MEDIEVAL LANDED INHERITANCES OF THE JUNKAR AND VILKEN LINEAGES OF VEHKALAHTI, FINLAND

by M Sjöström [1]

ABSTRACT

The present study assesses family legends in the process of critical reconstruction of some lineages through the 1400s-1500s. Landed inheritances in Vehkalahti are the principal basis for the genealogical reconstruction, these families sharing a common feature: both lineages held allodial land both in Hietakylä of Pampyöli and in Reitkalli of Vehkalahti. Many relevant family connections are revealed by analysing the lands and inheritances of one lady, Kirsti (born bef. *c.*1495, *d.c.*1553) and her close relations - reconstruction reveals her as a scion of the Vilken lineage. The study concludes that in the Vilken lineage, there must have existed during the 1400s two equal brothers, one being ancestral to the aristocratic family of the Horn of Kankainen and the other being direct forefather of the still-surviving Husgafvel family. The article argues that knight Henrikki Laavunpoika (progenitor of the said prominent family of Kankainen, including several notables such as five field marshals surnamed Horn), was the son of that lady Kirsti whose mother was Matleena Niilontytär of Poitsila. Conclusions are drawn about the chronology and inheritances of main representatives of the two early-branched lineages, the Junkar and the Vilken, which are one of the earliest surviving families in Finland, whose earliest attested ancestor flourished in the last decades of the 1300s.

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1. Outline of Medieval Branches of the Junkar and Vilken families

There is a legend that certain privileged landed families of the 1500s and 1600s in the region of Vehkalahti in Finland, were directly descended from two sons (Martti and Ville, 'Vilken') of an Eerikki Lassenpoika who had acquired Reitkalli and Hietakylä.[2] Daniel, baron Tilas, recorded the same tradition in the mid-1700s,[3] expressing his

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The author is a cognatic descendant of the Junkar family, several times over. He is directly descended from Evert Henrikinpoika Sjöström, of Ricka (1883-1955) who was son of: Maria Helena Junkar, heiress of Ricka, and her husband Henrik Henrikinpoika Sjöström, himself son of Henrik Simunpoika Sjöström and his wife Helena Junkar, herself daughter of Henrik Junkar of the Seppä branch and his second wife Maria Junkar of the Kemppi branch of the House of Junkar.

[2] *eg* Vehkalahti Assizes (session 16 March 1688) recorded the family lore about this branching. National Archives Institution of Finland, *ie* Kansallisarkisto, series: Renovated proceedings from district courts, judgements of regular lawsuits of Kymenkartano and Lappee district court. See also Fig 1.

[3] The Swedish Archive (*Riksarkivet, Marieberg, Sverige*), holds in its series *Genealogica*, the collection of Daniel, baron Tilas (1712-1772), Herald of the Realm of Sweden. Tilas made at least two journeys to Vehkalahti: on one hand he interviewed a certain local schoolmaster Johannes Liceen (d. 11 May 1742) whom he obviously met in an earlier visit in the 1730s when he travelled the region as mining administrator; and on the other hand he dated several of his notes and drawings in 1769, a date decades after the region had been ceded to Russia

understanding that Martti had been the elder of the brothers. Aetiological myths[4] are notoriously untrustworthy and, even if they contain useful grains of truth, it is almost certain that some elements of the genealogy will be wrong or over-simplified.

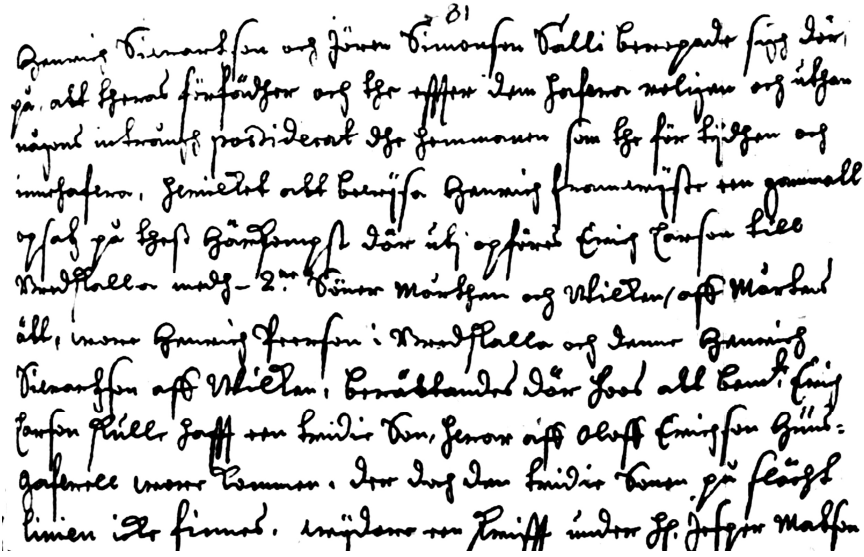


Fig 1 ***A clip of the Proceedings of the extraordinary Assizes of Vehkalahti held on 16 March 1688.***[2]

Literal translation: *Henrik Sivartinpoika and Yrjänä Simunpoika Sälli presented their plea that their forefathers and those after them have in peace and without anyone's interference possessed the homesteads that they claim and hold, which to prove Henrik presented an old essay on their descent, it reports Eerik Laurinpoika of Reitkalli with two sons, Marthen and Wilken: of Mart's family was Henrik Pedrinpoika in Reitkalli, and this Henrik Sivartinpoika [was] of Wilken. When narrated that the mentioned Eerik Laurinpoika would have had a third son, whom Olavi Eerikinpoika Huusgafwell had come from, there however the third son did not exist in the [presented essay's] genealogical lineage.*

The text narrates the story of Eerikki Lassenpoika of Reitkalli having had two sons, Martti and Ville (the "Lassenpoika" is patronymic, meaning "son of Lasse" *ie* the man's father had a baptismal name given in honour and namesake of a saint named Laurentius). Henrik Petrinpoika of Reitkalli is reported to be descended from Martti, and Henrik Sivartinpoika from this very lawsuit is reported to descend from Ville [Ville's "official" name should have been Vilhelm, and the suffix -kin/-ken denotes diminutive. The "Wilken" translates to "Little Vilhelm", little Ville).

in 1743. Tilas is reported to have made one journey in Russian lands to gauge whether the Swedish would find support there (for example in the case of a new war).

4 Aetiological myth refers to legends and myths about origins.

That said, Eerikki Lassenpoika's existence and his acquisition of those two properties were attested by a long-vanished document dated 24 June 1383 in Viipuri[5] and by two documents of 1396.[6] The descent of these families from him is supported by their holding portions of those lands as inheritance, and apparently having possession of at least one of those documents in 1618.[7]

This first attested forefather, Eerikki Lassenpoika, acquired new properties (such as Reitkalli, in Viipuri province) during the time (1383) when High Seneschal Bo Jonsson, lord of Gripsholm, was pre-eminent and held sway in the entire realm of Sweden, as well as holding the fief of Viipuri and its lands. It was seneschal Bo's power over landed properties in Viipuri province which must have been behind the 1383 acquisition in favour of Eerikki Lassenpoika. I emphasise that this was before the Union of Kalmar, which took place years later.[8]

It is important to add a note of caution against the so-called patriarchal fallacy, which tends to assume agnatic descent in very many claims or traditions of direct descent where the precise details of the lineage have been forgotten or garbled. A descent sustained by family tradition or folklore may often be cognatic, *ie* one or more filiations via women, but such female links are easily forgotten or glossed over leading to legends of unbroken male descents. Nevertheless, despite the patriarchal fallacy, the fact remains that in those centuries hereditary landed properties were much more likely to pass via the male line than the female. Further, the claim of agnatic descent is more likely to be true if heraldry is shared, although there are several examples from Sweden and Finland in the 15th-16th centuries where men adopted their maternal grandfather's heraldry.

The earlier the claim to agnatic lineage was written down, the stronger the likelihood that it actually holds. Families holding privileges such as heraldry, tax-exemption, cavalry service (armiger/knight) often kept a good memory of the paternal line upwards, perhaps recitation of up to 5 to 8 generations. Similarly, family holders of an ancestral manor often sustained a good memory of the lineage of inheritance, again for perhaps about 5 to 8 generations, this also because they occasionally had to invoke the memory of an ancestor during whose time something had been agreed upon or done in their lands. Females in such a lineage were remembered through several later generations because of their crucial role in passage of the central property. Quite possibly, the existence of an heiress as a generation in the direct lineage would not have been forgotten within the next six generations.

The supposed shared agnatic descent between the Junkar and the Vilken is supported by preliminary Y-DNA screening tests of male line descendants of dominus Johannes and male members of a Junkar family. Results indicate that they both belong to the

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5 Diplomatarium Suecanum no. 12437.

6 Document no.1054, 2 Feb 1396, "Vehkalahti" (Reinhold Hausen, ed., *Finlands medeltidsurkunder*, vol. I, 1910, p.463) and document no.1057, 21 March 1396, "Kruunupori" (Hausen, *op.cit.* 1910, p.465); both were transcribed for print from the Tilas collection.

7 Jesperi Matinpoika Krus, *Förteckning öfwer Nye och Gamble Frelsis Landhbönder uthi Finlandh a. 1618*, ed. Lagus (1860), p.83. Catalogue of nobility's landed properties in Finland in 1618 collected by field marshal, knight Jesperi Matinpoika Krus, lord of Harviala, high treasurer of the kingdom of Sweden and its dominions.

8 If, as tradition holds and the inheritances indicate, these families are descended in unbroken male line from Eerikki Lassenpoika (*fl.*1396), then the members of these families descending from the attested Eerikki Lassenpoika are probably the oldest known extant male lineage who have resided in Finland throughout that time, and continue to have male descendants resident in Finland.

same haplotype (*I1*), which is not the most frequent in Finland and is even rarer in the east of the country, Vehkalahti being located on the south-eastern coast of the country. It can at least be said that the Y-DNA findings thus far do not rule out a shared patrilineal forefather six centuries ago.

When interpreting myths and legends, it is crucial to try and separate chaff and hot air from tangible real events. The family lore of two (or more) brothers as sons of a notable forefather is a typical feature of aetiological myths. Other cases have shown that such origins of different branches may well have been several generations after the supposed common ancestor. Also the names of branch founders are not necessarily always those of the actual brothers - sometimes it might have been names of an uncle and nephew that gained eponymous status in the lore, or perhaps two cousins. Even so it is likely that a key brotherhood relationship would be remembered correctly for at least a century or so.

So although I caution against the reliability of Martti and Ville being actual sons of Eerikki Lassenpoika (rather than grandsons or great-grandsons), in the absence of more solid information and for purposes of the reconstruction I will assume that they are sons of Eerikki.

An important testimony about the lineage comes from the claim, in 1625, by Siffer Jussinpoika Vilken, the then head of the Vilken branch and a local judge. He claimed, in the High Court in Turku, that he was a direct sixth generation descendant of Eerikki Lassenpoika, via the eponymous Ville (*ie* Vilken) branch.[9] Also he and one of the others in the lawsuit, Hannes Petrinpoika Junkar, made it clear in the High Court (cases of 1623, 1625) that they were from two branches of the same family, Hannes being descended from the mythical Martti. They did not specify Hannes' descent from Eerikki, but it is likely that it was not greatly different from Siffer Vilken's. We could assume that descendants of the elder brother could be around 6th-8th generation from the same forefather if a contemporary descendant of the younger brother claimed to be 6th generation.

As far as I know, the documentation from which Wikman drew his information about six generations in 1846 is no longer preserved. We must therefore trust (or not) that Wikman had correctly recorded the essence from some authentic source that accurately reflected what Siffer had presented in court over two centuries earlier.[10]

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[9] P G Wikman, *Sjö- och stapel-staden Fredrikshamns historia, ifrån stadens grundläggning intill närwarande tid: uti kronologisk öfwersigt med föregående tafla af Kymmenegårds län* (1846), supplement I, p.6, reports a Slägtlinea which mentions the 6th generation of this descent: "*...den förstnämnde [Sigfrid Jönsson från Tawastby] eller Sigfrid Husgafvel genom inlämnad slägtlinea bewisade sig i 6:te led härstamma från Erik Larsson som år 1396...*"

Wilhelm G Lagus, *Undersökningar om Finska Adelns Gods och Ätter - med biografiska, heraldiska, topografiska och kameralistiska anteckningar* (1860), p.560: "*[Sigfrid Jönsson till Tawastby] företedde då ...en stamtafla utwisande att han i sjette led härstammade ifrån... omnämnde Erik Larsson, som i wapnet fört en husgafwel och ofwan hjelmen en eldhake.*"

Ragnar Rosén, *Veckelaksknaparna*. Laudatur essay for Masters in history of Finland and Scandinavia, University of Helsinki (1920), p.101: "*...genom en till försvarskriften bifogat genealogi styrkte han sig derjämte vara rätta avkomling i sjätte led av Erik Larsson.*" The different wording employed by Rosén may indicate that his was an independent reading of original source material, rather than merely repeating from Wikman. Rosén however admits in his bibliography that he had read Wikman.

[10] According to Wikman *op. cit.* (1846), p.6, two separate men both claimed six generation descents in the 1625 High Court case. As mentioned, Siffer Jussinpoika Vilken, lord of Tavastila, claimed sixth generation descent from the Eerikki Lassenpoika who had acquired Reitkalli and Hietakylä. Another man, Siffer's neighbour, squire Sihvo Jussinpoika of Husula

The detail in Wikman's narrative suggests that it is not total invention, but rather, in my assessment, reflects genuine knowledge of the High Court proceedings. It is quite plausible that a two-hundred-year-old document still existed in 1846, and Wikman resided in the very region. Assuming that Wikman reported carefully what he knew, there still remains a possibility that he or his source misinterpreted something. Even so, a rough calculation suggests that six agnatic generations is very plausible from a man who was alive in the 1380s and 1390s (and not yet necessarily elderly at the time), via his younger son, to a man who was elderly in 1625, giving a generational average of approximately 38 years maximum.[11] Therefore, even without any discussion of Siffer Jussinpoika Vilken's claim about the number of generations, an independent estimate might well reach the same conclusion of six generations from Eerikki Lassenpoika (*fl*.1396).

Another question is whether Siffer Jussinpoika Vilken reliably remembered and recounted his precise descent from the notable Eerikki Lassenpoika. Six generations back is too much for any living memory, and rather stretches the rule of thumb about near-contemporaneity, which in my view is less than a hundred years. People generally can remember more or less accurately what their grandparents' generation told them from their living memory, generally family relations back to those born about a century earlier than the current generation, *ie* about four generations. However, there are some exceptions to this sort of heuristics: for example, the lineage though which the hereditary main residence or property had passed tends to be remembered for longer, perhaps even ten generations as a recitation of family lore. On this basis I see no forceful reasons to reject the number six.

Applying a rough model, using a low figure, the heuristic rule of 30 years per male generation from Eerikki Lassenpoika (*fl.*1383) gives us: 1st generation (b.*c.*1380) - 2nd generation (b.*c.*1410) - 3rd generation (b.*c.*1440) - 4th generation (b.*c.*1470) - 5th generation (b.*c.*1500) - 6th generation (b.*c.*1530) - 7th generation (b.*c.*1560).

Hannes Petrinpoika Junkar, supposed descendant of the mythical Martti, was born around 1550-1560 at the latest, because there are reasons why his paternal grandson must have been born around 1610 at the latest. In addition it is known Hannes' father was probably born *c.*1520. Estimated likely births in this branch inevitably do not synchronise fully with the rough model. However over the longer term it approximates to the model (or possibly there was one generation less than predicted in this Martti branch). Siffer Jussinpoika Vilken, claimed descendant of the mythical Ville, was born *c.*1560s. His younger brother should have been born in *c.*1570 at latest, based on his own chronology. Their father (the dominus Johannes) probably did not yet have children as early as the 1550s. Siffer had a daughter who must have been born *c.*1590 at the latest, in order to have married a gentleman who was slain in battle in 1609; as well as a son who must have been born *c.*1590 or only a very little later, in order to have been adult enough to go to war in 1611 as an independent warrior. All in all, Siffer Vilken fits pretty well as a sixth generation descendant (just as he claimed) via a younger son (who himself was probably born after 1380, likely around 1400).

(known from other sources to have been lord of Junnila in Husula, born bef. *c.*1570; died after 1629) claimed sixth generation descent from Matias Erkinpoika, whom he claimed had held land in the time of Queen Margrethe Valdemarsdatter, when Eric of Pomerania was already king of Sweden.

[11] Calculations by actuarially-oriented genealogists based on extensive data, has estimated an average 32 years between male generations.

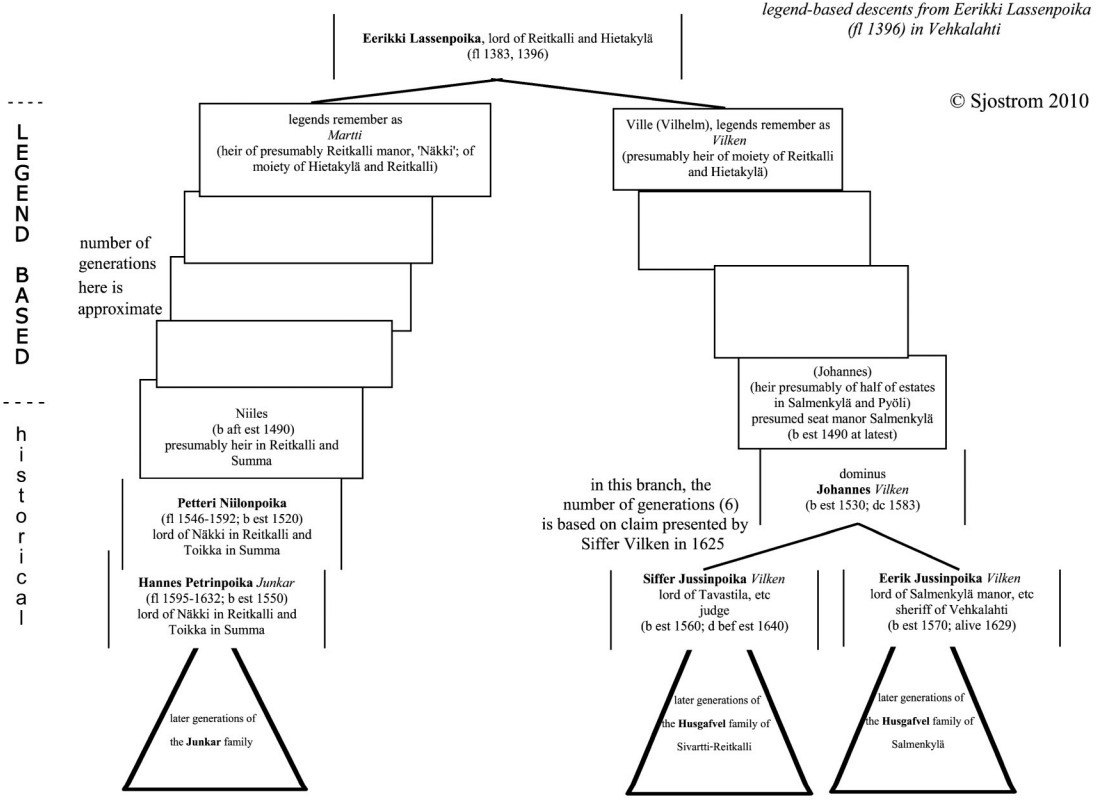


Fig 2. ***Family tree from the Middle Ages to the Junkar and Vilken (rough construct) based on family tradition***

2. Outline of Landed Properties inherited from Medieval Branches of Reitkalli-Hietakylä-related families

Any systematic records of landed estates emerge from a "medieval mist" in the mid-1540s while a complete picture for every landholding is found only from the 1610s-1620s. Archival data from the 1540s to 1600s, enables a reconstruction of most of the tax-exempt hereditary holdings (allodial land[12]) in the district as belonging to various individuals and families at that time. This reconstruction has not been easy, seeing that these noble families did not pay regular land taxes on their allodial holdings. But they were obliged to pay tithes to the church, and the protestant system allowed the king to collect a third of the tithe revenue through his secular bailiffs, of which some records are preserved among other rolls of crown revenues. On occasion special taxes were levied in response to crises, such as war, which impacted on noblemen and allodial land. By the early 1600s (when unfortunately some of these inheritances had already been fragmented and recombined, in some cases no longer pertaining to the original male-line branches) we have the first global figures covering almost all real estate in the region.

Taking an overview for the purpose of reconstruction, there emerges a picture in *c.*1550s-1570s of at least five identifiable lineages that held inheritances of allodial lands, hereinafter referred to as batches, in places where Eerikki Lassenpoika had attestedly held lands in the year 1396 (there might have been more such branches, for example a relatively clear sixth lineage can arguably be reconstructed). At least three of these five lineages recorded a claim of descent from Eerikki. No such claim has been preserved for the others; it is possible they had similar claims that were not recorded. Conclusions can be drawn as to which of these batches were landholdings of approximately the same worth or similar size, and which were not.

The five lineages that held batches were:

1) Junkar: in Reitkalli and Summa
2) Olavi Erkinpoika: lord of a manor in Reitkalli

[12] These tax-exempted *rälssi* lands were listed under the term *allodial* in the land registers of the Swedish empire. Although *OED* defines allodial land as held in absolute ownership, in contrast to feudal land, this may be a bit misleading in the context of Scandinavian landowning tradition up to the 1600s. In Scandinavia, allodial land was exempt from regular land taxes, but up to the late 1500s the obligation (instead) was to provide a mounted warrior (or, in specific cases, some other service to the defence of the country), but the military service was not part of regular troops, rather something to be called to service in time of need. The original idea was probably that the owner himself was the mounted warrior, thus his farming was exempt from regular taxes just because he was ready to go to war if needed. Generally these properties were not confiscated by the government while regular, taxed peasant farms were confiscated after a few years of unpaid taxes. This seems to have been mostly because the owners usually passed the muster of cavalry obligation inspection, either by going with a nag or by pleading some other plausible excuse. Owners of such tax-exempt land consequently had their hereditary inheritance better respected by the government in the long run, so that it felt more like "absolute ownership". The military obligation seemingly became too heavy only in later centuries (late 1500s, 1600s) when Sweden started to be almost constantly at war, but by then (thanks to privileges granted by Eric XIV and John III) failure to provide a mounted warrior was no longer grounds, either in Sweden or Finland, for reduction (confiscation) if the owner belonged to the recognized nobility. Thus the ownership became more or less absolute. In the longer term these "allodial" lands were differentiated from peasant lands, where government representatives would from time to time reallocate them to favoured farmers, using technical confiscation as the justification.

3) a Simo: either in Reitkalli or Salmenkylä[13]

4) sons of dominus Johannes Vilken

5) the aristocratic Horn of Kankainen

The first two of these (Olavi Erkinpoika's and the Junkar) held no land either in Salmenkylä or in the Pyöli village complex,[14] while the other three (Simo's, plus dominus Johannes' and the Horns) held properties in Salmenkylä or places considered to be derived from Salmenkylä. The properties of Simo's branch were quite small (and their Salmenkylä properties probably not agnatic in origin[15]), while the dominus Johannes branch and the Horn held large properties in Pyöli and Salmenkylä.

All five of the lineages described above have in common that in the 1550s-1570s they held allodial land both in Hietakylä and in Reitkalli (except possibly the Simo branch in Hietakylä). If we presume that all land in Reitkalli village that was attested as allodial in the 1500s-1600s had originally belonged to Eerikki Lassenpoika (a not unwarranted assumption, because all such landholders there in the mid-1500s can be

[13] The branch of Simo is the most obscure of these five. Two separate male contemporaries (noblemen Eerikki Simonpoika in Reitkalli and Tuomas Simonpoika in Salmenkylä, both active in the mid-1500s) with identical patronymics may have been brothers, or alternatively their patronymics were a coincidence and they were not of the same lineage. The existence or not of this brotherhood determines whether one family held lands in both Salmenkylä and Reitkalli, or two separate families one in each place, having no discernible connection in the 1500s to the other. For the purposes of the "five batches" in this study, these two are assumed as one family. If this is not the case and they were separate, it does not materially affect the reconstruction of the main points about the Junkar and Vilken lineages.

[14] the Pyöli complex ("the Pyölies") is a useful collective label.

Since the 1700s at latest, a number of administratively separate villages have existed, geographically close and in part wedged one within another, forming several enclaves and exclaves. The later village names were already occasionally in use in the 1500s but sometimes referring to a slightly different place than later. Names in the 1500s fluctuated and could lead easily to confusion. In fact hamlet names from the 1500s were rather too detailed to make sense of the inheritances, and also too variable to maintain continuity. I realised that if all the hamlets in a roughly defined area were merged into one "village complex", the properties and inheritances made a lot of sense. This was akin to seeing the forest rather than individual trees. Evidently those hamlets once belonged to one territory which came to be divided between various branches of a few families. Many of the hamlets actually appear to be formed out of shares of such inheritances. One of the later villages bears the name Pyöli; two others have names with the stem word -pyöli prefixed by another word. Hence there are at least three "Pyölies" in the modern map of this territory, while the river Pyöli flows though it. Some locals even refer occasionally to the group of hamlets informally using the plural, Pyöli-es (in Finnish, "*Pyölit*"). The following hamlets can be counted as parts of the village complex of the Pyölies: Husupyöli, Pukkipyöli, Teinpyöli, Pyöli, Töytäri, Lampuodinmäki (Lampupakka), parts of Sivatti and Kolsila (also known as Rotspyy, Rotila), Rolanspyy and even (parts of) Husula.

The best judgement from local history research, including later land records, leads to the conclusion that the Pyölies were medievally a subjugate (probably long-uninhabited) remote territory of the old village of Salmenkylä (Römspyy). However they were geographically separate, as there was already another old village almost in between the two. The Pyölies then started to be cultivated and populated, probably sometime before the 1500s, often by tenant farmers of noble landowners, the latter being resident in Salmenkylä. Then little by little some members of landowner families from Salmenkylä set up dwellings in the Pyölies and received such land as their share of the family inheritance. Thus, by the mid-1500s there were already a number of petty noblemen in residence in parts of the Pyölies.

[15] see footnote 27, particularly the report that they were of the noble Piljerta lineage.

reconstructed as having inherited from him - such a reconstruction being a matter for another study), then his holding in Reitkalli would have been about 1.0-1.6 mantal.[16] All of the Hietakylä of Pampyöli is known to have been allodial and every estate there is presumed to have originated from land left by Eerikki to his heirs. About 0.7 mantal in Reitkalli would represent the share of one of Eerikki's two mythical sons (assuming he had no more than two), and similarly about 0.56 mantal in Hietakylä would be half of that domain.

Batches in possession of the five lineages[17]

1) The noble lineage of Horn in Kankainen held: an allodial estate in Reitkalli (the estate was later named "Kitunen"; after the Great Parcelling it amounted to about 125 hectares based on ¼ mantal; the specific figure of ¼ mantal was already registered by Krus 1618); an allodial estate in Hietakylä of Pampyöli (approximately a fourth of Hietakylä, the apportionment figure being either ¼ or $^1/_3$ mantal depending on the source [$^1/_3$ mantal does not fit well with overall pattern], later named "Skinnarila", the 'D' in the map). In addition they held an allodial manor (or manorlet) in Salmenkylä (later named "Lausula" and portioned before the 1900s, to such as "Melttari" and "Tompuri"; in the Great Parcelling it was ½ mantal[18]), as

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[16] The mantal is a measure of the wealth of a farm, not a simple unit of area, as it depends on the productivity of the land. In essence, the mantal figures of farms in one village show their share or apportionment of the lands of the village. The mantal was also used as a basis for taxation. It is said that originally one mantal represented a farm that would support a single family, but actual mantal figures do not support such a model. I have evidence for example in this region where several farms each measuring about 0.05 mantal provide sufficient sustenance in the mid-1800s for a family of several generations: such as father, his wife, their young male heir, possibly the latter's wife, and several dependants such as an elderly grandparent (or two), perhaps an aunt and several underage children, a few of whom could already be working teenagers but several were clearly under 10 years. Moreover, it is clear from actual hectarages that an estate of one full mantal in this region would be considered a manor, not merely a farm, with 500-1000 hectares of all types of land. It is therefore my impression that one mantal would have represented an entity with enough revenue to equip one full-time warrior, plus at least a nag for his horse, and provide sustenance for the warrior's family, while a handful of farmers cultivating their plots on that mantal still had enough left to feed themselves and their own nuclear families. This one warrior model (as opposed to one cultivator feeding his family) is also more meaningful from the perspective of government (which in that era tended to see the country and its revenues as a means to provide troops, rather than a population to be fed). Thus it is my conjecture that the "man" in the original definition of a mantal referred to one man equipped for war on behalf of several cultivators, and not to one man cultivating a plot to feed his nuclear family.

Mantal figures are believed to have been assigned to real estate in this region sometime later than the time of Eerikki Lassenpoika's sons'. The approach is thought to have been to assess the actual cultivated land at that time, and assign a figure which more or less corresponded with its worth compared with neighbours. Subsequent to the initial assignment, divisions of inheritances would have divided those shares equally in mathematical terms.

[17] Data sourced from several original documents, also using and checking against: Ragnar Rosén, *Veckelaksknaparna* (1920); Ragnar Rosén, *Vehkalahden pitäjän historia I – Suur-Vehkalahden asutus- ja aluehistoria n vuoteen 1610* (1936); Eric Anthoni, *Finlands medeltida frälse och 1500-talsadel* (1970), pp.375-376; Martti Korhonen, *Vehkalahden pitäjän historia II – yhteiskunnallisesta kehityksestä 1600-luvulla sekä maakirjatilojen synty* (1981), particularly pp.185-187.

[18] According to Rosén, *op.cit.* (1936), p.282 this (Lausula) allodial estate in Salmenkylä was one entire mantal. Because the estate was ½ mantal in the Great Parcelling and also usually in

well as their holding of some farms in the Pyöli complex, including a farm in old Pyöli (afterwards "Kirilä"; the property was $^1/_6$ mantal) and land a bit larger known as Töytärinhovi in Teinpyöli *ie* Lampuodinmäki (probably ¼ mantal[19]), and a farm ("Kujala") in Sivatti.[20]

2) The dominus Johannes Vilken is recorded in cavalry-obligation rolls and in a variety of rent rolls, but we do not know what hectares he specifically held or where, as opposed to those held at the same time by his close kinsman, the admiral Siffred Jussinpoika Vilken. Roughly, in the Land Roll of 1562, admiral Siffred held a manor in Salmenkylä, two tenant farmers in Reitkalli, two tenant farmers in Pyölies, and one tenant farmer in Hietakylä. In the same years, dominus Johannes had as many as five tenant farmers in Salmenkylä, and at least one tenant farmer in each of Reitkalli, Sivatti, Pyölies and Hietakylä. In *c*.1561 (when presumably neither noble lord was in residence) at least five tenant farmers were renting the estate of Salmenkylä, temporarily parcelled in accordance with their cultivation. After the deaths of both the admiral and the dominus, the dominus's two sons Siffer and Eerikki[21] held between them a combination which: included an allodial estate in Reitkalli,[22] an allodial estate in Hietakylä of Pampyöli[23] (probably either 'F' or 'G' in the map, or both), at least one allodial estate in

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other records, Rosén may have misread this (perhaps he did not see the denominator). The figure of 1.0 mantal appears too high in the context - the whole village of Salmenkylä has for several centuries contained about two mantals altogether, no more, while this specific estate has usually been about one fourth of the whole Salmenkylä.

19 According to Rosén, *op.cit.* (1936), p.282 this estate in Teinpyöli *ie* Lampuodinmäki was ½ mantal. Because the estate (Töytärinhovi) was ¼ mantal in the Great Parcelling, Rosén may have misread this also. Sometimes, numbers in these records are merely small scribbles and "4" may look not that different from the number two.

20 Property figures (mantals) from Krus, *op.cit.* (1618), p.84 and Rosen, *op.cit.* (1936), p.282 as well as from 1551 Roll, 1620 Roll, 1684 Roll of *rälssi* inspection, and from records of Great Parcelling in the 1820s-1830s.

21 Eerikki holding Salmenkylä shows a typical ultimogeniture result in Scandinavia: family seat passes to youngest son, simply because things so transpire in a practical way. Where there are residences to divide, the youngest often stays for the longest in the parental residence, while elder sons establish themselves in other places. When the time for division arrives, the youngest, if resident in the parental seat, gets to keep it as his share.

22 In 1618, judge Siffer held $^1/_6$ mantal in the ancestral Reitkalli (Krus, *op.cit.,* 1618, p.83). As to Reitkalli, Siffer should have inherited from both his father the dominus and the dominus' close kinsman the admiral. There is a record (Assizes of 1688) which indicates that in 1574 the dominus Johannes had sold $^1/_{12}$ mantal of his holdings in Reitkalli (Korhonen, *op.cit.,* 1981, p.172). Consequently the dominus and the admiral should altogether have held between them (prior to sale in 1574) $^1/_4$ mantal in Reitkalli. A record in 1551 shows "Siffred Vilkki" holding $^1/_8$ mantal in Reitkalli - precisely the correct share of inheritance to the admiral Siffred Vilken if the last common progenitor of the admiral and the dominus had held $^1/_4$ mantal and the admiral's share of it was half.

Judge Siffer's grandson, nobleman Henrik Sivartinpoika, acquired a lot of additional land in Reitkalli, as attested in the court records of the period. That creates difficulties in reconstructing the original estate area in hectares, with confusion arising from the combinations, divisions and recombinations during the 1600s-1700s, although I have made some relatively plausible attempts. The evidence suggests it was not big at the time of Siffer (attestedly he held $^1/_6$ mantal in 1618). Rosén (1936), p.281 gives a figure of $^1/_3$ for the dominus branch, which I regard as erroneous. Numbers indicate that the $^1/_6$ mantal might have had a total area in the range of 100 hectares.

23 In Hietakylä, $^1/_4$ mantal in 1618 (Krus, p.83; Rosén, 1936, p.281).

the Pyöli complex, plus an allodial manor (with manorial seat privileges) in Salmenkylä[24] which was ½ mantal in 1684. Dominus Johannes and admiral Siffred had owned farms in the Pyöli village complex,[25] rented out to peasant farmers who were their tenants, plus one similar farm in Sivatti and rented out to a peasant (owned by dominus Johannes in *c.*1561). This branch presented a clear claim of direct descent from Eerikki Lassenpoika, for example in proceedings in the High Court in 1623 and 1625, repeated in 1688. Siffer, lord of Tavastila, basically held a collection of lesser allodial properties in three different places other than Salmenkylä, but it could be that their rights to some lands in Nevitto valley followed Siffer's Reitkalli property.[26]

3) The Simo branch is of these five the most difficult and hazy to construct. It is entirely possible that the reconstruction of this branch turns out to be a genealogical mongrel. If the branch really was only one family, it held a batch which included: for certain an allodial manorlet in Salmenkylä (later known as Vilkki, and later still as Tilly[27]) and if a genealogical reconstruction

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[24] The Salmenkylä manor, much later named "Husgafvel" in real estate registers. This estate was usually ½ mantal in the records (*eg* the 1684 *rälssi* inspection). Rosén (*op.cit.* 1936), p.281 reports a figure of 2 mantals, which is much too high in the context of the specific farms they owned there. The whole village of Salmenkylä has for several centuries contained about two mantals, no more. This specific manor has usually been recorded about one fourth of the whole Salmenkylä, never even approaching the whole village. I suspect he misread the 2, intended to be denominator, missing the 1 above it, which may even have disappeared from the document. A different issue is that at some point around 1600, this family acquired an additional $^{1}/_{8}$ mantal, bringing the estate up to $^{5}/_{8}$ mantal in various records of the mid-1600s.

[25] Rosén (*op.cit.* 1936), p.281 gives *c.*$^{1}/_{6}$ mantal there. It comprised 4 farms in *c.*1561, two farms apiece. In the early 1600s the Pyöli holding belonged to Siffer Jussinpoika Vilken, elder son of dominus Johannes. This estate is at least in some way the origin of the later Läätilä farm of Husu-Pyöli. Another matter is that in addition to the sufficiently-recorded estate of Läätilä, in other parts of the Pyöli complex the admiral and the dominus are known to have also held some farms (the dominus' at least one tenant farmer in Sivatti, and there's a likelihood that not all their tenant farmers recorded in Pyöli itself were in Läätilä).

[26] See appendix, p.460 below: possible land-holdings in the Nevitto valley.

[27] One Tuomas Simonpoika is attested between 1555 and 1574 in Salmenkylä: his estate appears to have been relatively good. The Vilkki manorlet was at ½ mantal in its height during the time of Matias Tuomonpoika Vilken (*fl.*1611 - *c.*1632). In 1684 *rälssi* inspection (in the time of Perttuli Matinpoika Vilken) it was $^{3}/_{8}$ mantal (the rest, $^{1}/_{8}$ mantal of the estate of Matias Vilken had presumably passed to some other family). It looks like those ½ mantal (Vilkki) came from a variety of Salmenkylä properties in 1551 held by members of Brand and Brandstaka families, and that Tuomas (*fl.*1555) was not originally of an agnatic lineage holding lands in Salmenkylä. This fact militates against Tuomas Simonpoika actually being from the direct agnatic lineage of the Salmenkylä descendants of Eerikki Lassenpoika (despite the fact that the byname and name Vilken clearly recurs among his own descendants) - he may have been Eerikki's descendant by some other route or may not have been at all. A group of mid-1500s Brand and Brandstaka lands in Salmenkylä appears to be the only possible explanation as a source for Matias Vilken's ½ mantal estate in the early 1600s, for example seemingly to the end of the 1600s, the entire Salmenkylä (except for the ½ mantal estate of the Horn after 1614, see footnote 18; and some small amount of land, max. $^{5}/_{24}$ mantal, that was "deserted") apparently was hereditary tax-exempted allodial land. Tilas in his *Genealogica* manuscript copied a piece of text indicating that in 1696 a neighbour in Salmenkylä, Eerikki Kaarlenpoika Husgavel, reported that Perttuli Vilken was of the Piljerta family - which is a totally different agnatic line.

holds, then some land in Reitkalli, allodial farmland estate,[28] and possibly (but not likely) an allodial estate in Hietakylä of Pampyöli.[29]

4) The Olavi Erkinpoika branch held: an allodial estate in Reitkalli,[30] plus an allodial estate in Hietakylä of Pampyöli[31] (probably 'F' in the map). It is important to note this branch held no known land in Salmenkylä nor in Pyöli. On their behalf, a claim was presented in 1688 that they were a branch descended from Eerikki Lassenpoika.

5) The Junkar of Reitkalli and Summa held: an allodial manor (named Näkki, Näkkilä) in Reitkalli;[32] an allodial estate (Junkkari, or Säteri, with privileges of a manorial seat) in Hietakylä of Pampyöli[33] ('E' in the map). They held no known land in Salmenkylä nor in Pyöli. They presented a claim (*eg* Krus, 1618, and proceedings in the High Court, 1623, and Assizes, 1688) that they descended from Eerikki Lassenpoika. In 1618 they held the document of 1396, claiming to have inherited it and preserved them in their ancestral manor.[32]

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[28] Presumably, at least certain land held in Reitkalli in 1551 by one Eerikki Simonpoika, nobleman.

[29] Matias Lassenpoika of Hietakylä *fl.*1639 (probably 'H' in the Hietakylä map [Fig 3]), whose allodial estate in Hietakylä seemingly was ¼ mantal, presumed son of one Lasse Erkinpoika, himself possibly son of Eerikki Simonpoika, who may have belonged to this branch. This genealogical reconstruction to connect to Simo is very weak.

[30] Because of later combinations, divisions and recombinations in the 1600s-1700s, it is difficult to reconstruct its area in hectares, (although I have attempted some reconstructions) but there is explicit evidence that the family expanded its Reitkalli possessions in the time of this Olavi. Previously it was not large, being perhaps $^1/_8$ mantal (nobleman Eerikki Olavinpoika in 1551). There are indications that its area might have been in the range of 50-100 hectares. After extensive recombinations, in 1618 (according to Krus 1618 p.83) this branch held $^3/_4$ mantal of allodial land in Reitkalli.

[31] Approximately a fourth in Hietakylä. Krus, (*op.cit.* 1618, p.83) records $^1/_8$ mantal, Hietakylä number 2/2, name possibly "Husgafvel". However, the branch's holding in Hietakylä was recorded as ¼ mantal in 1613 and ¼ mantal in 1662, and the estate was ¼ mantal in textual portions of the 1725 map. The fraction $^1/_8$ is not easily explicable as a "full" share.

[32] This is supposed to have been the original location of the manor of forefather Eerikki Lassenpoika in Reitkalli. According to Krus in 1618 (p.83), Hannes Petrinpoika Junkar that same year presented to him the document (DF, FMU no.1057, see footnote 6) that Eerikki Lassenpoika had received in 1396 from margrave Kaarle Ulvinpoika. After the Great Parcelling, this Näkkilä estate was about 97 hectares based on the apportionment figure of ¼ mantal which has been the same at least since 1618 (Krus, p.83). In 1594, two daughters of the family had brought their small shares ($^1/_{12}$ mantal, the figure mentioned in the 1688 Assizes) to another family. This estate was attestedly $^1/_3$ mantal in 1551 when Petteri Niilonpoika owned it. In the same year, 1551, records state another $^1/_3$ mantal altogether was held by a branch who were possibly cousins and co-heirs in this branch, implying there would have been (at least) $^2/_3$ mantal at the medieval origin of the branch (presumably the mythical Martti).

[33] Approximately a sixth in Hietakylä, named Junkkari säteri; the error-riddled Lagus edition of Krus (*op.cit.* 1618 p.83) records $^1/_6$ mantal. However, later the estate seems to have been ¼ mantal.

A $^{1}/_{3}$ mantal property of allodial land in Reitkalli village represents about a half of the inheritance from one of the two sons of Eerikki Lassenpoika, and a ¼ mantal property may represent similarly a half of the inheritance from one of these two original sons. Slight differences may arise from the methods used to assign original mantal quantities, and also from *eg* differences in expansion activities. A ¼ mantal property of allodial land in Hietakylä of Pampyöli village represents almost a half of the inheritance from one of the two sons of Eerikki Lassenpoika. The existence of a $^{1}/_{8}$ mantal property in Hietakylä is difficult to explain.

It appears therefore that the Junkar were probably not the only lineage to be descended from, and to have inherited from, the mythical Martti. Similarly, in Ville's branch there were probably one or two sub-branches other than just that of the admiral and dominus.

Having reached the conclusion that any other reconstruction of the inheritances originating from the notable Eerikki Lassenpoika leads to confusion and uncertainty, I have based this reconstruction on the tradition documented since at least 1688 that these two branches at least are descended from Eerikki Lassenpoika by two brothers. According to inheritance laws since the enactments by Birger the jarl (1260) and in line with custom in that region, brothers would have divided their ancestral landed inheritance equally between themselves. Thus the two earliest branches should have emerged initially each owning more or less the same worth of land both in Reitkalli and in Hietakylä. In addition it appears that the branch of Olavi Erkinpoika originally held only about half the worth of that held by the Junkar in the 1500s, and about half the worth of that held by the Vilken branch of the admiral and dominus. (Reconstruction of genealogies for the Olavi and Simo branches needs to be explored in a separate study).

Concerning the role of Salmenkylä and Pyöli in the reconstruction, as mentioned, one of these branches was traditionally held to be descended from an agnate named Martti, leading to the Junkar family in the 1600s. Other families may well have branched out of that line, but rather in earlier generations when they were not yet progeny of Aune Niilontytär of Poitsila, because no other branch held shares of those lands in Summa which attestedly belonged to her. Finally, as explained, one of the branches was claimed to be descended from an agnate apparently named Ville. This latter branch is distinguished by attestedly holding a large portion of lands in the village of Salmenkylä and the hamlet complex of Pyöli. According to tradition, presented as testimony in the High Court in 1625 and the Assizes in 1688, this branch led to Siffer Jussinpoika Vilken and thus also to his brother Eerikki. However other families may well have branched out of that line - also (as described below) an almost identical batch of holdings was held by the aristocratic lineage of Horn of Kankainen.

The worth and size of the batch held by the Horn of Kankainen was approximately similar to that held by the dominus Johannes branch. Both held estates in Salmenkylä and in Pyöli complex, as well as holding the usual elements of batches in Reitkalli and Hietakylä. This comparison between values and sizes of these two batches, is much more convincing than any quantitative comparison between the supposed two (or three) original agnatic branches from Eerikki Lassenpoika. [34]

It should be noted that "surnames" in Scandinavian-influenced Finnish culture of these centuries (late-medieval) are very unreliable indicators of unbroken agnatic descent. There are several examples in the 1400s-1500s nobility of Sweden and Western Finland where children of daughters took their name from their maternal family, even in cases where there was agnatic progeny from a maternal uncle to continue the same surname in unbroken male line. For example in the 1602 Oath of Fealty at Turku, a nobleman, presumably of one of these families, named Tahvana Tuomonpoika, who is occasionally known under the byname Vilken, was sealing as "Brandstaka" in his seal - two separate traditions which do not fit into a single agnatic descent. Trying to build up an agnatic kinship from the Ville branch to both dominus Johannes Vilken and the family of this Simo and family of Kouko (even if all of them had occasional males surnamed "Vilken"), also leads to inconsistency in inheritance patterns (specifically, too little land in Salmenkylä and the Pyöli complex) and is therefore suspect. Such an agnatic passage of the surname "Vilken" should not be presumed.

It is unfortunate that calculations based on the values and sizes of landed properties held by the above-mentioned branches from Eerikki Lassenpoika, and comparisons whether these two (or three) held similar-sized shares (as should be the case if they were descended from equal brothers) are inevitably relatively inexact. The comparison is much less solid than that between the similar-value batches of the Horn and the dominus Johannes Vilken branch. Thus, in the proposed reconstruction whereby these lineages of Junkar and Vilken are descended equally from Eerikki Lassenpoika, the landed properties provide only qualitative support, not validated by obvious quantitative values. The qualitative support is good, however, since all these branches held lands in those two different places, Hietakylä and Reitkalli, and there are plausible explanations why the quantities transpire as they do. The strongest evidence for these being equal branches from Eerikki is the fact that they so claimed in 1688 by using "an old essay" (whatever its real age was) - when such a common root in around 1400 was arguably still a relatively reliable piece of family knowledge.

Divisions of the allodial lands of Hietakylä and their inheritances, are a key to reconstructing the main descents from Eerikki Lassenpoika, who, being already lord of much of Reitkalli, acquired the entire Hietakylä of Pampyöli in 1396 (see the map, Fig 3).

[34] My own hypothesis about the Simo branch: they might have been a sub-branch of co-heirs of the branch of Olavi Erkinpoika (this is supported by the fraction values of the mantal figures in these two sub-branches, particularly as the denominator appears to support joint origin). The Salmenkylä holding of this branch appears relatively small compared to holdings of the Horn and dominus Johannes lineages. In Salmenkylä, there were several petty noble families apart from those descended from Eerikki Lassenpoika - for example, the families from the stem of "Brand" and "Brandstake". Such a combination of a modest portion of Eerikki Lassenpoika inheritance, together with a modest Salmenkylä property, could have arisen from a marriage between a "Brand" heir and an heir of a sub-branch from Eerikki Lassenpoika.



Fig 3. ***Hietakylä and its geographical context in the early 1700s (clip of a map drawn in 1725 by the surveyor Henrikki Richenberg.***
[digital image from MHA map G17 3/1, National Archive Institution of Finland, Helsinki]

The slots D, E, F, G, H represent the locations (caputs, residences and gardens) of the traditional five estates in Hietakylä as they were in around 1700. The location was a logistical hub and centre of its time, and had been since at least the 1300s. Even today, some boat quays are found on the shore near and to the west of D. The modern bus station of Hamina is located a little north of E (and/or F). Today, a small street named Meruksenpolku (the Merus Lane) goes through what in the early 1700s were gardens and yards of residences (manors) of D and E in Hietakylä. The Best Western Hotel of Hamina is located in the area of G. The original map has the village of Poitsila (not shown in this clip) west of Hietakylä (just over the water, ie Poitsila is on the western shore of the bay). The modern Sibelius Street in Hamina passes through what in 1700 were the northern parts of the gardens of Hietakylä. Parts of Salmenkylä are visible in the map northwest from Hietakylä. The parsonage (priest's manor) was east from Hietakylä (number 2 represents its residence, and 3 indicates some of its farmland or garden) - today, Hamina High School is located more or less on the spot of the historical priest's manor. The medieval stone church (still standing today) is marked as "kyrckia" on the map

Having now outlined some descents from the Eerikki Lassenpoika (*fl.*1396), it is important to state that I am against any "Adam fallacy", namely that *all* the local wealthy landowners and *all* the local nobles might have inherited *all* their lands from Eerikki. Such a construction hints too much of a false belief in a single common progenitor. It is implausible that the nobility in the region would have had no other sources of landed properties.[35] Others are bound to have established substantial landholdings in the same region, but in subsequent generations, such families would have intermarried. Thus if Eerikki's family were kin after a few generations with all other noble landowners in the region, that would include marriages of daughters, granddaughters, etc, to men of other families who held their properties in the region independently. In other words some properties should be presumed to be of origins other than from Eerikki.

In conclusion, there is considerable unsubstantiated speculation on what might have been inherited from Eerikki Lassenpoika. I suggest the following minimal criteria for proposing a reconstruction of inheritances from this notable gentleman:

1) the properties should have demonstrably belonged to Eerikki, and
2) the subsequent division of those properties should follow a pattern that is consistent with the inheritance laws and customs of that epoch.

3. Marriages and Maternal Roots of Kirsti of Salmenkylä

Kirsti of Salmenkylä is a genealogically fascinating and challenging character. Or possibly several characters, but I have concluded that she was one person.[36]

There is preserved copy of one document, dated 16 March 1573,[37] that is a summary of testimony received by the judge Svante Erkinpoika lord of Kiiala, district judge of Lapvesi. The relevant parts of the text state that in the 1520s, before *c.*1528, there was a division of inheritance from the (presumably long-deceased) nobleman Niklis Poijtz. The document says that his youngest daughter (or words to that effect, namely: third sister "*then tridie sijstren*") Matleena daughter of Niklis, received a certain landed property which in 1531 ("*schreff epter Christi bördh 1531*") was then

[35] In addition, if Eerikki Lassenpoika (*fl.*1396) had possessed half of the parish (as would be, had he been the source of all such properties and not merely that of Reitkalli and Hietakylä), he should have been clearly more visible in the events and documentation of his lifetime. We have no documented record of him other than three certificates of his two properties. A lord who had held "half a parish", such as five or more villages, should presumably have been mentioned in several other documents and narratives about the politics, warfare and transactions of those decades. Eerikki Lassenpoika's limited visibility indicates that he was not really a magnate, merely a manor-owner holding lands in a few different places in one local district only, those properties together being worth about one village perhaps.

[36] Kirsti's name is written in three different places in the 1573 document from the Poitsila copybook. In all three, the original has her spelt "-ir-", I was able to discern the dot upon the i in them. The same -ir- was then used in the printed edition by Reinhold Hausen, ed., *Bidrag till Finlands historia* (1917). Similarly, in the *flöte* rent documentation in Rolls of 1549, 1550, 1551 and 1552, she appears written with clear -ir- which I have ascertained from dots (see the 1551 example in Fig 4). On this basis her name in modern Finnish orthography should read: Kirsti

[37] Copybook of Poitsila 1463-1632, National Archives instution of Finland *[Kansallisarkisto],* Helsinki, collection: Topographica 2, Vehkalahti. Anthoni's (*op.cit.* 1970, p.358) material does not reveal who had become owner of that share of Lammi property by the late 1500s - certainly, none of Kirsti's even supposed family members are listed. By then they had probably sold their small share of Vanhakartano to others.

held by Matleena's daughter Kirsti and (presumably *jure uxoris*) Kirsti's then husband, the nobleman Jaakko Vundrank.[38] There were probably people still alive in 1573 who could remember events from around 1530, particularly property issues which had caused quarrels and would be remembered by the tenant farmers.

It follows that this lady Matleena Niilontytär of Poitsila was the daughter of Niklis Poitz (who was adult in 1463).[39] Her daughter Kirsti married (before 1531) Jaakko Vundrank. The same 1573 document also mentions Aune Niilontytär of Poitsila,[40] as heiress of a property in Summa village and as second daughter of Niklis Poitz ("*andre sijstren Agniss*"), and thus the (presumably older) sister of Matleena.

The works of Blomstedt,[41] dealing with the prosopography of the lineage of Horn, reveal several documents from the 1500s which attest to the following:

1) justiciar Klaus Henrikinpoika, lord of Joensuu in Halikko and of Kankainen in Masku, left a widow whose name was Kirsti;[42]

2) this justiciar Klaus' youngest son (the knight Henrikki) was half-brother to his older paternal half-siblings, and therefore not born of the first (deceased) wife of justiciar Klaus;

3) knight Henrikki's mother's name was Kirsti;

4) knight Henrikki's mother (Kirsti) lived for well more than a decade after justiciar Klaus' death which took place in the early 1520s.

Knight Henrikki Laavunpoika, lord of Kankainen (*c.*1512-1595) was to become the founding father of the branch of Kankainen of the prominent family of the Horn – in around the 17th century the branch produced as many as five field marshals and several other luminaries such as the Premier, count Arvi Bernhard Horn (1664-1742). So, this knight Henrikki Laavunpoika, lord of Kankainen, etc, had a lady named Kirsti as his mother. According to several accounts[43] Kirsti, the widow of justiciar Klaus, resided predominantly in Haapaniemi manor in Kisko, south-western Finland. There are strong indications in the documentation that the knight Henrikki was born *c.*1512,

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38 Prosopographical information on Jaakko Vundrank, fiefholder of Elimäki, was given by priest Tapio Vähäkangas, "Uusmaalainen rälssisukusikermä", *Genos* 70 (1999): 2, p.100.

39 As an aside, Eric Anthoni, "Creutzar och Poytzar", *Genos* 22 (1951), pp.11-12, and Vähäkangas (1999), p.101 have argued that the heraldry of the later generations of the Poitz lineage (arms lodged in the House of Knights and Nobility, Stockholm, noble family no.246) was adopted from their maternal relatives in Pernaja, Finland, sometime after the 1520s, which would mean that the earliest males of the Poitz family (Niklis Poitz, 1463, and his sons) were not using the specific cross pattern present in later Poitz arms - the Poitz heraldry in the 1400s would have been something different and is unknown. There is nothing in the records or early heraldry of the family to suggest a Scots origin for the early Poitzes or their ancestors.

40 Sjöström, *Aune Niilontytär 'Poitz' ja korjausta Vehkalahden rälssin sukutauluihin* (2010).

41 Two works by Kaarlo Blomstedt, in particular his doctoral dissertation: Blomstedt, *Henrik Klaunpoika Horn - Ajankuvaus, I. Kustaa Vaasan ja Juhana herttuan palveluksessa*, University of Helsinki (1921), 544 pp.

42 Klaus definitely died before 1524 and probably in the summer of 1520: Kaarlo Blomstedt, "Horn-suvun alkuhistoria - piirteitä Suomen aateliston oloista keskiajan loppupuolella", *Historiallinen Arkisto* 27 (1918): 5, pp.125-126.

43 Including Anthoni (*op.cit.* 1970) pp.173 & 366; Blomstedt (*op.cit.* 1918) pp.132-3; Blomstedt (*op.cit.* 1921) pp.9-15 & 32.

and surely no later than 1513. Moreover, a weak sort of testimony[44] not itself decisive proof but at least indicative, says that the justiciar Klaus had been married to a lady who owned land in Salmenkylä (Römspyy).

In trying to discern the key evidence from a staggering number of archive records regarding compliance with cavalry service obligations, and concerning payments to the crown, the following details emerge for the Vehkalahti region from the 1530s to 1580s.[45] Certain lands (mostly allodial) scattered in the village of Salmenkylä, the village complex of Pyöli (Rolanspyy, Husupyöli, Pyöli, Töytäri, Teinpyöli, Sivatti), the village of Reitkalli, and the Hietakylä of Pampyöli, were held (and/or obligations fulfilled) as follows:

1) For some years in the 1530s and 1540s (up to 1547), by Jaakko Vundrank;

2) in the late 1540s and the early years of the 1550s, by a lady named Kirsti;

3) in the mid- and late-1550s, by a nobleman named Henrik Laavunpoika;

4) in some years particularly in the 1560s, by a nobleman named Tyni Jaakonpoika Vundrank,[46] although some land listed above in points 1-3 was still held by Henrik Laavunpoika (and not by this Tyni); from 1584 we hear no more about Tyni;

5) sometime later, in the 1580s, these lands were again all held by the knight Henrik Laavunpoika.

Many of these records had already been retrieved from archives and the findings listed in publications by Rosén (*op.cit.* 1920 & 1936); Anthoni (*op.cit.* 1970, particularly cavalry-related records) and Korhonen (*op.cit.* 1981, particularly land registers). The division of inheritance in 1614 between the heirs of the knight Henrikki Laavunpoika includes mentions[47] of the following estates owned in Vehkalahti: Reitkalli, Römspyy (Salmenkylä), Skinnarpakka (this is the Hietakylä estate) and the Pyöli lands.

When studying this data it is important to remember that in Finland at that time landed inheritance was partible (particularly between sons, where there was full equal partibility) and there was no legal system based on primogeniture. Cavalry service was considered a manly operation, so there is nothing strange in, for example, a son being listed during his mother's lifetime in the records of cavalry service obligations.

Up to the death of Kirsti's second husband, Jaakko Vundrank, the properties belonging to his wife Kirsti were recorded in his name. This suggests that Jaakko died

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[44] *ie* a mention in a genealogical work by Olavi Laavunpoika concocted *c.*1590, see *eg* Blomstedt (*op.cit.* 1918), p.131; Blomstedt (*op.cit.* 1921), p.11.

[45] One particularly revealing set of records concerning succession to inheritance in early, under-recorded decades is the contractual rents received by the crown from holders of "small" *flöte* pastures in the tax-exempt allodium of Pyöli-Salmenkylä, but from which pastures there was an annual payment. In 1543, 1544, 1546 and 1547 it was paid by Jaakko Vundrank, in 1549, 1550, 1551 and 1552 by lady Kirsti, and in 1554, 1555, 1556, 1557 and 1558 by Henrikki Laavunpoika. *Rolls* in collections of National Archives institution of Finland*, [Kansallisarkisto]*, Helsinki, series: Voudintilit (Older Accounts). The *Rolls* for 1545, 1548 & 1553 of the relevant bailiwick do not seemingly survive in the archive. *Flöte* rents in three of the thirteen extant Rolls were cited by Rosén (*op.cit.* 1920), pp.56-7.

[46] Tyni is a name variant coming from the latin Antonius, and has other renditions such as Anton, Tynni and Tönis.

[47] Blomstedt (*op.cit.* 1921), p.11.

sometime in the late 1540s, before 1549, the useful approximation being *c.*1548. After 1547 we hear no more about Jaakko (implying his death). In some records it was the widowed Kirsti who was listed as the owner. In principle, widows did not inherit from their husbands. The representation of her own property generally reverted to the widow when her husband was no longer alive to represent her.

Henrikki Laavunpoika (born 1513 at latest) was an adult at this time (1530s). But, if his mother (whose name is attested as Kirsti) had not yet died, he was not the rightful owner of his mother's lands, unless something was given to him as advance inheritance. However for some purposes[48] his name may already have been in use, despite the properties belonging to his still-living mother. The name of Kirsti (alive in 1552) is not recorded in documents of this region from the year 1554, so she probably died *c.*1553.

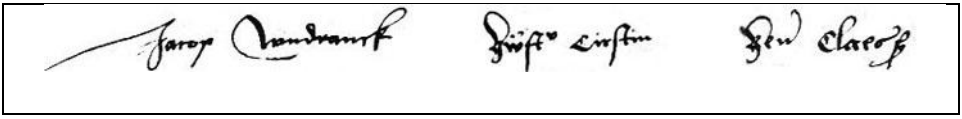


Fig 4. ***Old penmanship samples of clerks from the mid-1500s in Finland:*** *how the Swedish-speaking clerks wrote the names of**:***

1) *Jaakko Vundrank, in the 1547 Roll of Land Rents and Accounts of the Lappee bailiwick, p.33 (KA 5013);*[49]
2) *lady Kirsti, in the 1551 Roll of Land Rents and Accounts of the Lappee bailiwick, p.37 (KA 5041);*
3) *knight Henrik Laavunpoika, the 1554 Roll of Land Rents and Accounts of the Lappee bailiwick, p.26 (KA 5081).*

If Tyni Vundrank was born in about the late 1530s, he reached his adulthood only in the 1560s (or possibly late 1550s). It is quite plausible that an undivided group of properties legally held jointly by two co-owners (such as brothers) of whom the younger is under age, could be documented under the name of the elder brother so long as the other was under age. After all, these are records about 1) who paid certain routine payments to the crown; and 2) the one who had sent cavalrymen to be inspected - they are not court records about the lawful heirs of the estates. By the 1560s, Tyni Vundrank, whose occasionally recorded patronymic shows him as son of Jaakko, and who is listed as holder of some properties (but not all) held earlier by a lady named Kirsti, had surely reached his adulthood. It is only to be expected that he held such properties at this time, as documented about landholdings in Vehkalahti. From the 1573 document, we know for certain of a married couple in 1531 where the wife was named Kirsti and the husband was named Jaakko Vundrank.

Several other records indicate that in the 1560s-70s Tyni Vundrank lived in Vehkalahti where the properties were located, while the knight Henrikki Laavunpoika (knighted in 1561 at the coronation of king Eric XIV) was resident in a variety of prestigious places, being high in the military and administrative hierarchy, and at various times commanding fortresses and/or armies in Estonia and Finland, as well as being the king's and the duke's governor over much of Finland.

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[48] Such as cavalry service obligations.

[49] KA = National Archives Institution of Finland, Helsinki.
These examples are from the listings of those who, in various years, paid the contractual rent to the crown on behalf of the one and same 'flöte' pasture in Vehkalahti.

Perhaps the two men had made a division between themselves,[50] or alternatively perhaps they still held the properties jointly but local representation fell under the jurisdiction of whichever joint holder resided there. In any case, it should be no surprise if, on occasion, Tyni Vundrank acted on behalf of the absent knight Henrikki Laavunpoika as his representative, and possibly also in matters where Tyni had a joint stake from his own property rights.

The records from the 1560s indicate that Tyni Vundrank held more than half of the properties of Kirsti in Vehkalahti, while the knight Henrikki Laavunpoika held less than half.[51] This accords with my personal familiarity since childhood with the villages in that region during the late 20th century, and the area covered by each. I surmise this uneven division in Vehkalahti may be explicable by all of Tyni's landed inheritance from Kirsti being concentrated in Vehkalahti, while knight Henrikki's portion would have included some of Kirsti's lands elsewhere, such as her dower holdings in Haapaniemi in Kisko, close to knight Henrikki's paternal inheritance of Kankainen in Masku, southwestern Finland. In this way, the shares of these two men from the late Kirsti's properties might well have been of equal worth. I am not aware of any documentation to indicate that Tyni was ever holder of landed property in Haapaniemi of Kisko, or in Vanhakartano of Lammi. Knight Henrikki is clearly indicated at times as holder of Haapaniemi. Documentation from the 1520s records clearly that lady Kirsti, widow of justiciar Klaus, held lands in Haapaniemi, and as already mentioned there are indications that Haapaniemi was lady Kirsti's main residence from the 1520s to 1540s.[43] Another explanation could be that the two men held their properties in Vehkalahti under joint names but for most transactions (*eg* payments to local administration) in the Vehkalahti region Tyni acted on their joint behalf.

Tyni Vundrank died presumably sometime before 1584. If he died without legitimate progeny of his own, his heir was then lawfully his closest living relative(s). If the parents were already dead (Jaakko Vundrank and Kirsti were surely both dead before then), then Tyni's blood sibling(s) were his heirs, according to the law of that epoch. It is noteworthy that the properties once held by Tyni Vundrank, are afterwards found under the name of Henrikki Laavunpoika (d.1595) - and no other owner is recorded except knight Henrikki's identifiable progeny, until later, between 1614 and 1618 when an attested exchange of lands transferred some of these outside knight Henrikki's family. There is no likely explanation for this transfer of Tyni's attested properties, unless knight Henrikki Laavunpoika was indeed the closest living blood relative of Tyni Vundrank.

My conclusion from these documents is therefore that:

1) the properties in this study were *suo jure* owned by Kirsti, and not at all by her husband Jaakko Vundrank;

2) both knight Henrik Laavunpoika and nobleman Tyni Vundrank were sons of one and the same Kirsti, by different fathers, with perhaps a twenty year age gap between them;[52]

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50 *cf* also Love Kurtén, "Mathis von der Sahe", *Genos* 50 (1979).

51 Henrikki certainly held the land of Töytärinhovi, for example - the Silver Tax Roll of 1571 makes this clear - even at a time when Tyni is attested as holder of many of the other properties held a few years earlier by Henrikki himself, and held before that by Kirsti. In the 1571 Silver Tax Roll, Tyni is recorded as holder of the residence in Salmenkylä, and some other farms.

52 I have not encountered any near-contemporary document to confirm explicitly that Henrikki and Tyni were half-brothers. I have merely concluded it from the circumstantial evidence.

3) Tyni Vundrank died without issue and knight Henrik inherited from him as his closest blood relative.

This reconstruction then leaves no room for Kirsti, the mother of knight Henrik, being a different person from the Kirsti (*fl*.1552), Tyni Vundrank's predecessor in property ownership. This inevitably means that knight Henrik's mother, lady Kirsti, dowager of Haapaniemi, was the daughter of Matleena of Poitsila - the lady attested in 1573 as third daughter of Niklis Poitz. Justiciar Klaus, Kirsti's husband, was certainly dead by 1524 at the latest, and his widow was free to marry Jaakko Vundrank before *c*.1531, the year when Jaakko Vundrank is first recorded as husband to a Kirsti. Incidentally, Jaakko Vundrank, owner of an estate in Kulsiala, fiefholder of Elimäki, is not attested in the entire kingdom of Sweden (nor presumably anywhere else) before 20 Sept 1529 when he acted as a witness.[53] As flöte pasture holder in Vehkalahti, Jaakko Vundrank is last mentioned in 1547. Having thus concluded that it was the Kirsti from the 1573 document who (in her first marriage) was the biological mother of knight Henrik (born in 1513 at latest), this gives some limits to the chronology from Niklis Poitz (*fl*.1463) to Kirsti: Kirsti would have been born before *c.*1495. This is still consistent with Kirsti giving birth to Tyni Vundrank in the 1530s. Matleena (Kirsti's mother) would have been born before *c.*1475. Matleena was the third and youngest daughter of Niklis, who himself was clearly adult in 1463. Justiciar Klaus was recorded near this place for official purposes, in the province of Viipuri, in 1511.[54] He was advisor and helper to the recently widowed chatelaine Gunilla Bese, the formidable dowager margravine of Viipuri, who at the time held the government of the province of Viipuri. The date 1511 fits with his second marriage to Kirsti, which produced the attested son Henrikki in *c*.1512.

Blomstedt (1918) concludes from the documented evidence that the second marriage of the rich justiciar Klaus to lady Kirsti did not add significantly to his wealth. This has led to speculation that the second wife was from a relatively poor background. On the other hand, I have encountered a strongly voiced opinion, in informal discussions, that a mighty man like justiciar Klaus, at the height of his power and wealth, would not have married anyone other than a rich lady. I would make the following comments:

1) justiciar Klaus (born *c.*1445) was already over sixty years old at the time of his second marriage, and elderly men in those times, even if very rich and powerful, occasionally married second and later wives from a few notches down the social and wealth scale. Given their age and position, the families of such men were not in a position to prevent such a marriage. Blomstedt essentially agrees with this possibility.

2) although the reconstructed lady Kirsti was not a property heiress to compare with the riches of the justiciar Klaus, still the properties reconstructed as *suo jure* possessions of lady Kirsti represent relatively good wealth for a woman in those centuries in Finland where the nobility generally were not wealthy. Daughters of nobility generally inherited more or less valuable effects, not

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However, Rosén (*op.cit.* 1936), p.284, Korhonen (*op.cit.* 1981), pp.554, 557 & 560, and Oksanen (*op.cit.* 2003), p.39 mention Henrikki and Tyni as half-brothers - perhaps they had found explicit documentary evidence for such a kinship, but if so they do not cite it.

53 Ludvig Larsson, ed., *Stockholms stads tänkebok 1524–1529* (1929), p.294, having the name as "Vunnendrank". Some others with the same byname then appear in the mid-1500s in Finland, as presented for example by Koskinen-Nissilä, "Kirjuri Tuomas Pentinpojan ura ja sukupiiri" *Genos* 81 (2010): 4, pp.134, 136 & 141, who reports a Lauri Vundrank.

54 Blomstedt (*op.cit.* 1918), p.119.

manors which tended to pass to sons. Only very rare women in Finland in that epoch would have held equal or bigger inheritance than that reconstructed here for Kirsti *suo jure*. Justiciar Klaus may well have regarded this marriage as a very good one in terms of available wealth. Thus there is nothing implausible in the marriage of the elderly Klaus to the Kirsti reconstructed in this article. This all leaves us with the intriguing question, who was Kirsti's father?

In summary, Kirsti (b.bef.*c.*1495, d.*c.*1553) was married twice[55]: firstly (*c.*1511 at latest) to justiciar Klaus Henrikinpoika, lord of Joensuu and Kankainen (who died in about summer 1520); secondly (before *c.*1531) to Jaakko Vundrank (first recorded 1529, died *c.*1548). This Kirsti had a younger son by her second husband: nobleman Tyni Vundrank (born *c.*1530s; d.bef.1584); and an elder son by her first husband: knight Henrikki Laavunpoika (born *c.*1512; d.1595).

4. Paternal Family Connections of Kirsti of Salmenkylä

One way to gain reasonable information about her father, paternal roots and father's collateral relatives, is to analyse the properties that Kirsti inherited. Lady Kirsti's paternal genealogy is both fascinating and challenging, although unfortunately its reconstruction is, if anything, less certain than that of her own marriages and her mother.

First we should remember that in Finland in that epoch, landed inheritance was partible (in particular, full and equal partibility between sons) and primogeniture was not a legal process.

Various records[56] of Vehkalahti, as I already mentioned, give a picture of lady Kirsti's landed properties in Vehkalahti. This study argues that these properties were *suo jure* owned by Kirsti, not her husband Jaakko Vundrank. This set of lands, specifically where they were located and their size and worth, inevitably reveals something of her father. Broadly speaking, there were lands scattered throughout important areas of Vehkalahti in the village of Salmenkylä, the village complex of Pyöli hamlets and the villages of Reitkalli and Hietakylä.[57] The knight Henrik Laavunpoika and nobleman Tyni Vundrank were the successor landholders after lady Kirsti.[58]

Who was Kirsti's father?

I have so far found no documented mention of her father's name, nor explicit reference to his possessions or origins. Everything is therefore a reconstruction based on circumstantial evidence. However, it appears to me that, without complications and inconsistencies, Matleena, Kirsti's mother, was not the source from which Kirsti inherited the Vehkalahti properties, for the following reasons. Matleena's attested

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55 In this summary of her two marriages, Rosén (*op.cit.* 1936), p.283; Kurtén (*op.cit.* 1979), p.6; Korhonen (*op.cit.* 1981), pp.84 & 554; and Oksanen (*op.cit.* 2003), p.51, all agree. Blomstedt (*op.cit.*1918), p.132, and (*op.cit.*1921), p.11 reports that one old genealogy (said to be extant as preserved in Uppsala university library; Blomstedt used notes in Kustavi Grotenfelt's collection) mentions justiciar Klaus' wife having also married a Vundrank.

56 Cavalry service obligations and payments to the crown (= government).

57 Records discussed by Rosén (*op.cit.* 1920, 1936), Anthoni (*op.cit.* 1970) and Korhonen (*op.cit.* 1981).

58 See also Kurtén (*op.cit.* 1979).

inheritance from her father was, according to the 1573 document mentioned above,[59] quite distinct and in another place, Lammi, which is not even near Vehkalahti. If Matleena had inherited from her own parents extensive lands such as those listed as Kirsti's in Vehkalahti, then:

1) some trace that they were part of Matleena's share should be visible in the 1573 document which lists all landed properties divided as the inheritance of Niklis Poitz - in fact there is no such indication;

2) comparable landed properties should be evident in the possessions of Matleena's siblings (who were named in the 1573 document), but neither their careers nor properties, nor the property holdings of their known heirs, indicate anything of the sort;

3) because Kirsti is not recorded as owning any properties or visible wealth other than these plus that in Lammi, then if all had passed from Matleena, Kirsti would have received no visible inheritance from her father - which would be unlikely and inexplicable. A noble-born heiress such as Matleena would almost certainly not have been married off to a man lacking property and wealth.

These properties held by Kirsti, according to documentation of the 1540s and so on, have the feel of hereditary properties. They are located in tightly parcelled areas where other tax-exempt (petty) noblemen held almost all the rest as allodial properties, as were Kirsti's. Being aware of the udal-law right of a seller's relatives to block any sale of hereditary land, and to reverse such sales in favour of relatives, as well as to block any bigger testamentary disposition in favour of strangers in blood, the likelihood of such a large batch of hereditary lands passing as an entity to a buyer is quite low. In addition, such a purchase itself would usually be referred to in the following decades and even centuries, supported by documentation, but there is no mention of any earlier purchase of this batch before the land-exchange documents of 1614-1618, which transaction was indeed referred to several times later. Looking at the specific composition of Kirsti's properties in Vehkalahti, a very detailed listing of these properties (and properties in the same region held by others) was made in the early 1600s, at the time of knight Henrikki's grandson. The details include the precise apportionment figures (mantal – see footnote 16) of each estate in the different villages.

Another noble lineage held properties in all these four locations, very similar to Kirsti's figures of inheritance. When two individuals own the same amount and worth of land in four separate specific places (Hietakylä, Salmenkylä, Pyöli hamlet complex, Reitkalli), then this implies that the two property batches originated in a division between two brothers sometime previously. Such a distribution cannot originate from a division between brother and sister, because a sister was entitled to only a half of what her brother received. The division of landed property in equal halves is therefore not possible if one party was a sister; it had to be two brothers.[60] However, females could inherit the whole estate of one of the two brothers if that brother had no other surviving progeny. Moreover, an old judicial principle of real estate and land-survey law in Finland, which is followed by land-surveyors and executors of estates, states that in the absence of a specific agreement to the contrary, each party to a parcelling of land among themselves "*should receive portions of soil of every kind*". If an inheritance is located in four different areas, the principle naturally leads to an outcome whereby

[59] See footnote 37, p.440, above.

[60] Or, if having no brothers at all, division in equal halves between two sisters - a rare occurrence since real estate tended to pass to male heirs within these local gentry.

each party to the division receives about equal share in each of the four places, had they not agreed otherwise between themselves.

As both lineages emerge from obscurity in the early 1500s already holding these two batches of land, the conclusion has to be that the division of lands was in the medieval period. We need therefore to examine the other lineage whose properties so closely parallel those of lady Kirsti.

This was in fact the lineage which produced the dominus Johannes Vilken (born presumably before *c.*1535, *fl.*1561, attestedly alive from th 1560s to the early 1580s, d.*c*.1583). He is mentioned as landholder in the same documentation as knight Henrikki and nobleman Tyni. Even more clearly his two sons are listed as holders of a practically identical parallel set of properties in the early 1600s, by when the records are somewhat more systematic and provide more detailed information about the properties. Dominus Johannes' family residence was in Salmenkylä. His close kinsman, admiral Siffred Jussinpoika Vilken, had held lands throughout these same villages, while dominus Johannes' two known sons, Siffer and Eerikki, subsequently held the same lands, as can be found in more detailed records.

It should be observed that both the dominus Johannes branch and the Horn of Kankainen held estates in Salmenkylä and in Pyöli complex, in addition to holding the usual Eerikki-Lassenpoika-root elements of batches in Reitkalli and Hietakylä. The batch held by the Horn of Kankainen was approximately similar in worth and size to that of the dominus Johannes branch. This comparison between values and sizes of the two batches, is much more solid than any comparison of quantities between the supposed original branches from Eerikki Lassenpoika. Rosén[61] drew attention to how well the dominus Johannes Vilken and the Horn properties tally against each other. In Reitkalli, Kirsti's property appears to have been ¼ mantal (later this became Kitunen farm) and the original estate of the admiral's reconstructed father Johannes appears to have been ¼ mantal (later this became the basis of Siikvartti farm). In Hietakylä, both obviously held one manor apiece (one Skinnarpakka, the other might have been Vilkkilä), although to reconstruct their formal mantal figures back to the year 1500 from the effects of the 1720s and later confiscations for the Hamina fortifications, feels a bit uncertain, it being merely an educated guess and reconstruction that both in Hietakylä were precisely ¼ mantal each in 1500. In Pukkipyöli, *ie* Husupyöli of the Pyöli complex, both clearly held similar (and neighbouring) estates (the Kirsti lineage held the later Kirilä and Siffer son of the dominus held Läätilä, both of $^{1}/_{6}$ mantal). In Teinpyöli-Sivatti(-etc) of Pyöli complex, the numerical data is a bit uncertain but both held land of several farms (Töytärinhovi, the estate of Kirsti's descendants came to comprise ¼ mantal). Finally, in Salmenkylä, both appear originally to have held ½ mantal apiece.

I conclude that there were at one point two brothers, one of whom was a paternal ancestor of Kirsti, with the other being a forefather of dominus Johannes Vilken.

Because dominus Johannes Vilken's lineage was descended,[62] via the mythical 'little' Ville (Vilken), from Eerikki Lassenpoika (*fl.*1396), there is a limit back in time when the two dividing brothers must have lived. Eerikki Lassenpoika is attested as holder of lands in Reitkalli and Hietakylä, but not in Salmenkylä nor in Pyöli complex, and among those other branches which, according to the 1688 record, claimed descent from this Eerikki, there are branches with no holdings in Salmenkylä and Pyöli

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61 Rosén (*op.cit.* 1936), pp.281-282.

62 According to their assurance to the High Court in 1625 and according to narrative recorded in Assizes in 1688.

complex, while they all held some pieces of Reitkalli and Hietakylä (as well as other unrelated holdings inherited through their own female lines etc). The other traditionally accepted agnatic branch, the Junkar, did not hold lands in Salmenkylä nor in Pyöli complex - there is not even a suspicion for any Salmenkylä-Pyöli landowner to have belonged to this branch. And the rather questionable Olavi Husgafvel branch did not hold lands in Salmenkylä or in the Pyöli (although a reconstruction can be made where cousins from the same branch held some smaller property in Salmenkylä - but still not in the Pyölies).

This means those other branches must have started a generation or more after Eerikki, and then there should be a Vilken-branch forefather who (alone among his brothers and/or cousins) acquired a remarkable group of lands specifically in Salmenkylä and the Pyöli complex. Only in a generation subsequent to this Vilken forefather would the two brothers emerge whose descents lead, one to Kirsti of Salmenkylä and the other to dominus Johannes Vilken.

Matleena of Poitsila was born before *c.*1475. Her husband, Kirsti's father, would typically have been a little older, or at least the same age. I suggest he may have been born around 1470. It is not possible to know exactly when such a forefather lived, but I suggest that 'little' Ville (*ie* Vilken of the aetiological myth, as referred to in 1688) must have lived in the 1400s, if he ever existed.

There is a record in 1529 of a prominent man, presumably mature at the time, Johannes son of little Ville ("*Jens Welchensen*") coming from this place. So there was at least one "little Ville" who had a son *c.*1450 at the earliest and possibly much later. However this is not to say that there was only one little Ville in the 1400s - there were for sure one or two in the late 1500s-early 1600s, so the name was recurrent in different generations. This Vilken (father of the man of 1529) also seems too late to have been son of Eerikki Lassenpoika (*fl.*1383). Admiral Siffred Jussinpoika was probably born in the 1510s, and dominus Johannes in the early 1530s. Their father would have been born in about the 1480s. It does not really matter whether the mythical little Ville was Eerikki Lassenpoika's son (1st generation) or grandson (2nd generation) because there is nothing further to fit into this Vilken lineage in the 1400s.

In terms of this reconstruction, one of Ville's own separate branch, possibly himself, acquired the lands in Salmenkylä and the Pyöli complex in addition to the existing ancestral lands in Reitkalli and Hietakylä. The brothers who divided these lands in four different places between themselves were presumably descendants of that person, and just possibly their father was the eponymous mythical little Ville himself.

In conclusion, based on the landed properties, the husband of Matleena and (most importantly) father of Kirsti, was the brother (or alternatively nephew or great-nephew via a brother) of a man whose branch led after one or a few generations to dominus Johannes Vilken.

Would Matleena of Poitsila have married such a man? It is very plausible that a daughter of Niklis Poitz should be assigned by her family to marry a descendant of Eerikki Lassenpoika, lord of Reitkalli and Hietakylä for the following reasons:

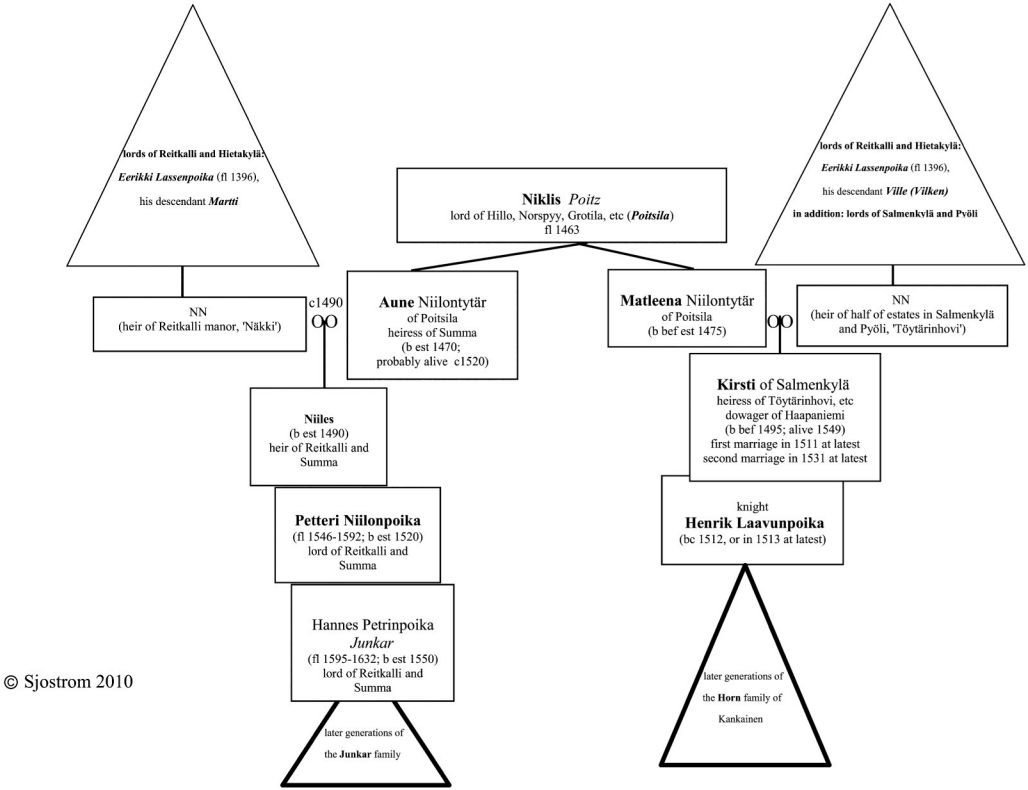
1) there is a precedent in another case around the same time - Aune Niilontytär of Poitsila (whom I estimate was born *c.*1470, and died, possibly a long time, after the division of Poitsila inheritance in the 1520s)[63] second daughter of the same Niklis Poitz, married a descendant of Eerikki Lassenpoika. Based on

[63] Sjöström *op.cit.* 2010 (footnote 40).

the landed properties owned by her descendants, her husband was heir of the Näkki estate, *ie* the manor of Reitkalli, and a portion of Hietakylä. They became ancestors of the Junkar lineage (as shown, *inter alia*, by the Junkar being already holders of Aune's property, Toikka of Summa, when records emerge in the mid-1500s). Petteri Niilonpoika of Reitkalli and Summa, the attested father of Hannes Petrinpoika Junkar, was most likely the paternal grandson of Aune[63] and certainly was her heir in some way.

2) Niklis Poitz was a recent arrival in this area, being a vassal of the Danish king and of Pomeranian extraction. He appears to have established a good estate for his family in this district only after the mid-1400s (c1457-1463); while various branches descended from Eerikki Lassenpoika were entrenched as the upper class of the region, their forefather Eerikki having held substantial landed properties there since 1383 and 1396. Eerikki's descendants were in a position to provide local influence and relationships. On their part they presumably desired to marry daughters of other nobles with good prospects of inheritance (and/or dowry). The Poitz family presumably benefited from forming alliances with the local upper class, and males of that class were practically the only ones in the region with sufficient wealth to offer good marriage placements for the Poitz daughters.

Thus my suggested husband for Matleena is totally plausible. Fig 5 attempts to illustrate the symmetry between marriages of the attested sisters Aune and Matleena if this reconstruction of the roots of Matleena's husband holds.



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Fig 5. ***Descent of the Junkar and Horn families from the Poitz family***

When Kirsti's paternal root is reconstructed in this way, then there is no necessity for the Horn family itself (justiciar Klaus Henrikinpoika) to be descended from nobles of Vehkalahti. It suffices that Kirsti is so descended. My view is that justiciar Klaus' own lineage could not have preserved the unique set of allodial lands of comparable sizes in four different places in such a compact package up to justiciar Klaus; the lands would have been dispersed through the generations of the lords of Joensuu and their siblings during the 1400s. Similarly, the lords of Joensuu were too early to have been able to get a share of that combination of lands in these four different places: the combination (including Salmenkylä and Pyölies) was formed only after Eerikki Lassenpoika's (*fl*.1396) generation, at the earliest for one of his sons. Thus a forefather of the Joensuu (Horn) family as holder of these lands in the 1300s was chronologically impossible.[64] I conclude that any model suggesting that these lands came as a complete set to knight Henrikki from his father, justiciar Klaus and his patrilineage, is an unwarranted example of the patriarchal fallacy.

There is no contemporary or near-contemporary documentation that the lords of Joensuu ever held property in Vehkalahti prior to justiciar Klaus' second marriage to Kirsti.[65] Their earlier generations (such as Olavi Matinpoika and his son Henrikki Ollinpoika) are prominent enough to have several contemporary attestations,[66] in all of which they are located in southwestern Finland, far away from Vehkalahti. Also there is no contemporary or near-contemporary documentation to suggest that any estates in Vehkalahti were given by justiciar Klaus to his wife. Rather, Kirsti as his widow held at least portions of Haapaniemi in Kisko in southwestern Finland, indicating that the dower[67] from Klaus to Kirsti contained some rights to Haapaniemi, rather than Vehkalahti.[64]

The first name of Kirsti's father has to remain inconclusive. However, looking at the literature we find the following. The name "Kirsti Jaakontytär" which some sources assign to this lady, may be a confusion arising from any of the following:

1) another, genuinely attested Kirsti Jaakontytär who was the maternal grandmother of justiciar Klaus' first wife,[68] and, presumably still in the late 1400s, dowager lady of the manor of Haapaniemi in Kisko, which was where the Kirsti of this article lived during her Kankainen marriage (starting from 1511 at the latest) and her widowhood after Klaus; – or

2) another real, attested Kirsti Jaakontytär (Kirsti Krumme) who was the wife of knight Henrikki's nephew and contemporary, admiral Klaus Horn, 1st Baron of Joensuu; – or

3) the name of this Kirsti's own second husband, Jaakko [Jaakko Vundrank].

Anrep[69] (very unreliable on this matter) mentions a nobleman named Jaakko Petrinpoika as Kirsti's father, seemingly based on the genealogist Rasmus

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64 This is contrary to a proposal which Rosén (*op.cit.* 1936, pp.284 & 288) advanced - without solid proof as Rosén himself admitted. "Morning gift" (dower) had already been suggested by Blomstedt (*op.cit.* 1921, p.13; *cf* however criticism made by Kurtén (*op.cit.* 1979).

65 Compare also the findings of Kurtén (*op.cit.* 1979).

66 Blomstedt (*op.cit.* 1918), pp.20-30, 33 & 47-55.

67 Finnish: *huomenlahja* ["morning gift"]

68 According to Eric Anthoni & Hans Gillingstam, *Äldre Svenska Frälsesläkter* I:3 (1989), p.231.

69 Gabriel Anrep, *Svenska Adelns Ättar-taflor*, vol.2 (1861), p.293. Anrep was a notable genealogist. He took on the task of publishing genealogies based on the stem table collections of the Swedish House of Knights and Nobility. Anrep himself was essentially a true scholar

Ludvigson.[70] Blomstedt (1918) cited Anrep and Rasmus without giving it much credence. Another source from 1494 attested a Jaakko Wilken/Wilkens in Narva in the eastern part of the Gulf of Finland,[71] who was probably quite different from Kirsti's actual father. I emphasise therefore that any naming of Kirsti's father as Jaakko and her paternal grandfather as Petteri is highly suspect, and should be treated with great caution. In the reconstruction shown below (Table I) I have therefore placed these names in parentheses.

Another likely piece of information about the father of lady Kirsti can be derived from a reconstruction of how the heirs were entitled to the *c.*1530s sales proceeds of the Vehaisten rälssitila.[72] The powerful nobleman Iivari Jaakkimanpoika Fleming purchased rights to this estate from its three catalogued heirs. The share of Henrik Erlandinpoika, lord of Kärkinen (*fl.*1537; d.bef.1549, born presumably sometime in the last two decades of the 1400s), was as if he was descended from a brother of the earlier owner (dominus Niiles Byskal, nobleman, catholic curate of Taivassalo, *fl.*1480-1497),[73] while the shares of Eerikki Skalm and lady Kirsti were as if they descended from two sisters of the same earlier owner Niiles: Eerikki and Kirsti received shares which were worth the same, while Henrik Erlandinpoika's share was about twice that size. This earlier owner Niiles Byskal must have been born *c.*1450 at the latest and could have been born as early as *c.*1420. Lady Kirsti's father's likely birth date (around the 1460s) fits with the concept that his own mother could have been sister of Niiles. This cannot easily have come from Kirsti's mother Matleena, because among all the identified descendants of the Poitz, Kirsti is the only heir of the property. Had Matleena been the source of the right to that property, then her siblings (and their successors) would presumably been heirs too, but there is no sign of any other identified Poitz descendants in this inheritance. The restricted number of attested heirs sharing the proceeds in *c.*1530s, as well as the chronology of Niiles byskal himself, is an indication that not very many generations lay between the siblings of the childless Niiles Byskal and his 1530s heirs - the need for three generations in most of these branches is already quite a high number considering

who would have wanted to discard a lot of early, mythical and unreliable parts of traditional genealogies. However, the House of Knights did not allow it and obliged him to use many of the suspect portions of the stem tables. The result, in Anrep's four books, should not therefore be fully blamed on Anrep. Further, Anrep's authority should not be invoked to defend such unwarranted filiations, early lineages and names plucked from thin air.

70 Sometime around 1570, the genealogist Rasmus Ludvigson (whose work has in several cases been shown as erroneous) is said to have prepared the inherently clumsy-looking genealogy [preserved in the Rålamb collection] which reports lady Kirsti's father as Jaakko Petrinpoika, (see Blomstedt, *op.cit.* 1921, pp.8-9). The same work reports the first name of lady Kirsti's mother as "Leena". Leena is the usual hypocoristicon of Madeleine (Matleena), and in that regard the Rasmus evidence about Kirsti's mother is acceptable. However the same work from Rasmus reports lady Kirsti's mother's patronymic "Kristerintytär" - daughter of Christian or Christof - which totally contradicts Kirsti having inherited property in Lammi from her mother who was daughter of Niklis. As it is historically obvious that Matleena's father was in reality a Niklas (Niklis, Nicholas), we may merely speculate that Matleena's mother could have been another Kirsti, that other Kirsti thus being Niklis Poitz's wife.

71 Jakob Wilkens was reported as in Narva on 30 June 1494, (F G von Bunge & L Arbusow (1900), *Liv-, Est-, und Kurlandisches Urkundenbuch* II:1, document nr 31 (pp 21-25), cost account of Godske Remmelinkrode (LEC II:1 p.21).

72 Blomstedt (*op.cit.* 1921) p.10.

73 Henrik's mother Marketta Sipintytär could chronologically have been daughter of Niiles' hypothetical brother; while the paternal family of Henrik, namely his father Erland Antinpoika, lord of Karuna, is unlikely as a source of that right to inheritance because then several other attestedly-surviving individuals would also have been co-heirs, evident in the 1530s.

only one heir had survived in each of the three branches, but we must satisfy ourselves that at least 80 years had inevitably passed since the birth of Niiles byskal, and that of his presumed siblings if they were more or less Niiles' own age. It should be emphasised that this inheritance attestedly came so late to lady Kirsti that it cannot have been her father's own during his lifetime. Thus this Vehaisten rälssitila was clearly not the basis of lady Kirsti's father's own property nor his known residence. Also it should be underlined that lady Kirsti's attested share of the sale proceeds was (in comparison with the others) of a size indicating a female link in the chain of inheritance,[74] which in turn implies that lady Kirsti's father was not an agnate of Niiles byskal, but instead descended from Niiles' family through a female. It should also be noted that no member of the Vilken family appears to have been an heir of Vehasten rälssitila, *ie* a descendant of any hypothetical brother of lady Kirsti's father.

It is impossible to reconstruct any further details for Kirsti's father based on the available information. My conclusion is that it is highly likely he was a male line descendant of Eerikki Lassenpoika's family, in the branch that acquired the Salmenkylä estates. Further, it was probably his paternal uncle who became the ancestor of dominus Johannes Vilken. The progenitor of Kirsti's lineage (whether father, grandfather or great-grandfather) would have been a brother in that Vilken family tree. In attempting to reconstruct these descents from Eerikki Lassenpoika (*fl.*1396) and to separate tangible events from mere speculation, I have required that the properties should be shown to have belonged to Eerikki; and the division of the properties has a pattern consistent with the inheritance laws and customs of the epoch.

5. Families of Junkar and Vilken: drawing conclusions

In this section I attempt a retrograde reconstruction using 16th century attestations to derive the outline and some details of the 1400s. Firstly my view about the oft-repeated suggestion that a nobleman named Matias Petrinpoika would have been the father of dominus Johannes Vilken: The nobleman Paavali Matinpoika had by 1561 succeeded to the lands in Salmenkylä, Vehkalahti, which in 1556 were still held by the nobleman Matias Petrinpoika of Salmenkylä, (*fl.*1552, d.aft.1558).[75] This is based chiefly on indications about the worth and location of this property,[76] which is considered to be the estate in Salmenkylä that was later (late 1600s) called Kouko and also occasionally (from the late 1700s) Jeltti. Korhonen (1981) has presented a reconstruction of these "Brandstaka" families of the region.[77] It is highly likely that

[74] Supported by Blomstedt (*op.cit.* 1921), p.11.

[75] According to Korhonen (*op.cit.* 1981), p.167; pp.131-134.

[76] Korhonen (*op.cit.* 1981), p.167.

[77] In about 1550, the avaricious, detail-oriented and frugal king Gustav I came down hard on some impoverished petty gentry of this region, particularly on those who later became known as Brandstaka families. They were relatively poor, and not fully able to equip and put forward the required cavalrymen. King Gustav I sought from about 1540 to reduce them to taxed peasantry, abolishing their privileges as petty nobles. Only with difficulty and after prolonged petitioning, did these Brandstaka ancestors (led by Matias Petrinpoika, lord of Kouko in Salmenkylä) succeed in persuading the king to preserve their traditional privileges. It is noteworthy that the wealthier families of the region (with long noble pedigrees) such as admiral Siffred Jussinpoika Vilken, his kinsman the dominus Johannes Vilken and the properties of the Horn of Kankainen and Vundrank, were not targeted. I emphasise that these Vilken and such families belonged to irrefutable nobility, well above the troubles of the poverty-stricken Brandstaka whom Gustav I hounded. It is important to note this distinction

Matias Petrinpoika and Paavali Matinpoika were father and son. Contemporary documentation does not show Matias Petrinpoika, lord of Kouko, as holding any lands in Reitkalli, Hietakylä, or Pyöli, he has simply an estate in Salmenkylä and seemingly nothing anywhere else. Not even in the Pyöli complex, although that specific extension would be understandable as a historical right of a Salmenkylä estate whether its origins were in the Vilken family or in some other family (such as Brandstaka or Brand). There is therefore no support for the view that Matias Petrinpoika might have been the father of dominus Johannes Vilken.[78] Quite the contrary, there are strong indications that dominus Johannes' relatively large properties (which were in four different places) were not explicable by inheritance from Matias Petrinpoika, lord of Kouko, either in quantity or in qualitative details. The indications are that Matias' landed property was inherited by Paavali Matinpoika. Despite oft-repeated suppositions, this filiation between dominus Johannes and Matias Petrinpoika is not recorded at all in the Krus Roll of 1618.[79] Instead it appears first time as a claim, without any note of caution or reservation, in the commentary section of Lagus' book about the Krus Roll, giving no evidence of provenance. The filiation claim should therefore be attributed to Lagus (1860) and to a suggestion made by Tilas, whatever reasons the latter had in the mid-1700s for concocting such an idea about a filiation of the 1530s.

Admiral Siffred Jussinpoika Vilken (presumably childless) was a close kinsman of dominus Johannes, though almost a generation older than the dominus. The evidence for this close blood kinship comes chiefly from the fact that the admiral's hereditary properties passed to the dominus' heirs: the latter's sons Siffer and Eerikki clearly held it all after the admiral's death (*c*.1584). Dominus Johannes' patronymic is nowhere attested explicitly. However, we may draw some ideas from monograms in seals. The judge Siffer Jussinpoika Vilken's seal had a monogram of three letters: SIV. These are interpreted quite credibly to come from his full name: Sigfridus Ioanni Vilken or Vekelaxensis (Ioanni is patronymic, in Finnish "Jussinpoika"; Vekelaxensis would be toponymic while "Vilk", or "Vilken" was the well-attested byname in this family). In just the same way, his father the dominus Johannes' seal had a monogram of three letters: IIV. These could be interpreted as coming from his full name: Ioannes + patronymic (starting with I, presumably Ioanni) + Vekelaxensis (or, Vilken). Dominus Johannes' patronymic surely therefore was not *Mathiae*, instead it should be something starting with "I"J. The admiral's patronymic attestedly was "son of Ioannes" (*ie*, Jussinpoika, Jönsson). We do not need to seek further to find the close kinship (nor any other explanation for inheritance from the admiral): if the

because in so much of the literature all the gentry of this region is erroneously lumped into one single class.

[78] The idea that dominus Johannes' father would have been the Matias Petrinpoika attested in 1552, comes from Tilas' tentative thoughts which he sketched in the mid-1700s as one of his genealogical fragments, merely a scribble in his papers. He himself dismisses the sketches as not coming from any substantive source nor even from individual memories; he indicates that the sketches are his tentative attempts to reconstruct filiations and lineages which had already been lost from sources available to him. It is unwarranted to repeat his ideas as evidence of filiation. Although this erroneous filiation was proposed by Tilas, he elsewhere stated it was impossible to fit Matias Petrinpoika in any genealogy of the family. This unwarranted filiation was subsequently adopted by Wilhelm Lagus (1860, p.560) and continued by Julia Maria Ramsay, *Frälseslägter i Finland intill Stora Ofreden* (1909), p.195. It was initially copied by Rosén (1920, p.204) who then discarded it in 1936, p.306. It was described as incorrect by Korhonen (1981, pp.131-133 & 167.

[79] The Krus Catalogue was collected by field marshal, knight Jesperi Matinpoika Krus, lord of Harviala, high treasurer. None of the text in the Krus original could be interpreted as showing a filiation between dominus Johannes Vilken and Matias Petrinpoika, lord of Kouko.

admiral and the dominus were sons of one and same Johannes, then their patronymics must match, and the dominus' family will be the closest blood relatives to the childless admiral. The age difference between the admiral and the dominus is something like 15-20 years (admiral b.*c.*1515, dominus b.*c.*1530-1535), a gap totally possible even between full brothers.

This family is indicated to have followed ancient Scandinavian (Viking) customs and taboos in naming their children. The supposition that dominus Johannes' patronymic indicates that he was his father's namesake (strongly supported by his displaying the two "I" initials in his seal) fits well with the idea that he was his father's youngest child and born presumably posthumously. The Scandinavian custom in its strictest did not allow for a son to be his father's namesake if the father was alive (or, if dead, not yet buried) at the time of the naming of the baby son. On the other hand, in that same tradition a posthumous son had to be named after his deceased father.[80]

Other namings in these families throughout the 1500s up to mid-1600s, support a similar adherence to this set of naming customs and taboos: children were frequently named after deceased grandparents and great-grandparents, and often bore the same names as living uncles and great-uncles, but were not named after still-living parents or paternal grandparents. I want to emphasise that the cornet Sivartti (slain in 1634 in the battle of Nordlingen) was not a namesake of his father the judge Siffer Vilken. Cornet Sivartti's name is relatively well attested as "Sifwart" and its orthographical variants, in both contemporary records and later documentation that records his son's explicit patronymic. The name comes from the Scandinavian "Sigurd" (relatively rare in the region of Vehkalahti), while his father the judge Siffer's attested name comes from that rendered "Sigfridus" in Latin (an anglo-saxon and germanic name which was relatively frequent in the region of Vehkalahti, among all ethnicities) and surely is not the same as Sigurd.

Given the existence of the admiral's attested patronymic, there had to have existed one Johannes in this family. This reconstructed Johannes must have been born some time before 1500, likely about the 1480s. His last (presumably posthumous) son was born in the early 1530s, when Johannes would be in his forties or about fifty. He might have been the brother of lady Kirsti's father, or his nephew or first cousin. I have already indicated why I believe there were two brothers to divide all those properties so evenly in four different places. This reconstructed Johannes could have been one of those two brothers, or alternatively the son or grandson of such a brother. The reconstructed Johannes' grandfather must have been born around 1440 at the latest, and probably 10-20 years earlier. If we trust Wikman's account that there were six generations, then the reconstructed Johannes' grandfather must have been a grandson of Eerikki Lassenpoika (*fl.*1396). This would fit with the grandfather of the reconstructed Johannes being born *c.*1420-1430. Bearing in mind that the attested *floruit* of Eerikki Lassenpoika and the time of one of his sons establish a backbone for the reconstruction, the brothers that divided the Salmenkylä-Pyöli inheritance can hardly have been an earlier generation than the grandfather of the reconstructed Johannes. This Johannes, whose sons (the admiral and the dominus) had extensive estates and residence in Salmenkylä, may or may not have been that

[80] That members of this extended family were still following such Scandinavian naming customs and taboos in the mid-1600s, long after these events, is evidenced by the fact that Aune Antintytär, at the time wife of one Isaacus Abrahami Nirkko (d.1683), and widow of Sigfridus Mathiae Hermigier (*c.*1613-*c.*1651), named her son (Sigfridus Isaaci Nirkko, bef.1660-1699) by the second husband as the namesake of her deceased first husband. The said Sigfridus Mathiae Hermigier was maternal grandson of sheriff Eerikki Jussinpoika Vilken, lord of Salmenkylä (*c.*1570 – aft.1629), himself younger son of dominus Johannes.

"Jens Welchensen" from Vehkalahti attested in 1529 as a visitor to Tallinn, Estonia.[81] That would mean his name in Finnish was Johannes Villenpoika, presumably his father's name being Ville (obviously a different and later Ville than the mythical Ville son of Eerikki).

In the Junkar family, a paternal grandson of Hannes Petrinpoika Junkar must have been born *c.*1610 (or even earlier), because in the 1630s he already held positions which confirm he was adult, nearing or beyond the age of 30 towards the end of that decade. The intermediate generation, major Petteri Hannunpoika, lord of Näkki in Reitkalli and of Toikka in Summa, was probably born in the 1580s with *c.*1580 a plausible date for his birth. His father, Hannes Petrinpoika Junkar, lived till at least 1632, so his birth would fit neatly in the 1550s. The father of the latter, *ie* Petteri Niilonpoika, was attested as lord of his manors in 1546, and survived till at least 1592, so his birth would plausibly be in the 1510s or 1520s, with a best-fit estimate of *c.*1520. He was certainly heir to Aune Niilontytär of Poitsila, heiress of Toikka manor in the village of Summa, and chronologically likely to have been her grandson.[82] Aune Niilontytär was of child-bearing age in about 1490 at latest, so that a reconstructed Niiles, as Aune's son and Petteri Niilonpoika's father, would fit as being born, say, in the mid-1490s. Because the manors already belonged to Petteri in 1546, the postulated Niiles would presumably have died before then. Niiles' father (and Aune's reconstructed husband) was very likely the one who brought the manor of Näkki in Reitkalli, and the original document dated 1396, to the later Junkar family. He was traditionally a descendant of the mythical Martti, elder son of Eerikki Lassenpoika (*fl.*1396). If the mythical Martti were born in the 1380s, and lady Aune's husband in the mid-1460s, there would be time for two intervening male generations between them. However, at least one intervening generation seems to be practically necessary (although just possible, 60-80 years is not a plausible gap between the births of a father and the son who was his heir), but there is no compelling need for more than one intervening generation here.

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[81] "Jens" was listed in Tallinn, Estonia, among traders from Finland. Tallinn city archive TLA Ab1 page 82.

[82] Sjöström *op.cit.* 2010 (footnote 40).

Table I. *Suggested table of descent based on the reconstructions proposed in this study*

* *For those marked with an asterisk, see note 83 on next page.*

1 'Laurens', the progenitor, named solely based on his attested son's patronymic.
1.1 Eerikki Lassenpoika, 'Erich Larsån' (*fl.*1383, 1396; presumably b. bef. 1360, possibly even before 1350)
1.1.1 myth: Martti (b.bef.*c.*1390)
1.1.1.1 (name unidentified)
1.1.1.1.1 (name unidentified)
1.1.1.1.1.1 (name unidentified) * [83]
1.1.1.1.1.1.1 Niiles (b.bef.*c.*1500) - his mother was presumably Aune Niilontytär of Poitsila
1.1.1.1.1.1.1.1 Petteri Niilonpoika, lord of Näkki in Reitkalli and of Toikka in Summa (b.*c.*1520; d.*c.*1592)
1.1.1.1.1.1.1.1.1 Hannes Petrinpoika Junkar (b.bef.*c.*1560; d.*c.*1633)
1.1.1.1.1.1.1.1.1.1 Petteri Hannunpoika Junkar (b.*c.*1580; d.*c.*1635)
1.1.1.1.1.1.1.1.1.1.1 Henrik Petrinpoika Junkar, lord of Näkki in Reitkalli and of Toikka in Summa, sheriff of Vehkalahti (b.*c.*1610; d. after 1660)

1.1.2 myth: Ville, indicated as: little Ville, 'Vilken'
1.1.2.1 (Petteri) [84]
1.1.2.1.1 (Jaakko)
1.1.2.1.1.1 Kirsti of Salmenkylä, heiress of Töytärinhovi etc, dowager of Haapaniemi (b.bef.*c.*1495; d.*c.*1553) *
1.1.2.1.1.1.1 knight Henrikki Laavunpoika, lord of Kankainen, etc, and of Töytärinhovi (b.*c.*1512, d.1595)
1.1.2.1.1.1.1.1 the Horn of Kankainen family (knight Henrikki had ten children)
1.1.2.1.1.1.2 Tyni Jaakonpoika Vundrank, lord of manor in Salmenkylä (b.bef.*c.*1540; *fl*.1562; d.bef.1584)

1.1.2.2 (name unidentified)[84]

1.1.2.2.2 (name unidentified, may have been: Ville)
1.1.2.2.2.1 Johannes, presumably of Salmenkylä (d. soon after *c.*1530) *
1.1.2.2.2.1.1 Siffred Jussinpoika Vilken, admiral, castellan of Borgholm (b.*c.*1515; d.*c.*1584; buried Långlöt)
1.1.2.2.2.1.2 dominus Johannes Vilken (b. soon after *c.*1530; d.*c.*1583)
1.1.2.2.2.1.2.1 Siffer Jussinpoika Vilken, judge (b.*c.*1560; d.*c.*1639)
1.1.2.2.2.1.2.1.1 Barbara [of Tavastila] (b.bef.*c.*1590)

1.1.2.2.2.1.2.1.2 Sivartti, heir of Tavastila, cornet (b.*c.*1590; slain 1634)

1.1.2.2.2.1.2.1.2.1 Henrik Sivartinpoika Husgafvel, lord of Sivartti-Reitkalli (b.*c.*1620; d. after 1703, possibly after 1710)
1.1.2.2.2.1.2.2 Eerikki Jussinpoika Vilken, sheriff (b.*c.*1570; d.*c.*1629)
1.1.2.2.2.1.2.2.1 Piriitta Erkintytär of Salmenkylä (b.bef.*c.*1595)
1.1.2.2.2.1.2.2.5 Kaarle Erkinpoika Husgafvel, lord of Salmenkylä rustholli (b.bef.*c.*1620; fl 1639; d.c.1695)

1.1.2.2.2.1.2.2.5.1 Eerikki Kaarlenpoika Husgafvel, lord of Salmenkylä rustholli (b. est. 1650; d.*c.*1710).

Notes to Table I

[83] Those marked with an asterisk are supposedly of the fourth generation. The generation claimed to been active in "mid-1500s" as recorded in the 1700s by Tilas and then repeated by Lagus (1860) p.557. However, the preciseness of such a claim is chronologically difficult because Siffer Vilken, supposedly sixth generation, was active from the 1580s and his grandfather (*ie* 4th generation) seems not even to have been alive near the mid-century, but active rather in the early decades of the 16th century. Also the whole of the fourth generation from a man who flourished in 1383, was hardly likely to be active still in 1550, except possibly for some long-lived individual. It is more credible that the fourth generation from Eerikki Lassenpoika was active in the first decades of the 1500s.

[84] The placement of the generation where the two brothers occur, among the generations between the children of the mythical little Ville and the parents of Kirsti of Salmenkylä, is of course somewhat arbitrary. For the purposes of drawing a table, I chose to locate the branching in the generation of Kirsti's paternal grandfather, which is probably the earliest possible. The specific choice of grandfather is chiefly based on the implications of the fact that lady Kirsti, alone among people in this family tree, received a share of the Vehasten rälssitila.

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Appendix

Possible land-holdings in the Nevitto valley (footnote 26, p.435 above)

There is an uncharted and possibly unchartable suggestion that Eerikki Lassenpoika's heirs held hereditary lands and/or rights in the Nevitto valley (the valley of the Tavastila brook, *ie* brook of Nummi or Rookki which flows to the Bay of Kaarniemi [Bay of Salmi], an inlet on the north coast of the Gulf of Finland). Tantalising indications:

- In the 1540s, hamlets or villages of Tavastila and Salmi in the Tavastila valley were parts of the geographically very fragmented 'nautakunta' (*'nötz'*) of Reitkalli which was formed around the noblemen who held *rälssi* estates (allodial land) in Reitkalli (1542 land tax register; and conclusions by Rosén, *op.cit.*1936, p.188). There is bound to be some sort of shared background of possession, because nautakunta was also a shared liability for certain taxes and payments. Such shared responsibilities generally formed out of an original ownership that was subsequently divided between several heirs and successors.
- In the records of nobility cavalry service 1556, 1561 and 1562, Anthoni (*op.cit.* 1970, p.376) stated that the nobleman Matias Erkinpoika of Knuuttila in Salmenkylä (possibly a descendant of Eerikki Lassenpoika, as suggested by Korhonen, *op.cit.* 1981, p.170) had his residence and some lands in the hamlet of Saksala - a village in the Tavastila valley. However, Anthoni was prone to make misreadings; Eeva-Liisa Oksanen in their *Vehkalahden knaapit* (2003), p.56 has read it "Salijnby". Salijnby is not familiar from other local history sources for the region so it is probably a garbled version of some name. From a geographical context, it might be an obscure hamlet of the Pyöli complex.
- The land-grabbing Olavi Erkinpoika, onetime bailiff of Kaprio, took possession of some farmland in the village of lesser Nevitto in *c.*1610 and set up at least one tenant farmer there.
- Siffer Jussinpoika Vilken, judge, formed his manor of Tavastila in the village of Tavastila (in the heart of this valley) in the 1590s, by acquiring several farms which had been deserted by peasant cultivators during the long war period between 1570-1595.
- The first husband of Siffer Jussinpoika's daughter Barbara Sipintytär of Tavastila was lieutenant Aleksanteri Engel (slain in 1609 in the war in Tver). In 1602-03 he took over several farms in the village of Kaarniemi in the valley. Engel had no known earlier contact with the region, and it is conceivable that part of the land in Kaarniemi (enlarged by Engel's other acquisitions) may have been his wife's dowry - if so, she must have received it from her parents.
- As late as 1725, a record of Assizes (Vehkalahti, 18 October 1725) reveals that Siffer Jussinpoika Vilken's agnatic great-great-grandson Niiles Husgafvel, lord of Sivartti-

Reitkalli *allodium* and *rustholli*, was entitled to land rents from a tenant in the hamlet of Salmi in the Nevitto valley (its southernmost coastal hamlet) and was demanding its enforcement from the said Assizes.

- In the 1566 nobility cavalry service records, Anthoni (*op.cit.* 1970, p.375) interpreted the territorial designation of a certain nobleman of Reitkalli, Lasse Erkinpoika, as explicitly "*i Sundby*", which could mean reference to the hamlet of Salmi in this village and likely was not meant to refer to Römspyy. However, having studied the records myself I suspect Anthoni's reading was incorrect and the scribble should be read "*i Sandby*" which means Hietakylä, the other place where traditionally Eerikki Lassenpoika's heirs held portions of landed property.

Reviewing the attested allodial lands in the cavalry service rolls and their values in land rolls, in my estimation the division of inheritance between Siffer Jussinpoika Vilken and his younger brother Eerikki Jussinpoika Vilken is arguably somewhat uneven, to the detriment of Siffer.

Siffer and Eerikki were brothers, as witnessed by Eerikki's son and successor as holder of the Salmenkylä allodium, nobleman Kaarle Eerikinpoika Huusgafwel. He is on record in 1678 as referring to Siffer as his father's brother. Siffer and Eerikki were successors in ownership of the lands earlier held by dominus Johannes Vilken and were his sons. The brothers also held those properties previously held by dominus Johannes' kinsman, the admiral Siffred Jussinpoika Vilken, castellan of Borgholm. Siffer had received allodial estates in three places: Reitkalli, Hietakylä and Pyöli. I am of the opinion that Korhonen (*op.cit.* 1981, pp.539-540) makes an error in assigning the Hietakylä property of this branch entirely to the brother Eerikki and claiming that Siffer's branch acquired an estate in Hietakylä only a century later by purchase, not being landholders in the village meanwhile. This view is chiefly based on the fact that the branch is known to have held ¼ mantal there at early stages (*eg* Krus *op.cit.* 1618, p.83), but the chaplaincy (the estate formed out of Eerikki's share, the 'G' in the map) is consistently attested throughout the 1700s and in the Great Parcelling as $^{1}/_{8}$ mantal, which is obviously a natural outcome, had Eerikki received half of his branch's estate and his brother Siffer the other half in Hietakylä. This rather implies that the Siffer descendant possibly purchased additional land there to augment that already held, as the alleged seller (Olavi Husgafvel) still held $^{1}/_{8}$ mantal in 1688 having originally held (in 1662) ¼ mantal. I believe the estate in Hietakylä which shows $^{1}/_{8}$ mantal in the 1800s, is different from that held in the 1700s by the Siffer descendant.

These properties in Siffer's inheritance pile are tiny in themselves (*eg* the Reitkalli property was merely $^{1}/_{6}$ mantal, and the Pyöli property cannot be found to have had more than $^{1}/_{6}$ mantal at this time) compared to the manor and lands in Salmenkylä (at least ½ mantal). So, if they portioned their Hietakylä inheritance evenly between them, it looks apparent that the allodial holding of Siffred remains smaller than that of Eerikki. (Inheritances all in all should show Siffer's share more or less equivalent to that which the younger brother Eerikki received as allodial heritage in the form of Salmenkylä manorial seat with its lands, and taking into account that he would have held at least $^{1}/_{8}$ mantal in Hietakylä in addition). What could have balanced the Siffred portion?

It is possible that not all their hereditary lands were allodial related to cavalry service, and they may have held properties not found in the cavalry records from the late 1500s. Siffer is later attested as holder of a large estate in Tavastila (a place that did not have a cavalry-obligation from the 1500s). It is natural to assume that he had already inherited parts of the estate there (such as some farms in Kaarniemi and Tavastila) and that Siffer enlarged them in a familiar place, rather than taking over his later large property there from scratch. If this family had held land in the Nevitto valley from ancestral times, then it would be likely to be connected with the trader families of the estuary and valley who were still actively pursuing Baltic commerce in the late medieval period. Also it is highly likely that the regionally relatively important family descended from the notable Eerikki Lassenpoika (*fl*.1396) had, during the 1400s, made family ties and gained inheritance rights with the wealthiest trader houses of Nevitto port.