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 determine 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 and became engaged to Gisela of Bavaria in 996. They had several children all of whom died at an early age. St. Emeric was the only one to come of age, but he too died before his father, in a hunting accident in 1031. 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 and, later, to Aba dictus Samuel who was married to St. Stephen's younger half-sister. If the King had a daughter, Agatha, and a son-in-law, Edward, they would certainly have had prior claim to the succession. This follows logically.

On the other hand, all St. Stephen's children were born between 1001 and 1010. 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. 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 Ironside, his father, married Aldgytha in the summer of 1015. Edmund was crowned King of England in 1016 and was killed on November 30th of the same year. 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 posthumous.

Knut the Great, after the Danish conquest of the whole of England, sent the royal infants to Sweden. "to be killed there" King Olaf of Sweden was indeed Knut's uterine brother. 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. 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. Nevertheless, according to all the early sources, when Edward and Edmund left Sweden, they went first to Russia. 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. 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. 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, and went to reconquer his Kingdom in 1046, defeating Peter Orseolo. He was crowned as King Andrew I, in 1047.

Edward and Edmund seem to have been Andrew's comrades in arms in this undertaking. Edward then aged 30, was already married to Agatha: their wedding was celebrated in Russia, in 1043 or early in 1044. 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. 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
Agatha, mother of Saint Margaret

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".26 Now, "germanus" refers always to blood relationship and never to relationship by marriage.28 This excludes any interpretation of the word "germanus" as meaning brother-in-law.28 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.29—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 Saxon, the then ruling sovereign of Germany. Two further texts expressly confirm this interpretation.30 But, how can such a genealogical correlation be founded? Henry III the Saxon was the only son of the Emperor Conrad II and of Gisela of Swabia.31 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.32 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".33 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.34

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.35 Some time earlier,—1040,—a Kiewian embassy had been sent with similar pro-
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 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. 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. Edward’s brother Edmund died unmarried in Hungary, possibly during the military expedition of 1046 and certainly before 1054.

As early as 1054, Edward the Confessor, who had no heirs, called for the return of his nephew to England. The journey was postponed until 1056, because the royal Ambassador remained for a whole year in the imperial court of Cologne 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.

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. Nevertheless, soon after his arrival to England, Edward the Exile died.

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. 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. 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.

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: Emlekkönyv, op. cit., t. III, pp. 279–324, specially pp. 298–99.


4. Emericus is a hypoch oreistic 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 Hallt Magen Age. Les indices. § I–er: L’indice onomastique, in: Recherches d’Histoire chrétienne et medievale, Dijon 1947, pp. 217–22.


6. “Videns enim se (sc.rex Stephanus) solum sine spe post eritatis dere ictum ... tractavit de substituo pro se rege, Petro videlicet sororis suo 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 Stephanii.”; cf. Chronicæ 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.


9. See: Döry, op. cit.—St. Emeric was born in 1007.

10. Edgar the Aetheling was qualified as puer, in 1066. This could hardly apply to a boy older than ten. See: “... quidam Edgartum Edeling cui regnum hereditario jure debeatur, regem constituisse noluntur. 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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11. "MXV. Hoc anno ... perfidus dux Edricus Streona ... Sigeferthum ...
12. Edmund was crowned in London, by Lyfing, Archbishop of Canterbury. See:
13. "MXVI. ...
15. This relationship is reported by Adam of Brema: 
16. "MXVII. ... Dedit etiam consilium Edricus, ut clitunculos Eadwardus et Ead-
17. "Anno 1057. Clito Eadwardus regis Eadmundi... 
18. ... filii ejus (sec. Edmundi regis) in R u z z i a m exilio dampani.", 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 au fugit de ista terra usque ad terram Rugorum, quam nos vocamus R u s s e l a m.

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19. See the Genealogical Table I.—The close political and family relations between the Scandinavian dynasties and the early rulers of Kievan 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 alles;*

*Bien furent gardez e bien nurisz;*

*Com il furent alkes tehiz,*

*E ourent bien passè d us z e a n z;*

*Mult furent gens e avenanz."


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 ... jungitur legatione ad imperatorem ... et regis (sc. Edwardi) ex parte imperatori suggestis, ut legatis Ungariam missis inde fratuem suum Eadwardum, regis videlicet Ferrei laterem filium reduceret, Angliamque venire faceret., cf.: Simeonis Dunelmensis, op cit., ed. cit., p. 187.

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manus "Angliam mittit," cf.: Sanctus Aelredus Abb. Rev., 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 ilcen gerel for Aldred biscop to Colne ofer sae, thaes kynges eerende, and weard thaer underfangen mid mycclan wwordscape fram tham cesare, and thaer he wunode wel ne an ger. And him geal agder 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...", cf.: Chronica Saxonica Wigorniensia, 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 ipsis qui naturali fraternitatis vinculo continentur, plerumque de fratribus (sororibus), qui ex istis parentibus orti sunt... de ipsis denique, qui ab eadem mater 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 bapteme Dauphin, recu par Guigues IX, comte d'Albon (1100-1105), Gap, 1925, pp. 45-90.


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 duly 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, Carshmann 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


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.


38. The rhymed chronicle of Gaimar confirms also indirectly:

K'en sul cinc jurs passat Russia
E vint en Terre de Hungrie
Le siste jur est arives
De sus Gardimbre, la citez."


40. "... illos ad regem Hungarorum ... misit ... Quorum unus, scilicet Eadmundus, processu temporis ibi de 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.

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43. See: Supra, Note No. 10.


46. "Cernens autem Edgarus Edeling res Angiorum undique perturbati accensa navi cum mater et sororibus reverti in patriam quo natus fuerat conabatur, sed orta in mari tempestate in Scotia applicare compellitur.", cf.: Sanctus Aldredus Abb. Riev., op. cit., ed. cit., col. 367. — 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 (se. Hungariae) sororem in matrimonium accepit.", cf.: Willelm Malmesb., op. cit., ed. cit., p. 90. — The same statement was made by Roger of Wendover: "... Edwardus accept uxorem reginam Hungarie sororem...", cf.: Rogerius 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.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Year(s)</th>
<th>Notes</th>
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<tr>
<td>SKOGLAR TOSTE</td>
<td>Viking</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>ERIC f995</td>
<td>the Victorious</td>
<td>ca. 950</td>
<td>King of Sweden</td>
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<td>SIGRIDI</td>
<td>the Haughty</td>
<td>1:</td>
<td>2:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OLAF III f1022</td>
<td>the Protector³</td>
<td></td>
<td>= EDLA of Vendland (concubine) = ASTRID, Queen</td>
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<tr>
<td>ANUND-JACOB f1051</td>
<td></td>
<td>1022:</td>
<td>King of Sweden</td>
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<tr>
<td>MAGNUS II f1047</td>
<td>the Good</td>
<td>1035:</td>
<td>King of Norway</td>
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<td>INGEGERD f1050</td>
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<td>named ANNA in Russia = JAROSLAW I the Great f1054</td>
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<td>ANASTASIA</td>
<td></td>
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<td>= ANDREW I f1060 = Andrew I the Catholic</td>
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<td>1047: King of Hungary</td>
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<tr>
<td>KNUT I the Great</td>
<td>f1035</td>
<td>1016:</td>
<td>King of England</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1019:</td>
<td>King of Denmark</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1028:</td>
<td>King of Norway</td>
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<td>= EMMA, d. of Richard I Duke of Normandy; widow of Ethelred II</td>
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<td>King of England (see: Table IV)</td>
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<tr>
<td>SWEN I f1014</td>
<td>Forked Bearth</td>
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TAKSONY 1972
Great-Prince of Hungary
(a grand-son of Árpád the Conqueror)
= a Cuman lady

GEZA 1997
972: Great-Prince of Hungary
=1: SABOLT the White Weasel
of Transylvania
=2: ADELHAID the Fair
widow of Géza's brother

MICHAEL ca. 1080
Duke in North-Western Hungary
= ADELHAID the Fair
sister of Mieszko I
Prince of Poland
(remarried to Michael's brother, Géza)

From Barolt:
STEPHEN I 1038
(later: Saint Stephen)
1000: King of Hungary
997: last Great-Prince
1006: King of Hungary

From Adelhaid:
HELENA (†) 1081
1006-26: Doge of Venice

From Adelhaid:
N. (daughter) 1081
= ABA baptised SAMUEL 1044
Palatine Count
1041: King of Hungary

From Adelhaid:
HELENA (?), OTHON ORSELO 1081
1008-26: Doge of Venice

Other children
all dead young

LEVENTE 1047
the last pagan Arpadian

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

BELA I 1063
1060: King of Hungary

ARPADIAN
Kings of Hungary

SOLOMON 1087
1068-74: King of Hungary
= SOPHIA, daughter of the
Emperor Henry III
(see: Table III)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
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<th>Title/Position</th>
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<tr>
<td>HENRY II †1024</td>
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<td>Duke of Bavaria, King of Germany, Emperor</td>
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<td>BRUNO †1029</td>
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<td>Bishop of Augsburg</td>
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<td>GISELA †1065</td>
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<td>the Blessed</td>
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<td>GISELA †1065</td>
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<td>Saint EMERIC</td>
<td>†1031</td>
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<td></td>
<td>last Great-Prince, King of Hungary</td>
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<tr>
<td>Saint EMERIC</td>
<td>†1031</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>other children</td>
<td></td>
<td>all dead young</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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GENEALOGICAL TABLE IV

THORED
eldorman in Northumbria

EDGAR 975
959: King of England
= 3: ELFRIDA of Devon,
widow of Ethelwold,
earl of East-Anglia

ETHELRED II 1016
the Unready
978: King of England
= 1. 985:

THORN
1016: King of England

EDMUND II 1015
Ironside
1015: ALDGITHA,
widow of jarl Sygeferth

EDWARD III 1066
the Confessor
1043: King of England

EDMUND "1016, 1046/54

EDWARD the Exile "1016, 1057
= 1043/44: AGATHA,
daughter of Ludolf
Marv. of Westfriesland
ca. "1022, after 1066
(see: Table III)

MARGARET "1046, 1093
canonised: 1251
Saint Margaret
= MALCOLM III 1093
Big-Head
1067: King of Scotland

EADGYTH 1118
named in England MATHILDA
= 1106: HENRY I 1135
1106: King of England

Kings of SCOTLAND

Kings of ENGLAND

RICHARD I 1189
942: Duke of Normandy
= GUNNOR

AELFLEDA

EDWARD the Exile "1016, 1057
= 1043/44: AGATHA,
daughter of Ludolf
Marv. of Westfriesland
ca. "1022, after 1066
(see: Table III)

CHRISTINA ca. "1062, after 1086
benedicite nun at Runnym, Hampshire

Kings of SCOTLAND

Kings of ENGLAND

MATHILDA, ca. "1075, 1114/44
Regina quae fuit de Anglia
1097,98: GUGUES VII 11132.
1077: Count of Albon.
Prince of the Graislvaudan

among others:

DAVID I 1153
1124: King of Scotland

(?) EDGAR Aethling
in Northumberland, 1118/13

KNUT II 1042
1085: King of England

KNUT I the Great 1066
1016: King of England
1019: King of Denmark
1028: King of Norway
(see: Table I)

EDWARD the Exile "1016, 1057
= 1043/44: AGATHA,
daughter of Ludolf
Marv. of Westfriesland
ca. "1022, after 1066
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EDWARD the Exile "1016, 1057
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ca. "1022, after 1066
(see: Table III)
SOURCES AND NOTES TO THE GENEALOGICAL TABLES

I. SOURCES

A.—GENERAL SOURCES

W. K. Pr. v. Isenburg. op. cit.;

B.—SOURCES TO TABLE I

J. P. P. Köngsfeldt. Genealogiske-historiske tabeller over de nordiske rigers kongeslægter (Genealogical and historical Tables of the Dynasties of the Northern Kingdoms), Kopenhagen, 1856;
N. de Baumgarten. Olaf. Tryggwison. op. cit.;
Lauritz Weibull. Kritiska undersökningar i nordens historia omkring år 1000 (Critical Studies in Northern History around the year 1000), Stockholm, 1911;
I. Schreiner. Olav den hellige og Norges samling (St. Olaf and the Unification of Norway), Oslo, 1929.

C.—SOURCES TO TABLE II

Wertner Mór. Az Arpádok családi története (The Familial History of the Arpadians), Temesvár, 1892;
Csányi Dezső. Arpad és az Arpádok (Arpad and the Arpadians), Budapest, 1908;
Hőman Báltint és Szekfű Gyula. Magyar Történet (Hungarian History), I—V, Budapest, 1938, t. I;

D.—SOURCES TO TABLE III

Harry Bresslau. Jahrbücher 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 half-brother 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 MCVL.", cf.: Cartulaire monasterii beatoeum 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.