.

<sup>45</sup> This date arises as a result of the royal election in the same year, in which Bruno was named as a candidate with few followers, yet was seemingly won over to the more promising (although also unsuccessful) candidate Duke Hermann II of Swabia by the hand in marriage of his (Hermann's) daughter Gisela.

<sup>46</sup> Wolf (2010), 179: Not 1013, as erroneously was believed. Boys were regarded as of age when their beard sprouted (*Sachsenspiegel, Landrecht* I 42,1).

<sup>47</sup> Humphreys (2003), 36, dates her birth about 1026.

<sup>48</sup> Jetté (1996), 425.

<sup>49</sup> de Baumgarten, *op.cit.* (1927), tables IV 3, V 12, V 15.

<sup>50</sup> Ingham (1998), 268 and Faris & Richardson (1998), 229, 235, have also noticed this.

<sup>51</sup> Hlawitschka (2004), 202 n.53 and 203; Hlawitschka (2006), 629.

whether they were older than Agatha's children and grandsons (and hence could have been a model for their names) and what blood relationship they are to have had to an alleged daughter of Yaroslav. Humphreys refers to an Agatha as paternal aunt to the step[!] grandmother of Yaroslav's children.<sup>52</sup> This however would in no way constitute even a distant relationship and in fact is no blood relationship at all, which could support the choice of names.

Above all, no attention whatsoever until now has been paid to the fact that there is a name which obviously speaks in favour of the Brunswick solution: the name of Agatha's eldest granddaughter Matilda, born in 1080. This name would be extremely surprising if it were of Russian origin, yet it very nicely suits Agatha's descent from the Empress Gisela. Matilda was the name of Gisela's grandmother, a maternal aunt, a sister, a daughter and two of her granddaughters<sup>53</sup>. Furthermore, the name goes back to the ancestress of the German kings, the wife of King Heinrich I. This Matilda descended from Duke Widukind of Saxony (*ex stirpe Widikindi magni ducis Saxonie*).<sup>54</sup> Agatha would become the piece in the jigsaw puzzle bringing this name from Germany to England:

**Matilda** of Saxony ∞ Heinrich I German King  
 Gerberga of Saxony ∞ Louis IV King of France (Carolingian)  
**Matilda** of France ∞ Konrad King of Burgundy  
 Gerberga of Burgundy (sister: **Matilda**) ∞ Duke Hermann II of Swabia  
 Gisela of Swabia, Empress (sister: **Matilda**) ∞ Bruno Prince of Brunswick  
 Liudolf of Brunswick (sister: **Matilda**) ∞ Gertrud  
 Agatha of Brunswick (sister: **Matilda**) ∞ Edward the Exile of England  
 St. Margaret of England ∞ Malcolm III of Scotland  
**Matilda**/Eadgitha of Scotland ∞ King Henry I of England  
**Matilda** of England, Empress ∞ Geoffrey Plantagenet  
 King Henry II of England  
**Matilda** of England ∞ Duke Heinrich the Lion of Saxony

It is true that within the nine generations from Matilda of Scotland back to the German queen Matilda there were only two direct ancestresses Matilde, but in seven of the nine generations there was a Matilda. It has been objected that Matilda of Scotland could not have received her name from German relatives, because she firstly bore the name Edith/Eadgitha and adopted the name Matilda on marriage in honour of Queen Matilda, wife of William I, who was the mother of both Edith's godfather, Robert of Normandy, and her husband Henry I. But is there any comparable case in which a bride was renamed at her marriage after the mother of her husband? It is more likely that she took the name Matilda because of her own relationship, and if this did occur at her marriage it could signify that she was of equal birth to her husband Henry, son of Matilda of Flanders, both descending from the German king Heinrich I and his queen Matilda of Saxony. Matilda of Flanders' ascendancy goes back through her French mother directly to Hugh Capet's mother Hadwig, daughter of Heinrich I and Matilda, and through her paternal Flanders line to count Arnulf's mother, another Matilda of Saxony.

The names Margaret and Christina also appeared in Saxony, the home of Liudolf of Brunswick. The Saxon Annalist names a Margaret, who lived around the time of

<sup>52</sup> Humphreys (2003), 36, without supporting evidence.

<sup>53</sup> Erich Brandenburg, *Die Nachkommen Karls des Großen* (1935), VII 52, VIII 59, IX 16, X 32, XI 48.

<sup>54</sup> See n. 36.

Agatha and also had a granddaughter called Margaret.<sup>55</sup> Count Bernhard and Christina († 822/30) founded the Bonifatius-Stift in Hameln.<sup>56</sup> There is a Christina in the entourage of King Heinrich I in an obituary written in around 932.<sup>57</sup> The name Christina even has a prominent place in the house of the Liudolfingians. Up until the 13th century it was known that the second Abbess of Gandersheim, the Liudolfingian family cloister, was called Christina (896/97-919).<sup>58</sup> She was a daughter of Duke Liudolf († 866),<sup>59</sup> founder of Gandersheim and ancestor of the Liudolfingian house, which is named after him. Not only did the Ottonian kings and emperors belong to the Liudolfingians, even the Brunswick Bruns counted as an older branch of this house.<sup>60</sup> The fact that Agatha named one of her daughters Christina is consistent with her being a daughter of Count Liudolf († 1038) and descendant of Duke Liudolf († 866).

Ingham's position, that "Agatha's children and grandchildren did not receive any typical German names as might be expected if she had been a German noblewoman and related to an emperor"<sup>61</sup> should be rejected, since it is disproved by the names of Matilda, Margaret and Christina. Agatha's grandson Alexander was named in honour of Pope Alexander II (1061-73), "during whose pontificate the marriage of Margaret to Malcolm III took place, and attempts were made to bring the Church in Scotland into conformity with the Church of Rome."<sup>62</sup> In the Rurikids, the name of Alexander only appears later, towards the end of the 12th century.<sup>63</sup>

As far as Agatha's own name is concerned, Baldwin<sup>64</sup> points out that the ancestry of Liudolf of Brunswick's wife, Gertrud of Frisia is almost unknown. It cannot be excluded that an Agatha might have been among the relatives of Agatha's mother. On the other hand, earlier carriers of the name in her ancestry or her older relatives are hardly to be expected in a time in which Christian names gradually suppressed old English and old German names. Another possibility is that Agatha received her name during her stay in Russia. Renaming foreign-born wives with an appropriate Orthodox name was customary.<sup>65</sup> For example Ingigerd, Yaroslav's Swedish wife, was named Irina in Russia.<sup>66</sup> The Pole Gertrude, who married Yaroslav's son Izjaslav, was called Olisava in Kiev. As a wife of Yaroslav's grandson Yaropolk, Kunigunde of Orlamünde-Beichlingen was given the name Irina. Conversely, in Hungary Yaroslav's

<sup>55</sup> *Annalista Saxo* AD 1040 (MGH SS 37, 383). Jackman, *op.cit.* (2000), 30.

<sup>56</sup> Klaus Nass, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Bonifatiusstifts Hameln* (1986), 73-79.

<sup>57</sup> Hlawitschka (2006), 704.

<sup>58</sup> *Eberhards Reimchronik of Gandersheim* (MGH Dt. Chr. 2, 402, 428) and *Braunschweigische Reimchronik*, *ibidem* 464, 466 (Verses 450, 570f.).

<sup>59</sup> Hrotsvitha, *Opera III 2, Primordia coenobii Gandersheimensis* (MGH SS rer. Germ. [34] 243, 246, Verses 485 and 581).

<sup>60</sup> Armin Wolf, "Quasi hereditatem inter filios. Zur Kontroverse über das Königswahlrecht im Jahre 1002 und die Genealogie der Konradiner," (1995), 93-95 (pp.26-31 of the revised version, 2002) with relevant quotations from the *Brunswick Reimchronik*, cf. note 58; Eduard Hlawitschka, "Die familiären Verbindungen der Brunonen," *Auxilia Historica, Festschrift für Peter Acht* (2001), 149-151, 162; Hlawitschka, *op.cit.* (2006), 706-708. Wolf, *op.cit.* (2010), 171f.

<sup>61</sup> Ingham (1998), 269, also 261; similar in Jetté (1996) 426 n.10.

<sup>62</sup> Faris & Richardson, *op.cit.* (1998), 229.

<sup>63</sup> de Baumgarten, *op.cit.* (1927), 10, table II 31.

<sup>64</sup> Baldwin, *op.cit.* (2010).

<sup>65</sup> Faris & Richardson (1998), 232; cf. Ingham (1998), 261f.

<sup>66</sup> Ingham (1998), 237.

daughter Anastasia was given the name Agmond, and Yaroslav's granddaughter Eupraxia was given the name Adelheid in Germany, when she married Emperor Heinrich IV.<sup>67</sup> When Yaropolk's daughter Isjaslava married Günter, one of the princes of Thuringia, she was called Mechthild.

Agatha may accordingly have had a German name, which became forgotten after her stay in Russia. If we might speculate on Agatha's original western name, Edgitha (Eadgitha) should be considered. When Liudolf around 1023/30 gave his daughter a name, he will have known that he descended from Edgitha, Otto the Great's first queen († 946). And Agatha's granddaughter Matilda of Scotland (b.1080) bore the name Edgitha, too. In its Anglo-Saxon form Eadgitha the name even sounds a bit like Agatha.

All this does not imply that onomastics prove Agatha's Saxon origin, but Baldwin's impression that "*onomastic somewhat weakens the German hypothesis*" should be thought over again. At least the names Matilda, Margaret and Christina fit better into a Saxon relation than into a Russian one.

Humphreys' explanation of Agatha's name from a relationship to Byzantium does not throw any light on the matter: According to him, Agatha, the "*filia germani imperatoris Henrici*" and the "*materna stirps* [of Saint Margaret, who] *ascendit ad Henricum imperatorem, qui habuit potestatem Romae*" goes back to a Byzantine emperor. The father of Agatha's (alleged) father Yaroslav was Saint Vladimir, who in his third marriage wed Anna, a daughter of Emperor Romanos II, who had a sister named Agatha.<sup>68</sup> Yaroslav however came from his father's first marriage, not from the one with the Byzantine. Hence, even following Humphreys' suggestion, St. Margaret's ancestry (*stirps*) does not lead back into the family of the Byzantine emperor at all. Besides which, Agatha was designated as a daughter of the brother of an emperor (Heinrich), not as the daughter of a grand duke (Yaroslav), whose stepmother [!] had a (byzantine) emperor (Romanos) as a father, who was also not called Heinrich.

Evidently this interpretation was not all that convincing to Humphreys himself. As a consequence, he placed the traditional view under question, according to which Yaroslav in 980 was issue to the first marriage of Vladimir of Kiev with Rogneda of Polock, and instead constructs the thesis that Yaroslav was not born until 991, and then from the third marriage of Vladimir with Anna of Byzantium, concluded in 987/89.<sup>69</sup> This however contradicts two witnesses from Nestor's Chronicle, according to whom Yaroslav was a son of Rogneda: AD 980: "*Vladimir had a lust for women, however, and his wives were: Rogned... with whom he had four sons: Izjaslav, Mistislav, Yaroslav, Vsevolod, and two daughters...*"; AD 1000: "*In the same year also died Rogned, Yaroslao's mother.*"<sup>70</sup> Yet even if Humphreys' new thesis held true for a Byzantine (instead of Swedish) mother for Yaroslav, Agatha, if she was a daughter of Yaroslav would have only received the name of a sister of a great-grandfather, to whom she was related only by 5th degree.<sup>71</sup>

<sup>67</sup> Hartmut Rüss, "Eupraxia-Adelheid, Eine biographische Annäherung," *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas* 54 (2006): 498 with n.111.

<sup>68</sup> Humphreys (2003), 36 with table.

<sup>69</sup> Humphreys (2004), 284ff. and fig 1.

<sup>70</sup> Quoted from Hlawitschka (2006), 474.

<sup>71</sup> By the way, Jackman, *op.cit.* (2000), 31, 40, 56, considers a Byzantine relationship possible also via Agatha's Brunswick ancestry. He proposes that the Greek name of Liudolf's daughter Agatha points to a descent of the Bruns from Byzantium on the female side. Jackman considers whether Liudolf, Count in Derlingau (in which Brunswick is situated) 942, married a

Therefore the “probability that Agatha’s presence in Kiev was as a prospective bride for a son of Yaroslav,” as discussed by Faris and Richardson, lies a lot nearer. I suggest that the above points refute the arguments which appeared to speak against Agatha’s Brunswick origins.

### 3. Arguments in favour of Agatha’s origins stemming from Yaroslav of Kiev

(1) Adam von Bremen reported in 1074 that the sons of Edmund (Ironside) were driven into exile in Russia (*filius eius in Ruziam exilio dampnati*).<sup>72</sup> It is agreed that Edward the Exile and his brother Edmund were sent to begin with (via Scandinavia) to Russia (perhaps around 1028) and only thereafter arrived in Hungary (probably around 1046).<sup>73</sup> It does not however follow from this that Edward married a Russian grand duke’s daughter.

(2) In the *Leges Edwardi confessoris*, which according to Hlawitschka “achieved its traditional form during the reign of Henry I (1100-1135),”<sup>74</sup> and according to English research took on “its root form” in the 1130s,<sup>75</sup> it says that Edward (the Exile) fled to Russia out of fear of King Cnut (*usque ad terram Rugorum, quam nos uocamus Russeiam*). The Russian king, Malesclodus, was said to have held him in honour. There Edward is said to have taken a wife from a noble house (*accepit ibi uxorem ex nobili genere*) from whom Edgar Aetheling, and the subsequent Queen of Scotland Margaret and her sister Christina were born.<sup>76</sup>

Even if the unusual name Malesclodus can be interpreted as Yaroslav,<sup>77</sup> there is still no mention there of Edward having married his daughter. An addition, which says that Margaret came on her mother’s side from the house and blood of the kings of Russia (*ex parte uero matris ex genere et sanguine regum Rugorum*), is an interpolation from the 13th century, which can only be found in a single one of the 41 manuscripts<sup>78</sup> and is consequently a lot less credible than the original source text.

While this implies that Edward took a wife of noble origin in Russia, it does not mean that she was a Russian princess. It could equally have been the king and future emperor Heinrich III’s niece who had come to the Kiev court. Since Liudolf of Brunswick died in 1038, the orphan Agatha would have been brought up in the court of her grandmother, the Empress Gisela, and her son (Heinrich III). The Empress demonstrably took this route with the two orphans (Sophia and Beatrice) of her sister Matilda (*adoptaverat in filias*),<sup>79</sup> until they were married befitting their class. Ronay and

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daughter of Emperor Louis the Blind (+ 928) and Anna of Byzantium. There is, however, no evidence to support this as yet.

<sup>72</sup> MGH SS rer. Germ. [2] S.114.

<sup>73</sup> Dates according to Ingham, *op.cit.* (1998), 234f., 265.

<sup>74</sup> Hlawitschka, *op.cit.* (2004), 190.

<sup>75</sup> Humphreys, *op.cit.* (2003), 33.

<sup>76</sup> Felix Liebermann, ed., *Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen*, Vol. I (1903), 664.

<sup>77</sup> Hlawitschka (2004), 202; Baldwin, *op.cit.* (2010).

<sup>78</sup> Liebermann, *op.cit.* (1903), 664f., footnotes. Ingham (1998), 253-256 and Hlawitschka (2004), 191, play down the fact of the interpolation. Humphreys (2004), 280, who pleads for this position does not mention that it is based on a later interpolation. Faris & Richardson (1998), 226 with n.9, however “expect that a grandchild of Agatha would have stated plainly to the author of the *Leges* that Agatha was a daughter of Yaroslav if it were the fact”.

<sup>79</sup> “Chronicle of Saint-Mihiel” cap. 32 (MGH SS 4, 84).

Humphreys had already suggested that following Yaroslav's attempt to marry one of his daughters to Heinrich III, widowed since 1038, Agatha was entrusted as a counter-offer to the Russian mission which came back to Kiev in 1043.<sup>80</sup>

In the 11th century there were in any case numerous relations between the German imperial court and Kiev. The third daughter (*tertia filia*) to Duke Konrad of Swabia and paternal aunt of Empress Gisela married around 1012 the *rex Rugorum* (Vladimir the Great, Yaroslav's father).<sup>81</sup> Ida of Elsdorf, another daughter of Emperor Heinrich III's brother Liudolf,<sup>82</sup> had a daughter Oda, who (around 1072) married a *rex Ruzie*.<sup>83</sup> This person is considered to be the Grand Prince of Kiev, Sviatoslav II († 1076), a son of Yaroslav.<sup>84</sup> In the opposite direction, Eupraxia, a granddaughter of Yaroslav of Kiev, married in around 1083 the Margrave Heinrich III of Stade (Elbe) and after his death the Emperor Heinrich IV in 1089.<sup>85</sup> It would consequently not have been unusual that Agatha, daughter of Heinrich III's brother who died in 1038, was sent to Kiev between 1038 and 1043.<sup>86</sup> A Russian mission stayed in 1040 in the German court in Allstedt (west of Halle)<sup>87</sup> and in 1042 in Goslar.<sup>88</sup> Considerably rich gifts were exchanged there. Heinrich III nevertheless did not fulfil Yaroslav's wish that he marry one of his daughters, quickly concluding instead a marriage to Agnes of Poitou.<sup>89</sup> On account of this collapse of Russian marriage plans, it is all the more understandable that Yaroslav should not have married Agatha to one of his sons, but married her instead (in around 1043/44) to Prince Edward from England, in exile in Kiev and then

<sup>80</sup> Humphreys (2003), 32 footnote 9, referring to Ronay (1989). This also settles Ingham's question (1998), 261: "And would she have been sent all the way to Kiev to marry another foreigner there? Why was Edward not invited west for the purpose, to Germany?" Naturally a marriage with an exiled foreigner was not planned, but a union with the Russian court.

<sup>81</sup> *Genealogia Welforum* cap. 4, on which see Armin Wolf, "Wer war Kuno ‚von Öhningen‘? Überlegungen zum Herzogtum Konrads von Schwaben († 997) und zur Königswahl vom Jahre 1002," *Deutsches Archiv* 36 (1980), 31f.; Manfred Hellmann, "Ottonen und Rjurikiden. Bemerkungen zur Wiederaufnahme einer Diskussion," *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas* 19 (1981), 574ff.

<sup>82</sup> de Vajay, *op.cit.* (1971), 254-257; Wolf, *op.cit.* (1980), 39-44; Armin Wolf, "Königskandidatur und Königsverwandtschaft. Hermann von Schwaben als Prüfstein für das ‚Prinzip der freien Wahl‘," *Deutsches Archiv* 47 (1991), 52; Hlawitschka, *op.cit.* (2004), 202 n.53.

<sup>83</sup> *Annales Stadenses ad 1112 (MGH SS 16, 319)*.

<sup>84</sup> de Baumgarten, *op.cit.* (1927), 7 & 9, nr. I 25; Christian Lübke, "Ottonen, Rjurikiden, Piasten. Ergänzende Bemerkungen zum Verwandtenkreis Kunos ‚von Öhningen‘," *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas* 37 (1989), 13.

<sup>85</sup> Rüss, *op.cit.* (2006), 487-511.

<sup>86</sup> This would also provide "the troublesome justification of how a West Friesland Count [Liudolf] would sufficiently be able to enjoy interaction with the Kievan Orbit in a short period in or before 1038" (Jetté (1996), 422; Humphreys (2003), 35). Agatha was however sent to Kiev only after the death of her father Liudolf, therefore not before, but after 1038 (probably in 1040/43?) by the Empress Gisela (her grandmother) or Heinrich III (her paternal uncle). That daughters of German nobles even "from the provinces" came to Kiev is proven by the marriage of Kunigunde of Beichlingen, daughter of the dead Count Otto of Weimar, to the Duke Yaropolk of Vladimir, a grandson of Yaroslav, in around 1073 (de Baumgarten (1927), 10f. nr.1).

<sup>87</sup> *Annalista Saxo: 1040: Rex in festo sancti Andree in Altstide placitum habuit, ubi et legatos Ruzorum com muneribus suscepit (MGH SS 37, 383)*.

<sup>88</sup> *Annales Altahenses AD 1043: Legati quoque Ruzorum magna dona tulerunt, sed maiora recipientes abierunt (MGH SS rer. Germ. [4] 32)*.

<sup>89</sup> Theodor Ediger, *Rußlands älteste Beziehungen zu Deutschland, Frankreich und der Römischen Kurie* (1911), 36 f; Hlawitschka (2004) 203.

let them both move off to Hungary. Ronay points to this as “steps needed to salvage the Russo-German-English (anti-Danish) alliance.”<sup>90</sup>

(3) A better argument for Agatha’s Slavic ancestry seems to be the declaration in William of Malmesbury’s *Gesta regum* (1st edition in around 1125, 2nd and 3rd edition 1135/40), which says that Edward came to Hungary, where he married a sister of the Queen (*ubi ... Agatham reginae sororem in matrimonium accepit*).<sup>91</sup> It should be noted however that William of Malmesbury does not mention the name of this queen. Although for chronological reasons no less than five (actually even six) Hungarian queens come into question as Agatha’s sister,<sup>92</sup> proponents of the “Slavic solution” only consider Anastasia, the wife of King Andrew I, daughter of the Grand Prince Yaroslav of Kiev. The Hungarian Prince Andrew was in exile in Kiev much like the English Prince Edward. In 1046 he returned to Hungary, where he succeeded in gaining the throne. Like several other researchers, I hold it probable that Edward and Agatha left their exile in Kiev together with Andrew and Anastasia and went with them to Hungary,<sup>93</sup> but on account of which Agatha need not have been a sister to Anastasia nor, consequently, Yaroslav’s daughter. William of Malmesbury had “clearly no knowledge of Version D of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle nor of Florence [John] of Worcester’s *Chronicon ex chronicis*”<sup>94</sup>. He did not explicitly deny its older news about the relationship of Agatha to the Roman Emperor, but rather he simply did not know of it, or at least not in detail.

In fact a Hungarian queen, Judith, the wife of King Salomon, was a daughter of Emperor Heinrich III. William of Malmesbury’s mistake in holding Agatha to be Judith’s sister (instead of her cousin) is understandable. Agatha (born around 1023/30)<sup>95</sup> as orphan at the Emperor’s court would have grown up together with Beatrice (b.1037, Abbess of Quedlinburg 1044/45, † 1061), the eldest daughter of Heinrich III (from his first marriage). Consequently it is possible that William held Agatha (mistakenly) likewise to be the Emperor’s daughter and therefore to be a sister (instead of cousin) to Judith. Agatha’s declared relationship to a Hungarian queen has to refer to Judith, particularly since Judith held the title of a queen of Hungary for over 20 years (1057/58-81). This would explain that Agatha was named both as a daughter of Emperor Heinrich III’s brother (*Chronicon ex chronicis*) and a sister of a Hungarian Queen (William of Malmesbury), which Ingham referred to together as “not possible.”<sup>96</sup>

After the conquest of England, when Agatha together with her children wished in 1066/68 to flee to Hungary (but was driven back to Scotland by a storm),<sup>97</sup> in Hungary she would have come to King “Salomon, Agatha’s nephew according to the Kievan

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<sup>90</sup> Ronay, *op.cit.* (1989), 69f.

<sup>91</sup> Hlawitschka, *op.cit.* (2004), 195.

<sup>92</sup> Humphreys, *op.cit.* (2003), 41 n.43 citing John C Parsons, *Edward The Aethlings’s wife Parsons* (2002). As wife to King Salomon, Judith was to have been added as the sixth.

<sup>93</sup> Hlawitschka (2004), 206.

<sup>94</sup> Hlawitschka (2004), 205. Hlawitschka, 200, blames the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle as not being “beyond doubt”, because it named St. Margaret’s ancestor in the 5th generation *Eadmund* instead of *Eadred* (n.28). William of Malmesbury, in whom Hlawitschka trusts, errs even in the generation of St. Margaret’s father by naming his brother *Eadwius* instead of *Eadmund*.

<sup>95</sup> Humphreys (2003), 36, estimates her birth c.1026; and (2004), 286, c.1023/30.

<sup>96</sup> Ingham, *op.cit.* (1998), 242.

<sup>97</sup> Ingham (1998), 243f., 269.

theory,"<sup>98</sup> but rather to Queen Judith, Agatha's cousin according to the liudolfingian theory. Ingham's argument that Agatha would not have been of German descent because she did not flee in 1066 to Germany<sup>99</sup> speaks likewise against an alleged Russian descent, because neither did she try to flee to Russia. She could not flee to her paternal uncle, Emperor Heinrich III in Germany, since he had been dead for 10 years.

Hlawitschka attaches great importance to William of Malmesbury, because he had the "best contact to Agatha's descendants."<sup>100</sup> Yet William knew as little as the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* and the *Chronicon ex Chronicis* concerning the exile in Russia. Faris & Richardson also reminded us "that William's reputation rests primarily...upon the later parts of his history of which he was a contemporary observer, and that to the contrary, Bishop Stubbs is quoted on page 352 as stating that for the period before the Conquest in 1066 'his independent contributions are infinitesimal'."<sup>101</sup> This considerably weakens William's testimony for the origin of Edward the Exile's wife (∞ c.1043/44).

(4) In order to eliminate the evidence of Agatha as a relative of the Emperor (*caseres maga, imperatoris cognata*) and a daughter of Emperor Heinrich III's brother (Agatham, *filiam germani imperatoris Henrici III*),<sup>102</sup> Hlawitschka starts to think about Agatha as "a close relative (sister, half-sister, niece?) of Anna, daughter of Yaroslav, who married King Henri I of France."<sup>103</sup> This hypothesis makes the Emperor into a King, the ruler of Rome into the ruler of France, Heinrich the *Third* into Henri the *First*, from the precise marking as the daughter of the brother to a vague relative, and from the daughter of a *man* (Heinrich III's brother) into the relative of a *woman* (Anna of France). So many conjectures all at once are not very convincing!

## Concluding remarks

In spite of the thoughts of Jetté, Ingham, Humphreys and Hlawitschka, to me it seems substantially more probable that Agatha, just as de Vajay first showed in 1962, was actually the daughter of a half-brother of Emperor Heinrich III, namely Liudolf of Brunswick, and not of Yaroslav of Kiev. This therefore also means that Agatha would not have been just a "German noblewoman,"<sup>104</sup> but a daughter of the liudolfingian house of Brunswick, which was the elder branch of the ottonian Emperors' house (919-1024). Through her grandmother, the Empress Gisela, she descended on the female side not only from the Emperors Otto the Great and Charlemagne, but also from the old Anglo-Saxon kings.

## Author's note

The original German essay on which this article is based was written before Stewart Baldwin's internet publication *Agatha, Wife of Eadward the Exile* (2010). I thank the editor and reviewer panel of *Foundations* for making me aware of this excellent study that offers an exhaustive critical overview of the sources, various hypotheses and arguments on the problems around Agatha.

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<sup>98</sup> Ingham (1998), 244.

<sup>99</sup> Ingham (1998), 261.

<sup>100</sup> Hlawitschka (2004), 205.

<sup>101</sup> Faris & Richardson (1998), 228.

<sup>102</sup> See above notes 5, 9 and 10.

<sup>103</sup> Hlawitschka (2004), 204.

<sup>104</sup> Ingham (1998), 265.

Only after the completion of the English translation of my paper did I have the opportunity to slip in a few pointers to Baldwin's study, with which I agree almost entirely. I hope this article offers some additional arguments.

## Abbreviations

MGH SS = *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores*

MGH SS rer. Germ. = *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores rerum Germanicarum*

LexMA = *Lexikon des Mittelalters*

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