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# AGATHA, MOTHER OF SAINT MARGARET QUEEN OF SCOTLAND \*

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We shall endeavour, in the following notes, to clear up the secular controversy concerning the origins of Agatha, wife of Edward *the Exile* and mother of Edgar the Aethling, Christina the Nun, and St. Margaret Queen of Scotland.

Agatha is still represented as being a daughter of St. Stephen, the first King of Hungary, and thus a niece of the Emperor Henry II *the Saxon*. Nevertheless, there are both logical evidence and genealogical proofs to refute this old tradition. We shall set forth here the following new thesis:

1. *Agatha could not have been the daughter of St. Stephen;*
2. *Edward and Agatha were married in Russia and arrived in Hungary only eight years after St. Stephen's death;*
3. *Agatha was the niece of the Emperor Henry III the Salian and not of Henry II the Saxon;*
4. *It is perfectly possible to determinate who Agatha's parents were;*
5. *Her marriage with Edward is fully compatible with the political circumstances;*
6. *There was however a relationship between Agatha and the Royal Hungarian dynasty of the Arpadians.*

Our purpose is to present complete documentary evidence in support of these assertions and thus to clear up once and for all this often discussed obscurity in early English royal genealogy.

1.—St. Stephen, King of Hungary was born in 975<sup>1</sup> and became engaged to Gisela of Bavaria in 996.<sup>2</sup> They had several children all of whom died at an early age.<sup>3</sup> St. Emeric<sup>4</sup> was the only one to come of age, but he too died before his father, in a hunting accident in 1031.<sup>5</sup> Thus the crown of Hungary passed, on St. Stephen's death in 1038, to Peter Orseolo, son of the late King's elder half-sister, married to the Doge of Venice<sup>6</sup> and, later, to Aba *dictus* Samuel who was married to St. Stephen's younger half-sister.<sup>7</sup> *If the King had a daughter,—Agatha,—and a son-in-law,—Edward,—they would certainly have had prior claim to the succession.*<sup>8</sup> This follows *logically*.

On the other hand, all St. Stephen's children were born between 1001 and 1010.<sup>9</sup> Thus, even if we suppose Agatha to have been the youngest, she would have been about six years older than her husband Edward who was born in 1016. In addition, Agatha would have been

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aged between 47 and 50 when her son Edgar the Aethling was born.<sup>10</sup>—These suppositions seem to be contrary to normal *chronological* evidence.

2.—In order to determine the date of Edward's arrival in Hungary, we must examine the whole history of the exiled Prince. Edmund *Ironsides*, his father, married Aldgytha in the summer of 1015.<sup>11</sup> Edmund was crowned King of England in 1016<sup>12</sup> and was killed on November 30th of the same year.<sup>13</sup> Edmund's marriage lasted no more than 15 months; so we are obliged to suppose that his two sons,—Edward and Edmund,—either were twins or the younger one was born posthumus.

Knut the Great, after the Danish conquest of the whole of England, sent the royal infants to Sweden, "to be killed there"<sup>14</sup> King Olaf of Sweden was indeed Knut's uterine brother.<sup>15</sup> Nevertheless, Olaf disobeyed these cruel instructions and kept the children safe; late sources suggest that Olaf sent them at once to Hungary, as early as 1018.<sup>16</sup> This erroneous assertion is probably based on the fact that when Edward returned to England, in 1057, it was publicly known that he arrived from Hungary.<sup>17</sup> Nevertheless, according to all the early sources, when Edward and Edmund left Sweden, they went first to Russia.<sup>18</sup> This probably took place in 1028, when Knut the Great conquered Norway and King St. Olaf and his son Magnus were obliged to flee to Anund Jacob, King of Sweden—a son of late King Olaf—and then on as far as the court of Jaroslaw *the Great*, the Great Prince of Kiewian Russia. These three rulers, we know, were brothers-in-law.<sup>19</sup> Fearing another attack from King Knut, their hereditary enemy, Edward and Edmund seem to have joined the Norwegian ruler and after a sojourn of 12 years in Sweden, they also moved to Russia.<sup>20</sup> A couple of years later, apparently about 1037, two other exiled foreign Princes arrived at the court of Jaroslaw *the Great*. They were the sons of Vassili, a cousin of St. Stephen, who had been blinded because of his unrepentant paganism. Vassili's elder son, Andrew, married Anastasia, daughter of Jaroslaw,<sup>21</sup> and went to reconquer his Kingdom in 1046, defeating Peter Orseolo. He was crowned as King Andrew I, in 1047.<sup>22</sup>

Edward and Edmund seem to have been Andrew's comrades in arms in this undertaking.<sup>23</sup> Edward then aged 30, was already married to Agatha: their wedding was celebrated in Russia, in 1043 or early in 1044.<sup>24</sup> Now, if Agatha had been St. Stephen's daughter, King Andrew should have considered Edward as a dangerous rival. Nevertheless, we know that Edward and his family enjoyed King Andrew's hospitality up to 1056, after having been recalled to England as early as 1054 by Edward's uncle, King Edward the Confessor.<sup>25</sup> On the other hand, there is no reason to believe that a supposed daughter of St. Stephen would have gone to Russia in about 1043, where the most dangerous rivals of King Peter, her father's successor, had received asylum.—Thus we have evidence to show not only that Edward did

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not arrive in Hungary until 1046, i.e. eight years after the death of St. Stephen, but also that it was impossible that his wife Agatha who was married in Russia in 1043/44, could have been the daughter of St. Stephen.

3.—Who then was Agatha? Several early documents refer to her as "*filia germani imperatoris Henrici*".<sup>26</sup> Now, "germanus" refers always to blood relationship and never to relationship by marriage.<sup>28</sup> This excludes any interpretation of the word "germanus" as meaning brother-in-law.<sup>28</sup> Thus Agatha cannot be considered as having been a daughter of St. Stephen and, on her mother's side, a niece of the Emperor Henry II the Saxon, because this would imply an inadmissible relationship by marriage. On the other hand, the Emperor Henry II had indeed a brother: Bruno who had been Bishop of Augsburg since 1006. Although the quoted texts might be considered as applying to Bishop Bruno (who was indeed "germanus Henrici imperatoris"), the possibility of Bruno's paternity is extremely remote.<sup>29</sup>—Logical evidence thus demonstrates that in accordance with the testimony of the contemporary texts, *Agatha could neither have been the daughter of St. Stephen, King of Hungary, nor the niece of the Emperor Henry II the Saxon.*

The only remaining solution then, is to consider these texts as referring not to Henry II, deceased since 1024, but to Henry III the Salian, the then ruling sovereign of Germany. Two further texts expressly confirm this interpretation.<sup>30</sup> But, how can such a genealogical correlation be founded? Henry III the Salian was the only son of the Emperor Conrad II and of Gisela of Swabia.<sup>31</sup> Nevertheless, Conrad was the third husband of Gisela who had been married before to Bruno of Brunswick and to Ernest of Swabia. Gisela had issue from each of her three marriages; thus the Emperor Henry III had three older *uterine* brothers.<sup>32</sup> As we have noted above, "germanus" can perfectly well be taken to mean half-brother, this being a close blood—relationship.

4.—Consequently, we put forward the proposal that Agatha's father was Gisela's eldest son, born of her first marriage with Bruno of Brunswick, around 1009. He was *Liudolf* Margrave of Westfriesland, who was in fact "*germanus Henrici imperatoris*".<sup>33</sup> Thus the date of Agatha's birth can be taken to have been about 1025. She was therefore nine years younger than Edward, was aged about 18 when she married and about 29,—and not 50!—when she gave birth to Edgar the Aethling.—*The chronology is thus perfectly reestablished.*<sup>34</sup>

5.—Now, what could have been the *political* background of such an alliance? As soon as the Danish rule ended in England and Edward the Confessor was crowned King on the 3rd April 1043, Henry (then not yet Emperor, but King of Germany) sent an embassy to the new English ruler with proposals of friendship and alliance.<sup>35</sup> Some time earlier,—1040,—a Kiewian embassy had been sent with similar pro-

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posals from Russia to the German court.<sup>36</sup> It is to be supposed that Edward the Confessor learned through this double channel that his exiled nephews were alive and resident in Russia. When, in 1043, a new Russian embassy was received by Henry<sup>37</sup> who had already established an alliance with King Edward, it was judged opportune also to enter into some family relations marginal to these political arrangements which constituted an Anglo-Germano-Russian alliance, obviously directed against any new Scandinavian attempts at expansion. It must have been decided then that the niece of Henry should marry Edward's nephew who lived at the court of Jaroslaw the Great. Agatha thus was married in 1043 or early in 1044 to Edward the Exile in Kiew.—Inspired by this new and favourable constellation, Edward immediately prepared to return to England. The first opportunity of taking a safe route, avoiding the dangerous Scandinavian area, was to join Prince Andrew's expedition for the reconquest of Hungary.<sup>38</sup> This was in 1046 and traditional evidence supports the contention that the three children of Edward and Agatha were born in Hungary, between 1046 and 1056.<sup>39</sup> Edward's brother Edmund died unmarried in Hungary, possibly during the military expedition of 1046 and certainly before 1054.<sup>40</sup>

As early as 1054, Edward the Confessor, who had no heirs, called for the return of his nephew to England.<sup>41</sup> The journey was postponed until 1056, because the royal Ambassador remained for a whole year in the imperial court of Cologne<sup>42</sup> and perhaps also because in 1055 Agatha was expecting her third child. Thus Edgar the Aethling was born in Hungary probably in 1055 or early in 1056. This explains why he is described as still being a minor during the troubled happenings of 1066.<sup>43</sup>

The Emperor Henry III offered every possible assistance to Edward's family for the journey, including a royal ship to bring them to England. This is not surprising when we consider that the Emperor was Agatha's own uncle and the sponsor of her marriage.<sup>44</sup> Nevertheless, soon after his arrival to England, Edward the Exile died.<sup>45</sup>

6.—Finally, we must emphasize that the tradition of a family link between Agatha and the Arpadian dynasty of Hungary is not merely a legend and need not be precluded by this new thesis. Soon after 1066, Agatha and her three children prepared to leave conquered England.<sup>46</sup> They thought of returning to Hungary, to be near to King Solomon, their *kinsman*. Solomon, the son of the late King Andrew their former friend and host, was married in 1058 to Sophia of Germany, daughter of the Emperor Henry III and thus Agatha's *first cousin*.<sup>47</sup> It is in *this* way that the relationship of St. Margaret of Scotland with the Arpadian dynasty should be established and *not* through the old and so often discussed hypothesis, according to which, in the face of all logical evidence and documentary proofs, Agatha was represented as being a daughter of King St. Stephen.<sup>48</sup>

## NOTES

1. Thus established by F. Döry. In fact, St. Stephen was mentioned as *adhuc adolescens* in 997. See: Döry Ferenc, *Szent István családi története* (= The History of St. Stephen's Family), in: *Emlékkönyv Szent István király halálának 900. évfordulójára* (= Memorial Book for the 9th Centenary of King St. Stephen's Death), I-III, Budapest, 1938, t. II, pp. 553-83.
2. Thus established by F. A. Gombos, after due compulsion and analyses of the different proposed dates, between 991 and 1001. See: Gombos F. Albin, *Szent István király a középkori külföldi történetírásban* (= King St. Stephen in the medieval Historiography abroad) in: *Emlékkönyv, op. cit.*, t. III, pp. 279-324, specially pp. 298-99.
3. "... *Iterum eterni per secretum consilii quandam examinationem in filiorum suorum obitu sensit imminere verbera, quod in ipsis infantie gradibus insontes qui dedit abstulit. De quorum morte mestitiam genitor propter amorem filii superstitis, sancte indolis viri Henrici solatio compescuit. Quem quasi iam unicum... Christo... et eius genitrici virgini... commendavit.*", cf.: *Legenda Sancti Stephani Regis Maior*, cap. 15, ed.: E. Bartoniek, in: *Scriptores Rerum Hungaricarum tempore Ducum Regumque stirpis Arpadianae gestarum*, ed.: E. Szentpétery, I-II, Budapest, 1938, t. II, pp. 390-91.—The same was reported by Oswaldus de Laska, "*filii sui parvuli, videlicet Otto et alii, quorum nomina tacentur, diu ante mortem regis decesserunt.*", cf.: Oswaldus de Laska, *De beato Stephano rege Hungarorum sermo*, in: *Biga Salutis*, Hagenau, 1499.
4. Emericus is a hypochoreistic form of Henricus: the child received at his baptism his maternal grand-father's name. This means, he was one of the youngest sons, since according to the medieval onomastic rules, the first born children had to bear a name of paternal ancestry. See: Maurice Chaume, *Pour les recherches genealogiques du Haut Moyen Age. Les indices. § 1-er: L'indice onomastique*, in: *Recherches d'Histoire chretienne et medievale*, Dijon 1947, pp. 217-22.
5. "... *in venatione ab apro discussus periit flebiliter mortuus.*", cf.: *Annales Hildesheimenses*, ad a. 1031, in: *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores*, t. III, p. 98.
6. "*Videns enim se (sc. rex Stephanus) solum sine spe posteritatis derelictum... tractavit de substituendo pro se rege, Petro videlicet sororis sue filio quem in Venetia genitum ad se convocatum...*", cf.: *Legenda St. Steph. Reg. Maior*, op. cit. cap. 15-16, ed. cit. t. II, pp. 391-92.—Peter Orseolo was crowned in 1038, but in 1041 he was already evicted by Aba Samuel, his rival. Peter recovered his kingdom for a second time, from 1044 to 1046, but was then definitely turned out by King Andrew I, the legitimate Arpadian heir of the Crown.
7. "... *adversus Petrum regem... elegerunt... comitem nomine Abam, sororium sancti regis Stephani.*", cf.: *Chronici Hungarici Compositio Saeculi XIV*, cap. 72, ed.: A. Domanovszky, in: *Scriptores Rer. Hung.*, ed. cit. t. I, pp. 324-25.—Aba baptized as Samuel (1041-1044) was St. Stephen's Palatine count and, after the King's death, supported by the nationalists against pro-German Peter.
8. Recording the death of St. Emeric, the chronicle reports: "*Flevit ergo eum pater eius insolabiliter... nam maxime eapropter, ut de suo sanguine dignus nullus esset regni corona sublimari...*", cf.: *Simonis de Keza Gesta Hungarorum*, cap. 44, ed.: A. Domanovszky, in: *Scriptores Rer. Hung.*, ed. cit. t. I, pp. 172-73.
9. See: Döry, op. cit.—St. Emeric was born in 1007.
10. Edgar the Aethling was qualified as puer, in 1066. This could hardly apply to a boy older than ten. See: "... *quidam Edgarum Edeling cui regnum hereditario jure debebatur, regem constituere noliunt. Sed quia puer tanto honore minus dignus videbatur, Haroldus comes... regnum obtenuit.*", cf.: *Sanctus Aelredus abbas Rievallis: Genealogia regum Anglorum*, ed.: R. Twysden, in: *Historiae*

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- Anglicanae Scriptores decem*, London, 1652, col. 366, lin. 56.—And, after the battle of Hastings: "... sibi que puerum quemdam nomine Eadgarum ex Edwardi regis nobilitate genus ducentem, regem praeferunt.", cf.: *Willelmi Calculi Gemmeticensis monachi Historiae Northmannorum libri octo*, ed.: J. P. Migne, in: *Patrologiae Cursus Completus* ('Patrologia Latina'), Paris, 1844-55, t. 149, col. 877A.
11. "MXV. Hoc anno... perfidus dux Edricus Streona... Sigeferthum et Morcarum... necari iussit: quorum facultates rex Aetelredus accepit, et derelictam Sigeferthi Aldgitham ad Maidulfi urbem deduci praecepit. Quae cum ibi custodietur, venit illuc Eadmundus clito, et contra voluntatem sui patris, illam sibi uxorem accepit; et inter Assumptionem et Nativitatem S. Mariae... terram Sigeferthi et Morcari invasit.", cf.: *Florentii Wigorniensis Chronicon ex Chronicis*, ed.: H. Petrie, in: *Monumenta Historica Britannica*, London, 1848, pp. 589-90.—The marriage could hardly have been celebrated a longtime before the recovery of Aldgitha's former possessions, realized between August 15 and September 8, 1015.
  12. Edmund was crowned in London, by Lyfing, Archbishop of Canterbury. See: *Radulfi de Diceto decani Landoniensis Opera Historica*, ed.: Bishop Stubbs, in: *Rerum Britannicarum medii aevi Scriptores*, London, 1958-96 ("Rolls Series"), 1876, I-II, t. I, p. 169, t. II, p. 237.
  13. "MXVI. Cui (sc. Ethelredo regi) filius suus Eadmundus successit... sed eodem anno dolo Edrici Streonae perimitur.", cf.: *Florentii Wigorniensis Regalis prosapia Anglorum*, in: *Mon. Hist. Brit.*, ed. cit. p. 642.—"MXVI. Post haec rex Eadmundus Ferreum latus circa festivitatem S. Andreae apostoli, XV. Indictione decessit Landoniae.", cf.: *Florentii Wigorn. Chron.*, op. cit., ed. cit., p. 593.—"Edmundus... in festo Sancti Andreae, ambiguum quo casu extinctus.", cf.: *Willelmi Malmisbiriensis monachi De gestis regum Anglorum libri quinque*, lib. I, in: *Rer. Brit. medii aevi Script.*, ed. cit. t. 90, pp. 217-18.—"Eadmundo Ferreo Latere suo successore, sed non amplius anni unius regimine.", cf.: *Herimannus Archidiaconus*, ed.: F. Liebermann, in: *Ungedruckte Anglo-Normannische Geschichtsquellen* (= Unprinted Anglo-Norman Historical Sources), Strassburg, 1879, p. 234.
  14. "Filii ejus (sc. Edmundi)... missi ad regem Swevorum ut perimerentur, sed miseratione ejus conservati.", cf.: *Willelmi Malmisb.*, op. cit., lib. I, p. 218.
  15. This relationship is reported by Adam of Brema: "Eodemque tempore memorabiles aquilonis reges obierunt Chnut et Olaph, germani fratres.", cf.: *Adami Bremensis Gesta Hammaburgensis ecclesiae pontificum*, lib. II, in: *MGS*, SS, t. VII, p. 332.—See also the Genealogical Table I.
  16. "MXVII. ... Dedit etiam consilium Edricus, ut clitunculos Eadwardum et Eadmundum, regis Eadmundi filios necaret. Sed quia magnum dedecus sibi (sc. Cnuti regi) videbatur, ut in Anglia perimerentur, parvo elapso tempore ad regem Suavorum occidendos misit. Qui, licet foedus esset inter eos, precibus illius nullatenus voluit acquiescere; sed illos ad regem Hungarorum Salomonem nomine(!) misit nutriendos, vitaeque reservandos.", cf.: *Florentii Wigorn. Chron.*, op. cit., ed. cit., p. 594.—It is to be noted that Florence mentions the King of Hungary as being Solomon. In 1018 the King of Hungary was evidently St. Stephen, while Solomon ruled over from 1063 to 1074. Nevertheless, Florence's error shows a nucleus of truth: it was in fact King Solomon and not King St. Stephen who was related to Agatha, as we shall demonstrate it.
  17. "Anno 1057. Clito Eadwardus regis Eadmundi Ferrei lateris filius... Vngaria, quo multo anno... in exilium missus fuerat, Angliam venit.", cf.: *Simeonis Dunelmensis Historia de gestis regum Anglorum*, ed.: R. Twysden, in: *Hist. Ang. Script.*, decem, ed. cit. p. 189.
  18. "... filii ejus (sec. Edmundi regis) in Ruzziā exilio dampnati.", cf.: *Adami Bremensis*, op. cit., lib. II, cap. 51, in: *MGH*, SS, t. VII, p. 324.—"... Eadmundus habuit filium... qui vocatus est Eadwardus. Qui... timore regis Cnuti aufugit de ista terra usque ad terram Rugorum, quam nos vocamus Russeiam."

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- cf.: *Leges Edwardi Confessoris*, ed.: F. Lieberman, in: *Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen* (= The Law of the Anglo-Saxons), I-III, Halle, 1898-1912, t. I, pp. 664-66.
19. See the Genealogical Table I.—The close political and family relations between the Scandinavian dynasties and the early rulers of Kiewian Russia were excellently resumed by N. de Baumgarten, *Olaf Tryggwison roi de Norvège et ses relations avec Saint Vladimir de Russie*, in: *Orientalia Christiana*, t. XXIV, fasc. I, No. 73, Roma, 1931.
  20. The rhymed chronicle of Gaimar,—a literary work based on historical sources, partly lost since that time,—gives the precision that the two little princes spent about twelve years at the first step of their exile. This information coincides with the political events:

*Od les enfanz s'en est allez;*

.....  
*Bien furent gardez e bien nurriz:*

*Com il furent alkes tehiz,*

*E ourent bien passé d'us e a n z.*

*Mult furent genz e avenanz."*

- cf.: *Geffrei Gaimar, L'Estoire des Engles*, ed.: H. Petrie, in: *Mon. Hist. Brit. ed. cit.*, pp. 819-20.
21. Regarding Vassili, see: Váczy Péter, *A Vazul-hagyomány középkori kútjainkban* (= The Vassili-traditions in our medieval sources), in: *Levéltári Közlemények* (= Archives Bulletin), t. XVIII-XIX, Budapest, 1940-41.—Regarding the Russian marriage of Prince Andrew, see: N. de Baumgarten, *Genealogies et mariages occidentaux des Rurikides russes du Xe au XIIIe siècle*, in: *Orientalia Christiana*, t. IX, No. 35, Roma, 1927, tav. I, No. 24.
  22. "*Porro dux Andreas... in regia civitate Alba regalem coronam est adeptus... Coronatus est anno Domini M-o XL-o VII-o*", cf.: *Chron. Hung. Comp. Saec. XIV, op. cit.*, cap. 86, ed. cit., t. I, pp. 343-44.
  23. See: Dr. Karácsonyi János: *Hogyan jutott Szent Eduard angol király unokaöccse a magyar királyi családdal rokonságba?* (= How King St. Edward of England's nephew was related to the Hungarian dynasty?), in: *Turul*, t. XLII, Budapest, 1928, pp. 39-43. Karácsonyi's final conclusions are erroneous, but his chronological demonstration of the English princes' arrival to Hungary in 1046 is correct, cf.: *op. cit.* p. 41.—Herzog Jozsef, *Skóciai Szent Margit származásának kérdése* (= The problem of St. Margaret of Scotland's origins), in: *Turul*, t. LIII, Budapest, 1933, pp. 1-42, specially pp. 29-30.
  24. "*Eadwardus... aufugit... ad terram Rugorum, quam nos vocamus Russeiam... Et ipse Eadwardus accepit ibi uxorem ex nobili genere, de qua ortus est ei Eadgardus adeling et Margareta regina Scotie et Cristina soror eius*", cf.: *Leges Edwardi Confessoris, ed. cit.*, t. I, pp. 664-66.
  25. The initiative of 1054 was possible because of Earl Godwin's death (14 April 1053). Thus King Edward the Confessor recovered his full liberty of action and, being childless, could look after a heir: "*Anno 1054... Mortuo Godwino... Aldredus Wigornensis episcopus... fungitur legatione ad imperatorem... et regis (sc. Edwardi) ex parte imperatori suggestit, ut legatis Ungariam missis inde fratrualem suum Eadwardum, regis videlicet Eadmundi Ferrei lateris filium reduceret, Angliamque venire faceret*", cf.: *Simeonis Dunelmensis, op. cit.*, ed. cit., p. 187.
  26. "*Eadwardus vero Agatham, filliam germani imperatoris Henrici in matrimonium accepit; ex qua Margaretam Scotorum reginam, et Cristinam sanctimoniam virginem, et clitonem Eadgardum suscepit*", cf.: *Florentii Wigorn. Chron., op. cit.*, ed. cit., p. 594.—"*Sanctae namque Margaretae mater, Agatha nomine, filia fuit germani Henrici, clarissimi imperatoris Romanum*", cf.: *Jordanes vel Joscelinus monachus Furnesiensis, in: Acta Sanctorum, ed.: J. Bollandus, Anvers-Bruxelles, ab 1643, I-LXVII, 3. Augusti, t. I, p. 248E.*—"*Imperator... Edwardum cum uxore sua Agatha ger-*



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- mani sui filia... Angliam mittit.*" cf.: *Sanctus Aelredus Abb. Riev., op cit., ed. cit., col. 366.*—Most important is Florence of Worcester's above testimony. Florence has worked on local documentation and traditions, partly lost since that time, but certainly containing large notes established only about 40 years before, concerning the journey of Bishop Aldred of Worcester who was the Ambassador of King Edward to the Emperor: "1054. ... *Daes ilcan geres for Aldred biscop to Colne ofer sae, thaes kynges aerende, and weard thaer underfangen mid mycclan weordscipe fram tham cesare, and thaer he wunode wel neh an ger. And him geaf aegder theneste ge se biscop on Colone and se cesare...*", cf.: *Chronica Saxonica Wigorniensia, ed.: MGH, SS, t. XIII, p. 114.* See also infra: note No. 42.—Moreover, Bishop Aldred made also a journey in Hungary, on his way to Jerusalem, in 1058. Thus he had an excellent opportunity to gather direct information on the life and the family relations of Edward the Exile in that country: "*Aldredus Wigornensis episcopus... mare transiit et per Hungariam profectus est Hierosolimam; quod nullus archiepiscoporum vel episcoporum Angliae eatenus dinoscitur fecisse.*", cf.: *Florentii Wigorn. Chron., op. cit., ed.: MGH, SS, t. XIII, p. 129.*
27. See: *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae, Lipsiae, 1919, t. V, col. 1914: Germanus-a-um. ... I: spectat ad fraternitatem. A: sensu stricto de iis qui naturali fraternitatis vinculo continentur, plerumque de fratribus (sororibus), qui ex iisdem parentibus orti sunt... de iis denique, qui ab eadem matre diversoque patre geniti sunt...*
  28. For such a relation by marriage the chronicles should have used the appropriated latin term: *sororius*. In fact, King St. Stephen as Gisela of Bavaria's husband, was the *sororus* of the Emperor Henry II the Saxon, but certainly not his *germanus*.—See the Genealogical Table II.
  29. G. de Manteyer tried to attach Agatha to Bishop Bruno, who was indeed the *germanus* of the Emperor Henry II. But, Bruno was sacred bishop already in 1006, so even if we suppose that he was married before (there is no evidence for such a hypothesis!), his daughter should have been born previously to this date. This would make Agatha at least ten years older than Edward and older than 50 when Edgar the Aethling was born.—Thus Manteyer interpreted the meaning of *germanus* correctly, but he did not take into account the chronological impossibility of bearing such a suggestion. The great merit of Manteyer was, however, to identify Mathilda, Edgar the Aethling's daughter married to Guigues, Count of Albon. See: the Genealogical Table IV, cf.: Georges de Manteyer, *Les origines du Dauphiné de Viennois. D'où provient le surnom de baptême Dauphin, recu par Guigues IX, comte d'Albon (1100-1105)*, Gap, 1925, pp. 45-90.
  30. "*Eadwardus vero Agatham filiam germani imperatoris Henrici III in matrimonium accepit.*", cf.: *Florentii Wigorn, Regalis prosapia, op. cit., ed. cit., p. 642.*—*Edwardus vero Agatham filiam germani imperatoris Henrici tertii in conjugem accepit.*, cf.: *Annales de ecclesiis et regnis Anglorum, ed.: F. Liebermann, in: Ungedruckte, op. cit., p. 24.*
  31. This couple had only two daughters besides Henry. Beatrix died young and Mathilda was fiancée to Henry I, King of France. See: Karl Wilhelm Prinz von Isenburg, *Stammtafeln zur Geschichte der europäischen Staaten* (= Genealogies for the use of the History of European States), ed. nov.: Frank Baron Freytag V. Loringhoven, Marburg, 1956, pars. I, tav. 4.—The projected French alliance of Mathilda was duely established by Pierre Brière, professor at the Institut Catholique of Paris.
  32. See: Genealogical Table III.
  33. Concerning the successive alliances of Gisela, there were some controversies between Brandenburg, Bollnow, Curshmann and Isenburg. Nevertheless, Gisela apparently married Bruno first and became Empress as Ernest of Swabia's widow. Gisela's birth was supposed already by Tyroller to be situated in 993; nevertheless, recent research accomplished by Bischoff and Reickenberg, put back her birth-

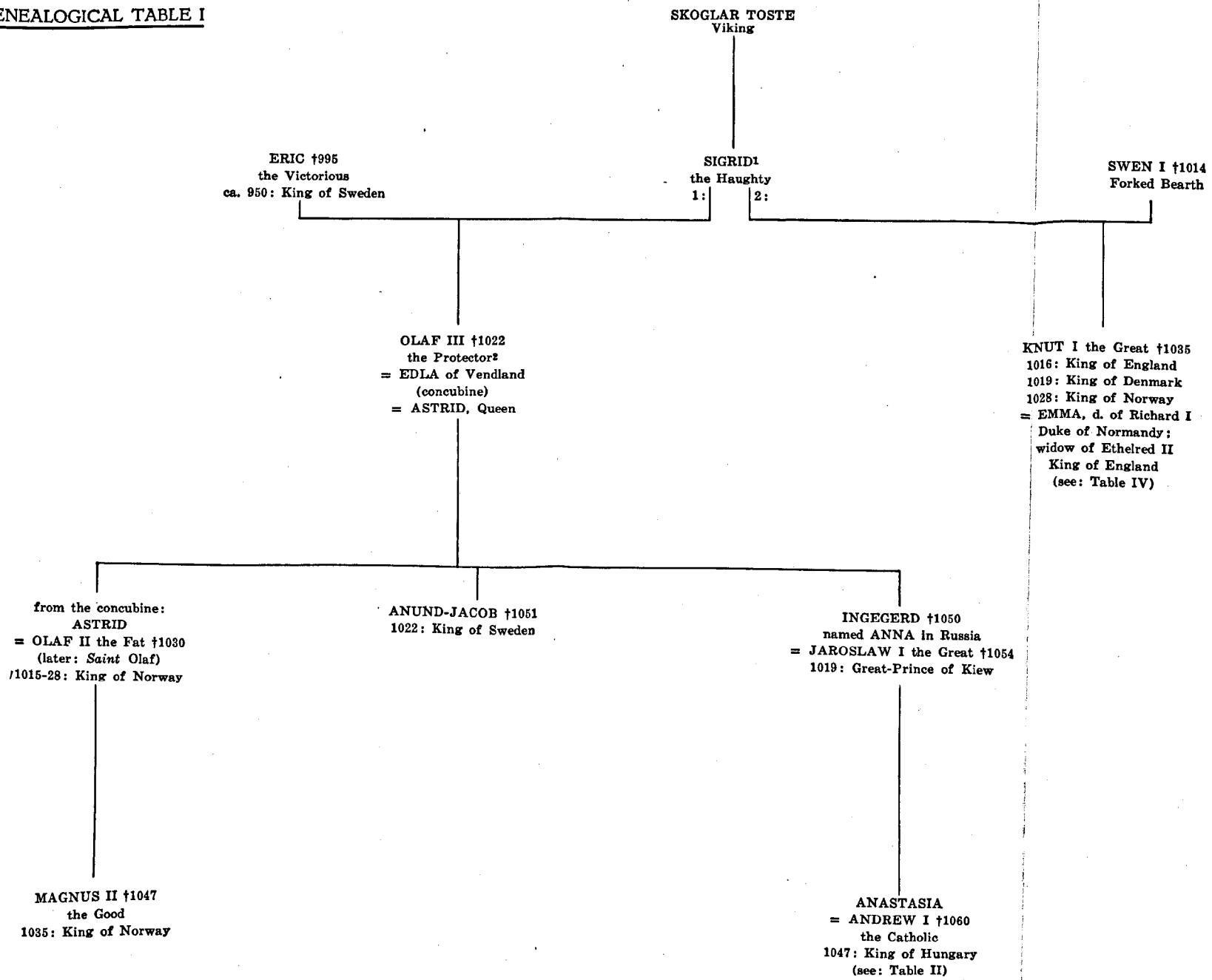
## Agatha, mother of Saint Margaret

- date on the 11th November 990. This allows a first marriage in about 1006 and a first maternity about 1008. The second marriage of Gisela took place in 1012 and the third one at the end of 1016.—See: Erich Brandenburg, *Probleme um die Kaiserin Gisela* (= Problems around Empress Gisela), in: *Sitzungs-Berichte der Sachsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* (= Records of the Academy of Sciences of Saxony), Leipzig, 1928; H. Böllnow, *Die Grafen von Werl* (= The Counts of Werl), Dissertation, Greifswald, 1930; Fritz Curschmann, *Zwei Ahnentafeln* (Two Genealogies), in: *Mitteilungen der Zentralstelle für deutsche Familiengeschichte* (= Communications of the Center for German Family History), No. 27, Leipzig, 1921; K. W. Prinz v. Isenburg, *op. cit.*, pars. I, tav. 4; Franz Tyroller, *Die Ahnen der Wittelsbacher* (= The Wittelsbach Ancestry), München, 1951; Norbert Bischoff, *Über die Chronologie der Kaiserin Gisela und über die Verweigerung ihrer Krönung durch Aribio von Mainz* (= The Chronology of the Empress Gisela and the Refuse of her Coronation by Aribio of Mainz), in: *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung* (= Communications of the Institute for Austrian Historical Research), t. 58, Wien, 1950, pp. 285–309; Hans Jürgen Rieckenberg, *Das Geburtsdatum der Kaiserin Gisela* (= The Birthdate of the Empress Gisela), in: *Deutsches Archiv für die Erforschung des Mittelalters* (= German Archive for Medieval Research), t. 9, fasc. 2, 1952, pp. 535–38.
34. Herzog, *op. cit.*, pp. 34–35, hesitates between Liudolf of Westfriesland and Ernest of Swabia, as possible fathers for Agatha. Nevertheless, after Herzog's study was published in 1939, the birth year of Ernest has been established by prof. Tyroller, as taking place in 1014, cf.: Isenburg, *op. cit.*, pars. I, tav. 9. This information discards Ernest as possible father of a girl married in 1043. Moreover, Duke Ernest seems to never have been married. He died aged only 16. As the only *germanus* of the Emperor Henry susceptible to have been Agatha's father remains thus Liudolf, born about 1008.
35. "*Primus ipse . . . Henricus . . . exhilaratum quod eum* (sc. Edwardum regem) *in paterna sede inthronizatum didicerat, ad conjugendas invicem dextras legatos dirigit . . . et amicitiam sibi suisque praestat et petit.*", cf.: *Vita Aeduardi regis qui apud Westmon. requiescit*, in: *Lives of Edward the Confessor*, ed.: H. R. Luard, in: *Rer. Brit. mediæ aevi Script.*, ed. cit. 1858, p. 395.
36. "*1040. . . Rex in festo sancti Andree in Altstide placitum habuit, ubi et legatos Ruzorum cum muneribus suscepit.*", cf.: *Annalista Saxo: Chronicon*, in: *MGH, SS*, t. VI, p. 684.
37. "*1043. Legati quoque Ruzorum magna dona tulerunt, sed majora recipientes abierunt.*", cf.: *Annales Altahenses maiores*, in: *MGH, SS*, t. XX, p. 798.
38. The rhymed chronicle of Gaimar confirms also indirectly:
- K'en sul cinc jurs passat Russie  
E vint en Terre de Hungrie  
Le siste jur est arivez  
De suz Gardimbre, la citez."*
- cf.: Geffrei Gaimar, *op. cit.*, ed. cit., p. 820.
39. See: Herzog, *op. cit.*, pp. 35–36, and infra: Note No. 46.
40. "*. . . illos ad regem Hungarorum . . . misit . . . Quorum unus, scilicet Eadmundus, processu temporis i b i d e m vitam finivit.*", cf.: *Florentii Wigorn, Chron. op. cit.*, ed. cit., p. 1594.—Edmund must have been deceased before 1054, while Edward the Confessor only claims the return of Edward.
41. "*Rex Edwardus pronus in senium, quod ipse non susceperat liberos et Godwini videret, invalescere filios, misit ad regem Hunorum ut filium fratris Edmundi, Edwardum cum omni familia sua mitteret; futurum, ut aut ille, aut filii sui succedant regno haereditario Angliae.*", cf.: *Willelmi Malmesb. op. cit.*, ed. cit., ed.: J. P. Migne, in: *Patrologiae Curs. Compl. ed. cit.*, t. 179, col. 1207.—"*Qui* (sc. Edwardus rex) *. . . dirigit nuntios ad Romanorum imperatorum, rogans, ut nepotem suum scilicet filium fratris sui Edmund ferrei lateris, debiti sibi regni*

## Duquesne Review

- f u t u r u m h a e r e d e m m i t t e r e d i g n a r e t u r . ; c f . : S a n c t u s A e l r e d u s A b b . R i e v . o p . c i t . , e d . c i t . , c o l . 3 6 6 .*
42. "*MLIV. . . Eodem anno, . . . Aldredus Wigornensis episcopus . . . magnis cum xeniis regis fungitur legatione ad imperatorem. A quo simul ab Herimanno Coloniensi archipraesule magno susceptus honore, ibidem per integrum annum mansit.*", cf.: *Florentii Wigorn. Chron., op. cit., ed. cit., p. 607.*—"*Imperator autem regis nuntios gratanter excipiens, non parvo tempore summo cum honore detenuit.*", cf.: *Sanctus Aelredus Abb. Riev., op. cit., ed. cit., col. 366.*
  43. See: *Supra, Note No. 10.*
  44. "*Imperator autem . . . paratis navibus et omnibus quae navigaturis necessaria videbatur allatis, Edwardum cum uxore sua Agatha germani sui filia liberisque ejus Edgardo Edeling, Margareta atque Christina, cum magna gloria ac divitatis sicut rex petierat ad Angliam mittit.*", cf.: *Sanctus Aldredus Abb. Riev., op. cit., ed. cit., col. 366.*
  45. "*MLVII . . . Clito Eadwardus regis Edmundi Ferrei lateris filius . . . Angliam venit. Deceverat enim rex (sc. Edwardus Confessor) illum post se regni haereditatem constituere: sed ex quo venit parvo post tempore vita decessit Londoniae.*", cf.: *Florentii Wigorn. Chron., op. cit., ed. cit. p. 608.*
  46. "*Cernens autem Edgarus Edeling res Anglorum undique perturbari accensa navi cum matre et sororibus reverti in patriam quo natus fuerat conabatur, sed orta in mari tempestate in Scotia applicare compellitur.*", cf.: *Sanctus Aelredus Abb. Riev., op. cit., ed. cit., col. 367.*—Another source mentions expressively Hungary: "*Eadgarus Etheling, de regno Anglorum heres legitimus . . . ascensa navi cum Agatha matre sua et sororibus Margareta et Christina, in Hungariam, ubi natus fuerat, conabatur reverti . . .*" cf.: *Rogierius de Wendover: Flores Historiarum, in: MGH, SS, t. XXVIII, p. 28.*
  47. See the Genealogical Tables II and III.—It is to be noted, that none of the sources calls the King of Hungary related to Agatha by the name of *Stephen*. On the other hand, *Solomon* is mentioned several times. This attest a correct knowledge of the Hungarian King's name related to the exiled English princes, even if the real relationship had not been completely cleared. See: "*. . . illos ad regem Hungarorum, Salomonem nomine missit.*", cf.: *Florentii Wigorn. Chron., op. cit., ed. cit., p. 594.*—Now, taking into consideration that the word *soror* means not only "sister", but by extension also "first cousin", we can fully approve William of Malmesbury's reference who reports: "*Filius ejus Edwardus . . . Agatham, reginae (sc. Hungariae) sororem in matrimonium accepit.*", cf.: *Willelmi Malmesb., op. cit., ed. cit., p. 90.*—The same statement was made by Roger of Wendover: "*. . . Edwardus accepit uxorem regine Hungarie sororem.*", cf.: *Rogierius de Wendover, op. cit., ed. cit., t. XXVIII, p. 26.*—We also have to take into account that Bishop Aldred of Worcester, during his journey in Hungary in 1058 (see: *supra, Note No. 26*) may have assisted on the wedding of King Solomon with Agatha's cousin, Sophia of Germany.
  48. A complete bibliography of the Hungarian works concerning this question is quoted by Herzog, *op. cit., pp. 1-2, Notes No. 1 to 8.*

GENEALOGICAL TABLE I



ERIC †995  
the Victorious  
ca. 950: King of Sweden

SKOGLAR TOSTE  
Viking

SIGRID†  
the Haughty  
1: 2:

SWEN I †1014  
Forked Bearth

OLAF III †1022  
the Protector?  
= EDLA of Vendland  
(concubine)  
= ASTRID, Queen

KNUT I the Great †1035  
1016: King of England  
1019: King of Denmark  
1028: King of Norway  
= EMMA, d. of Richard I  
Duke of Normandy;  
widow of Ethelred II  
King of England  
(see: Table IV)

from the concubine:  
ASTRID  
= OLAF II the Fat †1030  
(later: Saint Olaf)  
1015-28: King of Norway

ANUND-JACOB †1051  
1022: King of Sweden

INGEGERD †1050  
named ANNA in Russia  
= JAROSLAW I the Great †1054  
1019: Great-Prince of Kiev

MAGNUS II †1047  
the Good  
1035: King of Norway

ANASTASIA  
= ANDREW I †1060  
the Catholic  
1047: King of Hungary  
(see: Table II)

TAKSONY †972  
Great-Prince of Hungary  
(a grand-son of Arpád the Conqueror)  
= a Cuman lady

GÉZA †997  
972: Great-Prince of Hungary  
=1: SAROLT the White Weasel  
of Transylvania  
=2: ADELHAID the Fair<sup>3</sup>  
widow of Géza's brother

MICHAEL ca. †980  
Duke in North-Western Hungary  
= ADELHAID the Fair,  
sister of Mieszko I  
Prince of Poland  
(remarried to Michael's brother, Géza)

From Sarolt:  
STEPHEN I †1038  
(later: *Saint Stephen*)  
997: last Great-Prince  
1000: King of Hungary

From Adelheid:  
HELENA (?)<sup>4</sup>  
= OTHON ORSEOLO †1031  
1009-26: Doge of Venice

From Adelheid:  
N. (daughter)<sup>5</sup>  
= ABA baptised SAMUEL †1044  
Palatine Count  
1041: King of Hungary

LADISLAS the Bald †1029  
Duke in North-Western Hungary  
= PREDSLAVA, half-sister of  
Jaroslaw I the Great  
Great-Prince of Kiev

VASSILI the Blind ca. †1037  
Duke in North-Western Hungary  
= a pagan Hungarian lady  
(the *Tatun*)<sup>6</sup>

= 996:

PETER †1059  
1038-41 & 1044-46: King of Hungary

Genus ABA  
↓

LEVENTE †1047  
the last pagan Arpadian

ANDREW I †1060  
the Catholic  
1047: King of Hungary  
= ANASTASIA, daughter of  
Jaroslaw I the Great  
Great-Prince of Kiev  
(see: Table I)

BELA I †1063  
1060: King of Hungary

SOLOMON †1087  
1063-74: King of Hungary  
= SOPHIA, daughter of the  
Emperor Henry III  
(see: Table III)

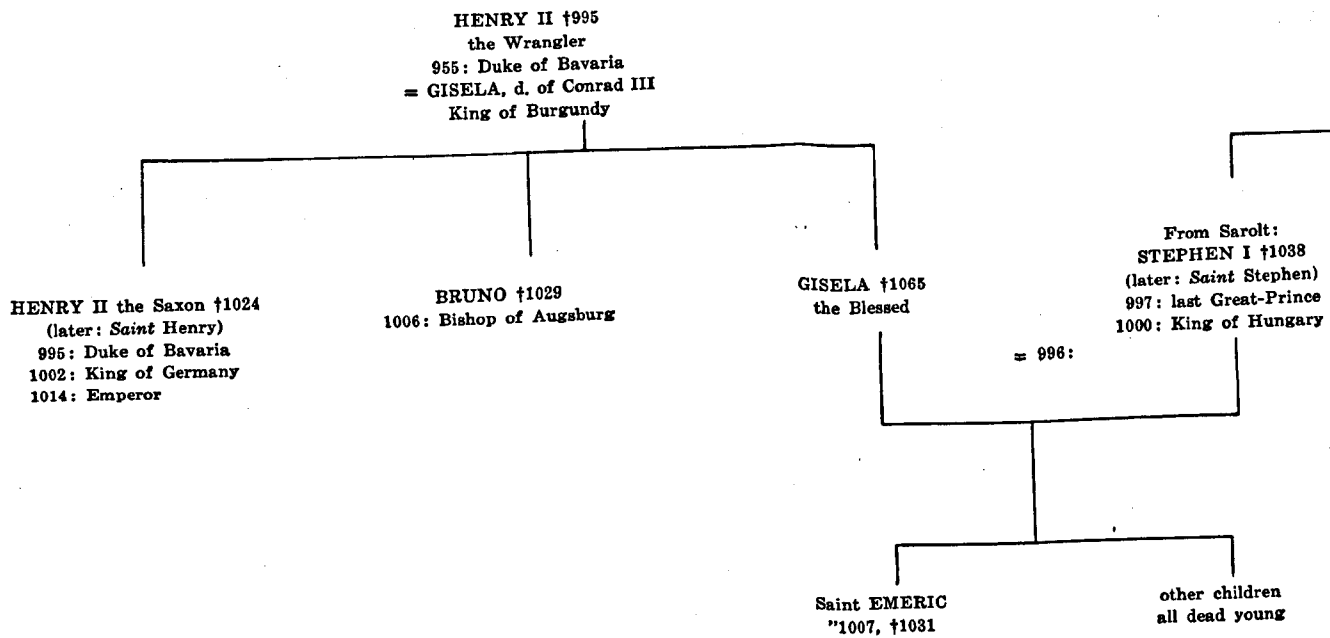
ARPADIAN  
Kings of Hungary  
↓

†1065  
essed

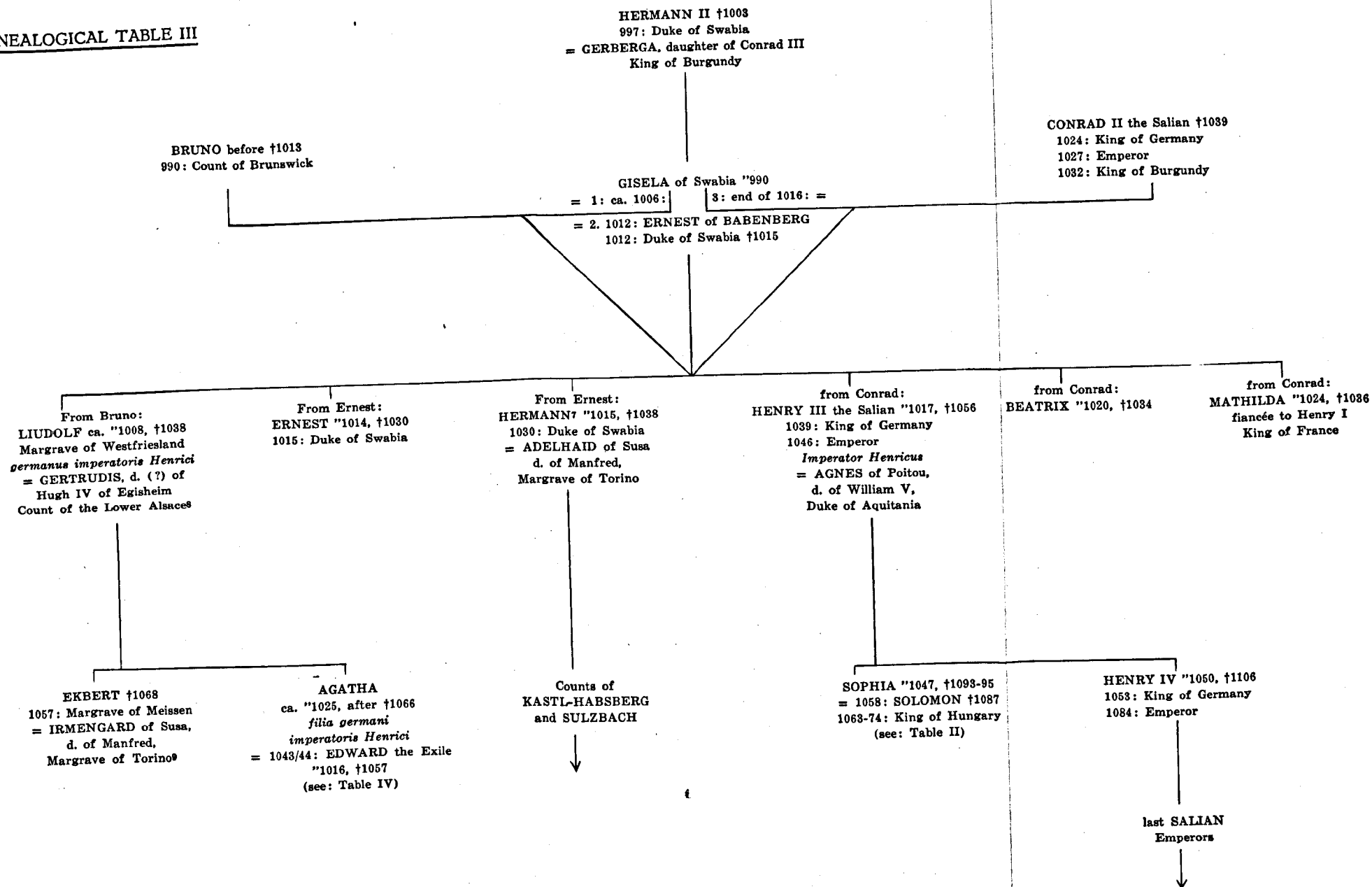
EMERIC  
†1031

other children  
all dead young

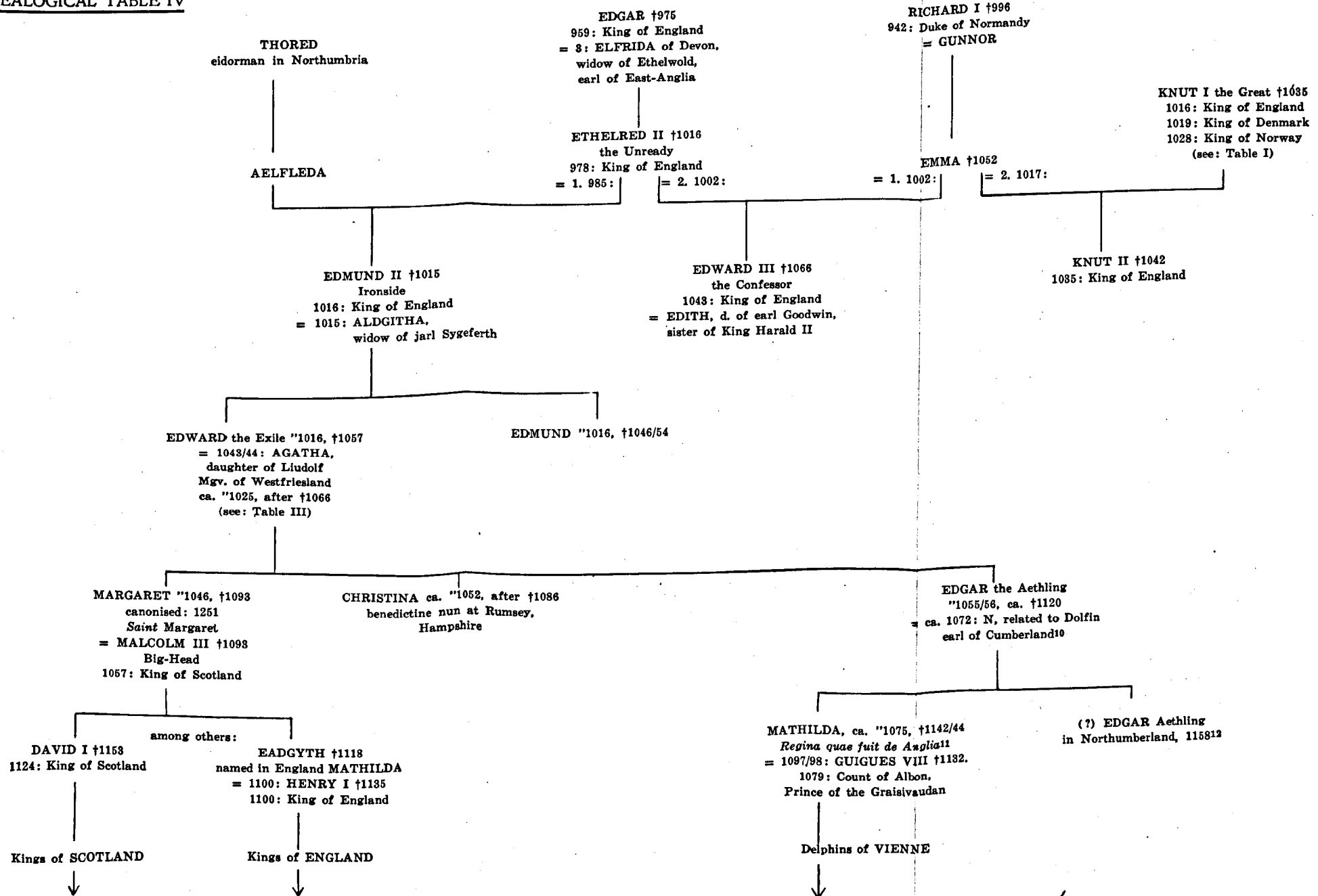
GENEALOGICAL TABLE II



GENEALOGICAL TABLE III



GENEALOGICAL TABLE IV





# SOURCES AND NOTES TO THE GENEALOGICAL TABLES

## I. SOURCES

### A.—GENERAL SOURCES

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Eberhard Winkhaus, *Ahnen zu Karl dem Grossen und Widukind* (Ancestry Lines up to Charlemagne and Widukind), I—II, Ennepal, 1950—53.

### B.—SOURCES TO TABLE I

- J. P. P. Kønigsfeldt, *Genealogiske-historiske tabeller over de nordiske rigers kongeslaegter* (Genealogical and historical Tables of the Dynasties of the Northern Kingdoms), Kopenhagen, 1856;  
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### C.—SOURCES TO TABLE II

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Csányky Dezső, *Árpád és az Árpádok* (Arpad and the Arpadians), Budapest, 1908;  
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L. A. Lerche, *Die politische Bedeutung der Eheverbindungen in den bayrischen Herzogshäusern, 907—1180* (The political Importance of the Matrimonial Relations of the Bavarian Dukal Dynasties, 907—1180), München, 1915.

### D.—SOURCES TO TABLE III

- Harry Bresslau, *Jahrbucher des deutschen Reiches unter Konrad II* (Annales of the German Empire under Conrad II), I—II, Leipzig, 1879—84;  
M. Kirchner, *Die deutschen Kaiserinnen in der Zeit von Konrad I bis zum Tode Lothars von Supplinburg* (The Empresses of Germany from the times of Conrad I to Lothar of Supplinburg's Death), in: *Eberlings Historische Studien*, t. 79, 1910;  
Heinrich Fichtenau, *Von der Mark zum Herzogtum* (From the March to the Dukedom), München, 1958.  
F. Tyroller, *op. cit.*  
N. Bischoff, *op. cit.*

### E.—COURSES TO TABLE IV

- Edward August Freeman, *The History of the Norman Conquest of England, I—VI*, Oxford, 1867—79; t. I: *The preliminary history to the election of Edward the Confessor*; t. II: *The reign of Edward the Confessor*;  
G. de Mantemeyer, *op. cit.*  
Kurt Mayer, *Genealogisch-heraldische Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des alten Königreichs Burgund* (Genealogical and Heraldical Research concerning the History of the ancient Kingdom of Burgundy), 1930.

his halfbrother Hermann. Liudolf's father, Bruno, was consequently the first husband of Gisela.

9. Winkhaus (*op. cit.* t. I, pp. 40, 73) suggested to consider Margrave Liudolf's wife as a daughter of Hugh of Egisheim, but without any mention of his sources. We can certainly admit that her first name was Gertrud. See: Brandenburg, *Die Nachkommen*, *op. cit.* p. 7, X 29b.
10. We cannot agree with Manteyer (*op. cit.* pp. 87-89) in considering Edgar the Aethling's anonymous wife as a daughter of Maldred and thus a sister of Gospatric, earl of Northumberland. Nevertheless, she seems having been issued of Maldred's lineage. The transmission of the name *Dolfin Delphinus* Dauphin proves it correctly as it has been duly exposed by Manteyer (*op. cit.* pp. 90-94). However, chronological considerations suggest to recognize Edgar's wife, married about 1072, rather as a *grand*-daughter than a daughter of Maldred who was born about 1005. She may be thus a daughter or a niece of Earl Gospatric. The clearing of this important genealogical correlation belongs to the Scottish historical research.
11. "*Hoc donum laudavit et corroboravit dominus Vuigo comes et uxor ejus Regina quae fuit de Anglia... Anno dominicae incarnationis MCVI.*", cf.: *Cartulaire monasterii beatorum Petri et Pauli de Domina* (Cartulaire de Domène), ed.: M. de Monteynard, Lyon, 1859, No. 14—Mathilda bears the name of the Queen of William the Conqueror. Thus she must have born a small time after Edgar the Aethling's reconciliation with King William in 1074.
12. "*1158. ... Edgar Adeling reddit computum de XX marcis argenti.*", cf.: *Magnus Rotulus Pipae*, ed. in: John Hodgson, *History of Northumberland*, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1935, part. II, t. III, 1.